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THE LIVES OF THE Moſt Eminent PERSONS

Who have flouriſhed in

GREAT-BRITAIN and *IRELAND*,

From the earlieſt Ages, down to the preſent Times.

G.

GATACRE, or, as he wrote his name in the latter part of his life, GATAKER (THOMAS), a profound Scholar, an acute Critic, an able Commentator, a famous Preacher, and one of the Aſſembly of Divines in the XVIIth century. He was deſcended from a very ancient family in the county of Salop; but his father, being a younger brother, was intended for a learned profeſſion, and by ſome very ſingular accidents was determined to take Holy Orders, and in proceſs of time became domeſtic Chaplain to that potent nobleman Robert Dudley Earl of Leiceſter, and Rector of the pariſh of St Edmund the King in Lombard-ſtreet (*a*), where, by his zealous preaching, he merited the title of a man of quick parts, and ſincere attachment to the Proteſtant religion [*A*]. His mother's name was

(*a*) Fuller's Worthies, Shropſhire, p. 3.

[*A*] *To the Proteſtant Religion.*] As to the name of this family, it is certain that it has been written both ways, Gatacre and Gataker, but the laſt ſeems to have been the old manner of ſpelling it, agreeable to the name of the village in Shropſhire, from whence it was taken (1); and it was very probably, upon this account, that the learned man, whoſe article is before us, departed from his father's manner of ſpelling; and, inſtead of Gatacre, wrote himſelf Gataker. As to his father, we have, ſo far as it goes, a very fair account of him, from the pen of Dr Thomas Fuller, which, as it is very ſhort, and, for it's ſubſtance, can ſcarce be reduced into a leſs compaſs, we will give it in his own words (2).

(1) Villare Anglicanum.

(2) Fuller's Worthies, Shropſhire, p. 3.

'Thomas Gataker, younger ſon of William Gataker, was a branch of an ancient family, ſo firmly 'planted by divine providence, at Gatacre-Hall, in 'this county, that they have flouriſhed the owners 'thereof, by an noninterrupted ſucceſſion from the 'time of King Edward the Confeſſor. This Thomas 'being deſigned a ſtudent for the Law, was brought up 'in the Temple, where, in the reign of Queen Mary, 'he was often preſent at the examination of perſecuted 'people. Their hard uſage made him pity their per'ſons, and admirable patience to approve their o'pinions. This was no ſooner perceived by his pa'rents, being of the old perſwaſion, but inſtantly they 'ſent him over to Louvain in the Low Countries, to 'win

was Margaret Pigott, deſcended from a very worthy family of that name, ſeated in Hertfordſhire (*b*). He was born in the parſonage-houſe of St Edmond the King in London, September 4, 1574, as he tells us himſelf (*c*) in his ſhort memoirs of his own life, written at the requeſt of a friend [*B*]. He received the firſt tincture of letters in his father's houſe, and gave very early marks of an uncommon genius, a moſt retentive memory, and ſurprizing application (*d*). He paſſed through the Grammar-ſchool by that time he was ſixteen, and in the year 1590 he was ſent to St John's college at Cambridge, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his indefatigable diligence, being one of thoſe ſtudents who conſtantly attended the Greek lecture read by the famous Mr John Bois in his bed (*e*); and, many years after, Mr Gataker ſhewed that worthy perſon the notes he had taken at thoſe lectures, and, when he had raiſed himſelf to a high character in the learned world, gratefully acknowledged the aſſiſtance he had received from that learned perſon, in acquiring an accurate knowledge of the Greek tongue, and the helps he had from Mr Edward Lively in the Hebrew (*f*), adding thereby, to the reputation acquired by their proper labours, the credit of having had ſo extraordinary a perſon for their pupil. He had not been long at college before he loſt his father (*g*); but the early hopes he had given of his future proficiency, procured him ſuch aſſiſtance from his friends as enabled him to proſecute his ſtudies, which he did with ſuch ſucceſs that he was choſen a ſcholar on that foundation, and in due time commenced Maſter of Arts with ſingular applauſe (*h*). His learning and piety was by this time ſo conſpicuous, notwithſtanding his reſerved temper and great modeſty, that he was choſen, by the truſtees appointed by the Counteſs of Suſſex foundreſs of Sidney college, a Fellow of that foundation before the college was finiſhed (*i*). This unuſual circumſtance gave occaſion to an offer made him, which he accepted, of reſiding at the houſe of William Ayloffe, Eſq; afterwards Sir William Ayloff, Bart. at Barkſted, or Braxted Magna, in the county of Eſſex, that worthy perſon deſiring to perfect himſelf in the knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, which Mr Gataker undertook, as alſo to inſtruct his eldeſt ſon in polite literature (*). While he reſided in this family, he was deſired by Mrs Ayloffe, who was the daughter of John Sterne, of Melburne in Cambridgeſhire, Eſq; and a Lady of excellent ſenſe as well as unaffected piety, to read a chapter every morning in the Bible; which he very willingly did, expounding the ſenſe from the original languages with much perſpicuity, and, when he had ſo done, raiſing practical obſervations (*k*). It was in conſequence of this daily exerciſe, that, by the earneſt perſwaſion of ſeveral eminent perſons, he was at laſt prevailed upon to enter into Holy Orders (*l*) [*C*]. When Sidney College was compleated, and in a condition to

(*b*) Thomæ Gatakeri vita, propria manu ſcripta.

(*c*) Mr Dugard, of Sidney college.

(*d*) Life of Tho. Gataker, *B. D.*

(*e*) Narrative of the Life of Mr Gataker, annexed to his Funeral Sermon, by Simon Aſke, *V. D. M.* Lond. 1655, 4to.

(*f*) Cinnus, lib. 1. c. 9. ii. 9.

(*g*) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 344.

(*h*) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker.

(*i*) See his Vindication of his Annotations on Jeremiah x. 2. p. 57.

(*) Thomæ Gatakeri vita.

(*k*) See his Diſcourſe Apologetical, &c. p. 98.

(*l*) Thomæ Gatakeri vita.

'win him to a compliance to the Popiſh religion; and, 'for his better encouragement, ſettled on him an 'eſtate of one hundred pounds per annum, old rent. 'All would not do. Whereupon his father recalled 'him home, and revoked his own grant to which his 'ſon did ſubmit, as unwilling to oppoſe the pleaſure 'of his parents, though no ſuch revocation could take 'effect, without his free conſent. He afterwards di'verted his mind from the moſt profitable to the moſt 'neceſſary ſtudy from Law to Divinity; and finding 'friends to breed him in Oxford, he became the pro'fitable Paſtor of St Edmond's in Lombard-ſtreet, Lon'don, where he died, Anno 1593.'

(3) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 344.

Another writer furniſhes us with thoſe dates (3), which in this account are omitted. 'Thomas Gataere 'was Bachelor of Arts of Oxford, where he continued 'for ten or twelve years, and was afterwards of St Ma'ry Magdalen college in Cambridge, where he con'tinued for the ſpace of four years, or thereabouts. 'He was half a year in Louvain, at the beginning of 'Queen Mary's reign. He was ordained Deacon by 'the Biſhop of London, Auguſt the fourth, 1568, and 'Prieſt, by the ſame Biſhop, October the twenty-firſt 'following. He was admitted Vicar of Chriſt Church 'in 1576, which he reſigned in 1578.' Some fortune, though but a ſmall one, he left behind him, but many friends, more eſpecially amongſt the great men of the Law, with whom he had been in the earlier part of his life a fellow-ſtudent, and who, on that account, were afterwards very ready to teſtify their reſpect for his memory, by affording countenance and expreſſing kindneſs for his ſon.

[*B*] *Written at the requeſt of a friend.*] It would afford great ſatisfaction to ſuch as expend their own lives in endeavouring to do juſtice to the memories of others, if they could be thus furniſhed with hints ever ſo ſhort, of the principal facts and dates, from the pens of thoſe whoſe virtues they celebrate; ſome perhaps relying upon the ſplendour of their fame or fortune, may conſider this as unneceſſary, and yet Cardinal Wolſey, who wanted neither, might perhaps have entitled himſelf to a father, in a ſomewhat better ſtation than that of a Butcher (4); if inſtead of deſpiſing calumnies, he had condeſcended to refute them. Others conſider this as a piece of oſtentation, and ſo to avoid being thought vain, leave it not in the power of poſterity to do them juſtice.

(4) See Fiddes's Life of Wolſey.

This learned perſon had notions perfectly right in this particular, and has thereby ſaved us a great deal of trouble. His old friend and his ſon's tutor, Mr Richard Dugard, having quitted the Univerſity, and retired to a living of his in Lincolnſhire, where he ſpent his laſt years in piety and peace, formed a very laudable deſign of writing the lives of ſuch as had been fellows of Sidney College, a title he once enjoyed, and to which he was a conſiderable benefactor (5). Amongſt thoſe to whom he applied upon this occaſion, Mr Thomas Gataker was one, who gave him in a very narrow compaſs, a ſuccinct account of the principal events of his life, from his birth, to the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age, which ſhort memorial coming into the hands of his ſon, the Reverend Mr Charles Gataker, he communicated it to the world, when he publiſhed ſome additional books of Miſcellanies from his father's papers (6). Upon theſe memoirs, written in his own hand, was the following authentick certificate.

(5) Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 154.

(6) Printed alſo amongſt his *Opera Critica*.

A me rogatus per literas vitam ſuam ità ſcripſit Mr Gataker, ut ego quæ viderentur, indè decerpta catalogo ſociorum Collegii SIDNEJANI, *quem diu deſcribendum propoſui, inſererem.*

RI. DUGARD.

[*C*] *To enter into Holy Orders.*] In the ſpace of a year, as our author himſelf informs us, he went through all the Prophets in the Old Teſtament, and all the Apoſtolick Epiſtles in the New (7). While he was thus employed, the very Reverend Dr John Sterne, ſuffragan Biſhop of Colcheſter, viſiting the miſtreſs of the family to whom he was nearly related, happened to be preſent at this exerciſe, when Mr Gataker was explaining the firſt chapter of St Paul's Epiſtle to the Epheſians. And the Doctor being ſatisfied with the performance, and admiring the endowments of Mr Gataker, exhorted him

(7) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker.

to receive thoſe who were to inhabit it, Mr Gataker, as his duty required, repaired thither, and commenced Tutor with great ſucceſs, and, amongſt others, Mr John Hoyle and Mr Thomas Pell, who became both of them afterwards Fellows of the college, were his pupils (*m*). While he was engaged in a collegiate life, he concurred with the Rev. Mr Abdias Aſhton, of St John's, and the Rev. Mr William Bedell, of Emanuel college, afterwards the famous Biſhop of Kilmore in Ireland, in a very pious and laudable deſign of preaching every Sunday in the adjacent country, where the people were in want of able Miniſters (*n*). Mr Gataker, in proſecution of this deſign, repaired every Sunday for ſix months to the ſeat of Sir Roger Burgoigne, and preached in the pariſh-church of Everton, a village ſeated on the confines of the counties of Cambridge, Bedford, and Huntingdon, the Vicar of which was commonly reported to be one hundred and thirty years old, but was certainly diſabled from performing his function, by age and infirmities (*o*). At the expiration of this time he was prevailed upon, by Mr Aſhton beforementioned, to reſide in the houſe of Sir William Cooke, near Charing-Croſs, as his Chaplain (*p*), Mr Gataker having, for certain reaſons, determined to leave the Univerſity and fix in London. He had not been long there, before his admirable talent in preaching gained him ſuch reputation, that it was propoſed to him to take ſome neceſſary ſteps in order to be choſen Preacher to the Honourable Society of Lincoln's-Inn; but to this, from his innate modeſty and diſtruſt of his own abilities, he was very little inclined, tho' he was ſure of the patronage of one of the firſt perſons in the Law, who had a great influence over that Society, and who was ſo far from thinking him unfit for the office from his backwardneſs, that he actually procured him to be choſen, without his taking any meaſures at all for that purpoſe (*q*) [*D*]. He held this honourable employment, tho' attended with but a very moderate ſalary, at firſt but forty, and at laſt not exceeding ſixty, pounds per annum, and punctually performed the duties of his function for ten years. In 1603 he went down to Cambridge to take his degree of Bachelor of Divinity; and it ſo fell out, that he preached at St Mary's on the very day that the news came of the death of Queen Elizabeth, when, by the direction of the Vice-Chancellor, he prayed for the preſent Supreme Governor, it being thought unſafe to name King James, till they received advice of his acceſſion by authority. About this time an alteration was made as to the hour of the lecture on the Lord's day at Lincoln's-Inn, occaſioned chiefly by Mr Gataker's taking notice in one of his ſermons, that it was as lawful for the huſbandman to follow his tillage, as for Counſellors

(*m*) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker.

(*n*) Thomæ Gataker vita.

(*o*) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker.

(*p*) See his Diſcourſe Apologetical, p. 15.

(*q*) Narrative the Life and Death of Mr Gataker.

him inſtantly to take Holy Orders, whereby thoſe gifts might be authoriſed for publick uſe, and offered him his aſſiſtance in that buſineſs. But he well weighing the burthen of that calling, and modeſtly judging of his own abilities, thanked the doctor for his kind offer, but deferred the matter to further conſideration. Yet afterwards, by the advice of the Reverend Mr Henry Alvey, formerly his tutor, and the reiterated ſollicitations of Dr Sterne, he conſented to be ordained by that ſuffragan (8), and this ſeems to have been before his return to Cambridge in order to take poſſeſſion of his fellowſhip in Sidney College.

(8) Diſcourſe Apologetical, p. 33.

[*D*] *At all for that purpoſe*] It fell out by accident, that ſome of the members of this very learned ſociety, had been amongſt the number of his auditors (when he preached as his manner was occaſionally for any of his acquaintance) and being exceedingly pleaſed with his performance, could not help wiſhing for an opportunity to hear him oftener. Thoſe gentlemen offered him their aſſiſtance upon the vacancy, and alledged the facility of his introduction to that place, by the Lord Chief Juſtice Popham's intereſt, whom they knew to have had a great reſpect for Mr Gataker, as well as for his father, who had been his intimate friend and contemporary in the ſtudy of the Law (9). But our author, according to his uſual modeſty, declined the undertaking, and reſiſted the importunities even of his friend Mr Stock, till Dr Montague, maſter of Sidney College, repairing to London, and being acquainted with the deſign in hand, though he had it in his thoughts to invite Mr Gataker back to the College, that he might read an Hebrew Lecture, which had a ſalary annexed by the Lord Harrington, preſſed him with arguments and authority, encouraged him againſt his own diffidence, and gained him at laſt to conſent, that, without any ſuit made by him, the Lord Chief Juſtice Popham, ſhould recommend him to that Society (10). Thus he was choſen preacher of Lincoln's-Inn, towards the cloſe of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and was much admired and careſſed there, when there were ſome perſons of the firſt character for integrity, as well as proficiency in the Laws, who were Benchers of that Houſe. He tells us himſelf, in the laſt year of his life, which ſhews at once the ſtrength of his memory and underſtanding, as well as the chearfulneſs of his temper, a very pleaſant paſſage upon this ſubject of his entertainment and converſation at Lincoln's-Inn. The truth is, ſays he, mine auditory there, or the generality of them, were not a people that affected change, either novelty or variety, but reſted well ſatisfied with my conſtant courſe and tenour of teaching, and very ſeldom therefore brought in any to preach in [illegible] room, in ſo much, I may truly ſay it, that ſcarce above twelve ſermons in all my ten years with them, were preached there by any beſide myſelf. Nor were they addicted to ſtray much abroad, one or two, taken much with Dr King, then Dean of Chriſt Church in Oxford, and parſon of St Andrew's in Holborn, uſed to repair thither to hear him, when they knew that he preached, and ſome few would now and then ſtep to Paul's Croſs. Among whom, that pleaſant gentleman Mr Thomas Hitchcock, though it were not frequent with him. Being miſſed one day at Chapel, by ſome of thoſe that uſed there to ſit near him; and coming late into the hall at dinner, and being thereupon demanded by one of them where he had been ſtraying abroad? I have been, quoth he, at Paul's Croſs. Thou wenteſt thither ſure to hear ſome news, ſaid the other. No truly, replied he, I went upon another occaſion, but I learned that indeed there, which I never heard of before, how the Aſs came by his long ears; for the preacher there, told us a ſtory out of a Jewiſh Rabbin, that Adam after he had named the creatures, called them one day again before him, to try whether they remembered the names that he had given them; and having by name, cited the Lion, the Lion drew near him, and the horſe likewiſe; but then calling to the Aſs in like manner, the Aſs having forgotten his name, like an Aſs, ſtood ſtill; whereupon Adam having beckoned to him with his hand, ſo ſoon as he came within his reach, caught him with both hands by the ears, and plucked him by them ſo ſhrewdly, that for his ſhort wit, he gave him a long pair of ears. Upon this ſtory told them, one of them told him he was well enough ſerved for his gadding abroad, he might have heard better and more uſeful matter, had he kept himſelf at home.

(9) He was alſo ſupported by Mr Crew, afterwards Chief Juſtice.

(10) Thomæ Gataker vita. Diſcourſe Apologetical, p. 43.

[*E*] *In*

lors to confer with their clients and give advice upon that day. This admonition was well received, and, inſtead of preaching at ſeven in the morning, as the practice had always been, he was deſired to preach at the uſual hour of morning ſervice. The Wedneſday's lecture was alſo transferred to Sunday in the afternoon; and this proviſion was made, that the ſpare hours in which the clients came to their Lawyer's chambers, ſhould be better employed. He was afterwards preſſed by ſome of the Society to take his Doctor's degree, which he declined becauſe he very well knew that he had not an income anſwerable to the dignity; and beſides the taking it was expenſive, and therefore he very wiſely choſe to remain undiſtinguiſhed, rather than debaſe the title or diſtreſs himſelf. He did not however leave Sir William Cook's family entirely, to whoſe Lady he was nearly related, but in the vacations went down to their ſeat in Northamptonſhire, and during his ſtay there preached conſtantly, ſometimes in their domeſtic chapel, and ſometimes in the pariſh church (r). In this he acted purely from the motive of Chriſtian piety, and without any view to worldly conſiderations, as very clearly appeared from an extraordinary circumſtance that does peculiar honour to his memory, and of which the reader will find ſome account in the notes [E]. His learned preaching in the chapel of that honourable Society, where he was fixed when in London, as it gave them much ſatisfaction, ſo it gained him no ſmall reputation, and might alſo have procured him conſiderable preferment. Sir Roger Owen would very willingly have fixed him in Shropſhire, and Sir William Sedley offered him a good living, of which he was patron, in the county of Kent, with which he might have kept what he already held. But that did not agree with his notion of things; for neither arguments could perſwade, nor examples induce him, to conceive that one man, at one time, could diſcharge his duty, having two cures of ſouls (s). He therefore choſe to remain where he was, and in the ſtate he was; his ſalary indeed was ſmall, but the employment honourable, and his condition ſafe. Beſides, it afforded him a great deal of leiſure to purſue his ſtudies, in which he was very aſſiduous, more eſpecially in that of the Holy Scriptures in their original languages, in the Fathers of the firſt ages in the Chriſtian Church, and of the beſt writers amongſt the Greeks and Romans (t). At length, in 1611, he was, not without ſome difficulty, prevailed upon to accept of the Rectory of Rotherhithe, or, as it is uſually pronounced, Redriff in Surry (u), a living of conſiderable value, with which he was much importuned to keep his former office; but that not being conſiſtent with his principles, he abſolutely declined [F]. After he entered into the poſſeſſion of

(r) Thomæ Gataker vita.

(s) See his Diſcourſe Apologetical, p. 38, 39.

(t) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker.

(u) Ibid.

[E] *In the Notes.*] There are few things in private and perſonal hiſtory, that ſtrike a well-diſpoſed mind, more than the deſcription of a kind of virtuous ſtruggles, or generous conteſts between ſouls above the vulgar level, who ſhall ſurpaſs the other in contemning thoſe ſordid advantages, to acquire which, is the ſole, or at leaſt, the ſupreme buſineſs of mankind. Such a relation we meet with in the Engliſh narrative of our author's life, wherein the fact of his continuing to officiate in Sir William Cook's family, as is mentioned in the text, being premiſed, it is then added (11): 'And 'this he did with anapoſtolical mind, not for filthy lucre, 'but freely making the Goſpel a burthen only to the diſ'penſer. Yet ſuch was the devotion of that religious 'pair, that they alſo would not ſerve God without 'coſt; for they afterwards, in conſideration of thoſe 'pains freely taken, ſettled upon Mr Gataker, an an'nuity of twenty pounds per annum, which he indeed 'received for ſome few years; but after, for certain 'reaſons, remitted unto the heir of that family, for'bearing to uſe the right he had, and forbidding his 'executor to claim any arrears of that annuity. This 'is mentioned, the rather, that the generous temper 'of his chriſtian ſoul, aiming at the higheſt good of 'others, more than his own temporal advantage, and 'infinitely removed from ſordid acquiſition of gain, or 'the proſtitution of his ſacred function unto ſecular 'deſigns, may be oppoſed to ſtop the impudent cla'mour of ſome, whoſe conſciences being both gauled 'and cauterized, prompted them to calumniate him as 'guilty of covetouſneſs. But his own pen writ the 'beſt apology, as indeed, according to that of the Na'zianzen; they that give him a juſt character and due 'commendation, had need to have alſo his eloquence.' It is worthy of obſervation, as it is another mark of his being as free from vanity, as from the love of money, that though he takes notice in his own Latin Memoirs, of every thing that looks like obligation from Sir William Cook and his Lady, yet there is not a ſyllable of this annuity, or of the motives that induced him to renounce it; nor is there any mention of it in his Apologetical Diſcourſe againſt the ſlanders of William Lilly.

(11) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker.

[F] *He abſolutely declined.*] He was conſtrained by a very rude attack upon his character, to acquaint the world in his life-time, with the means by which he obtained, and the motives inducing him to accept, this living, which were in a few words theſe (12). That rectory being void, a perſon of an infamous life uſed his utmoſt efforts to ſucceed in it, in order to which, he, before the incumbent's death, had made terms with the mother of ſome orphans, in whoſe hands the patronage was ſuppoſed to be; upon this, ſome of the religious inhabitants caſt their eyes upon Mr Gataker, to gain whom, they added to their ſollicitations, the mediation of his friend Mr Richard Stock. And when he had by many reaſons remonſtrated to him, that it was of importance to religion, that an unworthy perſon ſhould not intrude into the living; he was at laſt prevailed on to accept it. This being repreſented to Sir Henry Hobart, then Attorney-General, by Mr Randolph Crew, afterwards Lord Chief Juſtice. Sir Henry, who before favoured other pretenſions to gratify ſome tenants of his in the pariſh, readily embraced the motion concerning the ſettling of Mr Gataker there, and wrote a letter to the Biſhop for the removal of all obſtructions which lay in the way, or might hinder the acceptance of the preſentation of Mr Gataker, which ſigned with the hands of all the three brethren who had a right in that advocation, was tendered on his behalf. 'The report of his remove, was no welcome news to 'many of that ſociety of Lincoln's-Inn, who fain 'would retain him; ſome whereof offered an enlarge'ment of his maintenance, for an argument to keep 'him; and others, repreſented the conſiſtence of both 'employments, by the help of an aſſiſtant. But he 'that made not his miniſtry in ἐργασίαν τοῦ βίου, a 'mere trade of his living here (as Gregory Nazianzen 'complained, ſome did in his time, and too many 'in our times do) nor would multiply burthens, when 'he deemed himſelf unfit for the leaſt, would not be 'wrought to a new reſolution.' The ſubſtance of this paſſage, is alſo to be met with in our author's Latin memoirs (13), only he adds, that he recommended to them circumſpection in the choice of his ſucceſſor.

(12) Diſcourſe Apologetical, p. 44. Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker.

(13) Thomæ Gataker vita.

[G] *At*

of this living, he applied himſelf to the diſcharge of his paſtoral function with indefatigable diligence, notwithſtanding an infirmity with which he had been troubled from his youth, and to which very probably his late and early ſtudies did not a little contribute, which was an almoſt perpetual head-ach (*w*): He had not before this time committed any of his learned labours to the preſs; and yet his fame was ſo great, that he ſeems to have held a regular correſpondence with that excellent perſon Dr Uſher, afterwards the moſt learned Primate of Ireland, from whom he received many letters, and to whom he wrote frequently (*x*). Some few of his epiſtles have been preſerved, and afford ſufficient teſtimonies of the nature and extent of his ſtudies, and of his care in the enquiring after, and preſerving, the unpubliſhed works of ſome of our ancient Divines; and of which letters, as they contain likewiſe very ſhining proofs of that modeſty and humility which are not always obſerved to accompany a profound ſkill in critical learning, ſome notice will be taken at the bottom of the page [*G*]. He was very careful in his pulpit, to preach not

(*w*) Thomæ Gatakeri vita.

(*x*) See thoſe Letters in the notes.

[*G*] *At the bottom of the page.*] Among the other excellent qualities of Dr Uſher, one was his induſtry in procuring, and his readineſs in making publick whatever remains of ancient authors came to his hand, and Mr Gataker having the like ſpirit, and having been applied to on this ſubject, by ſome of that great man's correſpondents, gave occaſion to the commerce between them. The firſt letter of Mr Gataker, is dated at Rotherhith, March the eighteenth, 1616 (14), in which he informs Dr Uſher, that he had in his hands, a manuſcript, containing among others, certain treatiſes which he could not then learn to have been printed, viz. *Gulielmus de Sancto Amore, de periculis noviſſimorum temporum*; as alſo divers things of Robert Groſthead, ſome time Biſhop of Lincoln, viz. An oration delivered in writing to the Pope at Lyons, whereof he found a piece recorded in *Catalogus Teſtium, Excerpta quædam ex ejuſdem Epiſtolis*; *Tractatus de oculo morali*; *de modo confeſtendi*; & *Sermons quidam.*

(14) Archbiſhop Uſher's Letters, publiſhed by Dr Rich. Parr, p. 37, 56.

'Some of theſe, ſays he, peradventure, if they be 'not abroad already, might not be unworthy to ſee 'the light, nor ſhould I be unwilling, if they ſhould 'be ſo eſteemed to bend my poor and weak endeavours 'that way. But of that oration to the Pope, certain 'lines, not many, are pared away in my copy, tho' 'ſo as the ſenſe of them may be gueſſed and gathered 'from the context; and in the other treatiſes, there 'are many faults that cannot eaſily or poſſibly, ſome 'of them without help of other copies, be amended. 'My deſire is to underſtand from you, whether at your 'being here in England, for I wot well how careful 'you were to make inquiry after ſuch monuments; 'you lighted upon any of theſe, and where, or in 'whoſe hands they were. There are beſides in this manuſcript, a commentary on Auguſtin de Civitate Dei, 'and a Poſtil on Eccleſiaſtes, with a treatiſe *de Modo prædicandi*, but theſe two imperfect, of nameleſs authors, 'beſides *Gulielm. Paris de Præbendis*; & *Malachiæ Minorith. de Veneno ſpirituali*; which two laſt I 'underſtand to have been publiſhed.'

In another letter to Dr Uſher, dated at Rotherhith, June the twenty fourth, 1617, he writes thus: 'I eſteem myſelf much beholden unto you, as for your 'former love, ſo for this your late kindneſs, in vouchſafing me ſo large a letter, with ſo full inſtructions 'concerning this buſineſs, that I was bold to break 'unto you, though the ſame, as by your information 'it appeareth, were wholly ſuperfluous. True it is, that 'though not fully purpoſed to do ought therein myſelf, willing rather to have offered mine endeavours 'and furtherance to ſome others. I ſuppoſed that 'thoſe two treatiſes, viz. that oration of the Biſhop's, 'and that of *Wilhelm* of *S. Amore*, might not be unworthy the publiſhing, had the one been perfect, 'and the other not yet publiſhed; for as for that of *Pariſienſis de Præbendis*, I had heard to be already 'abroad, and Geſner, in his Bibliotheca, hath *Tractatus 2 Argentin. impreſſ.* 1507, *de collatione & pluralitate Eccleſ. beneficiorum*, which may be ſeen the ſame one 'of them with this, as it is ſaid to be *gemmâ precioſior*, 'in that manuſcript you ſpeak of; ſo to be *auro pret.* 'in mine. But I perceive now by your inſtructions, tha' one is out already, and the other perfect and 'fit for the preſs, in the hands of one better furniſhed 'and fitter for the performance of ſuch work than myſelf, whom I would therefore incite to ſend what he 'hath perfect abroad, than by his perfect copy, having 'pieced out mine imperfect one to take his labours out 'of his hand. I have heard, ſince I wrote to you by 'Mr Bill, that Sir Henry Savill is about to publiſh 'Biſhop Groſthead's epiſtles, out of a manuſcript remaining in Merton College Library. That treatiſe '*de Oculo morali*, I lighted lately on in another manuſcript, bound together with Groſthead *in Decalog.* 'having this title before it. *Incipit Liber de Oculo mo 'rali, quem compoſuit Magiſter Petrus de Sapiere Lemovinenſis.* And I find it cited by *Petrus Reginaldetus*, 'a Friar, in his *Speculum finalis retributionis*, under 'the name of *Johannes de Pecham*, as the author of 'it. Neither ſeemeth it, though written honeſtly, 'yea wittily and learnedly, as the wit and learning of 'thoſe times was, to be of the ſame frame and ſtrain 'for gravity, that the other works of that Biſhop are, 'which alſo maketh me ſuſpect thoſe ſermons that in 'my manuſcript go under his name, ſhould not be hi' 'having lately at idle times run over ſome of them. If 'I meet with your countryman Malachy, at any time, 'I will not be unmindful of your requeſt. And if any 'good office may be performed by me for you here, 'either about the impreſſion of your learned and religious labours ſo eſteemed and deſired, not of myſelf 'alone, but of many others of greater judgment than 'myſelf, or in any other employment that my weak 'ability may extend itſelf unto, I ſhall be ready and 'glad upon any occaſion to do my beſt therein. I 'lighted lately upon an obſcure fellow, one Hieronymus Dungerſheim de Ochſenfart, who in anno 1514, 'publiſhed a conſtitation, dedicated to George, then 'Duke of Saxony, of the confeſſion of the Picards, 'which, whether it be the ſame with that which Gretſer, ſaith Luther, ſet out with his preface, I wot 'not. The title of it is, *Totius quaſi Scripturæ Apologia*, and the beginning of it, *In ſummi Dei maximo 'nomine & terribili, Amen. Nos Homines in terræ orbe 'quanquam ad ima labaſti, &c.* And though it be 'not entirely inſerted by him in his anſwer, yet ſo 'much is picked out of it, and ſet down in their 'words, as may ſhew in divers main points, their diſſent from them, and conſent with us. But it is not 'likely that this author, though obſcure and not worthy the light, had eſcaped your curious eye. Get 'ner ſeemeth miſtaken in him, when he ſaith, *Hieronymus Dungerſhein, ſcripſit Apologiam ſacræ Scriptu 'ræ Beomorum*, for he wrote not it, but againſt it.' It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that notwithſtanding our author was diſcouraged, partly by his own modeſty, and partly by information, that the treatiſe which he had mentioned of that famous Biſhop of Lincoln, was fitted for the preſs by another and better hand; yet it did not then appear; but was long afterwards publiſhed by the indefatigable Mr Edward Brown (15), in a large work of his dedicated to Dr William Sancroft, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in which is contained, not only this oration of the Biſhop of Lincoln's, delivered by him in writing to the Pope, Innocent the Fourth, and ſeveral Cardinals at Lyons, in the year 1250, but alſo ſeveral other treatiſes penned by that pious and prudent prelate, upon points of the higheſt importance to religion; from whence it fully appears, that the corruptions of the Church of Rome, had long before the time of Luther, been both diſcerned and expoſed by ſome of the wiſeſt and moſt learned men in the Church, whoſe writings were carefully preſerved, and diligently read, notwithſtanding the prevalence of the Papal au-

(15) Faſciculum rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum; five ſcripto rum veterum qui Eccleſiæ Rom. Errores et Abuſus detegunt et damnant, noveſſitatemque Reformationis urgent. Tom. ii. p. 244.

 authority

not only ſound but ſuitable doctrine, ſuch as might edify any Chriſtian congregation; but at the ſame time, be more particularly fit and applicable to thoſe before whom he preached (y). His deſire of diſcharging his duty in this reſpect led him, amongſt other ſubjects, to diſcourſe of one both curious and critical, which yet he brought home to common uſe. This was *the nature of* LOTS, about which much had been written, and more ſaid; from whence, in the opinion of our judicious Gataker, ſome very great inconveniencies had proceeded, ſuch as that luſorious lots, or, in plainer Engliſh, all games of chance were abſolutely unlawful, which filled the breaſts of conſcientious people with unneceſſary ſcruples; as, on the other hand, the notion that there was ſomething ſacred and ſupernatural in lots, drew people into a deceitful and dangerous relying upon them, in caſes not only improper but unlawful to have recourſe to them (z). He thought therefore, that going to the bottom of this matter, and enabling his congregation to have clear and diſtinct ideas of the nature,

(y) See his Dedication before his Diſcourſe of Lots, and his Vindication of that Treatiſe.

(z) This is particularly and learnedly treated in his laſt chapter.

thority ſtill maintained, and from ſiniſter views increaſed thoſe corruptions.

The collecting and publiſhing pieces of this nature, was at all times the beſt ſervice that could be rendered to the Proteſtant cauſe, though it could be only judged ſo by men of true learning, ſound underſtandings, and free ſentiments; for to men of leſs knowledge, warmer tempers, and narrower notions; the hunting after, recovering, and reviving the works of our ancient divines, is either looked upon as an ill-grounded and ſuperſtitious fondneſs for antiquity; or miſinterpreted, as proceeding from ſome ſecret inclinations, ſome latent regards for Popiſh doctrines; and hence it has frequently happened, that the wiſeſt and moſt reſolute, becauſe moſt enquiring and beſt inſtructed Proteſtants, have been ſtigmatized by men much beneath them in parts and learning, as if they had a biaſs to thoſe opinions, in the ſifting of which, they took ſo much pains; we may likewiſe refer to the ſame ſource, that indifference which is generally ſhewn for collections of this nature, which quickly ſink in their price, are commonly over-looked, and whatever noiſe they may make at firſt, are in a little time buried almoſt in as deep obſcurity as that from which they were drawn by their laborious publiſhers. Yet this detracts nothing from their real value in the ſentiments of ſerious and ſober minds, and as there will be always, even in the commonwealth of learning, a multitude of warm and haſty ſpirits, incapable of going through the fatigue of what they therefore decry as heavy and uſeleſs reading, yet there will be ever a few candid, curious, and circumſpect criticks, who will have a true ſenſe of the worth of ſuch collections; and will not think their pains thrown away in ſearching through theſe ancient records, from which it is manifeſt, not only how the plain and pure doctrines of the Goſpel have been corrupted, but in what manner thoſe corruptions were diſtinguiſhed and rejected by wiſe and good men, even at the very time they were introduced; by which the Popiſh plea of Univerſality is entirely and effectually overthrown, and the antiquity of the Proteſtant Religion, as it conſiſts in an oppoſition to the ſuper-induced and groundleſs doctrines of the Romiſh Church, is fully and fairly demonſtrated to ſuch as will go to the bottom of the diſpute, and not ſuffer themſelves to be borne down by bold pretences, or carried away by florid declamations.

It was the more neceſſary to inſiſt upon this point, becauſe theſe letters of Mr Gataker, ſhew, as indeed private letters will always ſhew, the true genius, and the real diſpoſition of the man, and will account for that hot and eager oppoſition his writings met with, when he ventured his opinions abroad from the preſs. For as he never wrote upon any ſubject which he had not fully ſtudied, and thoroughly examined what had been ſaid upon it by men of all ages and all parties; ſo his penetrating ſkill in diſtinguiſhing, and his honeſt zeal in ſupporting, truth, laid him continually open to the clamours of thoſe who had nothing in view, but the maintenance of thoſe ſyſtems to which they were attached from their education, or the magnifying ſuch notions as were popular in thoſe times; and by defending which, they were ſure to have a large herd of admirers, though their want of learning, and the weakneſs of their arguments, were ever ſo conſpicuous. But in theſe kind of diſputes, ſuch furious opponents were ſure to have the worſt; and how conſiderable ſoever they might be, either in figure or number, they ſerved only to heighten the luſtre of his triumph. For, as the modeſty of his nature with-held him from printing any thing till he was forty-five years of age; ſo by that time his judgment was ſo confirmed, and his learning ſupported by an extraordinary and almoſt incredible memory, extended to ſuch a degree, that he conſtantly carried his point, and effectually baffled all the attempts made to involope again in darkneſs and obſcurity, any ſubject that he had once propoſed to enlighten.

The great regularity of his life, his unblemiſhed character, and the general eſteem in which he was held by the greateſt and beſt men in the nation, fortified him ſufficiently againſt all thoſe low and little artifices, by which a writer, deficient in any of theſe reſpects, would certainly have ſuffered. But then he made no ill uſe of this, he had not the leaſt tincture either of ſpleen or arrogance in his nature; and though it be true, that he gave no quarter to the arguments of his adverſaries, yet nothing could provoke him to ſtrike at their perſons. He always remembered that the prize contended for, was truth, and that for the ſake of obtaining it, the publick undertook to ſit as judges; he was cautious therefore of letting fall any thing that was unbecoming of him to ſay, that of his antagoniſt was not fit to be ſaid, or that might be indecent or ungrateful for his readers to peruſe; yet he was not ſo ſcrupulous as to forbear diſcloſing vulgar errors, through fear of giving the multitude offence, his modeſty might hinder his preferment, but it never obſtructed his duty, he underſtood perfectly well how eaſily the people may be wrought either to ſuperſtition or profaneneſs, and no man was more ſenſible than he, that true religion was as far diſtant from the one, as from the other; he was well acquainted with the arts of hypocrites, and thought it as neceſſary to guard againſt them, as to avoid the allurements of open libertines. He underſtood that ſouls might be enſnared, as well as ſeduced, and that canting words, and a ſolemn ſhew of ſanctity, might enable preſuming, and ſometimes ſelf-intereſted, perſons, to bring a yoke very different from that of Chriſt, upon the necks of ſuch as liſtened to their diſcourſes, as oracles, and believe as the Jews do of their Rabbins, that their teachers expoſition of ſcripture, were as ſacred as the ſcriptures themſelves.

He thought it requiſite therefore upon certain occaſions, to declare himſelf in favour of Chriſtian Liberty, and to ſhew upon what looſe ground this ſpiritual tyranny ſtood, to vindicate the natural rights of reaſon in matters properly within it's cognizance, and to free ſuch as had really righteous intentions from thoſe vain terrors and unneceſſary apprehenſions with which ſuch as took a pleaſure in ruling their conſciences, alarmed and kept in awe their minds. In this, without doubt, he acted like a chriſtian Clergyman and prieſt of the Church of England, placing religion where it ought to be placed, in believing the truths delivered in the Goſpel, and in performing works worthy of ſuch a belief, not in ſtraining God's Commandments beyond their plain meaning, and introducing ſuch a ſtrictneſs, under colour of abundant ſanctity, as might bring men from thinking almoſt all things, to a perſwaſion that ſcarce any thing was lawful. We have a clear inſtance of this diſpoſition and conduct of his, in the very firſt work that he ſent abroad, a work univerſally conſidered at the time it appeared, and which (though more treatiſes than one, and in more than one language, have been taken out of it) very well deſerves to be read ſtill, of the occaſion of which, ſomething is ſaid in the text, and of it's nature and contents, we ſhall ſpeak more largely in the enſuing note.

[H] *At*

nature, uſe, and abuſe, of lots, might prove very beneficial, and therefore handled that matter, as his conſtant manner was, fully, freely, and fairly, without ſuſpecting however that this would oblige him to have recourſe to the preſs, and involve him in a long and troubleſome controverſy. Yet this unexpected effect it had, for ſome ſupercilious perſons immediately took occaſion from thence, to give out that he had defended dice and card-playing, with other falſe and groundleſs ſtories (*a*); which obliged him to publiſh his thoughts upon that ſubject in a ſmall treatiſe, in which it is hard to ſay whether the accuracy of the method, the concluſiveneſs of his reaſoning, or the prodigious learning diſplayed therein, deſerves moſt to be admired. This work of his he dedicated to Sir Henry Hobart, Bart. Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas; Peter Warburton, Eſq; and Humphrey Winch, Eſq; Juſtices in the ſame Court; Robert Houghton, Eſq; one of the Juſtices of the Court of King's-Bench; John Denham, Eſq; one of the Barons of the Exchequer; Randolph Crewe, Eſq; the King's Serjeant at Law; Thomas Harris, Eſq; Leonard Bawtree, Eſq; John More, Eſq; Charles Chibburn, Eſq; and Thomas Richardſon, Eſq; Serjeants at Law; Sir James Ley, his Majeſty's Attorney in the Court of Wards; and Thomas Spencer, Eſq; Cuſtos Brevium; together with all, and ſingular, the Benchers, Barriſters, and Students of Lincoln's-Inn, as a mark of his gratitude and reſpect for paſt favours, and to deſire their countenance and protection in reſpect to his preſent labours: This piece made a great noiſe in the world, and gained Mr Gataker, as indeed he deſerved, much reputation (*b*) [*H*]. In 1620, he made a ſhort excurſion, for a month in

(*a*) The Rev. Mr Balmford ſays in his Preface, *How will gameſters inſult the ſcrupulous now they have ſo learned a* Patron *of their* gaming?

(*b*) Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 154.

[*H*] *As indeed he deſerved much reputation*] This diſſertation, though containing the ſubſtance of ſeveral ſermons, is digeſted, as the reader will hereafter ſee, into an exact and very regular form; and though there is a prodigious number of quotations from authors who wrote in different languages, and upon a variety of ſubjects, yet theſe are thrown entirely into the margins, ſo that the text is an even eaſy and perſpicuous Engliſh ſtile, very elegant for thoſe times, and perfectly plain and intelligible in theſe. The title of this treatiſe at large, runs thus:

Of the Nature and Uſe of LOTS, *a Treatiſe Hiſtorical and Theological, written by* Thomas Gataker, B. *of* D. *ſometime Preacher at* Lincoln's-Inn, *and now Paſtor of* Rotherhith, Lond. 1619, *4to.*

This piece is dedicated to the Society of Lincoln's-Inn. In the preface to the judicious and ingenuous reader, he obſerves, that how backward he had ever heretofore been to publiſh ought by the preſs, they beſt know, ſays he, who having oft preſſed me thereunto, have never hitherto therein prevailed. 'Now a two-fold neceſſity is impoſed upon me of doing ſomewhat in this kind, partly by the importunity of divers Chriſtian friends, religious and judicious, who having either heard, being partakers of my publick miniſtry, or heard of by the report of others, or upon requeſt ſeen ſome part of this weak work, have not ceaſed to ſollicit the further publiſhing of it, as alſo partly, and more eſpecially by the iniquity of ſome others, who being of a contrary judgment on ſome particulars therein diſputed, have been more forward than was fit by unchriſtian ſlanders, and uncharitable cenſures, to tax and traduce both me and it. From whoſe unjuſt and undeſerved aſperſions, no way ſeemed better and readier to clear either, than by offering to open view to all, what I had before delivered in an obſcure auditory (to ſpeak of) among but few. And this thou haſt here good reader for effect and ſubſtance, the ſame that was then and there delivered, inlarged only with ſuch matter of hiſtory and humanity, as was not fit to peſter the pulpit, or incumber that auditory withal. He then remarks, that if any ſhall ſurmiſe, that writings in this kind may occaſion too much liberty, a thing that little needeth in this over licentious age; he anſwers briefly, firſt, that it is unequal, that for the looſeneſs of ſome diſſolute, the conſciences of thoſe that be godly diſpoſed, ſhould be entangled and enſnared; and ſecondly, that whoſoever ſhall take no more liberty than by one is here given, ſhall beſure to keep within the bounds of piety and ſobriety, of equity, and of charity, than which I know not what can be more required. For no ſiniſter end I proteſt before God's face, and in his fear undertook I this taſk, neither have I averred or defended aught therein, but what I am verily perſuaded to be agreeable to God's word.'

The firſt chapter treats of what a Lot is, and of lottery in general; the ſecond, of chance or caſualty, and of caſual events; the third, of the ſeveral ſorts or kinds of lots; the fourth, of ordinary lots ſerious; the fifth, of the lawfulneſs of ſuch lots, with cautions to be obſerved in the uſe of them; the ſixth, of ordinary lots luſorious, and of the lawfulneſs of them; the ſeventh, contains an anſwer to the principal objections againſt luſorious lots; the eighth, an anſwer to the arguments uſed againſt them leſs principal; the ninth, treats of cautions to be obſerved in the uſe of them; the tenth, of extraordinary or divinitary lots; the eleventh, of the unlawfulneſs of ſuch lots; the twelfth, contains an admonition to avoid them, with an anſwer to ſome arguments produced in defence of them, and the concluſion of the whole.

The ſecond edition of this treatiſe, reviſed, corrected, and enlarged, was printed in 1627. As the work had then received it's author's laſt hand, and was become as perfect as he could make it, we will quote from thence, the latter part of a chapter, in which he has laid down as wiſe and as juſt rules for regulating the conduct of ſuch as now and then, without prejudice either to their temper or ſpiritual concerns, inclined to divert themſelves at play; and this we ſhall do for two reaſons, firſt, becauſe this citation will very fully explain the nature, conduct, and end of the whole work; and next, becauſe we conceive it will fully juſtify the great character we have given of it; to which we may add, (which is no inconſiderable motive) that this paſſage cannot fail, both of entertaining and inſtructing the reader (16). 'Theſe are the cautions, ſays he, that I have thought good to propound, for the limiting and rectifying of the uſe of theſe games, which cautions, I confeſs, the moſt of them, are ſuch as concern game in general; of which, as well as of more ſerious and ſad matters, either civil or ſacred, account alſo muſt be given unto God; and in that regard, are not ſo proper and peculiar to this particular kind of lot. Yet I ſuppoſed it not amiſs to point at them, and in ſome ſort alſo, to preſs them partly, that I might not be taxed and cenſured as a pleader for ſin, and ſuch abuſes as are common, as well in theſe games, as in other, by means whereof, thoſe that condemn all lots uſed in game ſimply, are wont to take occaſion to make them in general the more odious; and partly alſo, that no prophane perſon that abuſeth any of theſe, or other the like games, might be able to take any colour of advantage, by ought that hath been ſpoken of the lawfulneſs of the games themſelves, in themſelves ſimply conſidered, to juſtify his own abuſe of them, in miſpending his time, or waſting his eſtate at them, or otherwiſe, inconſiderately and irreligiouſly abuſing them, which it may be ſome would have done, had I been ſilent in this part, and propounded ſuch cautions only, as the nature of the lot itſelf might ſeem to require.' Yea, but ſome will ſay, had it not been much better to have paſſed over all this with ſilence, knowing your judgment in this point to be ſuch, as differeth from divers very reverend and religious? Or is it not in this caſe, as one ſome time ſaid of images,

(16) Of the Nature and Uſe of Lots, p. 309.

in the ſummer, to viſit the United and Spaniſh Netherlands, where he gave much ſatiſfaction to the Proteſtants, by preaching in the Engliſh Church at Middleburgh, and no ſmall

images, an eaſy matter, wholly to take away the uſe of them, than to keep them free from abuſe.

Hereunto I anſwer: 'First, theſe abuſes are common to all kind of game, they accompany other games as well as theſe, in thoſe that be evil minded and prophanely diſpoſed. And the like therefore in that regard, may be ſaid either of all other games, or of any other particular game at leaſt in ordinary uſe. *Secondly*, it is true indeed, that where the uſe and the abuſe of a thing are ſo enwrapped and entangled together, that they cannot be eaſily ſevered the one from the other, there the uſe of the thing itſelf, if it be unneceſſary otherwiſe, would wholly be abandoned. But in theſe games, the uſe and the abuſe, may, for the moſt part, ſome ſpecial diſpoſitions only excepted, by thoſe that deſire to walk in the fear of God eaſily be ſevered. For, as for thoſe that make no conſcience of their courſes, they will not be diſſwaded from them, though it be never ſo evidently diſcovered unto them, in what manner they abuſe them, and by their abuſe of them, make that evil and unlawful to themſelves, that otherwiſe were not ſuch in itſelf. And for thoſe that fear God, they may with eaſe as well rectify and ſanctify theſe luſorious lots to themſelves, as they may any other games of the like uſe, and as eaſily ſever them from ſuch abuſes as are commonly committed in them, as they may other diſports, as draughts and bowls, and the like, that are commonly uſed, and generally allowed. *Thirdly*, though many godly diſſent, yet I am ſure many, and I ſuppoſe more by many, both reverend and religious concur, and the truth is needful to be known, eſpecially concerning matters in common practice, that men may have whereby to inform themſelves aright. And laſtly, though the minds and judgments of others were not known, yet were not a truth to be concealed, becauſe ſome few godly have denied or oppoſed it, and none publickly, by writing, have contradicted them in it, eſpecially being a point very needful to be known.

'For myſelf, I was at firſt the rather induced to deliver my judgment in the point the more largely, having entered into this diſcourſe of lots in general, by purſuit of that ſcripture that then I dealt with, tho' far then from any purpoſe to publiſh ought of this argument, upon theſe conſiderations. *Firſt*, I conſidered that there is a fault as well in ſtraitning, as in widening of God's way, and the ſubtilty of Satan, as well in the one as in the other. For in the one he doth as a juggler, that by putting a pair of falſe ſpectacles on a man's noſe, maketh the bridge ſeem broader than indeed it is, that he is to go over, that ſo he may without fear ſtep aſide and fall in, and ſo he dealeth with the diſſolute. In the other, he doeth as a Magician, that ſheweth a man the bridge that he is to paſs, thorow a falſe glaſs of another kind, that it repreſenteth it as narrow as the edge of a rapier, or the point of a needle, that ſo he may terrify him from attempting to go over it, and thus dealeth he with thoſe that be over timorous and full of ſcruple. And that it is not good therefore by poſſeſſion of men's minds with unneceſſary ſcruples, either to diſcourage thoſe that be coming on to ſome love and liking of the good ways of God, or to caſt thoſe that are already come on, into ſnares of men's knitting, tying them in ſtricter and ſtraiter bonds than God himſelf hath done, and making more things unlawful than the word of God hath made. Yea, that it is in truth a ſpice and a branch of ſuperſtition, as well for a man to ſuſpect that thoſe things diſpleaſe God, which indeed do not, as for a man to ſuppoſe that the creature can do that which indeed it cannot do.

'*Secondly*, I conſidered, that many, as I am verily perſwaded, truly fearing God and ſincerely religious, have uſed, and do commonly uſe, theſe games, and beſides, that many well affected are, and have been conſtrained in regard of ſcruple in this kind, to ſtrain themſelves to ſome inconveniencies by the refuſal of them, when by thoſe whom they have had dependance upon, or familiarity withal, they have been urged occaſionally thereunto. It ſeemed fit and needful therefore to be known what ground and warrant both the one had, and the other might have, for the uſe of them, which were I not upon due and diligent diſcuſſion, and that not of late only, undoubtedly perſwaded to be ſound and firm, far ſhould it have been from me ever to have opened my mouth in this argument.

'*Thirdly*, I conſidered the arguments and grounds whereupon theſe games are condemned, have made many ſtagger in the neceſſary uſe of ſerious civil lots, which by occaſion of bargains bought in common between them and others, they are enforced oft to uſe, but have doubted whether they might lawfully give conſent unto or no. That which was indeed the firſt occaſion of my ſearching and ſifting out more narrowly the nature of lots in general. And certain it is, admit we the principal arguments uſed againſt this kind of lots for good, and we utterly overthrow all kind of lots whatſoever.

'*Fourthly*, I conſidered the great offence and ſcandal that is taken by divers of contrary judgment againſt thoſe that uſe theſe games, tho' never ſo ſoberly and ſeaſonably as they ſuppoſe, on good ground, a means oft of much heart-burning and of breach of chriſtian affection, yea of peremptory, uncharitable, and unchriſtian cenſuring either other, ſuch being commonly our corruption, and the natural diſpoſition of the moſt that diverſity of judgment, eſpecially manifeſted by practice breedeth alienation of affection, though indeed it ought not ſo to do, conſidering therefore that theſe games can hardly be wholly removed, being ſo common, ſo general, ſo uſual with the moſt every where; I ſuppoſed it would not be unfit to aſſay, if by diſcovery of the ground of them, ſuch ſcandal and offence might be ſtayed, and chriſtian concord and amity in part procured and maintained between ſuch as were before diverſly minded in this matter; ſo many of them at leaſt as might hear and apprehend the force and weight of the former arguments, and be brought to ſee the invalidity and inſufficiency of their own grounds againſt them. Wherein, what I have done (mine endeavour hath been to do it) let the judicious and impartial whoſoever be judges.

'To draw to a concluſion, I could wiſh in this caſe, as the Apoſtle doth in ſome other caſes, *that every one were affected in this point as myſelf*, to wit, that albeit in judgment, they be rightly informed of the truth concerning the lawfulneſs of theſe games in themſelves; yet that in godly diſcretion, which I wiſh, yet without prejudice to any that uſe them as they ought, they would rather abandon them, and forbear the uſe of them, conſidering the too-common and ordinary abuſe of them, and that many, it may be, among whom they live, may remain unreſolved and unſatisfied concerning the lawfulneſs of them. But becauſe this is rather matter of wiſh than of hope, my ſecond ſuit ſhall be the ſame with that which the apoſtle maketh in the like caſe to either ſide: *let not him that* playeth *condemn him that* playeth not, *nor let him that* playeth not, *condemne him that* playeth. For why contemneſt thou thy brother, may I well ſay to the one, why condemneſt thou thy brother? may I as well ſay to the other. Why contemneſt thou thy brother, as too ſtrict and ſtrait laced, for forbearing of that thing which he maketh ſcruple and doubt of, and hath no neceſſity to do? and why on the other ſide condemneſt thou thy brother, as too diſſolute and looſe girt for the doing of that which he hath ſufficient ground and warrant for out of God's word? and to both ſides ſay I, and would to God I might with both ſides prevail, not for this alone, but for all other controverſies a foot among us at this preſent. Let us follow thoſe things that may further peace, and ſeek after the truth, either of us in love ready to yield with Apollos to any, be he never ſo mean, that being otherwiſe minded than we are, ſhall be able more thoroughly to inſtruct us in ought that we were not ſo fully informed of before.' In the laſt chapter of his work, he very fully, as well as very learnedly, explodes the uſe of divinatory lots, and all the ſuperſti-

tious

ſmall diſpleaſure to the Engliſh Catholics, as they ſtiled themſelves, in thoſe parts, the remains of ſuch as had fled thither in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and afterwards in conſequence of the ſtorm they brought upon themſelves, by the gun-powder-treaſon, ſoon after her ſucceſſor was ſeated on the Throne. The ſource of this uneaſineſs was the freedom and boldneſs with which he diſputed againſt the abſeſt of their Prieſts, and tho' there might be reaſons why it was impoſſible he ſhould convert them, yet they could not help being confounded, which they and their followers reſented exceedingly. His mother therefore had cauſe to be apprehenſive of this ſhort tour, as knowing our author's zeal, and the provocation his works had already given to a party that have never been very famous for their moderation (c). At his return he applied himſelf with his former diligence to his beloved ſtudies, and the duties of his charge. His ſhort ſtay however in Holland, led him into a very high opinion of the people's zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, inſomuch that he became perſwaded we could never differ with them even about national points, without injuring the Proteſtant intereſt, and having once imbibed this notion his temper made him very warm in it; a very ſtrong inſtance of which will be found in the notes (d) [I]. The conteſt raiſed by his Treatiſe on Lots ſtill ſubſiſted, and a very warm writer who had been miſled by common report into an opinion that he had been very ill uſed by our author, and that too in a public manner, tendered what he took to be a refutation of his doctrine, to thoſe who were then intruſted with the licenſing whatever paſſed the preſs. But his performance, being written with greater appearance of anger than argument, was ſtopped, this he conſidered as a new injury, of which he complained ſo loudly, that our author, who had nothing in view but truth, interpoſed, and opened a paſſage as well for his adverſary as for himſelf, being truly convinced that his character was in much more danger of ſuffering by private reports, which he could have no opportunity of refuting, than by any thing his adverſary could urge againſt him in print. How juſtly he thought in this particular, and how ably, as well as amply, he confuted the objections raiſed againſt his work, the reader will be in ſome meaſure informed

(c) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker, p. 5

(d) Archbiſhop Uſher's Letters, p. 76.

tious methods of endeavouring to diſcover future events, which have been invented by wicked, believed and practiſed by weak people; concluding, that tho' extraordinary lots, that is, ſuch as the immediate interpoſition of God was expected in, might be in ſome caſes, and to ſome perſons lawful, yet now they are no longer lawful to any, and ought therefore to be diſuſed.

[I] *In the notes.*] There were very probably many letters written by our author to Dr Uſher between thoſe which the reader has already ſeen, and this that we are about to give him, which we may leſs wonder are loſt, than that this is preſerved, which might probably happen from his Lordſhip's being in a particular manner moved by it, for he was himſelf extreamly attentive to the general courſe of things, and might very probably concur with our author in his ſentiments, and deplore thoſe evils of which no man had a more clear foreſight. This letter is dated September twenty-ninth 1621, from Rotherhith, and runs thus (17).

(17) Archbiſhop Uſher's Letters, p. 76.

'My duty to your lordſhip remembred. This meſſenger ſo fitly offering himſelf unto me, albeit it 'were the ſabbath-even, and I caſt behind-hand in 'my ſtudies by abſence from home, yet I could not 'but in a line or two ſalute your Lordſhip, and thereby ſignify my continued and deſerved remembrance 'of you, and hearty deſire of your welfare. By this 'time I preſume your Lordſhip is ſettled in your 'weighty charge of overſight, wherein I beſeech the 'Lord in mercy to bleſs your labours and endeavours, 'to the glory of his own name and the good of his 'Church, never more in our times oppugned and oppoſed by mighty and malicious adverſaries both at 'home and abroad, never in foreign parts generally 'more diſtracted and diſtreſſed than at the preſent. 'Out of France daily news of murthers and maſſacres, 'cities and towns taken, and all ſorts put to the ſword. 'Nor are thoſe few that ſtand out yet likely to hold 'long againſt the power of ſo great a Prince, having no ſuccours from without. In the Palatinate 'likewiſe all is reported to go to ruin. Nor do the 'Hollanders fit for ought I ſee any ſurer, the rather 'for that the coals that have been heretofore kindled 'againſt them about tranſportation of coin, and 'the fine impoſed for it, the quarrels of the Eaſt 'Indies, and the command of the narrow ſeas, the 'interrupting of the trade into Flanders, &c. are daily 'more and more blown up, and fire beginneth to 'break out, which I pray God do not burn up both 'them and us too. I doubt not, worthy Sir, but you 'ſee as well, yea much better I ſuppoſe, than myſelf 'and many others, as being able farther to pierce into 'the ſtate of the times, and the conſequents of theſe 'things, what need the forlorn flock of Chriſt hath of 'hearts and hands to help to repair her ruins, and to 'fence that part of the fold that as yet is not ſo openly broken in upon, againſt the inouſions of ſuch ra'venous wolves, as having prevailed ſo freely againſt 'the other parts, will not in likelihood leave it alſo 'unaſſaulted; as alſo what need ſhe hath if ever of 'prayers and tears (her ancient principal armour) unto 'him who hath the hearts and hands of all men in 'his hand, and whoſe help (our only hope as things 'now ſtand) is oft-times then moſt preſent when all 'human helps and hopes do fail. But theſe lamentable occurrents carry me further than I had purpoſed when I put pen to paper. I ſhall be right 'glad to hear of your Lordſhip's health and welfare, 'which the Lord vouchſafe to continue, gladder to ſee 'the remainder of your former learned and laborious 'work abroad. The Lord bleſs and protect you: 'And thus ready to do your Lordſhip any ſervice I 'may in theſe parts, I reſt, &c.' In producing this letter, and commending the honeſt zeal of it's author, we do not by any means intend to juſtify his ſentiments with reſpect to the politics they contain, in which how well ſoever he meant, it is more than probable he was in ſome points very much deceived. Thoſe who at that time oppoſed the meaſures of the Court, laboured to have it believed that it was an injury to the Proteſtant intereſt for us to differ with the Dutch, even as to points wherein our civil intereſts manifeſtly ſuffered, and repreſented every thing that was done in order either to ſupport our rights or repair our loſſes, as proceeding from Popiſh counſels, which had a very bad effect. The fines for exporting bullion were in conſequence of trials at law and convictions, tho' after all but one third of thoſe fines was levied; our Merchants and the Nation were great ſufferers by what paſſed in the Eaſt Indies; the invading our dominion in the Britiſh ſeas was prejudicial to the honour of the Crown; and the ſearching, rifling, and taking ſhips bound to Flanders was detrimental to our commerce. But when the ends for which theſe ſuggeſtions were thrown out, to miſlead well-meaning people, who were no politicians, were once brought about as they propoſed, thoſe who ſuggeſted them tacked about, took up the thread where they forced their

informed at the bottom of the page (e) [K]. It was really a pity that ſo great and good a man as he, ſhould have been ſo often interrupted as he was, by the impertinent and yet bitter animadverſions of ſuch as envied the high reputation, that of courſe attended the repeated ſpecimens he gave of extenſive learning, accompanied with very uncommon modeſty, which inſtead of preventing, as in reaſon it ought to have done, perhaps excited their attacks. His zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, and his obſerving how much the Papiſts, more eſpecially amongſt weak people, preſſed the direct words of ſcripture, as containing in them the doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation; he reſolved to ſhew, and that in the moſt convincing manner, how little reaſon they had to value themſelves upon this head, and having driven them from this, which was their ſtrongeſt poſt, he proſecuted his attack, and obliged them to quit every other (f). This was a real and ſeaſonable ſervice to the Church, and which very deſervedly rendered him conſpicuous in the eyes of the moſt worthy perſons of thoſe times, who admired his fortitude in reſpect to points of importance, as much as his humility and willingneſs to ſubmit for peace-ſake in matters of leſs conſequence. In 1642, when the Parliament thought proper to call together the Weſtminſter Synod, otherwiſe ſtiled the Aſſembly of Divines, they were very careful to intermix with the warm Preſbyterians, many of another character, ſuch as Archbiſhop Uſher, Biſhop Weſtford, Biſhop Prideaux, Dr Holdſworth, Dr Hammond, Dr Wincop, Dr Sanderſon, and Dr Hacket, who would not attend as conceiving it no legal Convocation, the King having declared againſt it, but Biſhop Reynolds, Dr Featley, Dr Twiſt, Dr Arrowſmith, Dr Tuckney, Dr Lightfoot, and Mr Gataker, did at leaſt at firſt, and laboured to do all the good, and prevent all the ill that was in their power (g). When the Covenant was propoſed to this ſynod, Mr Gataker and ſeveral others declared their judgments to be for Epiſcopacy, tho' at the ſame time they expreſſed their diſlike of the Lay Chancellor's Court in every dioceſe, and of whatever elſe they took to be the remains of Popery; and tho' they could not carry their point, yet they obtained a conſiderable qualification before they were brought to ſubſcribe. His endeavours here for promoting truth, and ſuppreſſing errors, were equally ſerious and ſincere, and his ſtudy of peace was ſo remarkable, that when his reaſon concerning Chriſt's obedience in order to our juſtification could not obtain the aſſent of the majority of that Aſſembly, by whom the queſtion was determined contrary to his ſenſe, his own law of unity impoſed upon him ſilence, and hindered him from publiſhing thoſe diſcourſes, which he had compoſed upon the ſubject (h). While he was thus employed, he had an offer made him by the Earl of Manchester of the maſterſhip of Trinity College, which is looked upon as the moſt conſiderable preferment in the Univerſity of Cambridge (i). This was probably upon the turning out of Dr Thomas Comber, Dean of Carliſle, who about ten years before, being Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity, had entertained their Majeſties King Charles the firſt, and his Queen Henrietta Maria in Trinity College, and had cauſed plays to be acted for their diverſion (k). But Mr Gataker, whom no advantages could tempt to what might afterwards ſit heavy on his mind, refuſed it. This great preferment was thereupon beſtowed

(e) See particularly the Letter of the learned Dr Daniel Featly.

(f) The Title of this Work was, *Tranſubſtantiation declared by the Papiſt Writers to have no neceſſary Foundation in* GOD'S *Word*, &c. London, 1624, 4to.

(g) Fuller's Church Hiſtory, Cent. XVII. p. 213.

(h) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker, p. 52. Scrype's Memoirs relating to the Life of Dr John Lightfoot. Calamy's Abridgment of the Life of R. Baxter, Vol. I. p. 86.

(i) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker, p. 52.

(k) Fuller's Hiſtory of Cambridge, p. 166, 170. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part II. p. 360.

Sovereign to let it fall, made the Act of Navigation to ſecure their own trade, inſiſted upon the right of the flag founded on the ſupreme dominion over the Britiſh ſeas, and compelled the Dutch to part with a large ſum of money in ſatisfaction of thoſe acts of oppreſſion which the Engliſh had ſuſtained in the Eaſt Indies, and with over-looking which (tho' themſelves compelled it) they had, and others copying them have reproached the two preceding reigns (18).

(18) See the Engliſh Tranſlation of Selden's *Mare clauſum*, by Marchmont Needham, by order of the long Parliament, and his Appendix.

[K] *At the bottom of the page.*] The title of this Work at large runs thus.

A juſt defence of certain paſſages in a former treatiſe concerning the nature and uſe of Lots, *againſt ſuch exceptions and* oppoſitions *as have been made thereunto by Mr* J. B. *i. e.* John Balmford, *wherein the inſufficiency of his* Anſwers *given to the* Arguments *brought in defence of a* Luſorious Lot *is manifeſted, the imbecility of his* Arguments *produced againſt the ſame further diſcovered; and the point itſelf in controverſy more fully cleared; by* Thomas Gataker, B. *of* D. *and author of the former treatiſe.* Lond. 1623. 4to.

This treatiſe was in a manner extorted from him by the ſtrange behaviour of Mr Balmford and his friends, by whom a report was ſpread, that the Doctor, by whom Mr Gataker's book was licenſed, was ſenſible of the wrong done by him to Mr Balmford, and had declared that if the treatiſe on Lots were to be licenſed again he would not do it. This was to give ſome colour to Mr Balmford's writing againſt Mr Gataker, and to raiſe a rumour in the world, that the very Doctor who licenſed his book was ſorry for it, and perhaps Mr Gataker himſelf aſhamed of the cauſe he had undertaken to defend. In this ſhort work (in which however all Mr Balmford's arguments are included) our author vindicates his former ſentiments, and rejoins to the replies that his antagoniſt had made. The licenſer before referred to was the famous Dr Daniel Featly, at that time the archbiſhop's chaplain, who in a letter dated from Croydon, September the ſecond 1623, prefixed to this defence, gives the following judgment of it.

Sir, 'I have peruſed your anſwer to Mr B. his pamphlet againſt you, wherein you have ſo cleared 'the point in controverſy between you, that I much 'pity your opponent's hard lot to fall upon ſuch a 'ſubject and tenet concerning Lots, as afforded him ſo 'ſmall ſtore of objections againſt your opinion, that he 'was even conſtrained, according to the manner of 'ſome old Roman Orators noted by Quintilian, Cauſ-'ſarum vacua convitiis implere. Neither the matter 'in hand about which learned Proteſtants may differ 'in judgment without breach of charity, or prejudice 'to Chriſtian unity, nor your handling it dogmati-'cally and ſcholaſtically without any gall at all, could 'occaſion ſuch heats. I cannot imagine therefore 'what ſhould ſo move him but the badneſs of his 'cauſe, and the weakneſs of his own arguments, which 'he ſeeth by your handling them to be like wire 'ſtrings ill nealed, which would not endure the leaſt 'ſtraining. For albeit I confeſs, that we are all apt 'to take too much hold of any point of liberty reach-'ed unto us out of God's word; and in particular I 'cannot but deplore, ſortem ſortis, the Lot of Lot 'itſelf which hath been, and is too much by the li-'centious, abuſed, and thereby in a ſort defamed, 'eſpecially in carding and dicing; yet God's truth

'muſt

showed to Dr Thomas Hill, then Fellow of Emanuel College. As for our author, content with his own preferment, and more ambitious of doing good to others than of exalting himself, he applied himself in those turbulent times to his ancient studies, which could give offence to no party, and which might entitle him to the gratitude and approbation of the learned world. It was with this view that he published his laborious and judicious discourse on the name by which God made himself known to Moses, and the people of Israel. In this performance he shewed himself a very great master of Hebrew, and it was so well relished by all competent judges of so profound and so judicious a dissertation, that it has been often reprinted since (*l*) [*L*]. His continual application to the study of the best Greek authors, his retentive memory, his piercing penetration, and accurate judgment, enabled him to look into the very principles and elements of that copious, elegant, and expressive language. At first sight, this might seem beneath the attention of so great a man, but our author resolved to vindicate his enquiries of this kind, and to shew how much and how far the thorough knowledge of Grammatical Learning tends to the improvement of Science. He was aware, that the singularities of his opinion might tend to weaken his reputation, if they were not clearly and fully made out. He knew that they did not spring either from a naked imagination, or an affectation of opposing common opinions; but in reality were the produce of much reading and reflection, and that they had, to him at least, the appearance of certain tho' not vulgar truths. It was from those motives therefore, that he ventured to publish a work which would scarce have been considered from any other hand, but which from its own merit, and the respect due to its learned author's skill, more especially in Greek literature, has been very well received, and very much commended by able as well as candid judges (*m*) [*M*]. As intent as he was upon these deep and critical studies, they hindered not the exact performance of his function, or his close attendance in the Assembly of Divines, so long as he conceived it of any use. He yielded obedience also to the command laid upon him of writing annotations upon the Prophets, and performed it in such a manner, that some have wished to see his commentaries printed alone; yet in the midst of these occupations, he never declined applications of any sort, that he thought had a tendency to the public good.

(*l*) Vide Præfat. Hadr. Reland.

(*m*) See the learned Preface before his Opera Critica.

* must not be suppressed because of man's errors, neither is it a safe way to go about to cure an error in practice by another error in judgment, I mean to reform the abuse in Juforic lots, by totally condemning the use itself of them. Tho' a surgeon mean ever so well in letting his patient blood who needeth it, yet if he strike not the right vein, he had better have spared his pains. The sin too rampant in sports and games now a-dales is not in using the Lot, but in not observing those rules and cautions in these and other recreations, which are judiciously and piously set down by you in your compleat treatise of Lots. Let those cautions be observed, and set aside the authority of some divines, whose persons they have in admiration above others, what is there in the casual falling of the dye or dealing of the cards, more than in the fall of a coyte, or lighting of an arrow nearer or further, or the turning of a bowl, to ensnare the conscience? Art more ruleth the one, and nature the other, God's providence and concurrence being equal in either. For, to conclude that because some lots have been consecrated to an holy use sometimes, therefore all Lots are sacred, is a feeble kind of arguing. And to impose a special and immediate work of God's providence upon the casual event of the Lot, more than upon other natural accidents and deliberate actions of men, is a temerarious and groundless assertion. And furthermore, to charge all those servants of God, who moderately use their Christian liberty in these games, with so heinous a sin as is the prophaning of a thing sacred, or taking in vain God's deciding judgments, is an uncharitable censure. The Lord open the eyes of all that seek to serve him in sincerity and singleness of heart, that neither by enlarging their Christian liberty they open a gap to licentiousness, nor yet by too much restraining it lay a snare on weak consciences. To deliver you my judgment and advice in a word, satis actum est, you have sifted this point of Lots to the bran. Let me advise you hereafter, non reciprocare terram contentionis de ludis fortiariis, but rather to employ your able pen against the sorcerers of Egypt now abounding in every place, and making advantage of the least difference among us, who hold the like precious faith purged from the dross of their superstition. This advice I know you will take in good part, as proceeding from, &c.'

About twelve years after this, he found himself under the necessity of publishing in Latin a Defence of his sentiments, against two very learned men who had written upon the same subject, the title of that treatise runs thus:

Thomæ Gatakeri Londinatis ANTITHESIS *partim* Gulielmi Amesii *partim* Gisberti Voetii *de* SORTE *Thesibus reposita*. Lond. 1637. 4to.

[*L*] *And which has been often reprinted since.*] The title of this very curious and, with respect to literature, instructive treatise, runs at large thus:

De nomine Tetragrammato *Dissertatio, quâ vocis* JEHOVAH *apud nostros receptæ usus defenditur, & a quorundam cavillationibus iniquis pariter atque inanibus vindicatur*, Lond. 1645. 8vo. that is, *A* Dissertation *on the* Tetragrammatick *or four lettered* name, *in which the use of the word* JEHOVAH *(which in Hebrew is written with four letters) as it is received amongst us, is defended and vindicated, against certain unjust and groundless cavils.* This book was reprinted in 1652, it is likewise inserted amongst his *Opera Critica*, and found a place also amongst the ten Discourses upon this subject, collected and published by Hadrian Reland, of which the five first written by John Drusius, Sixtinus Amama, Lewis Capel, John Buxtorff, and James Alting, opposed the received usage which is defended in the other five Dissertations, the first written by Nicholas Fuller, the second by our author, and the other three by John Leusden.

[*M*] *As well as candid judges.*] The title of this learned critical treatise ran at large in the following words:

De Diphthongis *seu* Bivocalibus *Dissertatio Philologica, in qua Literarum quarundam soni germanus natura genuina figura nova & scriptura vetus veraque investigatur.* Lond. 1646, 8vo. that is, *A Philological* Dissertation *upon* Diphthongs, *or* double Vowels, *in which the true sound, the genuine nature, the new form, and the old and true way of writing certain letters is discussed.* This piece is also printed amongst his *Opera Critica*. The point aimed at in this discourse, was to shew that in reality there are no diphthongs, and that it is impossible two vowels should be so blended together as to enter into one syllable. We have observed in the text, that this was one of our author's singularities. Amongst the notes upon a celebrated treatise (19), written to expose the defects of learned men, there

(19) De la Charlatanerie des Savans par Mr Menkin; avec des Remarques Critiques de différens Auteurs, 1721. 12mo. p. 132.

good. His moderation was the moſt diſtinguiſhing part of his character, but when he found that under colour of aſſerting liberty of conſcience, many were inclined to maintain dangerous and immoral notions, and that aſſuming the ſpecious pretence of expounding the ſcriptures freely, they ran into wild and extravagant doctrines, he thought it became him to oppoſe them, and he did it with great freedom and ſpirit. This could not fail of exciting him enemies amongſt ſuch as took great liberties, even with men of the faireſt characters, and were never at a loſs to aſcribe the moſt regular behaviour to mean and unworthy motives, according as occaſion required; Mr Gataker bore this with ſilence and patience, or juſtified himſelf as he was well able to do, by ſtating and explaining his own conduct. He held his rectory of Rotherhith by a legal tenure, and exerciſed his Miniſtry in the ſame manner, which was ſo ſatisfactory to his own mind, that, tho' often ſollicited, he would never part with it for preferments of greater value. He was frugal in his manner of living, and by that means eaſy in his circumſtances, which induced ſome, tho' very unjuſtly, to repreſent him as a lover of money. He differed more than once with the very learned Dr Lightfoot, more eſpecially about the power of the Church, in their meetings at the Aſſembly, but tho' they were oppoſite in ſentiments, Lightfoot at that time being eſteemed an Eraſtian, and ſometimes debated warmly, yet they never loſt their tempers, or had any rancour againſt each other on account of theſe diſputes (*n*); at firſt, authority ſeemed to be on the ſide of our author, but it ſhifted by degrees, and came at length to be clearly with the oppoſite party. For the Parliament intended to uſe the ſynod at Weſtminſter as their inſtrument, and not to ſuffer them to aſſume any power of their own, and once this was carried ſo far, as that ſome mention was made of the hard word *premunire*, which made the better ſort of thoſe who compoſed it, and who had hitherto laboured to ſupport the dignity of the Aſſembly, leſs active in their conduct, and, in proceſs of time, leſs conſtant in their attendance (*o*). In this ſituation the defending the doctrines and diſcipline of the Church of Chriſt, in open and in private conferences, from the pulpit, and from the preſs, became more and more neceſſary, which induced Mr Gataker, tho' naturally inclined to privacy as well as quiet, to diſtinguiſh himſelf in both ways, in which he was countenanced and ſupported by ſuch of his old friends as were ſtill living, and of whom there were ſome in conſiderable employments, and many others who from their rank and figure in the world, preſerved him from the violence of the times, and maintained him in the poſſeſſion of his legal rights (*p*). It would be no difficult thing to enter into the particulars of many if not of moſt of the diſputes in which he was thus engaged, but as this would ſerve only to extend an article already of an extraordinary length, we ſhall content ourſelves with indicating the titles of the works publiſhed by him on different occaſions at the bottom of the page [*N*]. But as he advanced in

(*n*) See Strype's Memoirs relating to the Life of Dr John Lightfoot.

(*o*) Fuller's Church Hiſtory Cent. XVII. p. 214, 215.

(*p*) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker.

there is one which relates to our author, which we ſhall both tranſcribe and tranſlate. 'The criticks, 'ſays this writer, have made it a queſtion whether 'the q ought neceſſarily to be followed by a u. 'Thomas Gataker was ſo ſtrongly perſuaded of the contrary, that he cauſed the Emperor Marcus Antoni'nus's Annotations to be printed at Cambridge in '1652, with the q ſingle throughout the book, as for 'example, *qi, qa, qod*, which could not but ſhock the 'the ſight of every reader; but tho' we ſhould be 'content to paſs this by in Gataker, I do not think 'we ought to pardon the bookſellers of Holland, who 'have cauſed the ſame orthography to be obſerved 'throughout his whole *Opera Critica*, printed at 'Utrecht in 1698.' We will not enter into this controverſy, or pretend to ſay whether our author was right or wrong in his Orthography; this however is certain, that how diſagreeable ſoever the words might be to the ſight, they were ſtill as legible one way as the other, from whence one would imagine, that the author of the critical note which we have before cited, was not very converſant with Gataker's works, ſince if he had, he might have found another ſingularity much more to his purpoſe, which is, our author's frequently writing v for u, which is not only diſagreeable to the eye, but difficult to be expreſſed by the tongue. A ſhort paſſage from one of his learned pieces will beſt explain his manner of writing, and his meaning (*zz*).

(*zz*) Gataker Opera Critica, p. 6.

Nam quod *Æolicæum literarum vis, quæ in villâ, qa cavum & favum dicunt, formosum duriorem facere Fabio videtur*. Hac ſaltem in parte diſſentientes prorſus habet, criticorum ſeculi noſtri par nobile, Juſtum Lipſium ac Joannem Voſſium, qi utercque huic literæ, ille *in Dialogo de recta pronunciatione ling. Lat. c. 12. hic de arte Grammaticâ, l. 1. c. 1. ſonum quidem, natantem, mollicellum*, attribuunt. Prior ille etiam ſuam de ea diſſertationem his verbis clavdit: *Illud mearum avrium judicium non certo & ſuaviorem literam hac duplici notam non videri poſſe literas natas*. Certè qi rebus qibuſque nomina primus impoſuerunt, ſi cum Fabio ſenſiſſent, neutiquam illi in vocabulo ſuavitatis indice, cujus tam in ſuavis verbiſque ingratus ſonus exiſteret, literam eam iterato poſuiſſent.

Cæterum, qem litera hanc plerique nunc durum dant ſonum, qidam etiam & è noſtris, Oxonienſes plurimum) à Græco, contra omnem antiquitatem, prout Cheeus noſter jam olim palam fecit in diſceptatione eâ de re cum Gardinero habitâ; neutrius eſt genuinus, ſed eſt & Latini peculiaris. Perperam enim & hanc pronunciant noſtri, qaſi eſſet Græcorum φ: cui Latini, qod reſpondeat, non habent; ſicut nec Græci, qod F Latino. Aliud enim digamma Æolicum, (ſive Pereſii, ſive inverſi F ei figura) ſonabat: idqe ipſum planè, qod W noſtrum, prout alibi demonſtravimus. Patet hoc ex eo, qod de Ciceronе Fabius, l. 1, c. 4. refert ex *Oratione pro Fundano*; ubi veſtem Græcum ridet, quod primam ejus nominis literam dicere non poſſet. *Phundanium*, ſc. proferebat, cum Fundanium (qod *Vundanium* noſtri plerique ſcriberent) debuiſſet. Is enim eſt planè F Romani ſonus, qo V conſonam efferunt plerique noſtrum, in *vitis, vine, vallis*, vale, *vitulina*, veale, &c. Huic autem qod *horridum planè* Fabius, *nec humanum dat ſonum*; & hic criticos non ignobiles habet diverſum ſentientes. Imò *convitium, non judicium, vere appellandum*, cenſet Lipſius. Sonum certè hujus *molliorem dilutioremqe*, qam qi eſt Græcorum φ, cum Lipſio juxta (Priſciano etiam in partes advocato) cenſet, inculcatqe ſubinde Voſſius *art. l. 1. c. 15. & 24. & 26.* Accedit qod Terentianus præ F Latinâ *hirtam*, qaſi ab aſpiratione inſitâ aſperiorem illâ, pronunciat Græcorum φ. Qam tamen inter *jucundiſſimas* illas, qibus *carere* ait *linguam Latinam*, recenſere Fabium, nonnulli ſunt opinati.

[*N*] *At the bottom of the page.*] In compoſing this article, we have mentioned all the conſiderable works of

in years, the inceſſant labours of his body and his brain brought on infirmities, which ſlackened his ſpeed, but did not wholly ſtop the progreſs of his ſtudies; for even under theſe, and when confined by the direction of his Phyſicians to his chamber, he was continually employed, if not in reading, at leaſt in meditating on what he had read, to which if he did not owe the ſtrength, yet we may with probability preſume he thereby preſerved his memory, which was equally retentive and correct to the laſt (q). But when, through the excellence of his conſtitution, his temperate manner of living, and the ſkill of thoſe worthy perſons of the Faculty, to whoſe care he committed himſelf, he recovered a moderate ſhare of health, he betook himſelf again to the functions of his Miniſtry, and getting too ſoon into the pulpit, where he ſpent himſelf ſo far, that he ſtrained a vein in his lungs, for which being then about ſeventy three years old he ſuffered an emiſſion of blood, by which, and by other means, he eſcaped that danger. But when he had recruited his health, he reſumed his preaching till a relapſe into that ſpitting of blood, for which he again permitted a vein to be opened, for revulſion, laid him under a neceſſity of forbearing the pulpit, tho' he never gave over the adminiſtration of the ſacraments, nor his uſual ſhort diſcourſes at funerals ſuitable to the occaſion (r). The chief part of his time was now ſpent in ſtudy, and in compoſing ſeveral learned Works. He publiſhed in 1648 his diſcourſe on the ſtyle of the New Teſtament, in which he oppoſed the ſentiment of Pfochenius, who maintained that there were no Hebraiſms in thoſe ſacred writings, and endeavoured to prove this as well by authorities as arguments; all which our author undertook to overthrow, which in the opinion of the beſt critics he moſt effectually did, and which was more than doing this, he ſo clearly and conciſely explained the true meaning of many texts in the Old, as well as the New Teſtament; corrected ſuch a variety of paſſages in ancient authors, and diſcovered ſuch a conſummate ſkill in the living as well as dead languages, as very juſtly gained him the character of one of the

(q) His Memory was in our Times conſidered as extraordinary.

(r) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker.

of our author in the text, have given the beſt account we could of the moſt important of them in the notes, and of ſome others relating chiefly to the diſputes of thoſe times, and are hardly now to be met with tho' ſought with the greateſt care, we will give ſome particulars here. Many of Mr Gataker's ſermons were printed, ſoon after they were preached, by themſelves, but as his reputation increaſed, theſe, or at leaſt moſt of them, were ſought out and brought into one volume, ſo that the titles of theſe ſermons thus collected being ſet down will anſwer the end, as well as if we were to conſider them as ſo many different pieces.

Theſe titles are, DAVID's *Inſtructor*; *The* Chriſtian Man's *Care*; *The Spiritual* Watch; *The* Gain *of* Godlineſs *with Self-ſufficiency*; *The juſt Man's* Joy *with ſigns of Sincerity*; JACOB's *Thankfulneſs*; DAVID's *Remembrances*; NOAH's *Obedience*; *An Anniverſary Memorial of* England's *Delivery in* 1588; *Sorrow for* Sion; GOD's *Parley with Princes, with an Appeal from them to* HIM; Eleazer's *Prayer*, a Marriage Sermon; *A* Good Wife GOD's *Gift*; *A* Wife *indeed*; *Marriage Duties*; Death's *Advantage*; *The* Benefit *of a* good Name, *and a* good End; ABRAHAM's *Deceaſe, delivered at the Funeral of* Mr Richard Stock, *late paſtor of* All-Hallows, Bread-ſtreet, *dedicated to Sir* Heary Yelverton, *Knight*; Jeroboam's *Son's Deceaſe*; Chriſtian *Conſtancy crowned by* CHRIST.

It is not clear whether any, and if any, which of theſe was that ſermon which Sir James Leigh, who was afterwards Earl of Marlborough, and his lady, heard him preach upon his firſt coming from the univerſity. There is ſomething in the tale pleaſant enough, more eſpecially when we conſider it as told by himſelf; an argument certainly of a chearful diſpoſition ſpringing from a mind at eaſe, and told too in the very laſt year of his life, which as well from infirmities as age, he might well expect it to be (21).

(21) Diſcourſe Apologetical, p. 34.

'The truth is, ſays he, I was but young, and ſeemed 'younger than indeed I was. In regard whereof it 'might not altogether undeſervedly have been deem-'ed of me, that I had flown out of the neſt before I 'was well fledged, and that it had been better for me, 'as David willed his embaſſadors returning from the 'Ammonites, to have ſtayed at Jericho among the 'ſons of the Prophets until my beard had been better 'grown. Nor may it be amiſs here to recreate my 'reader with a plain *Corydon*'s cenſure about that time 'paſt on me. Mr Leigh, afterwards Sir James Leigh, 'and Lord Treaſurer, was that year reader at Lin-'coln's-Inn, and having his family in town, both he 'and his wife heard me preach one Lord's-day at 'Martin's in the Fields. Whence after return from 'the ſermon, Mrs Leigh was pleaſed to aſk an old 'ſervant, with whom by reaſon of long continuance in 'the family they were wont to talk more familiarly, '*How he liked the preacher?* who returned her this 'blunt anſwer, *That he was a pretty pert boy, but he 'made a reaſonable good ſermon.* Not many weeks 'after, Mr Leigh returning from Lincoln's-Inn, told 'his wife he would tell her ſome news; *That young 'man*, ſaid he, *whom you heard at St Martin's is 'choſen our* Lecturer *at* Lincoln's-Inn; which the old 'fellow ſtanding by when he heard, aſkt, *Whether the 'benchers would be taught by ſuch a boy as he.* However it pleaſed God ſo to diſpoſe of it, that I was 'courteouſly entertained by them, nor was my youth 'in contempt with them, but I received as much reſpect from them as I could deſire, yea, much more 'than I could expect.'

Beſides theſe, we have three other diſcourſes in quarto, intitled,

The Deceaſe of Lazarus; St Stephen's *laſt Will and Teſtament*; GOD's Eye *on* Iſrael.

A Short Catechiſm, Lond. 1624. 4to.

A Defence of Mr Bradſhaw *againſt* J. Canne, 4to.

Franciſci Gomari *Diſputationis Elenctice de Juſtificationis materiâ & formâ Elenchus*, 1640. in 8vo.

Animadverſiones in T. Piſcatoris & L. Lucii *ſcripta adverſaria de cauſa meritoria Juſtificationis cum reſponſione ad L. Lucii vindicias*, 1641. in 12mo.

Mr Anthony Wotton's *Defence*, 1641. in 8vo.

A true Relation of Paſſages between Mr Wotton *and* Mr Walker, 1642. in 4to.

An Anſwer to Mr G. Walker's *Vindication*, 1642. 4to.

A Miſtake or Miſconſtruction removed, (whereby little difference is pretended to have been acknowledged between the Antinomians *and* Us) *and* Free Grace, *as it is held forth in* God's *Word, as well by the Prophets in the* Old Teſtament, *as by the* Apoſtles *and* Chriſt *himſelf in the New, ſhewed to be other than is by the* Antinomian *Party in theſe times maintained. In way of anſwer to ſome paſſages in a* Treatiſe *of Mr* John Saltmarſh, *concerning that Subject*; *by* Thomas Gataker, *Batchelor of Divinity, and Paſtor of* Rotherhith, Lond. 1646. 4to.

This is written in anſwer to Mr Saltmarſh's *Free Grace, or the flowings of Chriſt's Blood freely to Sinners, being an Experiment of* Jeſus Chriſt *upon* one *who hath been in the Bondage of a troubled Spirit at times for twelve years, till now, &c.* Lond. 1645. in 12mo. Mr Gataker in his tract obſerved, 'that it 'ſeems a thing much to be feared, that this courſe, 'which, ſays he, I ſee ſome affect, and many people 'are

the ablest Philologists of that age (s) [O]. This, tho' in itself a very considerable work, was indeed no more than a specimen of one much larger, which had been many years under his hands, to which he gave the title of CINNUS, and intended to have made his discourse against Pfochenius no more than an appendix to it; but that treatise being perfect, and being in doubt whether he should live to make the other as compleat as he intended it,

(s) See Wicfius, Baillet, Nicéron, &c.

* are much taken with, of extracting Divinity in a * kind of chymical way, into quaint and curious, but * groundless and useless, speculations; and, as I may * well say of them, even chimerical conceits; will, if * it hold on, as much corrupt the simplicity of the * gospel, and the doctrine of faith, as ever the quirks * and quillets of the old schoolmen did (22)."

(22) A Mistake, or Misconstruction removed, P. 42.

Shadows without Substance, in the pretended new Lights, Lond. 1646. in 4to. in answer to Mr. Saltmarsh's *Shadows flying away*, Lond. 1646. 4to.

4. *Mysterious Clouds and Mists, &c.* Lond. 1646. in 8vo. in answer to Mr J. Sympson.

[O] *Of one of the ablest Philologists of that age.*] The work referred to in the text bears this title.

Thomæ Gatakeri Londinatis *de Novi Testamenti stylo Dissertatio: qua viri doctissimi* Sebastiani Pfochenii *de Linguæ Græcæ Novi Testamenti puritate, in qua Hebraismis quæ vulgo finguntur quam plurimis sacræ detrahi dicitur diatribe ad examen revocatur; Scriptorumque tum sacrorum tum profanorum loca aliquam multa aliter explicantur atque illustrantur. Cum indicibus necessariis.* Lond. 1648. 4to. that is, *A Dissertation upon the Style of the New Testament, in which the* Treatise *of that learned Man* Sebastian Pfochenius *concerning the Purity of the Greek* Tongue, *as it is used in the* Sacred Writings, *and in which it is said that most of those* Hebraisms, *as they are commonly reputed, are shown not so to be, is thoroughly examined, and abundance of passages not only in* sacred, *but also in* prophane *authors are explained and illustrated; with necessary indexes.*

Our author himself tells us in the first chapter of his Dissertation, that meeting in a friend's well-furnished library with this treatise of Sebastian Pfochenius, a German Divine, which was published in 1629, he read it with great attention, for tho' small in bulk, he found it very weighty in matter, and abundantly full of good literature. But notwithstanding this, he found many of the author's sentiments repugnant to his own, and in his judgment also not agreeable to the truth. He saw likewise, that many learned and great men were censured without cause, and sometimes represented as speaking a language very different from what he took to be their real sentiments. These observations induced him to examine a multitude of questions started in that treatise, or which naturally flow from those that are therein treated, in respect to all which he shows a candour every way equal to his skill in criticism. He does not use harsh expressions, or hard names, but contents himself with discovering mistakes, in shewing the grounds upon which he took them to be. In following this method he opens a field of very curious and instructive learning, and shews such a quickness of penetration, such a soundness of judgment, and such a compass of reading, as are truly admirable. He begins with refuting a principle that Pfochenius had assumed, *viz.* that the Greek, Latin, German, &c. are original tongues, whereas in Gataker's opinion it is very difficult to know what are original tongues, but with respect to the Latin he maintains that it is not so. He shews from the authority both of ancients and moderns, that it was understood to be a compound of several languages spoken by the Sabines, Oscans, and other old inhabitants of Italy, but more especially of Greek; and to demonstrate this more effectually, he takes the five first lines of Virgil, one of the purest and most elegant of the Latin poets, and proves that there is hardly a single word in them which is not derived from the Greek. Thus he lays the very foundation of Pfochenius's system, by making it evident, that there can be no assurance of the purity of any language, in the sense that he understands it.

In his fifth chapter he states Pfochenius's three principal questions, first, whether the text of the New Testament be truly Greek, or not different from that used by prophane authors. Next, whether if Homer, Pindar, Plato, Demosthenes, &c. were to rise from the dead, they would be able to understand the New Testament? and lastly, by what name the language of that book is to be called, whether Græcanick, Hellenistick, or Grecian? Our author observes, that this last question is a mere dispute about words, about which there has been dispute enough already, and with which he will have nothing to do. On the other two questions he speaks his opinion plainly. When it is alledged in proof of the first, that the phrases used by the writers of the New Testament, are likewise used by prophane authors, he denies that this is conclusive; for, says he, who that has any taste of the purity of the Latin tongue, will allow that it is to be found in scholastic writings, notwithstanding that the words, and even the phrases in which Cicero, Sallust, Livy, Terence, &c. wrote are here and there found in them? He adds farther, that those who do not see that tho' the sacred writers used the same words, and even the same phrases that are to be found in profane authors in another manner than they do, and to convey a different sense, must not only be said to see indifferently and obscurely, but that they willingly shut their eyes. He then produces many Latin words used by the sacred writers, tho' written in Greek characters, or disguised with Greek terminations. He also produces Hebrew and Syriac words to the same purpose, and from hence he concludes, that tho' Pfochenius could really shew, which however he undertakes to render manifest that he has not done, that the sacred writers make use of a multitude of phrases which are to be met with in the best prophane authors, yet this would not come up to what he has asserted, if the former have also used many words and phrases which are not to be met with in authors who are allowed to write pure Greek.

As to the second question, he tells Pfochenius, that it can be granted or denied him only in part. But that notwithstanding some places might in some measure be understood by those great men he mentions, if it was possible for them to come from the dead, yet this would go but a little way in proving what he has asserted, because tho' they might understand some part, yet other parts they could not understand. He puts a parallel case in reference to the writings of Apuleius, which, says he, if Cicero were to rise from the dead, he might for the most part understand; but would any competent judge conclude from thence, that the Latin of Apuleius resembles that of Tully, or of the age in which Tully wrote. But, says Pfochenius, Paul conversed with the Greeks of his time, and was he not understood by them, and if by them, why not by the Ancients? I could readily grant you that, says our author, and yet deny the consequence that you would draw from it; for the Greek language in itself was much declined in the times of the Apostles, by the admission of a multitude of exotic words and phrases borrowed from the Italians, Sicilians, Cyrenians, and Carthaginians, partly from their being under the same government with them, and partly from their commercial intercourse with those nations. But after all, says he, if Demosthenes could live again, it is most likely that he would find many obstacles in reading Paul's writings, and would object to many of the words and phrases that occur in them; he then quotes a long passage from Beza's Annotations on the Acts of the Apostles, wherein that learned Commentator shews the reasons why the Apostles were not studious in respect to their stile, but endeavoured rather to make themselves understood by those with whom they conversed, than to render their discourses elegant from their pure and correct manner of speaking.

In the same manner he proceeds through the rest of his treatise, explaining, as they occur, a multitude of passages in sacred and profane authors, correcting some and commending other critics who have gone before him in the same way, but with so much mildness and moderation,

he judged it proper to detach that diſſertation, and to ſend it abroad as it was, that he might diſcover what reception this larger work might meet with, from the Republick of Letters; and finding this ſpecimen univerſally applauded, this determined him in the year 1651, to publiſh the two firſt books of his CINNUS, the whole of that performance being divided into ſix (t) [P]. His natural modeſty, as well as his chriſtian moderation, hindered him from making himſelf near ſo much conſidered, as from his great abilities, and numerous friends he otherwiſe might have been; yet notwithſtanding the mildneſs of his temper, and his averſion to whatever might render him the theme of publick diſcourſe, ſuch an unparalleled occaſion as that of the King's trial moved him to make a publick declaration of his ſentiments. He was accordingly the firſt of the forty-ſeven London Miniſters,

(t) See his Preface to both theſe Pieces.

moderation, with ſuch apparent candour and reſpect to truth above all things, that it is impoſſible for the reader not to perceive, that in oppoſing Pfochenius he has nothing leſs in view than to raiſe his reputation on the ruins of his whom he refutes. For we ought to remark, that it was very excuſable in our author to call ſuch a writer to a ſevere account, as had endeavoured to eſtabliſh a paradox at the expence of ſo many learned perſons characters who had maintained the contrary; and this probably with a view to manifeſt his own ſkill in arguing, and the acquaintance that he certainly had with the beſt and pureſt writers in the Greek language. Neither was our author alone in this oppoſition, for others ſet themſelves to overturn the ſame ſyſtem with far leſs ceremony in reſpect to its inventor. In the forty-fourth chapter, Mr Gataker gives us a recapitulation of the whole diſpute between him and Pfochenius, and obſerves that the true ſtate of the queſtion is, whether the ſtyle of the New Teſtament in Greek, is every where the ſame with that uſed by the ancient writers of thoſe times, when the language was in its greateſt purity? Or whether it is not ſuch as frequently admits of Hebraiſms and Syriaſms? Pfochenius affirms the former, and denies the latter, and, in order to maintain his point, produces about an hundred places, in which he aſſerts that the phraſes and modes of expreſſion which are accounted Hebraiſms or Syriaſms, are to be found among thoſe ancient writers.

But Mr Gataker, in anſwer to this, obſerves, I. That with regard to ſome of thoſe expreſſions which are propoſed as Hebraiſms, it is not certain from Pfochenius that any author had ever repreſented them as ſuch, ſince he names none, and it is by no means probable with relation to ſome of thoſe phraſes; nor if any writer ſhould ſay this expreſſes that Hebrew manner of ſpeaking, or This is taken from that of the Hebrews, does he therefore neceſſarily affirm it to be an Hebraiſm, any more than if a perſon ſhould ſay, This expreſſion of Virgil anſwers to that of Homer, or Horace borrowed this from Callimachus, would he therefore aſſert that Virgil or Horace adapted themſelves to the Greek idiom in thoſe places. II. That there are not a few expreſſions which Pfochenius does not prove to have been in uſe among the Antients, ſince he either cites writers only of the lower age, or miſtakes the ſenſe of thoſe antient ones whom he quotes, and often gives them an oppoſite meaning to the true one. III. That Pfochenius endeavoured to prove ſeveral expreſſions to have been uſed by the Ancients merely from the writings of the Poets, eſpecially the tragic writers, whereas the idioms of languages cannot juſtly be fixed from the expreſſions of Poets, eſpecially tragic authors, for otherwiſe many paſſages in Catullus, Horace, Silius, and Statius, would not be accounted Helleniſms when they really are ſo. If theſe paſſages be deducted from Pfochenius's hundred, they will make a conſiderable abatement of the number. IV. That with reſpect to ſome expreſſions which are ſometimes found among the ancient Greek writers, but are acknowledged to be very common with the Hebrews, why may not they be juſtly ſuppoſed to have been derived from the Hebrew manner of ſpeaking into other languages? Pfochenius indeed affirms, that it is not at all probable that Plato, Euripides, Lucian, &c. who were greatly averſe to the Jews, and their manners and cuſtoms, would abandon the elegance and propriety of their own language, and imitate the Hebrews in their ſtyle. But Mr Gataker thinks that there is no ſtrength in this reaſoning, ſince we may call upon Pfochenius to ſhew whence it appears that Plato and Euripides, to omit Lucian an Atheiſt, who ridicules all religion, were averſe to the Jews, and their manners and cuſtoms. With reſpect to Plato, the contrary is very evident from the teſtimony of not a few, and thoſe conſiderable writers. Beſides every perſon who is converſant in the books of the old Pagans, will ſee that they have borrowed many things from the Jewiſh writings, laws, rites, and inſtitutions. It is very abſurd therefore to ſuppoſe, that they could not or would not imitate any of their modes of ſpeaking when they ſtudiouſly followed their cuſtoms and inſtitutions in a variety of reſpects. But ſuppoſing, in order to gratify Pfochenius, that all the Greeks had a prodigious averſion to the Jews, it was never heard that men of learning, and deſirous of knowledge, ever conceived ſo great an hatred to any nation, as not to ſearch into the writings and monuments of it, and extract thence whatever they found for their own purpoſe.

But not to inſiſt upon theſe points, we may aſk whether the Greeks were always averſe to the Phœnicians and Syrians, and other nations bordering upon the Jews, as they are repreſented by Pfochenius to have been to the Jews? But by means of thoſe nations, tho' the Greeks had had no commerce with the Jews, ſeveral modes of ſpeaking might have been derived from the latter to the former, ſince it is well known to thoſe who are converſant in the Oriental tongues, that the languages of the nations above mentioned are clearly deſcended from the ancient Hebrew. What Pfochenius mentions of the abſurdity of ſuppoſing the Greeks to abandon the elegance and propriety of their own language, and imitate the Hebrew ſtyle, is of no weight, ſince it does not follow that thoſe people muſt violate the elegance of their mother tongue, who admit into it modes of expreſſion not common to it before, this being uſual among all nations in all ages. But granting to Pfochenius, that of all the expreſſions which he cites, there is not one peculiar to the Hebrews, or which he has not ſhewn to be familiar to the antient Greek writers; yet it would not follow from hence, that the ſtyle of the New Teſtament is every where the ſame with that of the Antients, or free intirely from Hebraiſms or Syriaſms. For if a perſon ſhould aſſert that Herodotus did not write in the Ionic dialect, nor Theocritus in the Doric, and to prove this ſhould produce an hundred or two hundred words from the writings of both, which are of the common dialect, would this be admitted as a ſolid argument, when ſix hundred or more words might be urged on the contrary ſide, which are remote from the common dialect, and intirely Ionic or Doric. Mr Gataker concludes with obſerving, that notwithſtanding all that Pfochenius has urged, he does not doubt but that near ſix hundred phraſes might be produced from the New Teſtament, and a much greater number from the Greek verſion of the Old Teſtament, the purity of which Pfochenius ſeems tacitly to maintain, in which there are plain characters of the Hebrew or Syriac tongues, and not the leaſt reſemblance of the antient Greek tongue, as far as has been hitherto diſcovered by men of the greateſt learning and diligence. The venerable Primate of Ireland (23), than whom there could not be a better judge, ſhewed his reſpect for our author and his performance, by ſending it with his own Annals as a preſent to Dr Arnold Boate, then at Paris. The judicious Marhoff ſpeaking of this treatiſe ſays (24), Pfochenio *ſeſe* Thomas Gatakerus *oppoſuit, magnum in omni re literaria nomen.*

(23) Uſher's Letters, p. 559.

(24) Polyhiſt. literar. l. iv. 6. 19.

[P] *Being divided into ſix.*] The title of this work, expreſſed in it's full extent, runs thus:

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ſters, who ſubſcribed that Remonſtrance to the General and army, of which Mr Collier gives the ſubſtance, and which at the ſame time he honeſtly applauds. In it they put them in mind of their duty to the Parliament, and of the obligations themſelves and that Parliament were under to defend his Majeſty's perſon, and to maintain his juſt rights; they told him that the one could not be injured, or the other invaded, without manifeſt breach of many ſolemn oaths, and particularly of the Covenant, they taught them to diſtinguiſh between God's approbation and permiſſion; ſet in its true light, the folly of pretending to ſecret impulſes to vindicate the breaking God's written laws; they made it evident, that neceſſity was a falſe plea; and concluded with adviſing them to follow John the Baptiſt's rule, to do violence to no man, and made no ſcruple to tell them, that if they perſiſted in their deſign, their ſin would find them out (*u*). He ſaw with ſorrow all that happened afterwards, keeping himſelf as retired as he could, attentive only to his paſtoral function and his ſtudies, tho' as we obſerved he did not publiſh the two firſt books of his Miſcellanies till the year 1651. The ſame year he printed a ſmall piece upon infant baptiſm, which was very much admired (*w*). He was very knowing in that controverſy, and beſides this wrote ſeveral other Diſcourſes, in which he treated the main queſtions with great ſeriouſneſs and ſolidity, of which ſome farther notice will be taken in the notes [*Q*]. In 1652 he obliged the world with his moſt excellent edition of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus's Meditations, to which he prefixed a preliminary diſcourſe on the Philoſophy of the Stoics, which by the univerſal conſent of the ableſt critics at home and abroad, is allowed to be a moſt compleat and correct treatiſe, as well as a moſt uſeful compendium of rational morality (*x*). He added likewiſe an exact tranſlation together with a commentary. He had in ſome of his former works given ſome occaſional ſpecimens of his perfect acquaintance with the works of this Imperial Philoſopher, whoſe eſteem has been always as high with the learned as his ſtation was in the world, and therefore, when this came abroad much was expected from it, a circumſtance rarely favourable to books, and which yet proved remarkably ſo to this, as the reader may find from a concurrence of learned teſtimonies [*R*]. When it appeared that he was rather ſuſpected than countenanced by the State, there were ſome in his pariſh who took advantage of his ſituation

(*u*) Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, Vol. ii. p. 859, 860.

(*w*) Diſcourſe Apologetical, p. 62.

(*x*) Occaſioned by his Diſpute with Dr Ward.

Thomæ Gatakeri Londinatis CINNUS; *ſive* adverſaria miſcellanea *animadverſionum variarum libris ſex comprehenſa: quorum primores duo nunc primitius prodeunt reliquis deinceps* (DEO *favente*) *ſeorſim infecturis*. Lond. 1651. in 4to. That is, *A Collection of miſcellaneous remarks, the whole divided into* ſix *Books, of which* two *are at preſent publiſhed, and the reſt ſhall,* God *willing, follow in due time.* In his preface our author ſhews, that theſe collections came abroad in order to diſcharge his promiſe when he publiſhed his diſſertation on the ſtile of the New Teſtament; which promiſe he had complied with ſooner, if he had not been called upon to execute that part of the annotations on the Scriptures, aſſigned him by the committee of parliament, with other members of the Aſſembly of Weſtminſter, and by a dangerous eruption of blood, by which he was brought very low, and for a long time withheld from his ſtudies; the firſt book is divided into eleven, the ſecond into twenty chapters, for the moſt part independent of each other. The account we have given at large of his book againſt Pfochenius, renders it unneceſſary for us to inſiſt upon this performance, becauſe it is entirely of the ſame nature, except it's tending to no particular point, but diſcovering it's author's ſenſe on difficult paſſages in the Old and New Teſtaments, the primitive Fathers, modern Critics, and as his ſubjects occaſionally led him, illuſtrating a vaſt variety of obſcure or perplexed places in prophane authors, both Greek and Latin; neither are there wanting ſome obſervations on words and phraſes in our own language. This work was received abroad with the higheſt commendation; and Morhoff particularly applauds the author for his ſingular happineſs, in diſtinguiſhing the true ſenſe of the moſt difficult paſſages, and of making it appear to the learned writer, that what he defends is the true ſenſe, and this, in few words, without any oſtentation, or without inſulting any of thoſe whom he corrects; but, on the contrary, commonly aſcribing their miſtakes, ſometimes to a ſlip of memory, and at others, to the bad editions of the books they uſed. The remaining books of this collection were publiſhed after his deceaſe, by his ſon Mr Charles Gataker, under the following title:

Adverſaria Miſcellanea Poſthuma, in quibus ſacræ Scripturæ primo deinde aliorum Scriptorum loci multis Lux affunditur. Lond. 1659. fol.

[*Q*] *In the notes.*] We have already ſpoken ſo much in another article, that it will not be neceſſary to detain the reader longer here, than barely to give him the titles of the two Latin diſcourſes penned by our author, which in point of learning, reaſoning, and modeſty, are not at all inferior to any that have fallen from his pen.

De Baptiſmatis Infantilis vi & efficacia Diſceptatio privatim habita inter V. C. Dom. Samuelem Wardum, *theologiæ ſacræ* doctorem, *& in academia* Cantabrigienſi *Profeſſorem*, & Thomam Gatakerum. Lond. 1651. 8vo. *A* private Conference *concerning the Force and Efficacy of* Infant Baptiſm, *between* Dr Samuel Ward, *and* Thomas Gataker.

Strictura ad Epiſtolam Joannis Davenantii *de Baptiſmo Infantum*. Lond. 1654. in 8vo. *Remarks upon the Epiſtle of* John Davenant *concerning* Infant Baptiſm.

[*R*] *From a concurrence of learned teſtimonies.*] There is hardly any performance handed down to us from the Ancients, which has been ſo highly and ſo juſtly praiſed, as theſe meditations of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus, ſtiled by way of excellence, and ſure without prejudice to his imperial dignity, the Philoſopher. If we may believe a very able writer, and a very judicious critic, this treatiſe of his is the utmoſt ſtretch of human underſtanding, and the nobleſt monument human wiſdom ever erected. But notwithſtanding this, few books had ſuffered more, indeed ſcarce any ſo much, by the injuries of time; ſo that the great credit it was in with the learned, could not be ſaid to proceed from a judgment formed upon the whole work, but from ſuch pieces of it as were in the beſt condition, and from the beauty and luſtre of which they very reaſonably concluded, that all was of a piece when it fell from his pen, and therefore deplored the many wounds it had received by a ſeries of unhappy accidents; they were far from aſcribing any of it's defects to it's great author, but did all imaginable juſtice to his learned labours, with whatever imperfections they came to their hands. It was publiſhed in Greek by Conrad Geſner, and a Latin tranſlation added by William Xylander, which had paſſed through ſeveral editions. Mr Gataker found both the text and the tranſlation exceedingly faulty, and ſpent near forty years in conſidering how the former might be amended, and a new tranſlation made, which might do juſtice to ſo exquiſite a piece.

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sion, and no longer paid him their share of the compoſition for the tythes of their houſes, which upon a law ſuit amicably conducted had been decreed him in the court of Exchequer,

He found prodigious difficulties in the progreſs of this undertaking, being able to meet with very few manuſcript copies, and receiving but very ſlender helps from thoſe learned perſons, whoſe aſſiſtance he ſollicited in the progreſs of his endeavours. He ſent indeed to the celebrated Salmaſius a liſt of his principal difficulties, who returned him an anſwer, which he very gratefully acknowledges, in which he commends his undertaking, but at the ſame time gives him a diſmal proſpect of the obſtacles he was to overcome, ſuch as innumerable corruptions, frequent chaſms, more frequent tranſpoſitions, and many other misfortunes, which he promiſed him his aid in removing; which however his frequent journies, and other accidents, prevented his performing. Mr Gataker, nevertheleſs went on, and with the few helps he had, his own ſagacity, and the compariſon of paſſages cited with the printed copies, at length brought his deſign to bear, and, to the great ſatisfaction of the learned world, publiſhed his admirable edition of this valuable work about two years before his death, under the following title.

MARCI ANTONINI *Imperatoris* de rebus ſuis *ſive* de iis quæ ad ſe pertinere cenſebat *Libri* xii. *cum Verſione* Latinâ *& Commentariis* Gatakeri, Cambridge 1652. in 4to. that is, *The Emperor* Marcus Antoninus *his twelve books of his* own Affairs, *or of* thoſe things which he underſtood to concern himſelf, *with a* Latin *Tranſlation and Commentaries*. This was printed again in 1697. with the addition of the Emperor's life by Mr Dacier, together with ſome ſelect notes of the ſame author, by Dr George Stanhope, who dedicated it to the Lord Chancellor Somers; in which dedication there is a high character given of our author. The firſt thing that ſtrikes us in his edition, is his preliminary diſcourſe, in which the principles of the Stoicks are compared with the Peripateticks, with the old Academicks, and more eſpecially with the Epicurean Sect: the remaining writings likewiſe of the Stoick Philoſophers, Seneca, Epictetus, and particularly thoſe of our Emperor Marcus Antoninus, are briefly examined, and a ſuccinct account is given of the nature and deſign of the work. A piece which has been always conſidered as one of the moſt finiſhed in it's kind, written with great ſtrength and perſpicuity, full of excellent matter, collected with infinite diligence; in a word, ſmall in ſize, but very weighty in its contents. His account of the principal doctrines of the Stoicks is a proper and a ſufficient inſtance of this; take them as they have been tranſlated by Mr Collier. "Theſe "Philoſophers, ſays our author, have admirable no-"tions. They hold that God Almighty governs the "univerſe, that his Providence is not only general, "but particular, and reaches to perſons and things: "that he preſides over human affairs; that he aſſiſts "men not only in the greateſt concerns, in the exer-"ciſes of virtue, but alſo ſupplies them with the con-"veniencies of life. And therefore that God ought "to be worſhipped above all things, and applied to "upon all occaſions, that we ſhould have him always "in our thoughts, acknowledge his power, reſign to "his wiſdom, and adore his goodneſs for all the ſa-"tisfactions of our being. To ſubmit to his Provi-"dence without reſerve: to be pleaſed with his ad-"miniſtration, and fully perſwaded that the ſcheme "of the world could not have been mended, nor the "ſubordination of things more ſuitably adjuſted, nor "all events have been better timed for the common "advantage: and therefore that 'tis the duty of all "mankind to obey the ſignal, and follow the inti-"mations of Heaven with all the alacrity imaginable: "that the poſt aſſigned us by Providence muſt be "maintained with reſolution, and that we ought to "die a thouſand times over rather than deſert it. "Theſe are the Stoicks principles concerning the "Deity, and the regard due to him. Let us now "examine how they ſtand affected towards mankind. "And here their precepts are no leſs extraordinary "than in the former caſe. For they declare plainly "that we muſt love all mankind heartily, and, with-"out a complement; that we muſt ſollicit their inte-"reſt, bear with their infirmities, and do no manner "of injury to any mortal: that a man ſhould not "think himſelf born only for his private ſatisfaction, "but exert his ſtrength for the publick advantage, "and make his life as ſignificant to the world as 'tis "poſſible: that the conſcience of a good action ſhould "content him without the proſpect of fame or re-"ward: that he ſhould never be tired with the exer-"ciſe of good nature, but purſue one kindneſs ſo "cloſely with another, that there may be no room "for any inſignificant ſpaces of life to come between: "that a man ought to look upon a generous action as "a reward to itſelf, and that we oblige ourſelves by "doing a good turn to another; and therefore that "'tis a piece of meanneſs to ramble abroad, and graſp "at intereſt or applauſe. Farther: that the poliſhing "our reaſon, and the governing our will, is the moſt "noble employment, and that nothing ought to be "preferred to the practice of honeſty. And laſtly, "that a man ſhould ſtand immovably by his reaſon: "that no clamour of appetite ſhould call him off: "that no loſs of fortune, no menaces of death, no "extremities of torture ſhould make him give way, or "frighten him from a known duty. Theſe are ſome "of the noble ſentences we meet with in the writings "of the Stoicks. What ſtrains of piety, what inſtan-"ces of humanity, what flights of greatneſs are here!"

Our author afterwards obſerves, that Seneca, Epictetus, and the Emperor Antoninus, were the great pillars of the Stoick Philoſophy, judging however, that the firſt was far inferior to the two laſt, and amongſt other reaſons he gives theſe. "He is, ſays he, gay ſome-"times when he ſhould be ſolemn, and flouriſhes when "he ſhould ſtrike home. He makes a paſs with a "pin, and rather pricks than pierces it. He gives "you ſometimes a turn of fancy inſtead of ſolid proof; "his notions are now and then ſo ſuperfine, that the "leaſt reſiſtance turns the edge of them. They have "generally a point, but no weight of body for exe-"cution. This may be looked on as an exceſs of "clear dealing, but I am not the firſt that have taken "this freedom with Seneca; ſeveral great men have "paſſed the ſame judgment upon him long ſince. "However, I deſire not to be underſtood as if I had a "mind to detract from the worth, or diſcourage the "reading of this philoſopher, who was really a perſon "of an extraordinary genius, and has always had men "of ſenſe and learning to admire him. My meaning "is only to ſhew, that this Roman failed a little in "the points of gravity and fortitude, ſo peculiar to "the Stoicks: and that Epictetus, and Marcus Anto-"ninus, out-did him both in their pens and their "practice. Theſe two perſons, though in contrary "ſtations, and in the remoteſt diſtance of circum-"ſtances imaginable, the one being a poor ſlave, and "the other the greateſt monarch in the univerſe: "theſe two perſons, I ſay, have ſhewed the force of "the Stoical Philoſophy, and how ſtrongly it operates "under all diverſities of condition, and that not only "by a comprehenſive body of refined morality in their "writings, but alſo by an illuſtrious example every "way agreeable to the nobleneſs of the precepts de-"livered." He goes on to compare the Emperor's morality with that of the Goſpel, that it's excellence might appear by bringing it to the higheſt teſt; and, laſtly, he ſhews how he came to undertake, and in what manner he has executed this performance; after the preliminary diſcourſe follow the teſtimonies in favour of the author, firſt from the Greeks, amongſt whom we find Suidas, Dion Caſſius, Herodian, Ariſtides, Philoſtratus, Galen, and many others; amongſt the Latins, Julius Capitolinus, Avidius Caſſius, Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, Tertullian, Oroſius, &c. Amongſt the moderns, Petrarch, Sebaſtian Munſter, John Bodin, Juſtus Lipſius, Iſaac Caſaubon, Claudius Salmaſius, and many others. We then come to the text corrected throughout in many places, reſtored, properly pointed and divided, various of the chaſms filled up, the various readings in the margin, with a perpetual commentary, in which dark paſſages are explained, and corrections accounted for, the author's ſenſe ſupported from other writers on the ſame ſubject, hiſtorical paſſages illuſtrated, ſuch as are alluded to only, produced and applied, with the parallel read-

quer, and in ſatisfaction for which he conſented to accept of forty pounds a year; yet for all this he never attempted to diſquiet them, but bore patiently, not this only, but ſeveral other acts of injuſtice, notwithſtanding which he could not avoid the cenſure of evil tongues (*y*). In the evening of his days, when he earneſtly deſired that repoſe which his labours had ſo well deſerved, he found himſelf very warmly attacked by an active and angry adverſary infinitely beneath him in point of knowledge, but who had credit with ſome great men in the government, and who was looked upon as a perſon of tranſcendent abilities by the vulgar. This was the famous Aſtrologer William Lilly, who finding that our author had a very bad opinion of the art he profeſſed, and ſtill a worſe of himſelf, had the confidence to fall upon him in print (*z*), but met with the ſucceſs which he might eaſily have foreſeen. For Mr Gataker being fully poſſeſſed of all the ſacred and prophane learning relative to this ſubject, not only defended himſelf with great ſtrength of argument, but very clearly detected all the plauſible ſophiſms that could be urged in ſupport of this pretended ſcience (*a*) [*S*]. Yet notwithſtanding he convinced the judicious and impartial

(*y*) A Diſcourſe Apologetical, &c.

(*z*) In his *Anus tenebroſus.*

(*a*) See this point cleared in the Note.

ings throughout, ſo as to make this piece in ſeveral paſſages a comment upon itſelf, the author diſcovering his true meaning, where briefly expreſſed in one place by what he has ſaid more at large on the ſame topic in another. Upon the whole, it may be truly ſaid, and indeed has been ſaid, by the moſt able and judicious criticks, that this admirable piece came in quite another dreſs from our author's hand than it had appeared in before; and tho' it cannot be affirmed that all the wounds are healed, or that no ſcars appear, yet we may with juſtice avow, that the body looks fair and ſound, at leaſt in compariſon of what it was, and fully juſtifies the numerous commendations that have been beſtowed upon it. It was indeed the work of many years, but then he had frequent avocations; the duties of his function required much of his time; his infirmities hindered him not a little; but beſides all this, it was not barely the amending and explaining his author that required ſo much pains, but the fulfilling of his own deſign, which was to render the work of Antoninus, and his commentary upon it, a compleat body of the Stoick Philoſophy, or, in other words, a perfect ſyſtem of rational morality, ſublime in ſentiment, and yet not ſuperior to practice. *It is*, ſays the judicious Morhoff, (25) and after him the candid Father Niceron, (26), *a treaſury, in which will be found the juſt reflections, the wiſe obſervations, the noble maxims of all the great writers of antiquity, as well* Romans *as* Greeks, *repoſited in their proper places.* Not heaped together to ſhew the author's vaſt reading, but diſpoſed with ſo much prudence, that he ſeems to have inſerted nothing but what either the ſentiments or the expreſſions of his author ſuggeſted. Yet ſo far is he from aſſuming any merit either from his indefatigable diligence, or from that ſucceſs of which he could not but be a very competent judge; that, on the contrary, he modeſtly deſires his reader would not examine his performance with rigour, but conſider it as the work of an old man broken with age and ſickneſs, not altogether his own maſter, writing as his occaſions would permit, liable to miſtakes, ſenſible of overſights, and deſirous therefore of beſpeaking a mild and compaſſionate reception from ſuch as conſidering the difficulty of the taſk, and the accidents which diſabled him from coming up entirely to what he propoſed, would accept his good-will in excuſe of his defects, and allow ſomething for his endeavours, tho' attended with imperfections. All this he delivers with ſuch apparent truth, and with ſuch viſible ſincerity, that one cannot help ſtanding as much amazed at his humility, as at his perſeverance and good fortune, in bringing ſo acceptable a tribute to the Republic of Letters.

(25) Polyhiſt. literar. l. 1. §. 1.

(26) Memoires pour ſervir a la Hiſtoire des Hommes illuſtres. Tom. viii. p. 85.

[*S*] *In ſupport of this pretended ſcience.*] The ground of this controverſy was our author's, Mr Gataker's, Annotations upon the ſecond verſe of the tenth chapter of the prophet Jeremiah, in which chapter the ſacred writer warns the Jews againſt two great ſins, to which they might be particularly tempted in the places of their captivity, liſtening to the predictions of Aſtrologers, and complying with the practice of idolaters: it was in handling the firſt of theſe that our author gave offence to William Lilly, who had been a great agent for a certain faction during the civil war, and thereby a fatal inſtrument of much miſchief to church and ſtate. Our author therefore apprehended it his duty to expoſe the vanity of predictions from the ſtars, and to ſhew ſuch as were truly Chriſtians, that it was not only folly and ignorance, but downright wickedneſs to rely upon them. His expoſition is in itſelf ſo curious, ſo full of ſolid ſenſe and ſound learning, and ſo effectually deſtroys the credit of that deluſive art, by which, in all ages, weak and wandering minds are apt to be miſled; that, as well for this this reaſon as to ſet the point under our conſideration in it's proper light, we will tranſcribe what he has delivered (27).

(27) In the ſecond Volume of the Aſſembly's Annotations, which cannot be more particularly cited as it is not paged.

Thus ſaith the Lord, learn not the way of the Heathen.] Becauſe the Jewiſh people were a great party of them to go in captivity into Babylon, and other the regions adjacent, yea, many of them in likelihood were in captivity already, (ſee ver. 11. ch. xxiv. 1. and xxix. 1, 2.) God by the prophet endeavoureth to confirm and ſtrengthen them, the pious eſpecially among them, (for ſuch alſo there were of them, chap. xxiv. 5. Ezek. xi. 16.) againſt thoſe ſuperſtitions and vanities that were rife in thoſe parts, and they might be in danger, being exiles and captives in a ſtrange land, to be ſtrongly tempted unto: Heb. *Learn not to the way*, where either the particle is ſuperfluous, omitted therefore Pſal. cvi. 35, chap. xii. 16. or elſe it may be rendered, *Accuſtom not yourſelves to the way of the Heathen*; and ſo ſome render it, *do not imitate them*, ſee chap. ix. 5. their *way*, that is, their ſuperſtitious courſes, Lev. xviii. 3. and xx. 23.

And be not diſmayed at the ſigns of Heaven.] The firſt head of ſuperſtitions, which he beginneth with, is Aſtrology, a ſtudy and practice ſo rife among them, in thoſe parts, Iſai xlvii. 13. that the profeſſors and practiſers of it not with them alone, Dan. ii. 2. and v. 7. but among other nations alſo are generally deſigned by the name of *Caldeans*, ſee Strabo, l. 17. Cicero of *Divination*, l. 2. Pliny, l. 6. c. 26. *Aſtrology*, I ſay, not that which we commonly term *Aſtronomy*, whereby the true nature and motion of the celeſtial bodies are by grounds of reaſon and rules of art, thence taking their riſe, enquired into and diſcovered; but that *judiciary aſtrology*, as it is uſually ſtiled, whereby men take upon them, from the poſtures and aſpects of them, to foretel the iſſue of human affairs, either publick or private, and what caſual events ſhall befal either perſons or people: a practice grown of late with us into great eſteem, being either countenanced or connived at by thoſe in authority with us, though having entered themſelves; and cauſed others with them to enter into a religious bond of a ſolemn oath and *Covenant*, to endeavour the *extirpation* of all thoſe things among us that are *contrary to ſound doctrine, and the power of godlineſs*, whereof this is none of the leaſt. For the original whereof (ſince it hath not, nor can be ſhewed to have any ground from the light of nature, or natural reaſon, we ſhall not need to go far to find it out) we have a blind but inſolent buzzard (I may well ſo term him) among us, one that profeſſeth himſelf no ſmall doctor in theſe impoſtures and dotages, (wherewith he hath bewitched not a few with us eſteeming his predictions as no other than divine oracles) and taketh upon him, by the ſtars, to ſteer the affairs of our ſtate, pretending *to read in the book of Heaven* all that he writes, who will ſufficiently inform us herein. Now this man to juſtify the warrantableneſs of this his practice telleth us, that *the good Angels of God in former ages, at firſt by perſonal conference acquainted the ſons of men with this learning of the ſtars; and thoſe holy men*, ſaith he, *ſo inſtructed, living many years, and*

in

impartial enquirers into the ſubject of the vanity of this deluſive doctrine; yet he could never ſilence his ſelf-conceited and obſtinate antagoniſt, who, to ſay the truth, had his bread

in purer airs, where they curiouſly obſerved the planets, and their motion, brought this art to ſome maturity, without the leaſt hint of ſuperſtition. But, *as the ſons of men fell from God in divine worſhip, ſo in ſlitting and ſhifting their habitations, they forgat the purer part of this art, and in ſome countries added ſuperſtitious conceptions.* The holy Angels then belike by this man's relation, did at firſt inform thoſe holy men, which they could not otherwiſe have known, of the nature of the planets, to wit that *Saturn* was a *melancholick malignant* planet, *Mars a choleric and litigious* one, *Mercury a thieviſh*, *Venus a laſcivious and wanton* one, and that they do accordingly affect and diſpoſe ſuch people or perſons, as are either bred under them, or whom they have ſpecial relation unto. For theſe and the like ridiculous fopperies and impious calumniations of thoſe glorious creatures, are with them as the popiſh purgatory with the Papiſts, the main grounds and principles of their whole art; which being taken away the whole fabrick and frame of their ſuperſtitious ſtructures will preſently fail and fall flat to the ground, as with thoſe other, all their maſſes, dirges, obites, pardons, and indulgences, if you deny them their purgatory, which becauſe they can produce no clear ſcripture for, they run with theſe men to their forged revelations. But whence theſe frivolous conceits, and irreligious ſurmiſes, concerning thoſe celeſtial bodies, (which if you queſtion you ſhake the ground of all their conjectural ſkill) and their original may well be conjectured from the very names the heathen impoſed upon them, being borrowed from their counterfeit deities, whom they deemed ſo qualified; aſſure ourſelves we may, that God's holy Angels never raiſed any ſuch foul aſperſions, and groundleſs defamations, upon thoſe pure and ſpotleſs creatures, far from and wholly uncapable of any tincture of ſuch vicious diſpoſitions. But all that this man relateth, we may if we pleaſe, and be ſo ſilly as ſo to do, take upon his credit, for he telleth us not what times thoſe were wherein it was thus, or who thoſe holy men were, unto whom the holy Angels at firſt revealed thoſe things, or out of what records he hath theſe relations concerning ſuch pretended revelations. And, as little reaſon have we to engage our faith to his antagoniſt, another fowl of the ſame feather, that flieth yet ſomewhat higher than he, and pretending *his predictions to be grounded on art and nature*, telleth us that we may not miſdoubt or queſtion his art, that *this art was deduced from God to Adam, to Seth, to Abraham*, for proof whereof he referreth us to a knight of note for his ſtudies in this kind, who in favour indeed of this art, which he was overmuch addicted to and beſotted with, affirmeth in part what he ſaith, but bringeth no better proof of it, than a tale out of Joſeph the Jew, who in his *Antiquities*, l. 1. c. 3. telleth us, that *thoſe of Seth's iſſue living long, and without diſturbance, gave themſelves to the ſtudy of heavenly things, and the conſtitution or adminiſtration of them; and becauſe Adam had foretold a twofold deſtruction of the world that ſhould come, the one by water, the other by fire, they left the ſum of what they had of that kind of learning obſerved, engraven on two pillars, of brick the one, of ſtone the other*; but neither is any word in the Jew, of this their *judicial aſtrology*, nor of any ſkill in this kind, or any other by God imparted unto Adam, which they yet father upon him, and the whole relation of the *two pillars* ſeems as true as that, which he addeth of the continuance of the latter of them in Syria unto his time. And indeed, if any ſons of Adam ever had any ſuch immediate communion, either with God himſelf, or his holy Angels, it muſt be thoſe antient patriarchs Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, and thoſe prophets of God among his people, unto whom God uſed ſometime immediately, ſometime by the miniſtry of Angels, to impart his mind concerning future events, as well publick as private; but no where in ſcripture read we, that God did this either by the natural courſe of the celeſtial ſigns, or as from thence to be obſerved, nor undoubtedly had any ſuch art, and ſkill been taught the godly ones among God's people, whether by God himſelf or his Angels, would they either have concealed it from them, or much leſs committed it unto Paynims and Pagans, and by ſuch have tranſmitted it unto poſterity, for from ſuch incorrupt times it crept in among Chriſtians, being yet ever among them liable to cenſure, nor was any in the ancient Church that had profeſſed ſuch arts, admitted into the profeſſion of Chriſtianity, unleſs that, firſt, they renounced thoſe damnable practices, and recanted ſuch their ſuperſtitious conceits. But men may eaſily gueſs what Angels they were, that acquainted men at firſt with theſe things, and ſet them on work to buſie their brains about ſuch matters, as neither light of nature nor grounds of reaſon were able to inform them of, but muſt have ſome revelation either divine, or angelical, or diabolical rather, for the finding of them out. So far are God himſelf and his prophets from taking notice hereof, as ſome ſuch heavenly diſcovery or giving any approbation thereunto, that God by them ſometime derideth it, Eſay xliv. 25. and xlvii. 13. and ſometime diſſwadeth and condemneth it as an heatheniſh practice, not beſitting his people to heed, as here ſo elſe where Deut. xviii. 10, 14. From the prince of the air, therefore, it may juſtly, by this man's own grounds and grants, be deemed to have proceeded at firſt, by him taught the heathen, that were ruled and ſwayed by him, and from them together, with the worſhip of them in their idols, conveyed unto God's own people. For what of further obſervation he ſubjoyneth to omit, that thoſe ridiculous principles muſt firſt be made good, 'ere any obſervation can be grounded upon them; the like did the heathen magicians report of their charms, and other ſuperſtitious divinations by the flight of fowls, and from the bowels of beaſts, to wit, that obſervations had been made of them for many hundreds of years. See Pliny l. 28. c. 2. and this, and thoſe, may well go together one with the other, unto him that was the firſt founder of them the *father of lies*, John viii. 44.

And be not diſmayed at the ſigns of Heaven.] As if the event of things, or the iſſue of your affairs, depended upon them, which thoſe fond *ſtar gazers* bare people in hand, and took upon them thereby to determine and foretel what good or bad ſucceſs mens deſigns ſhould have, Eſay xlvii 12, 13. Howbeit ſigns there are of two ſorts; firſt, natural and ordinary, the ſtars themſelves being ſet in the ſky to diſtinguiſh the times and ſeaſons of the year, to which may be added the conjunctions of them one with another, or oppoſitions of them one to another, whence the eclipſes of ſome of them at ſometime do proceed, and theſe are thoſe ſigns which coming in a conſtant courſe, and continued tenor (in regard whereof men ſkilful therein are able, either going backward to tell how it hath been with them for thouſands of years paſt, or looking forwards how it will be for as many, if the world itſelf ſhould ſo long continue): God would not have his people to be affected or affrighted with, as if in regard of them, or from them, any evil in the ſucceſs of their affairs could betide them; other *ſigns* there are extraordinary in dreadful apparitions, beſides the ordinary courſe of the creatures, by which the Lord doth ſometime give notice unto his people of his diſpleaſure, and warning of enſuing wrath, and theſe God doth not inhibit his people to be affected with, and taking of them unto heart. See Joel ii. 30, 31. Luke xxi. 11, 25.

For the heathen are diſmayed at them]. Or rather *though the heathen be diſmayed at them.* Though they be ſo ſilly or ſuperſtitious, as to be therewith thus affected; yet ought ye not ſo to be. So is the particle very frequently uſed in our verſions, alſo not ſeldom expreſſed, Gen. viii. 21. Joſh. xvii. 18. Pſal. xxiii. 4. Eſay xii. 1. Dan. ix. 9. Mic. vii. 8. Hab. iii. 17.

For the cuſtoms of the people are vain.] Heb. *The ſtatutes* or *ordinances of the people*, (that is thoſe courſes of this nature, which people of ſeveral countries herein concurring do, as if it were ſome ſacred or divine ordinance, very preciſely and ſuperſtitiouſly obſerve)

—*vanity*

bread in ſome meaſure at ſtake, and was therefore bound by the ſtrongeſt tie imaginable to defend that craft by which he lived (b). It is no wonder, therefore, that writing and publiſhing

(b) He was aſſiſted by Henry Carpenter, John Gadbury, &c.

—*vanity itſelf*, i. e. *are each of them exceeding vain*, as vain as *vanity itſelf*, and a matter therefore very ill beſeeming ſuch as profeſs themſelves to be God's people, as did the Jews then, and as Chriſtians at this day do, to be taken and carried away with ſuch frivolous and ridiculous fancies and ſopperies.

Theſe annotations rouzed all the tribe of Aſtrologers againſt our learned author, from the higheſt to the loweſt. William Lilly, John Swan, and Sir Chriſtopher Heydon, conceived themſelves to be perſonally attacked, and therefore fell upon him without mercy, as if he had been guilty of ſome very great offence; and the more liberty was taken in this reſpect, becauſe it was well enough known, that thoſe in power would be pleaſed to ſee a divine of great credit with the people, and who had ſignified his diſapprobation of things that were then doing, humbled. Upon this our author wrote a diſcourſe in defence of himſelf, and of all that he had advanced againſt the illuminated tribe of ſtar gazers, under the following title.

A Vindication *of the* Annotations *on* Jeremiah *Chap.* X. ver. 2. *againſt the ſcurrilous aſperſions of that grand impoſtor* Mr William Lilly; *as alſo againſt the various expoſitions of two of his advocates*, Mr John Swan, *and another by him cited but not named. Together with the annotations themſelves; wherein the pretended grounds of* judiciary aſtrology, and *the* ſcripture proofs *produced for it, are diſcuſſed and refuted. By the author of the* Annotations, Lond. 1653. in 4to. In this treatiſe he dealt very roundly with his opponents, and with that ſcience of which they profeſſed themſelves maſters; enforced all that he had ſaid againſt it, by ſolid arguments, and produced in ſupport of his own ſentiments, a numerous train of authorities, and amongſt others alledged this, that, having aſked the celebrated mathematician, Mr Henry Briggs (28) what his ſentiments were concerning Aſtrology, he anſwered readily, *that it was a ſyſtem of groundleſs conceits*. William Lilly perceiving the deep impreſſion theſe pieces made upon the wiſer ſort of people, grew ſtill more angry; and, therefore, in a diſcourſe upon a comet which appeared in 1652, and which he prefixed to his Aſtrological Predictions for 1654, he writes thus (29). 'My 'diſcourſe may the more freely be admitted public 'view, ſith no meaner a man then T. G. B. D. i. e. 'Thomas Gataker, Bachelor of Divinity, parſon, 'rector, or rather receiver of the tithes, profits, and 'all appurtenances of church duties of Redriff near 'London, (tho' my ſimple antagoniſt) ſith he, I ſay, 'in thoſe pitiful and illiterate annotations of his, upon 'Jer x. ver. 2 ſeems to warrant this inquiry, nay 'he doth poſitively affirm it lawful. Theſe are that 'old ſilenced or dumb miniſter's words, as himſelf ren'ders them in his impudent pamphlet, writ againſt 'me, containing twenty-ſix ſheets of ſcolding, viz. 'Other ſigns there are extraordinary, thus maſter Ga'taker, formerly a ſtiff prelate preaching impudently 'for the liberties or ſports of the Sabbath, viz. cards, 'dice, &c. afterwards in hope of Biſhops, Deans, or 'Chapter Lands, a pretended Preſbyterian, ſince its 'decay, the poor man is mute, and hath willingly 'ſilenced himſelf from preaching, and now like a 'child teaches, or is taught, a new mode of ſpelling 'to his proſelytes, and cants the art of lying and 'ſcolding to the wives of Billinſgate, himſelf being 'unmarried.' In his poſtcript to the ſame almanack he has more to the ſame purpoſe, and in this kind of ſcurrilous war, he wanted not ſome allies, as will appear from the title of our reverend author's reply to his ill uſage and ill language.

(28) Vindication of the Annotations, p. 19.

(29) Merlini Anglici Ephemeris or Aſtrological predictions for 1654.

A Diſcourſe Apologetical, *wherein* Lilies *lewd and lowd lies in his* Merlin *or* Paſquil *for the year* 1654, *are clearly laid open; his ſhameful deſertion of his own cauſe is further diſcovered; his ſhameleſs ſlanders fully refuted, and his malicious and murtherous mind, inciting to a general* maſſacre *of* God's miniſters, *from his own pen evidently evinced; together with an advertiſement concerning* two *allegations produced in the cloſe of his* poſtſcript; *and a* poſtſcript *concerning an* epiſtle dedicatory *of one* J. Gadburie, *by* Thomas Gataker, B. D. *author of the* Annotations *on* Jer. x. ver. 2. *and of the vindication of them*. Lond. 1654. 4to (30).

(30) This is the Treatiſe we have ſo often cited.

In this treatiſe our author takes occaſion to ſpeak of the moſt conſiderable tranſactions of his life, relates at large, the manner in which he arrived at his ſeveral preferments, and very fully refutes all the malicious and idle reflections, that Lilly and his aſſociates had thrown upon him. Amongſt other particulars he mentions his ſentiments upon church-government, profeſſing that he was never an advocate for the power and ſplendour of the Prelacy, but that on the other hand he had ever inclined to a moderate epiſcopacy; that as for the ſake of doing good in his generation, he had ſubmitted to the Biſhops, ſo when they were taken away by what he eſteemed the ſupreme power, he had ſubmitted to that likewiſe, but never ſought any, nay, on the contrary, had refuſed preferment from both ſides. This muſt have been written but a very little while before his death, which gave great ſatisfaction to Lilly, and thoſe of his party; who as they had ſerved to run down the royaliſts in favour of the parliament, and the Church of England, to gratify the non-conformiſts; ſo now they were as ready to run down the parliament in behalf of Oliver Cromwell, and to aſperſe the Preſbyterians, who had honeſtly and courageouſly oppoſed the King's murder to gratify the ſectaries.

Lilly in particular in the preface to his Aſtrological Predictions for the year 1655, inſiſts largely upon this ſubject, and in the poſtſcript ſpeaks thus of our author then lately deceaſed, for that poſtſcript is dated November the eleventh 1654. 'Our pen doth willingly 'paſs by ſome injurious ſpeeches delivered publickly in 'a ſermon, at Maſter Gataker's funeral, by a very un'worthy aſhye mouth. We honoured Maſter GATAKER 'whilſt alive, accounted him a man of as much learning 'and reading as any, and endued with as much cho'ler and ſpleen as any mortal man. We wiſh he had 'kept cloſe unto the text, when he commented on 'Jeremiah chap x. ver. 2. and not beſpattered our'ſelf with very obſcene language, not befitting a man 'of gravity, eſpecially in a commentary upon a text 'of ſcripture, for which many learned Divines have 'much condemned his raſhneſs or illguided zeal. But 'he is dead, having left very few Divines of our Eng'liſh nation comparable, or equal in learning, unto 'himſelf, eſpecially in Hiſtory or the Hebrew tongue. 'We predicted his death as it fell out in Auguſt 1654, 'and we were ſo civil as to beſtow an epitaph upon 'him, viz. *Hoc in tumbo jacet preſbyter*, &c. ſeriouſly 'he miſtook our meaning in every particle of his forty ſheets of paper wrote againſt us.'

We will conclude this note, with ſhewing the diſingenuity and equivocation of Lilly's falſe prediction, and counterfeit moderation. At the cloſe of his obſervations on the month of Auguſt 1654, ſtands this line by itſelf, *Hoc in tumbo jacet preſbyter & nebulo*, that is in Engliſh, as coarſe as his Latin, *Here in his tomb lies a preſbyter and knave, or worthleſs fellow*. Now with what juſtice this line at the end of Auguſt can be ſtiled a prediction of the death of Mr Gataker, which happened on the twenty-ſeventh of July, is left to the reader to decide. It was a very great chance, if either ſome eminent man in that perſwaſion had not died, or the party itſelf received ſome mortification, to which this ſtroke might be applied; for it was an ordinary artifice of his, to throw out ſuch ambiguous oracles, and then to entitle them prophecies of ſuch events, as either reſembled, or by his ſophiſtry could be brought to reſemble, them. If inſtead of placing it at the bottom of his obſervations, he had ſet it at the top, it would have run againſt the very day in which Mr Gataker was interred, which had been a lucky hit indeed; but as it ſtood in his almanack, none but himſelf would have had the aſſurance to have called it a prediction After weeping like a crocodile over the aſhes of a good man, whom he had inſulted to his laſt breath, he moſt ſhamefully hides a falſhood under an &c. in hopes that his readers would forget what that &c. ſtood for. If Mr Gataker was *a knave*

nothing so frequently as he did, he should persecute our author to the end of his days, or that happening to out-live him, he should as he did insult him in his grave contrary to all the rules either of religion or humanity (c). As for the pious and learned Mr Gataker, he continued to pursue the same useful and innocent course of life, till years, infirmities, and perpetual labours, wore him out. He was very willing to have resigned his living of Rotherhith, if the person who had the right of presentation would have fixed upon an able and learned Minister, which he pressed for several years together, as being not more weak for sustaining, than weary of bearing on his shoulders a burthen which, however envied, was to him very uneasy, but with which however he was compelled to travel to the grave. He was seized with a fainting fit on Friday July the seventh 1654, as his historian relates (d), or rather on the ninth of that month as we are told by his son (e). It happened about day-break, and by speedy and skilful assistance he was quickly brought to himself, but continued very weak and feeble, as well as sensible of his approaching end. Three days after he was seized with a fever, with which under these circumstances, and at his time of life, he was very little able to struggle; on the twenty-eighth he lost the use of the lower part of his body, but retained his senses clear and strong to the very last: towards evening the next day his son prayed by him, in which prayers he also joined with great fervency, and being seized soon after with his last agony, expired in the eightieth year of his age (f). He was interred on the first of August following at his own church, and his funeral sermon preached by his old and faithful friend Mr Simeon Ashe, which discourse was not long after published, with a narrative of Mr Gataker's life, and acts; at the close of this there are several copies of verses as well in Latin as in English, in honour of his memory (g). He would never suffer his picture to be taken, but the following is said to be a just description of his person. He was of a middle stature, a thin body, a lively countenance, and fresh complexion; of a temperate diet, a free and chearful conversation, addicted to study, but not secluding himself from useful company; of a quick apprehension, sharp reason, solid judgment, and so extraordinary a memory, that tho' he used no common-place book, yet he had in readiness whatever he had read, as his prodigious number of quotations shew. His house was a private seminary for divers young gentlemen of this nation, and many foreigners resorted to him, and lodged at his house in order to receive from him advice in their studies (b). His extensive learning was admired by the great men abroad, as Salmasius, and others, with whom he held a correspondence; and at the bottom of the page we shall collect a few of the many testimonies in honour of this great man and his writings, which have fallen from the pens as well of foreign writers as of our own nation [T]. He was in the course of his long life four

(c) In the observations upon August 1654 and his Postscript to his Ephemeris 1655.

(d) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker.

(e) In the Appendix to his Father's account of his own Life.

(f) Narrative and Appendix.

(g) By many eminent Persons.

(b) Discourse Apologetical, p. 50.

knave or *a worthless person*, why this high character of him? But if he deserved this character and a better, what did this man deserve for fixing upon him such an epitaph? In the beginning of this note the reader has Mr Gataker's detection of astrology, and in the close of it we have detected the art of his adversary.

[T] *From the pens as well of foreign writers as of our own nation.*] As the course of our author's life and labours, was attended with many circumstances, that recommended him to the esteem and veneration of men of true learning and sincere piety; so, as he well observed himself, there wanted not other circumstances, that kept him from making so great a figure as he might have done in his life-time, and which it is possible may have also operated upon his memory. He was a man so moderate and conscientious, that he could not go the length of any party, which was the true reason of his not accepting preferments. In the reigns of King James and King Charles, he disliked the high notions that were regarded, as the maxims of the government by churchmen, which he rightly foresaw would be fatal, not only to them but to the Church. This kept him at a distance from those that were in highest authority, and tho' his patrons at Lincolns-Inn would have procured him a prebend at least, yet he refused it; and when it appeared he was not to be gained, it was natural to hold him suspected, in which state he continued for many years. When he came to sit in the Assembly of Divines, for which he never received any thing, he drew upon himself the dislike at least if not the hatred of such as were zealous for the Hierarchy; but when he declared himself in that Assembly in favour of Episcopacy, and excepted against the solemn league and covenant, till the words were so altered, as to be understood to exclude only Ecclesiastical Courts, and what he and those of his own opinion took to be exorbitant in the power of Bishops, he lost the affections of the other party, who were for destroying episcopacy root and branch. His open declaration against the subsequent proceedings of those who resolved all power and authority, into that of the sword, heightened the aversion of the dominant faction to his person, and exposed him to that ill treatment he met with from their tools, who, as we have shewn in the last note, charged him with inconstancy, changing sides, and squaring his doctrines to the times; whereas in truth he was always consistent in his principles, and instead of shifting from party to party, was never the instrument of any party, but lived contented upon a very small provision, at most one hundred pounds per annum, and was reviled for keeping that.

Yet as we have said he had the esteem and veneration of the wise and moderate of all parties, grounded solely upon a true sense of his merit. Mr Edward Leigh, his contemporary, and who was well acquainted with him, has given him this short and just character (31). 'Thomas Gataker, of the Gatakers of Gataker in Shropshire, a solid judicious and pious Divine, as his divers learned Latin and English treatises shew.' Dr Edmund Calamy gives the following account of those which are stiled the Assembly's Annotations, and bestows therein just praises upon our author, the whole passage is very curious and instructive, and therefore we will not curtail it (32). 'There is one work unjustly ascribed to this Assembly, and that is the Annotations on the Bible which commonly bear their name. It is true, as is hinted in the preface before the said notes, the same parliament that called the Assembly, employed the authors of those annotations: for letters were directed to them by the chairmen of the committee for religion, urging their undertaking that work: and they were by order of that committee furnished with whatsoever books were needful. It is also true, that several of those that were concerned in it, were members of the Assembly: and yet it was not undertaken by the direction, or with the consent of the Assembly, nor were the major part members of the Assembly, nor did any deputed by the Assembly review the work when it was finished: so that it cannot upon any account

(31) Treatise of Religion and Learning, p. 205.

(32) Life of Baxter, p. 86.

four times married. First to the widow of Mr William Cupper, who by her first husband had two daughters, towards whom the affection of Mr Gataker in their tender years was so extraordinary, and his care of providing them suitable matches in their riper age so manifest, as well as his tenderness for their children, and whatever regarded the families, into which they married, that the generality of the world made no doubt of their being his own children; yet by this wife he had only one son, of whom she died in childbed. He bore both his father's names, lived to man's estate, visited most parts of the world, and returning home much improved in every respect, died in his father's house; his second wife was the daughter of the Reverend Mr Charles Pinner, by whom he had a son Charles, whom we have already mentioned as attending his father in his last moments, and publishing some of his Posthumous Works. Of this son his second wife died in childbed, so that he was twice a widower in the space of a few years, and having two young children of his own to bring up, brought up also those daughters of his first wife with them, so that it was purely an act of christian beneficence, and did not at all proceed from any influence their mother might have upon his mind: some years after the death of his second he married his third wife, who was the sister of Sir George and Sir John Farwel, by whom he had three children, a son and a daughter who died before him, and another daughter who survived him. His fourth wife was the widow of a citizen, with whom he lived twenty-four years, and survived her two years within a few days (*i*). The reader has now seen the best account we can give of his public and his private life; and as his modesty restrained him not only from seeking, but from accepting, preferments, hindered him from so much as leaving his picture to posterity, and living and dying kept him from every thing that had even the smallest appearance of ostentation: so perhaps it was in compliance with his desire that not so much as a tombstone was erected where is body laid (*k*). But notwithstanding this, a learned and ingenious foreigner, the celebrated Hermannus Witsius, has erected a most noble monument to his memory, by collecting into one volume, and publishing with great care and correctness, all his critical works, a monument far more lasting then either brass or marble, for it will last as long as there is any sense of true religion, or any regard to true taste in literature [*U*], the

(*i*) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker.

(*k*) See an account of Persons buried in Rotherhith Church, in the fifth Volume of Aubrey's Natural History of Surrey.

'count be said to be theirs. However it was a good 'work in its season, and I shall add the names of the 'true authors, as far as my best enquiry would help 'me to intelligence. Mr Lee, Sub-Dean of Chester, 'did the Pentateuch. Dr Gouge had the two books 'of Kings, and Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and 'Esther, for his province. Mr Meric Casaubon did 'the Psalms, Mr Francis Taylor the Proverbs, and 'Dr Reignolds Ecclesiastes; Mr Smalwood, who was 'recommended by Archbishop Usher, did Solomon's 'Song. The learned Gataker did Isaiah, Jeremiah, 'and Lamentations: and is in the opinion of many 'competent judges, exceeded by no commentator, 'antient or modern, on those books. Ezekiel, Daniel, 'and the small prophets, were in the first edition done 'by Mr Pemberton, and in the second by Bishop 'Richardson. The notes on the four Evangelists are 'Mr Ley's, and those on St Paul's Epistles, Dr 'Featley's, which latter are broken and imperfect, on 'the account of the author's dying, before he had re-'vised or finished them. There were also two other 'persons concerned in this work, viz. Mr Downame 'and Mr Reading, who might probably have the 'other parts of scripture allotted them that are not 'here mentioned.'

Mr Archdeacon Echard, speaking of our author's death, delivers himself thus (33). 'Thomas Gataker, 'of an ancient family in Shropshire, was educated in St 'John's College in Cambridge, and elected Fellow of 'Sidney College while it was building, where he be-'came remarkable for his skill in the Greek and He-'brew tongues. He was afterwards rector of Rother-'hith in Surry, and the most celebrated among the 'Assembly of Divines, being highly esteemed by 'Salmasius and other foreigners; and it is hard to say 'which is most remarkable, his exemplary piety, and 'charity, his polite literature, or his humility and 'modesty in refusing preferments.'

The celebrated Morhoff in his large and learned work, speaks of almost all our author's writings, that appeared in Latin, with the praises they deserve; but with that brevity, which the nature of his own design required. In reference to his edition of the Emperor Antoninus's Meditations, he delivers himself more largely than usual in these words (34). 'Opera illa, 'quam in Antoninum impendit Gatakerus, plane 'egregia est. Primum premisit luculentam dissertа-'tionem de disciplina stoica, in qua eam confert cum 'peripatetica, & academica vetere, epicurea, &c. 'Variæ lectiones notentur in margine, parallelismus 'autorum, in Antonino occurrentium, ad minutias 'usque eos ostendit, lateri appositus. Denique com-'mentarii uberrimi, aliorum philosophorum sententias 'græcas, latinas, Antonini effatis respondentes, mag-'no cumulo congerunt ut librum hunc non immerito 'pandectas doctrinæ moralis stoicæ dicere possis.' Axemius stiles him (35), *a writer of infinite learning and accurate judgment*. The celebrated Bayle mentions him with all the respect possible (36). Mr Colomies gives him the following character (37), 'Of all 'the critics of this age who have employed their pens 'in illustrating polite learning, there are very few, if 'indeed there are any, who deserve to be preferred to 'Thomas Gataker for diligence and accuracy, in ex-'plaining those authors whose writings he has exami-'ned.' Yet this curious and inquisitive person, whose peculiar talent lay in discovering the excellence, or the errors of the books he perused, was very far from sparing our critic; on the contrary, in looking over his works he mentions a few, and but a very few places, with which he was not entirely satisfied, and of these perhaps there is more than one, in respect to which severe judges might doubt whether his censures were well founded. Baillet has a chapter concerning his writings (38), in which he acknowledges his profound skill in the learned languages, his great accuracy and admirable sagacity; but adds, that he was sometimes so bold in his conjectures, that even his greatest admirers durst not adhere to his singular opinions. It is to be wished that he had explained himself more clearly upon this subject, and had pointed out what these opinions were. Sir Thomas Pope Blount speaking of him occasionally, calls him vir κεῖσε τῶν (39).

(33) Hist. of England, p. 713.

(34) Polyhistor. Philosoph. II. 1, 4. 4.

(35) Epist. ad Goedium, p. 112.

(36) Ouvres de Bayle, Tom. iii. p. 830.

(37) Cimel. Literar. c. XXIII. Mélange historique, p. 72.

(38) Jugemens des Savans, Vol. ii. p. 279.

(39) Censura celebriorum Autorum, p. 119.

[*U*] *To true taste in literature.*] The title of this collection at large runs thus;

THOMÆ GATAKERI opera critica *Dissertatio de N. Instrumenti stylo. Cinnus sive adversaria miscellanea. Adversaria miscellanea posthuma.* Marci Antonini *Imperatoris de rebus suis Libri* XII *Commentario perpetuo explicati. Opuscula varia. Omnia singulari cura recensita, ab infinitis typotheta rummendis expurgata, multorum græcæ dictorum latina interpretatione illustrata, & locupletissimis accuratissimisque indicibus ornata.* Trajecti *ad* Rhenum, 1698. fo. At the head of this collection stands a dedication, addressed to all who are inclined

panegyrick before it is conciſe, perſpicuous, and polite; affords us a true picture of the author, and does that juſtice to his candour, learning, and piety, that a long life ſpent in the exerciſe of virtue, and promoting uſeful knowledge ſo well deſerved.

inclined to cultivate the ſtudy of the ſacred ſcriptures, and ſound divinity, in which the learned Witſius begins with obſerving, that ſuch as collect and publiſh the labours of great and able men, render thereby greater ſervice to the commonwealth of letters, than by ſending abroad new, but leſs perfect productions of their own. He then mentions the pains he has taken to facilitate the ſtudies of youth, as his ſtation required, and declares he never had greater hopes of being uſeful in that reſpect, than by putting this book into the hands of the publick. He is perſwaded there will appear a very wide difference between his own writings and thoſe of Gataker, but their ſuperiority, continues he, can be to none better known, by none more readily acknowledged, than by himſelf. This, ſays he, is that Thomas Gataker, whoſe venerable name is ſo highly celebrated, that he muſt be a ſtranger in the commonwealth of learning, who is not acquainted with him, and a very ill judge of merit, who does not ſet a juſt value upon his exquiſite knowledge, and rare virtues; if I ſhould ſay that he has had few equals in this age, in his knowledge of the moſt abſtruſe antiquities, and more eſpecially in regard to Greek literature, I ſhould not be beſide the truth. In this and other commendations he profeſſes to ſpeak for himſelf, and in that reſpect declares for his own part, he knew none who had better underſtood, or had more religiouſly dedicated his labours, to make others perfectly underſtand the ſacred writings, than he; after this, he largely expatiates on the proper uſe he had made of his comprehenſive learning, and perfect acquaintance with profane authors, all which, as became him, he piouſly conſecrated to the explaining and illuſtrating the ſacred word of God. Such is the ſcope of his large and elegant diſcourſe, which the learned readers will no doubt be better pleaſed to ſee in his own words.

Quantum enim mea qualiacunque ſcripta a doctiſſimi iſtius viri operibus accurationis, elegantiæ diffuſiſſimæque eruditionis laude ſuperentur, & quanto ex hiſce major utilitas in lectoris commodum redundatura ſit, nemo me melius intelligit, nemo candidius teſtabitur. Is eſt GATAKERUS, eaque venerandi nominis iſtius celebritas, ut peregrinum in republica literaria eſſe neceſſe ſit qui eum ignorat, & iniquum meritorum æſtimatorem, qui tam præclaræ eruditioni rariſque virtutibus ſuum non ſtatuit pretium. Paucos eſſe ſi dixero qui in abſtruſioris antiquitatis, Græcanicæ præſertim, peritia paria hoc ſeculo præſtiterint, a vero fortaſſis oratio mea non abludet. At fuerint aliqui quibus ad ſecularis literaturæ ſtudia plus ab aliis occupationibus ſuis otii fuerit, quoſque idcirco in iſthac eruditionis parte noſtro huic anteponendos eſſe nonnulli arbitrentur. Ego uti eorum judicio pertinaciter obniti nolim; ita, mea quoque libertate uſus, ingenue profiteor, neminem me noſſe, qui literas ſuas ſanctius habuerit, eaſque veræ virtuti promovendæ, & divinis voluminibus illuſtrandis religioſus dicaverit. Ex omni hominum genere vix ulli mihi infeliciores iis eſſe videntur, qui, Græcæ Romanæque literaturæ elegantia capti; ſacrorum liborum ſimplicitatem faſtidiunt, quales & patrum, & noſtra hæc ætas aliquammultos tulit. Hi enim profanæ ſapientiæ faſtu inflati, non modo ſibimetipſis inutile efficiunt maximum illud divinæ beneficentiæ munus, quo ſolo perennis ac duratura conciliatur felicitas; dum circa rerum inania inſanientes ea quæ ſolida ac ſtabilia ſunt temere neglectui habent: ſed & ingenti oppido injuria ſanctiſſima afficiunt oracula. Non eo ſolum nomine, quod ſalubrem illum animorum paſtum levibus poſtponant ſcitamentis; verum etiam quod dominatum ſibi quendam in ea ſoleant arrogare ſcripta, quorum Majeſtati omnem ſe ſapientiam obſequioſa fidei religione ſubmittere opportet. Hæc enim ad exotica illa examinare non verentur: atque ubi, cum rebus, tum verbis, totoque orationis contextu, plurimum ab illis diſcrepare deprehendunt, vix temperant ſibi, quin vel aliena interpretatione aliorſum flectant, vel ſtilum ita vertant ut delicatulos aures ſuas minus offendat. Hinc licentiam ſibi ſumunt nonnulla addendi, alia demendi, aliqua etiam tranſponendi ac transformandi, prout præjudiciis aliunde hauſtis, neque optimo conſilio in ſacra iſta illatis, conſentaneum eſſe videtur. Quarum rerum tam dira paſſim occurrant exempla, ut horrorem piis lectorum animis incutiant. Alia prorſus GATAKERO noſtro mens fuit: quippe qui unctione quæ a ſancto illo proficiſcitur largiter delibutus, & ab ipſo edoctus Deo, ſingulas ſacrarum literarum pericopas, ut totidem oracula, venerabundus exoſculabatur; ac de cæleſti earum origine firmiter perſuaſus, in omnibus ſapientiam Deo dignam cum incredibili animi voluptate deprehendebat. Sapientiam, in quam, ad quam ipſi cæleſtes ſtupent genii, dum in recondita illius myſteria introſpicere ſatagunt. Sapientiam, quam nemo principum hujus ſeculi cognovit; & ad quam omnis illorum imaginaria & fucata ſapientia GATAKERO noſtro ſordeſcebat, & pro ſtultitia reputabatur: niſi quatenus aliqua ſe reſiduæ lucis, in divinum hoc ſacrarium inferendæ, ſcintillatione commendat. In hoc ſacrario inveniebat, guſtabat, plenoque ore hauriebat, ſanctiſſimas illas delicias, quæ penitas afficiunt medullas, & quas terreſtres animæ nec cupiunt, nec capiunt, nec intelligunt. Quæ in animum admiſſæ mundanorum omnium amorum expectorant, cæleſtium rerum deſiderium acuunt, efficiuntque ut ea denuum vita eſſe videatur, quæ in ſacrarum meditatione literarum, veluti in Dei contubernio, tranſigitur. Ita factum eſt, ut ſecularium librorum lectio excurſas quidam, & animi majoribus intenti expatiatio GATAKERO fuerit; unde ad divina identidem regrediebatur. Neque regrediebatur, niſi opimis locupletates ſpoliis, in Auguſto hoc æternæ veritatis templo, Deo ac Virtuti dedicandis. Huic enim rei omne ejus ſtudium, omnis opera, omnis eruditio ſacra erat. E

GAUDEN, or GAWDING (John) ſucceſſively biſhop of Exeter and Worceſter in the laſt century, was born, in the year 1605 (*a*), at Mayland in Eſſex, of which pariſh his Father was Vicar (*b*) [*A*]. His education in Grammar-learning was at St Edmund's-bury in Suffolk; from whence, at the age of ſixteen, being admitted a Student of St John's College in Cambridge, he made great proficiency in his ſtudies, and there took the degrees in Arts. About the year 1630, he removed to Wadham-College in Oxford, where he became tutor to Francis and William Ruſſel, ſons of Sir William Ruſſel of Chipenham in the county of Cambridge, Bart. (whoſe daughter he had newly married) and, after their departure, to other gentlemen, and perſons of quality. While he continued there he appeared to be a man of great parts, which he very much improved by an uncommon induſtry, ſpending moſt part of the day and night in his ſtudies (*c*). July 22, 1635, he took the degree of Batchelor in Divinity, as a member of Wadham College (*d*); and became Chaplain to Robert Earl of Warwick, Rector of Brightwell in Berkſhire, and Vicar of Chipenham aforeſaid (*e*). On the 8th of July 1641, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity (*f*). As he was Chaplain in a family that were notoriouſly diſſatisfied at the Court's meaſures, he took the ſame bias from the firſt, and ran with the

(*a*) See the time of his Death, below.

(*b*) Newcourt, Repertor. Vol. II. p. 412.

(*c*) Wood, Athen. ed. 1721. Vol. II. col. 311.

(*d*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 262.

(*e*) Idem, Athen. ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Idem, Faſti, Vol. II. col. 2.

[*A*] *Of which pariſh his father was Vicar.*] His father, John Gawding, A. M. had inſtitution to that living December 13, 1598 (1).

(1) Newcourt, Repertor. Vol. II. p. 412.

[*B*] *And*

the common cant of the times, againſt pictures, images, and ſuperſtitious formalities, &c. [B], as is manifeſt from a ſermon of his, preached November 29, 1640. before the Houſe of Commons: which was ſo agreeable to them, that they made him a preſent of a large ſilver tankard (g) [C]. In 1641, he was preſented to the Rectory of Bocking in Eſſex. He had his firſt preſentation from the parliament; but not looking upon it as a ſafe hold for ſo great and reputable a benefice, which is called a Deanery, through the interceſſion of friends, he procured himſelf to be collated thereto by Archbiſhop Laud, the rightful patron, then in the Tower. At Bocking, he contracted a friendſhip with his neighbour Mr Edward Symonds, Rector of Raine; of which ſome uſe will be made by and by (b). Dr Gauden held his preferment after the breaking out of the civil wars, and forbore the uſe of the Common-Prayer; tho' we are told, it was continued longer in his Church than in any thereabouts (i). In 1643, he was choſen one of the Aſſembly of Divines, through the recommendation of Sir Dudly North, and Thomas Chichley Eſq; Knights for the county of Cambridge; but was ſhuffled out, as he ſays, by a ſecret committee, and an unknown ſleight of hand, becauſe he was for regulating, not rooting up, Epiſcopacy (k). We are alſo aſſured, that he took the Covenant (l): notwithſtanding he ſeems to deny it [D]; and publiſhed in 1643, certain doubts and ſcruples of conſcience about taking the ſolemn League and Covenant [E]. However, he openly continued in the Parliament's intereſt, till he found they went beyond their firſt pretenſions, and the expectations of himſelf and other good men. When he diſcovered that, he endeavoured to redeem his error, by bending to the contrary extreme (m): and, not only wrote a Proteſtation, and a juſt Invective againſt the murtherers of K. Charles I. [F], but alſo aſſiſted in publiſhing that King's Meditations, as will be ſhewn in the ſequel of this article. Still he enjoyed his preferment during the ſeveral periods of the Uſurpation, halting between the oppoſite parties; and being only a ſecret, or rather an ambiguous and falſe friend to the Royal cauſe. However for ſome time before the Reſtoration he muſt have been diſſatisfied with the various forms of Government ſet up in this kingdom; ſince, within that period, he compoſed a *folio* volume of 700 pages [G], (a work

(g) Dr Walker's True Account of the author of Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ. 1692. 4to. p. 6.

(b) Dr Hollingworth's Defence of Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ. Lond. 1692. 4to. p. 16.

(i) Dr Walker, ubi ſupra, p. 7.

(k) See his Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Suſpiria, p. 377. and his Anti-Baal-Berith, p. 89.

(l) Dr Walker, p. 7. and Dr Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times, Vol. I. edit. 1724. p. 50.

(m) Dr Walker, ubi ſupra, p. 6.

[B] *And ran with the common cant of the times, againſt pictures, images, &c.*] This is evident from the following paſſage of the ſermon referred to above, among other inſtances. 'To ſet up *lying vanities*, 'pictures, and images, and to cry down praying and 'preaching, whereby thoſe toyles may be uſeful and 'neceſſary to the ignorant (becauſe untaught) people. 'Is *this to love the truth?* To ſuffer *Idolatry*, or ſuper-'ſtitious formalities in ſerving God to get ground upon 'our opinions and practices. Is *this to love the truth?* (2) *Quæ quo nudior eò venuſtior*; which *the leſſe it* 'hath of painting, the *more it hath of true lovelineſſe* 'and native beauty. Are not the lengthen and in-'creaſe of ceremonious *ſhadowes*, a preſage and ſigne of 'the ſhortning of our *Day* and ſetting of our *Sunne*, 'or diminiſhing of our *light*.' (3) — However, he ſpeaks afterwards with due abhorrence of civil wars.

'That *we* in this Iland, (ſays he) are divided from 'all nations is our ſafety under God, and by the pro-'vidence of our gracious Soveraigne: but to be *divided* 'among ourſelves will be *infallibly our ruine*. *Si colli-'dimur, frangimur.* — *Civil warres* can neither me-'rit nor expect *Laurells*, triumphs nor trophees: the 'memory and monuments of them are beſt, when 'buried in oblivion; *victory itſelfe is ſad*, and aſhamed 'of itſelfe; *weeping*, dejected, and bluſhing with its 'owne blood unnaturally and barbaroufly ſpilt; as hav-'ing fought not ſo much againſt enemies as *humanity*; 'not ſo much conquering others, as waſting and de-'ſtroying itſelfe. — O! then (adds he) let us all 'take up thoughts, reſolutions, &c for *peace*: away 'with all *bitterneſſe*, *ſtrife*, *malice*, *jealouſies*, and all 'thoſe *diveliſh maximes* of ſevering the intereſts of the 'prince and the people as inconſiſtent; whereas right-'ly conſidered they are, as the head with the body; 'united, both are ſafe and firme; ſevered, both inevi-'tably ruine (4).'

(2) The text was Zech. viii. 19.

(3) Sermon, p. 31, 32.

(4) Ibid. p. 38, 39.

[C] *That they made him a preſent of a large ſilver tankard.*] With this honorary inſcription upon it, *Donum Honorarium Populi Anglicani in Parliamento congregati Johanni Gauden*, &c. which conſtantly went about his houſe (5).

(5) Dr Walker, ubi ſupra, p. 6.

[D] *Notwithſtanding he ſeems to deny it.*] I ſay he only *ſeems* to deny it. For, inſtead of affirming plainly and poſitively that *he never took it*; which would have been the moſt eaſy and natural way, if it had been the truth; he uſes a thouſand words, to ſhew the unlawfulneſs of the Covenant, as being 'inconſiſtent with 'former oaths, the laws of the land, the preſervation 'of Epiſcopal government in its juſt rights and enjoy-'ments, and thoſe duties of equity and charity, which 'every one owed to God or man;' and therefore that it was no way binding againſt thoſe prior obligations: or, that no 'man could be bound to any thing before, 'or after ſuch a Covenant, but what is juſt and honeſt '(6).' Indeed he 'aſſures the world, in one place '(7), that he never *took* any oaths, but thoſe *appointed* 'by law, no *proteſtation*, no *engagement*, no league, 'vow, or *negative oath*, and for this Covenant he of-'fered freely to ſome principal authors of it, his many 'juſt ſcruples and objections againſt it, both as to its 'matter and authority.'—But the reader may obſerve, he doth not put the Covenant among the things which he never took; and quibbles greatly about that point. Conſidering, how ſtrictly every man above the age of eighteen, and every miniſter in particular (8), was enjoined to take the Covenant, and withal what conſiderable preferments Dr Gauden enjoyed, it is not credible that he ſhould eſcape taking it among the reſt. Eſpecially as it is affirmed by his intimate acquaintance, and fellow-chaplain at Lees, Dr Walker, that he took the ſaid Covenant.

(6) See his Analyſis of the Covenant and Anti-Baal-Berith.

(7) Anti-Baal-Berith. p. 275.

(8) See Ordinance of 2 February 1643-4. in Huſbands's Collections, and elſewhere.

[E] *Certain doubts and ſcruples, &c.*] The whole title of this treatiſe, was, *Certain ſcruples and doubts of conſcience about taking the ſolemn League and Covenant*, tendred to the *conſideration of Sir Laur Bromfield, and Zach. Croſton*. Lond. 1643, and 1660. 4to.

[F] *And not only wrote a Proteſtation, and a juſt Invective againſt the murtherers of K. Charles I.*] The Proteſtation was intituled, 'The Religious and Loyal 'Proteſtation of John Gauden Doctor in Divinity, a-'gainſt the preſent declared purpoſes and proceedings 'of the army and others about the trying and deſtroy-'ing our ſovereign Lord the King. Sent to a colonel 'to be preſented to the Lord Fairfax and his general 'council of officers, the fifth of January 1648.' London 1648, 4to. — The juſt invective was written in 1648, but not publiſhed till 1662, as appears by the title, which was thus, 'A juſt Invective againſt thoſe 'of the army and their abbettors, who murthered K. 'Charles I. on the 30th of Jan. 1648, with ſome 'other poetic pieces in Latin, referring to thoſe tra-'gical times, written 10 Febr. 1648.' Lond. 1662.

[G] *He compoſed a folio volume of 700 pages.*] It is intituled, Ἱερὰ Δάκρυα. *Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Suſpiria*. 'The tears, ſighs, complaints, and prayers 'of the Church of England: ſetting forth her former 'conſtitution, compared with her preſent condition; 'alſo the viſible *cauſes*, and probable *cures*, of her 'diſtempers. In IV. books.' Lond. 1659. fol.

[H] *And*

(a work that could not coſt leſs than three years, or more), wherein he ſpeaks in as zealous a manner for the Church of England, and with as much bitterneſs againſt the ſectaries, as the moſt rigid Epiſcopalian. Thus, having had either better luck, or better foreſight, than the reſt of his complying brethren, he reconciled himſelf betimes to Monarchy and Epiſcopacy: and 'having lived, (as his own words are) to ſee that the joy of hypocrites, 'the proſperity of the wicked, and the triumph of violent men is but ſhort (n),' he heartily came into all the Court's meaſures at the Reſtoration. When, being a puſhing man, and making a great merit of having publiſhed, and, as ſome ſay, written, the Pourtraicture of K. Charles I. [H] he was made one of the King's Chaplains, and promoted to the Biſhopric

(n) Preface to his Anti-Baal-Berith, p. 1.

[H] *And making a great merit of having publiſhed, and as ſome ſay, written, the Pourtraicture of K. Charles* I.] That is, the book intituled, 'Εικὼν 'Βασιλικὴ. The Pourtraicture of his ſacred Majeſtie 'in his ſolitudes and ſufferings.' Much hath been ſaid, and written, upon the queſtion, whether that book was compoſed by K. Charles I. or by Dr Gauden.

Thoſe who maintain, that Dr Gauden was both the author and publiſher of Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ, ground themſelves upon theſe authorities. I. Upon certain papers, found at one Mr Arthur North's, a merchant in London; among which there was a letter of Dr Gauden, then biſhop of Exeter, to the Lord Chancellor Hyde, dated 28 Decemb. 1661, and a petition to K. Charles II. wherein the biſhop declares, what hazards he had run of life and eſtate; and what great advantage had accrued to the Crown by his ſervice: adding theſe *ambiguous* words, that what he had done was *for the comforting and incouraging of the King's friends, expoſing his enemies, and converting, &c. that what was done like a King, ſhould have a King-like retribution*, &c.——In a letter to the Duke of York of the 17th Jan. 1661, he ſtrongly urges the great ſervice he had done, and importunately begs his Royal Highneſs to intercede for him with the King.——And the Lord Chancellor Hyde, in a letter to him dated 13 March 1661, has this paſſage, *the particular you mention, has indeed been imparted to me as a ſecret; I am ſorry I ever knew it, and when it ceaſes to be a ſecret, it will pleaſe none but Mr Milton.*

II. There was alſo among thoſe papers, a letter of Mrs Gauden to her Son John, after the biſhop's death; wherein ſhe called that book *the Jewel*; ſaid, *that her huſband hoped to make a fortune by it*; and that *ſhe had a letter of a very great man's, which would clear up* that he writ it.——She moreover left a long ſtory, or narrative, importing in ſubſtance, "that her huſband penned that book, in order to ſhew the world, that the King's parts and piety were not inferiour to Cromwell's. He gave it at firſt the title of *Suſpiria Regalia*; and his deſign was, to have it put forth, as by ſome perſon who had found the papers in his Majeſty's chambers at Holmeby, being by chance left or ſcattered there. When he had writ it, he ſhewed it to my Lord Capel, who did highly approve of it; and tho' he thought it would do very well to have it printed, yet he ſaid it was not fit to do ſo without his Majeſty's approbation. He ſent therefore a copy of it to the King, by the Marquis of Hertford, when he was going to the treaty in the iſle of Wight. At his Lordſhip's return, *Dr Gauden went to him, and he told the Doctor*, 'that *his Majeſty* 'having had ſome of thoſe eſſays read to him by *Bp* 'Duppa, did exceedingly approve of them, and aſked 'whether they could not be put out in ſome other 'name (9). Biſhop Duppa reply'd, that the deſign 'was, the world ſhould take them to be his Majeſty's. 'Whereupon the King deſired time to conſider of it.' And that was all the account the Marquis could give of it, neither did he know what was become of the manuſcript. However Dr Gauden, in order to ſave his Majeſty's life, by endeavouring to move the hearts and affections of the people as much as might be towards him; immediately reſolved to print it with all ſpeed; having a copy of that which he ſent to the King. The inſtrument he employed to get it printed, was Mr Edward Symonds; and he got Mr Royſton to print it. When it was about half-printed, a diſcovery was made of it, and all the ſheets then wrought off were deſtroyed. Notwithſtanding all this, Dr Gauden attempted the printing of it again, but could by no means get it finiſhed till ſome few days after his Majeſty was deſtroyed. When it came out, the people then in power were not only extremely diſpleaſed at it, but alſo infinitely ſollicitous to find out the author: and took the MS. which had been ſent to the King: whereupon, they appointed a committee to examine the buſineſs. Of which Dr Gauden having notice, he withdrew privately in the night from his own houſe to Sir John Wentworth's near Yarmouth, on purpoſe to convey himſelf beyond ſea (10). But Mr Symonds, who had been taken in a diſguiſe, dying before he came to his examination: and the committee not being able to find out any thing by any means whatever; the Doctor altered his reſolution of going out of England. After the Reſtoration, he expected a ſuitable reward for his endeavours to ſerve K. Charles I. and II. in that book." But, whether in being the author, or publiſher of it, I am certain his words, as related above, are far from determining.——Theſe authorities were firſt produced by Edmund Ludlow (11), and J. Toland (12), perſons full of inveterate prejudices againſt the memory of K. Charles, and enemies to the very name of old Royaliſts.

(9) This is directly contrary to Dr Ant. Walker's account.

(10) His publiſhing of that book, was ſufficient to expoſe him to Cromwell's cruelty and rage; whether he was the author of it, or no.

(11) In a pamphlet intituled, *Truth brought to Light*, &c. Lond. 1693, 4to. p. 35, &c.

III. The next authority is that of Dr Anthony Walker, once Rector of Fyfield in Eſſex; who affirmed in print, that Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ 'was written by Dr Gauden (except two chapters writ by Bp Duppa).' His reaſons for it were theſe; 1. 'Dr Gauden, ſome 'time before the whole was finiſhed, was pleaſed to 'acquaint him [A. Walker] with his deſign, and 'ſhewed him the heads of divers chapters, and ſome 'of the diſcourſes written of them; and, after ſome 'time ſpent in peruſal, aſkt his opinion concerning the 'ſame. 2. Being both together in London, they 'went to Dr Duppa biſhop of Salisbury (whom 'Dr Gauden had acquainted with his deſign) to fetch 'what he had left with his Lordſhip to be peruſed, or 'to ſhew what he had further written. And, as they 'were returning, Dr Gauden told Dr Walker, that 'the biſhop had undertaken thoſe points, which are 'the 16th and 24th chapters in the printed book. 3. 'Dr Gauden delivered a copy of it to the Marquis of 'Hertford, when he went to the treaty at the iſle of 'Wight, and intreated his Lordſhip to deliver it to 'his Majeſty, if he could obtain a private opportunity, 'and to know his Majeſty's pleaſure concerning it. '*But he never knew certainly whether the King ever ſaw it* (13). 4. The Duke of York knew that Dr 'Gauden had writ it; but he could not poſitively 'and certainly ſay, that K. Charles II. knew ſo 'much; for he was never pleaſed to take expreſs notice of it to Dr Gauden. 5. Mrs Gauden, Mr Gifford (who wrote the copy mentioned above in article the 3d), and Dr Walker believed it; and when 'they ſpake of that book, in Dr Gauden's preſence or 'abſence, they did it without the leaſt doubt of his 'having writ it. 6. Dr Gauden delivered to Dr Walker, with his own hand, the laſt part of the copy 'that was ſent up to be printed: and, after he had 'ſhewed it him, and ſealed it up, gave him ſtrict 'caution, with what warineſs to carry and deliver it. 'And, according to his direction he delivered it Saturday Dec. 23, 1648. And, a few days after the 'impreſſion was finiſhed, he received ſix books (14).'

(12) In his Amyntor, p. 107, &c. Neither of them ſaw Mr North's papers, but only had extracts of them.

(13) Compare this with Mrs Gauden's Narrative; which it contradicts.

(14) A true Account of the Author of Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ &c. by Anth. Walker, D. D. Lond. 1692, 4to p. 3, 4, 5, 6.

As for the Earl of Angleſey's *Memorandum*, ſee it above, with obſervations upon it, under the article.

On the other hand, thoſe who affirm that K. Charles I. was the author of that book, alledge the following arguments to ſupport their opinion. I. Part of that book, written with the King's own hand, was taken in his cabinet, among the reſt of his papers, at the fatal battle of Naſeby June 14, 1645. His Majeſty being more concerned at the loſs of thoſe his

Bishopric of Exeter, then vacant (o); to which he was elected November 3, 1660. confirmed the 17th and consecrated the next day (p). Tho' that Bishopric yielded him twenty

(o) By the death of Dr Ralph Brownrigg. He had succeeded that Bishop in the office of Preacher at the Temple, in 1659.

(p) Reg. Juxon. But his own Regr. says he was consecrated Dec. 2. J. Le Neve's Fasti, ed. 1716. p. 34.

his private thoughts and meditations, than of his other papers which fell that day into the enemies hands; he employed his Chaplain Dr Gorge, who had attended him in that battle, to retrieve them out of Sir Thomas Fairfax's hands. Through Dr Gorge's, and Archbishop Usher's interceſſion (15), Sir Thomas reſtored them again, at laſt, with great difficulty, and after a conſiderable time: and ſent them back to his Majeſty, at Hampton-Court, by Mr Robert Huntington, Major of Cromwell's own regiment. The Major having read them over, before he delivered them, found, they were the ſame for *matter* and *form* with thoſe Meditations in the printed book [Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ]. When he delivered them to the King, his Majeſty appeared very joyful, and ſaid, He eſteemed them more than all the jewels he had loſt in the cabinet (16). This account the Major gave at ſeveral times, and to ſeveral creditable perſons, who atteſted it; namely, Sir William Courtney, Richard Duke, Eſq; Mr Cave Beck, of Ipſwich, and under his own hand to Sir William Dugdale (17).——Agreeable to Major Huntington's teſtimony, is the account given in a book intituled *The Princely Pellican* (18), publiſhed in 1649. namely, That 'at Naſeby, thoſe divine Meditations 'were ſeiz'd by the enemy, with other papers of con-'cern, being incloſed in a Cabinet reſerved for that 'purpoſe; and that by the benignity of the Conqueror, 'or divine Providence rather, it was recovered above 'all expectance, and returned to his Majeſty's hand; 'which infinitely cheared him.'

(15) See the Life of King Charles I. by Dr Perinchief, i. e. Mr Fulman. ed. 1685. p. 59.

(16) Dr Hollingworth's Defence of K. Charles the 1ſt's book, &c. Lond. 1692. 4to. Several evidences in the controverſy concerning the Author of Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, &c. by J. Young. Lond. 1703. 4to. p. 5.

(17) T. Wagſtaffe's Vindication of King Charles the Martyr, &c. edit. 1697. 4to. p. 34, 35, 36. and Defence of the Vindication, &c. ed. 1699. 4to. p. 70. T. Long's Examination of Dr Walker's Account, &c. Lond. 1703. 4to. p. 37, 38. Dr Hollingworth's Character of K. Charles I. p. 27. Dugdale's View of the Troubles, p. 380.

(18) p. 22.

II. Dr Billingham of Emmanuel-College Cambr. did wait upon King Charles after he was ſeized by the Army in 1647. and when his Majeſty was walking in the Garden, had by a ſpecial favour from thoſe about him, admittance into his bed-chamber, where he ſaw and read under the King's own hand, freſh writ, a whole chapter of the King's book (19).

III. Dr Gauden himſelf often affirm'd, That he was fully convinced, that the Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ was intirely the King's work (20).

IV. The Earl of Manchester, (when ſome Divines at his table queſtioned the King's being author of that book,) took occaſion expreſsly to tell them, *that he ſaw the Book when taken at Naſeby, written with the King's own hand*, ſo far as it relates to that time; adding, that he knew the King's hand ſo well as he did his own (21).

(19) Hollingworth's Defence, ut ſupra. p. 22.

(20) Ibid. p. 19. and T. Long, as above, p. 4.

V. Oliver Cromwell, making a viſit to the Lady Wenwood, and finding that book in her chamber, 'Madam, ſaid he, I ſee you have Charles Stuart's 'book in your keeping? Yes, my Lord, ſaid the La-'dy, but do you believe he was the author of it? Yes 'moſt certainly, ſaid Cromwell, I know it his—he 'was a perfect hypocrite (22).'

(21) Several evidences, &c. as above by J. Young. p. 6.

(22) Ibid. p. 7.

VI. Anton Croke, a Colonel and creature of Cromwell's, and an inveterate enemy to the King and the Royaliſts, declared, that he had ſeen a copy of *Icon Baſilice* of the King's own writing, and that he never doubted him to be the Author (23).

(23) Ibid. p. 8.

VII. Dr Edward Hooker certified, 'That Mr Edward Symonds conſulted him about printing the 'King's book (he being then corrector of a preſs) and 'told him, that his Majeſty was pleaſed to thank him 'for his *Vindication* &c. and to deliver him the copy 'of the *R. Icon*, written with his own hand, which 'he well knew, and that his Majeſty took it from un-'der his blew watchet waſtcoat, when he gave it him, 'ſaying it was all the requital he could make him, and 'bid him uſe it to his beſt advantage (24).' And Mr Symonds declared, upon his death-bed, to Dr Bathurſt, *that it was the King's own work* (25).

(24) Ibid. p. 29.

(25) Ibid. p. 27, 28. and Hollingworth's Defence, p. 21.

VIII. Mr Symonds being intimately acquainted with Dr Gauden, by reaſon of the nearneſs of Rayne and Bocking, ſhewed and lent the MS. to the Doctor, who took a copy of it. As he was obliged to return it ſoon; therefore beſides what other time he imploy'd in it, he ſate up one whole night to tranſcribe it: as William Allen, who then attended upon him, hath teſtified (26). After Mr Symonds's death, Dr Gauden might perhaps pretend to be the author of that book, as there was not any man living that could detect the plagiariſm. And his ſmall concern in the printing it, gave ſome umbrage to the fraudulent pretence.—— Theſe are the moſt conſiſtent and probable Arguments, that have been uſed to prove, that K. Charles I. and not Dr Gauden, was the Author of Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ.

(26) Several evidences, &c. as above, p. 8, 67. and Wagſtaffe's Vindication, p. 32. and Defence, p. 63.

But, beſides theſe *external* evidences, there are *internal* ones, taken from a ſtrict and cloſe examination of the Book itſelf; which plainly demonſtrate, that it was not Dr Gauden's compoſure. And that is the very great and viſible difference there is between the ſtyle of that book and of the Doctor's numerous writings. For, it is neither his diction, phraſeology, nor manner of expreſſion. Whatever he writ or publiſhed, is in a verboſe, looſe, and empty ſtyle, full of tautologies, affected bombaſt, and ſcraps of Latin (27). Whereas, in the judgment of Bp Burnet (28) and moſt others, 'There is, in the King's Book, a nobleneſs 'and juſtneſs of thought, with a greatneſs of ſtyle, 'that made it to be look'd on as the beſt writ book in 'the Engliſh language.——*And* this is certain, (adds he) that Gauden never writ any thing with that 'force, his other writings being ſuch, that no man 'from a Likeneſs of ſtyle would think him capable of 'writing ſo extraordinary a Book as that is.'

(27) See T. Long as above, p. 54, &c. Several evidences, &c. p. 10.

(28) Hiſtory of his own Time, edit. 1724. fol. p. 50.

Moreover (which doth not ſeem to have been obſerved before) the *manner of Spelling* there, is not like that uſed by Dr Gauden in his voluminous works. For inſtance, moſt of the final *e*'s are left out in the Εἰκὼν: as in *ſom*, *ſens*, &c. Double *ee*'s, are almoſt conſtantly uſed, as in *thee*, *mee*, &c. And, in words ending in *y*, the final *y*, is always turn'd into—*ie*; there being ſcarce any exception, unleſs in ſome monoſyllables, as *my*, *thy*, &c.——All which was not Dr Gauden's method, as appears by inſpection of his works.

Bp Kennett's judicious obſervations upon the point in hand, ſhall conclude this note. 'After much and 'long enquiry and conſideration, the Truth ſeems to 'lye between the two extreams as in many other caſes. 'It is highly probable, that K. Charles amidſt his ſo-'litudes and ſufferings did write moſt of thoſe Eſſays 'and Meditations upon the particular occaſions, and 'ſoon after the ſpecial times to which they were adap-'ted: And that ſuch Papers written by the King's 'own hand were committed to a loyal chaplain Mr 'Edward Symonds, Miniſter of Rayne in Eſſex, to 'convey them to the preſs with all privacy in London, 'or elſewhere. But he being interrupted by ſequeſtra-'tion, and under a neceſſity of flying and abſconding, 'delivered the Royal papers to his friend and neigh-'bour Dr Gauden, who being a man of an enterpriſing 'genius and a very luxuriant fancy, and finding him-'ſelf the more at liberty by the abſence of Mr 'Symonds, would not let them paſs without ſome-'what of his own additions, and (as he thought) im-'provements of them. Accordingly he enlarged the 'draught with ſome new heads, and prevailed with 'Biſhop Duppa to give him one chapter; and moſt 'likely of his own invention threw in moſt (if not all) 'of the ejaculations and devotions at the end of each 'ſubject (29), and ſet the title of his own deviſing. '——When he had thus dreſſed up the King's Papers, 'he thought it decent to ſend and ſhew them for his 'Majeſty's approbation. This he did by the Earl of 'Southampton going down to wait upon the King in 'his confinement in the iſle of Wight. Whether the 'King had time to reviſe the papers, and give his 'aſſent to the publiſhing of them (as ſome affirm) does 'not ſo well appear; but it ſeems probable, that Dr 'Gauden hearing nothing of the King's diſlike or 'reſtraint, and finding his violent death to be ſoon 'after the univerſal ſubject of wonder and lamentation, 'he got the impreſſion wrought off within a month af-'ter the tragedy was acted, and the cry of the times 'ſoon made way for ſeveral editions. Having had ſo 'much of his hand in it, it was natural for his ambi-'tion at the King's return to aſſume the honour of it, 'tho' his firſt pretenſions reached no farther than 'writing a part of it. However, upon this great ſhare 'of concern in it, he was very preſſing for preferment

(29) This it carrying the ſuppoſition too far, as is plain from what hath been obſerved a little before.

'at

twenty thouſand pounds in fines, in a few months (q), yet he was not ſatisfied with that, but importuned his Majeſty to tranſlate him to the rich ſee of Wincheſter; alledging, that Exeter had a high rack but a low manger; and pleading his deſert and great ſervices (r). However, he was forced to ſit down contented with the Biſhopric of Worceſter, (and not a mean one neither;) to which he was elected May 23, 1662, and confirmed June 10 (s). But his diſappointment in Wincheſter ſtuck ſo cloſe to him, that the regret and vexation is thought to have thrown him into a violent fit of the ſtone and ſtrangury, which put an end to his life the 20th of September following, when he was aged but 57 (t). He was buried in the choir of Worceſter-cathedral; and over his grave was ſoon after erected a fair monument, containing his effigies to the middle in his epiſcopal habit, with an inſcription below (u). Having enjoyed his great preferments but a very little while; alſo the charge of his removing from Exeter to Worceſter having been conſiderable; and his widow being left with four ſons and a daughter; ſhe petitioned the King for the half year's profits of the laſt Biſhopric; and, in all probability, preſented at the ſame time the Narrative mentioned in note [H]. But her petition was rejected (w); which unqueſtionably moved her reſentment, and made her inſiſt upon her huſband's having had a greater ſhare in K. Charles the firſt's Meditations, than he really had: eſpecially as he was no longer in being to contradict her. As to Bp Gauden's character; Ant. Wood ſays (x), that he was 'eſteemed by all that knew 'him a very comely perſon, a man of vaſt parts, and one that had been ſtrangely im-'proved by unwearied labour: and that he was much reſorted to for his moſt admirable 'and edifying way of preaching.' But he is repreſented by others in a more unfavourable light, on account of his ambiguous and unſteady conduct both with regard to the Royaliſts and Preſbyterians: and more eſpecially, ſince the controverſy about his being the author of Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ was ſet on foot. For, he is deſcribed as an inconſtant, uncertain, ambiguous, and lukewarm perſon, and charged with vanity and folly (y): as a man of a very ambitious temper, coverous of preferment, haſty and impatient in the purſuit of it (z); and as the unhappy blemiſh and reproach of the ſacred order (a). It is certain, as Bp Kennet obſerves, that he was capable of under-work, and made himſelf a tool to the Court, by the moſt ſordid hopes of greater favour in it; for, in 1662, he drew up a Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience extending to Papiſts, of which a few copies were printed off, tho' preſently called in: and he was about the ſame time employed to draw up another Declaration of Indulgence to the Quakers, by an exemption from all oaths; though he little enjoyed the price of that ſervile compliance (b). The ſeveral pieces he publiſhed, beſides thoſe already mentioned in the body of this article, are ſet down in the note below [I].

(q) Several evidences, &c. by J. Y. as above, p. 26.

(r) See Truth brought to Light, by Ludlow, Lond. 1693. 4to. p. 36.

(s) J. Le Neve's Faſti, p. 300.

(t) Bp Kennett's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. p. 775. and Wood Athen. ut ſupra, col. 314, 315.

(u) Kennett and Wood, ibid. See alſo Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Browne Willis, Eſq; Vol. I. p. 651.

(w) Truth brought to Light, &c. by Ludlow. p. 39.

(x) Ath. Veh. II. col. 312.

(y) Zach. Croſton's Berith Anti-Baal, in the Preface.

(z) Wagſtaffe's Vindication, p. 26.

(a) Appendix to the Life of Dr J. Berwick.

(b) Regiſter, and Chronicle, &c. p. 775.

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(30) Regiſter, and Chronicle, &c. as above, p. 774, 775. and p. 632.

'at Court, and having obtained the ſee of Exeter, he 'urged this merit for a tranſlation to Wincheſter (30).'

[I] *The ſeveral pieces he publiſhed, beſides thoſe already mentioned, &c.*] They were as follows. I. Sermons. viz. Three Sermons preached upon ſeveral publick occaſions. The firſt before his Majeſtie. The ſecond before the Judges at Chelmsford. The third before the Univerſity of Oxford, July 11, 1641. being Act-Sunday. Lond. 1642. 4to. A Sermon preached at Felſted March 5, 1657. at the interment of Robert Rich, heir apparent to the Earldom of Warwick. Lond. 1658. 4to. One preached Dec. 17, 1659. in the Temple-Chapel, at the funeral of Dr Brounrig biſhop of Exeter. With an account of his Life. Lond. 1660. 8vo. One preached Feb. 28, 1659 in St Paul's Church London; before the Lord-Maior, General Monk, &c. Being a day of Thankſgiving for reſtoring the ſecluded Members, &c. Lond. 1660. 4to. One before the Houſe of Commons, at their ſolemn faſt before their firſt ſitting, April 30, 1660. Lond. 1660. 4to, &c.——II. *Hieraſpiſtes:* or, a Defence by way of Apology of the Miniſtry and Miniſters of the Church of England. Lond. 1653. 4to. III. The caſe of Miniſters maintenance by Tithes (as in England) plainly diſcuſſed in conſcience and prudence. Lond. 1653. 4to. IV. Chriſt at the wedding: or the priſtine ſanctity and ſolemnity of Chriſtian marriages. This Tract is called elſewhere (31), A Treatiſe of Chriſtian Marriages to be ſolemnly bleſſed by Miniſters. Lond. 1654. 4to. V. A petitionary Remonſtrance preſented to O. P. (Oliver Protector) by John Gauden, D. D. a ſon, ſervant, and ſupplicant for the Church of England: in behalf of many thouſands his diſtreſſed Brethren (Miniſters of the Goſpel, and other good Scholars) who were deprived of all publick Employment. [viz. by his Declaration of Jan. 1, 1655.] Lond. 1659. 4to. VI. *Anti-ſacrilegus:* or, a Defenſative againſt the plauſibleneſs, or gilded poiſon of that nameleſs Paper (ſuppoſed to be the plot of Dr *Cornelius Burges* and his partners) which attempts the King's Majeſty by the offer of 500,000 l. to make good by an Act of Parliament to the purchaſers of Biſhops, &c. lands, their illegal bargain for ninety nine years. Lond. 1660 4to. VII. ΑΝΑΛΥΣΙΣ. The looſing of St Peter's Bands. Setting forth the true ſenſe and ſolution of the Covenant in point of Conſcience, ſo far as it relates to the Government of the Church by Epiſcopacy. Lond. 1660. 4to. VIII. Analyſis of the Covenant. Lond. 1660. 4to. IX. Anti-Baal-Berith: or the binding of the Covenant and all Covenanters to their good behaviour. By a juſt Vindication of Dr Gauden's Analyſis (that is, his reſolving of the Covenant to law and juſtice, to duty and conſcience, to reaſon and religion: Or his diſſolving it) againſt the Cacotomy of a nameleſs and ſhameleſs Libeller the worthy Hyperaſpiſtes of Dr Burges. Alſo againſt the pitiful cavils and objections of Mr Zach. Croſton, a rigid Preſbyter. With an Anſwer to that monſtrous paradox, of no ſacrilege no ſin, to alienate Church-lands, without and againſt all laws of God and man. Lond. 1661. 4to. X. Conſiderations touching the Liturgy of the Church of England in reference to his Majeſty's late Declaration; and in order to an happy union in Church and State. Lond. 1660. 4to. XI. Counſel delivered to forty-four Preſbyters and Deacons after they had been ordained by him, Jan. 13, 1660. folio. XII. Life of Mr Richard Hooker, prefixed to an edition of that great man's works by Dr Gauden, Lond. 1661. folio. But this Life is very full of faults (32). XIII. A pillar of gratitude, humbly dedicated to the glory of God, the honour of his Majeſty, &c. for reſtoring Epiſcopacy. Lond. 1662. folio. XIV. A Diſcourſe of artificial beauty in point of conſcience between two Ladies, Lond. 1662. 8vo. XV. Diſcourſe concerning public Oaths, and the lawfulneſs of ſwearing in judicial proceedings, in order to anſwer the ſcruples of the Quakers, Lond. 1649, and 1662. Latin and Engliſh. XVI. Prophecies concerning the return of Popery, Lond. 1663. 4to. XVII. The whole duty of a Communicant: being rules and directions for a worthy receiving the moſt holy ſacrament of the Lord's Supper, Lond. 1681. 12mo. (33).

(31) Eccleſiæ Anglican. Suſpir. p. 721.

(32) See Mr Hooker's Life, by *I.* Walton.

(33) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra, col. 312—315. and from the Books themſelves.

C

GAY [John] an excellent poet, was born in the year 1688, at or near Barnſtaple (*a*) in Devonſhire, and educated at the free-ſchool there under a maſter (*b*) who was well qualified to give him a juſt taſte of claſſical learning. Being deſcended of an ancient family [*A*], whoſe eſtate was greatly impaired (*c*), his friends thought proper to place him in a way of improving his fortune by trade. In this deſign he was put apprentice to a Silk-mercer in London. But that ſtation not ſuiting his liberal ſpirit, he began to ſhew his diſguſt to a ſhop, almoſt from his firſt entrance therein, and giving little attendance, and leſs attention to the buſineſs, he procured a releaſe upon eaſy terms, and in a few years took a final leave of his maſter (*d*). Having thus honourably got free from an ill-brooked reſtraint, he followed the bent of his genius, and it was not long before he gave the Public ſome admirable proofs of the character for which he was formed by nature (*e*) [*B*]. Theſe firſt ſpecimens of his poetical talents, added to the ſweetneſs of his temper, and an almoſt unexampled ſimplicity of manners, immediately procured him the eſteem and affection of ſeveral of his brother Poets, and particularly endeared him to Mr Pope, who was of the ſame age with him. In the ſociety of ſuch friends he paſſed a few years cultivating his muſe in that kind of improvident indolence and independency (*f*), which only could make him perfectly happy. But his taſte of life being too elegant for his fortune, he gladly accepted an offer made to him in 1712, of living with the Ducheſs of Monmouth, as her ſecretary [*C*]. This ſituation ſet him at full leiſure to indulge his poetic vein (*g*), and a remarkable incident [*D*], the following year, furniſhed him with an opportunity of making it particularly ſerviceable to his friend Mr Pope. In this ſpirit he compoſed his *Shepherd's Week* [*E*], and

(*a*) See Ayre's life of Pope Vol. II. p. 96.

(*b*) Mr William Rayner, who had been bred at Weſtminſter School, and taught in that moſt. General Dict. Article GAY.

(*c*) Our author himſelf declares, He never had been bleſt by Fortune's hand, Nor brightened plowſhares in paternal land. *Rural Sports.*

(*d*) See his life p. 3. printed in 2733. 8vo. and Ayre ubi ſupra. Theſe authorities are judged ſufficient for a fact not improbable in itſelf, is no diſcredit to our author, and has never, that we know of, been queſtioned.

(*e*) In his Survey of Devonſhire, Vol. I. 8vo. p. 80.

(2) In the 8th Vol. of Pope's Works.

(3) In his letter dated March 19th 2729. Pope's Works, Vol. 9.

(4) In a letter of Nov. 19, 1732. Ibid. Vol.

(5) It is dated Dec. 24, 1712. Ibid. Vol. 8.

(*f*) Dr Swift obſerves, that Providence never deſigned him to be above two and twenty by his thoughtleſneſs and cullibility. Letter 33 in Pope's Works Vol. 9. edit. 1742.

(*g*) His celebrated Poem *Trivia* was wrote about this time.

(*c*) In his Epiſtle Mr Methuen, we find him complaining in theſe terms. But now that wight in poverty muſt mourn, Who was (O cruel ſtars!) a Poet born. *In the 2d Vol. of his Poems.*

[*A*] *Deſcended of an ancient family.*] Mr Riſdon (1) obſerves, that Gilbert le Gay, who gave name to the family, was ſettled at a place called Hampton-Gay, in Oxfordſhire, and that by a match with the daughter and heir of the family of Cartoyſe, or Curtis, he came into the poſſeſſion of the lordſhip of Goldworthy in Devonſhire, which was the ancient dwelling of the name of Gay for many deſcents.

[*B*] *Some proofs of the character for which he was formed by nature.*] The principal of theſe is his Rural Sports, a Georgic The poem is addreſſed to Mr Pope, who, in a letter to Mr Cromwell, dated Dec. 7. 1711 (2), having acknowledged the favour, takes notice of a play that our author had then upon the ſtocks, alluding, doubtleſs, to his comedy called *The Wife of Bath*, which was acted in 1714 at the Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, but with no ſucceſs. It was then printed in 4to. He reviſed and altered it in 1729, when it was brought again upon the ſame ſtage, and met with the ſame bad reception. Dean Swift had no opinion of this ſecond attempt, tho' Mr Pope had. 'I had never (ſays the Dean to Mr Gay) (3) much hopes of your vamped play, although Mr Pope ſeemed to have, and although it were ever ſo good. But you ſhould have done like the parſons, and changed your text, I mean the title and the names of the perſons. After all it was an effect of idleneſs, for you are in the prime of life, when invention and judgment go together.'

[*C*] *Secretary to the Ducheſs of Monmouth.*] This place furniſhed ſome recruits which were very ſeaſonable. Mr Gay's purſe was an unerring barometer of his ſpirits, and when theſe ran low, (tho' talkativeneſs was far from being his foible) the continual dread of a ſervile dependance filled his mouth too full of complaints. The Dean, as his manner was, deals very plainly with him on this head. 'I never charged you, ſays he, (4) for not talking, but the dubious ſtate of your affairs in thoſe days, was too much the ſubject.' This may ſerve as a fit contraſt to the delicacy with which Mr Pope touches the ſame ſtring on the preſent occaſion. After many congratulations, he concludes his letter (5) thus: 'I ſhall ſee you this winter with much greater pleaſure than I could the laſt, and I hope ſo much of your time, as your attendance on the Ducheſs will allow you to ſpare to any friend, will not be thought loſt to one, who is as much ſo as any man. I muſt alſo put you in mind, tho' you are now ſecretary to this Lady, that you are ſecretary to nine other Ladies, and are to write ſometimes for them too. *He who is forced to live wholly upon thoſe Ladies favours, is indeed in as precarious a condition, as any He who does what Chaucer ſays for ſuſtenance*; but they are very agreeable companions, like other ladies, when a man only paſſes a night or ſo with them at his leiſure and away.'

[*D*] *A remarkable incident.*] It was an affront which had been lately put upon Mr Pope by his great rival in paſtoral poetry, Mr Phillips: of this we have the following account, in a letter of Mr Pope to Mr Craggs, dated June 8. 1714 (6). 'The queſtion you aſk in relation to Mr Addiſon and Phillips, I ſhall anſwer in a few words. Mr Phillips did expreſs himſelf with much indignation againſt me one evening at Button's coffee-houſe (as I was told), ſaying, that I was entered into a cabal with Dean Swift and others, to write againſt the Whig intereſt, and in particular to undermine his own reputation, and that of his friends Steele and Addiſon. But Mr Phillips never opened his lips to my face on this or any other like occaſion; tho' I was almoſt every night in the ſame room with him, nor ever offered me any indecorum.' He then proceeds to relate Mr Addiſon's and Lord Halifax's kindneſs to him in procuring ſubſcriptions to his tranſlation of Homer's Iliad, and goes on thus: 'However Phillips did all he could ſecretly to continue the report with the Hanover club, and kept in his hands the ſubſcriptions paid for me to him as ſecretary to that club.—*It is to this management of Phillips, that the world owes Mr Gay's Paſtorals.*'

(6) Ibid. Vol. 7.

[*E*] *Shepherd's Week.*] As there cannot be an inſtance given of greater friendſhip in an author, than is this undertaking by Mr Gay; ſo nothing could be ſweeter than the ſucceſs of it to Mr Pope; for although his Paſtorals were allowed to excell in the Arcadian ſtile, yet thoſe of his rival, formed upon Spencer's plan, had carried the prize; a true rural ſimplicity being generally eſteemed the proper characteriſtic of the paſtoral poem: but this rival had the mortification to ſee his garland blaſted, at the appearance of Mr Gay's piece, which being found ſtill more exquiſitely pure in that taſte, obtained far the loudeſt applauſe. Our author in the proem marks the defect of his predeceſſor, and in doing it gives a notable proof of his own perfection. 'Great marvel, ſays he, hath it been (and that not unworthily) to divers worthy wits, that in this our iſland of Britain, in all rare ſciences ſo greatly abounding, more eſpecially in all kinds of poeſy highly flouriſhing, no poet, tho' otherwiſe of notable cunning in roundelays, hath hit on the right ſimple eclogue after the true ancient guiſe of Theocritus, beſide this mine attempt.—Certes ſuch it behoveth a paſtoral to be, as nature in the country aſſordeth, and the manner alſo meetly copied from the ruſtical folk therein.' The following ſpecimen will ſhew how perfectly he has executed this plan. It is the conteſt among the lovers for the prize of beauty to their reſpective miſtreſſes.

Lobbin Clout.

'My Blouzalinda is the blitheſt laſs!
'Than primroſe ſweeter, or the clover graſs.

'Fair is the king-cup that in meadow blows,
'Fair is the daiſy that beſide her grows,

'Fair

and printed it with a dedication to Lord Bolingbroke (*b*), in 1714. The ſame year he reſigned his poſt to the Ducheſs, being appointed to attend the Earl of Clarendon in the like character on an embaſſy from Queen Anne to the Court of Hanover [*F*]. The Queen's death put an end to all his tow'ring hopes; however, upon his return home ſoon after, under the weight of that misfortune, he was received with the warmeſt welcome by his never-failing friend abovementioned, who adviſed him withal to puſh the advantage which his laſt employ had given him of being perſonally known to the new Sovereign and his Family [*G*]. Accordingly he took the opportunity of making his court to the Princeſs of Wales (*i*), [afterwards Queen Caroline] on the arrival of her Royal Highneſs in England ſhortly after (*k*). This compliment was well received, and our author's Farce intitled *The What d' ye call it*, being brought upon the ſtage [*H*] before the end of the ſeaſon, both their

(*b*) The Dean in 1722 calls this dedication Mr Gay's Original Sin againſt the Court. Pope's Works. Ibid. letter VI.

(*i*) See his Epiſtle to a Lady, occaſioned by the arrival of her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of Wales.

(*k*) She arrived with the two eldeſt Princeſſes, Oct. 13, 1714. and Mr Pope's advice, is dated Sept. 23.

' Fair is the gilliflow'r, of gardens ſweet,
' Fair is the marygold, for pottage meet;
' But Blouzalind's than gilliflow'r more fair,
' Than daiſy, marygold, or king-cup, rare.

Cuddy.

' My brown Buxoma is the feateſt maid
' That e'er at wake delightſome gambol play'd.
' Clean as young lambkins, or the gooſe's down,
' And like the gold-finch in her Sunday-gown;
' The witleſs lamb may ſport upon the plain,
' The friſking kid delight the gaping ſwain,
' The wanton calf may ſkip with many a bound,
' And my cur, Tray, play deſteſt feats around;
' But neither lamb, nor kid, nor calf, nor Tray,
' Dance like Buxoma on the firſt of May.

Lobbin Clout.

' Sweet is my toil when Blouzalind is near,
' Of her bereft, 'tis winter all the year;
' With her, no ſultry ſummer's heat I know;
' In winter, when ſhe's nigh, with love I glow:
' Come, Blouzalinda, eaſe thy ſwain's deſire,
' My ſummer's ſhadow, and my winter's fire.

The following lines from Mr Phillips on the like conteſt, being ſet in this place, will bring the difference into full light.

' Mild as a lamb, and harmleſs as a dove,
' True as the turtle, is the maid I love;
' How we in ſecret love I ſhall not ſay;
' Divine her name, and I give up the day.

By this ſpecimen we ſee, that even in ſome places where this poet can't be charged with want of ſimplicity, though the character of the country is retained, yet it is evident, the true manner of the ruſtical folk therein is not *meetly* copied. In the former every thing is not only in character, but beautifully ſo. Thus Vandyke painted, ever copying nature with the moſt religious exactneſs, and ever ſhewing it beautiful In the dedication, Mr Gay thus deſcribes his own dreſs at that time, when he was waiting for Court favours.

' I ſold my ſheep and lambkins too
' For ſilver loops and garment blue. &c.

Mr Pope took an opportunity of touching upon this vanity in a very humorous letter to the Dean (7), who had with equal humour offered him twenty guineas to turn Proteſtant. This the former propoſes to do upon a ſubſcription proportionable to that of the Dean, but with certain conditions, one of which is, that a ſufficient ſum be advanced to purchaſe (according to the practice of the Romiſh Church) the ſalvation of the ſouls of ſome of his friends, amongſt whom he reckons Mr Gay. ' There is one ——, ſays he, ' will die ' within theſe few months, with one Jervas, who hath ' grievouſly offended in making the likeneſs of almoſt ' all things in Heaven above, and Earth below; and ' one Mr Gay, an unhappy youth, who writes Paſto' rals during the time of divine ſervice, *whoſe caſe is* ' *the more deplorable, as he hath miſerably laviſhed a-* ' *way all that ſilver he ſhould have reſerved for his* ' *ſoul's health, in buttons and loops for his coat.*'

(7) dated Dec. 8, 1713, and inſerted in Lord Orrery's account of Swift. Letter V.

[*F*] *An embaſſy to the Court of Hanover.*] The occaſion of this embaſſy was, the demand that had been made by Baron Schutz, Envoy-extraordinary from the Elector of Hanover, of a writ for ſummoning the Electoral Prince *his preſent Majeſty, to ſit in the* Houſe of Lords as Duke of Cambridge (8).

(8) See more of this in the Earl of Halifax's Article.

[*G*] *Mr Pope received him with the warmeſt welcome, and adviſed him to puſh the advantage, &c.*] This letter is dated Sept. 23. 1714 (9), and begins thus: ' Dear Mr Gay, Welcome to your na' tive ſoil, welcome to your friends, thrice welcome to ' me! whether returned in glory, bleſs'd with Court' intereſt, the love and familiarity of the Great, and ' filled with agreeable hopes, or melancholy with de' jection, contemplative of the change of fortune, and ' doubtful for the future; whether returned a tri' umphant Whig, or deſponding Tory, equally all ' hail! equally beloved, and welcome to me.—I know ' you will be an honeſt man, and an inoffenſive one; ' incapable of being ſo much of either party, as to be ' good for nothing. Therefore once more, whatever ' you are, or in whatſoever ſtate you are, all hail!' After apologizing for not having written to Mr Gay while abroad, on account of the taſk he had ſet himſelf in carrying on the tranſlation of Homer, which was now finiſhed, he continues in the ſame vein as before. ' Rejoice with me, O my friend, that my labour is ' over; come and make merry with me in much feaſt' ing. We will feed among the lilies (10) (by the ' lilies, I mean the ladies). Are not the Roſalindaes ' of Britain, as charming as the Blouzalindaes of the ' Hague? Or, have the two great paſtoral poets of our ' nation renounced love at the ſame time? For Phillips, ' immortal Phillips! hath deſerted, yea, and in a ruſtic ' manner, kicked his Roſalind.' Mr Pope writes this letter from Bath, whither giving his friend this hearty invitation, ' Talk not of expences, Homer ſhall ſup' port his children.' He concludes thus: ' Pardon me ' if I add a word of advice in the poetical way. Write ' ſomething on the King, or Prince, or Princeſs. On ' whatſoever foot you may be with the Court, this can ' do no harm.'

(9) It is in the 8th Vol. of Mr Pope's Works.

(10) This may perhaps allude to the following lines in Phillips's Paſtorals. Breathe ſoft, ye Winds, ye Waters, gently flow, Shield her, ye trees, ye flowers around her grow. Ye ſwains, I beg you paſs in ſilence by, My Love in yonder vale aſleep does lie. Compare theſe with Canticles. Ch. xi. 5. In this view Mr Pope's tranſition is beautiful.

[*H*] *The What d' y' call it was brought upon the ſtage.*] He called it a tragi-comi-paſtoral farce. It has been always eſteemed a maſter-piece of our author, and the tide of party, which ran extremely high at this time, threw out many curious remarks upon it to his no ſmall diverſion, as is ſeen in ſome letters to Mr Congreve. In one of which dated March 10. 1714-15 (11), he writes thus: ' The farce of the What ' d' ye call it has occaſioned many different ſpeculations ' in the town, ſome looking upon it as meer jeſt upon ' the tragic poets, others as a ſatire upon the late war; ' Mr Cromwell hearing none of the words †, and ſeeing ' the action to be tragical, was much aſtoniſhed to find the ' audience laugh, and ſays the Prince and Princeſs muſt ' doubtleſs be under no ſmall amazement on the ſame ' account. Several Templers, and others of the more ' vociferous kind of critics, went with a reſolution to ' hiſs, and confeſſed they were forced to laugh ſo much, ' that they forgot the deſign they came with. The ' Court in general has in a very particular manner come ' into the jeſt, and the three firſt nights (notwithſtand' ing two of them were Court nights) were diſtinguiſhed ' by very full audiences of the firſt quality. The com' mon people of the pit and gallery received it at firſt ' with great gravity and ſedateneſs, ſome few with ' tears; but after the third day they alſo took the ' hint, and have ever ſince been very loud in their ' claps. There are ſtill ſome ſober men, who cannot ' be of the general opinion; but the laughers are ſo ' much the majority, that one or two critics ſeem deter' mined to undeceive the town at their proper coſt by ' writing grave diſſertations againſt it. To encourage ' them in this laudable deſign, it is reſolved, a preface ' ſhall be prefixed to the farce in vindication of the

(11) In Pope's Works, Vol. 8.

† By reaſon of his deafneſs.

their Royal Highneſſes honoured it with their preſence. The very kind reception, he met with from perſons of the firſt diſtinction at this time, filled him with the fond hopes of more ſubſtantial favours [I]; and the failure of theſe (i) made too deep an impreſſion upon his tender nature, which upon that account was but ill ſuited to the wavering ſtate of a ſlender fortune. To divert this melancholy, Mr Pulteney (m) took our author in company with him to Aix [K] in France in the year 1717, and the following year he was invited by Lord Harcourt to his ſeat in Oxfordſhire [L]. In 1720 he publiſhed his poems by

(i) The Princeſs of Wales was delivered of a young Prince, Nov. 20, 1717. And Mr Pope in a letter dated the 8th of that month gives him joy of this Prince, becauſe ſays he he is the only Prince from whom you have had no expectations and no diſappointment. See Pope's Works, Vol. 8.

(m) He was then out of favour at Court, having reſigned his place of Secretary at War the April before. Salmon's Chronol. Hiſtorian. in the Year 1717.

'nature and dignity of this new way of writing (12).' Accordingly there came out ſoon after, *A compleat Key to the What d' ye call it*, which was written by one Griffin, a player, aſſiſted by Lewis Theobald. Upon this Mr Gay, in a letter to Mr Congreve, dated April ſeventh 1715 (13), makes the following remarks: 'There is a ſixpenny pamphlet lately publiſhed upon 'the tragedy of the *What d' ye call it*, wherein he 'with much judgment and learning, calls me a block-'head, and Mr. Pope a knave. His grand charge is 'againſt the Pilgrim's Progreſs (14), which, he ſays, is 'directly levelled at Cato's reading Plato. To back 'this cenſure, he goes on to tell you, that the pilgrim's 'being mentioned to be the eighth edition, makes the 'reflection evident, the tragedy of Cato having juſt 'eight times (as he quaintly expreſſes it) viſited the 'preſs. He has alſo endeavoured to ſhew, that every 'particular paſſage of the play leads to ſome fine part 'of that tragedy, which he ſays I have injudiciouſly and 'profoundly abuſed.' *The What d' ye call it* (15) was alſo attacked by Mr (afterwards Judge) Burnet, in one of his papers called the Grumbler.

[I] *Filled him with the hopes of more ſubſtantial favours.*] It was in this flow of ſpirits, that the *Three hours after marriage* was brought upon the ſtage, and he bore the ill ſucceſs (16) of it very manfully, as is evident from the following letter (17). 'Dear Pope, too late 'I ſee and confeſs myſelf miſtaken in relation to the 'comedy: yet I do not think, had I followed your 'advice, and only introduced the mummy, that the 'abſence of the crocodile (18) had ſaved it. I cannot 'help laughing myſelf (though the vulgar do not con-'ſider, that it was deſigned to look very ridiculous) to 'think, how the poor monſter and mummy were daſhed 'at their reception; and when the cry was loudeſt, 'that if the thing had been wrote by another, I ſhould 'have deemed the Town in ſome meaſure miſtaken: 'and, as to your apprehenſion that this may do us any 'future injury, do not think it. The Doctor has a 'more valuable name than can be hurt by any thing of 'this nature, and your's is doubly ſafe. I will (if any 'ſhame there be) take it all to myſelf, as indeed I 'ought, the motion being firſt mine, and never heartily 'approved of by you. As to what your early enemy 'ſaid at the Duke of Dorſet's, and Mr Pulteney's, you 'will live to prove him a falſe prophet, as you have 'already a liar, and a flatterer, and a poet in ſpight 'of nature. Whether I ſhall do ſo or no, you can 'beſt tell; for with the continuance of your dear-'friendſhip and aſſiſtance, never yet witheld from me, 'I dare promiſe as much.

'I beg of you not to ſuffer this or any thing elſe 'to hurt your health. As I have publickly ſaid, that 'I was aſſiſted by two friends (19), I ſhall ſtill continue 'in the ſame ſtory, profeſſing obſtinate ſilence about Dr 'Arbuthnot and yourſelf. I am going to-morrow to 'Hampton-court for a week notwithſtanding the bad-'neſs of the weather; where, though I am to mix 'with Quality, I ſhall ſee nothing half ſo engaging as 'you, my dear friend. I am (not at all caſt down) 'your ſincere friend,

'JOHN GAY.

The ſatire of this play ſeems to be levelled at Dr Woodward in the character of Foſſile, which was admirably repreſented by the beſt comedian of that time in his ſtyle of acting Mr Johnſon, as was that of Mrs Foſſile by Mrs Oldfield (20); but no advantage in the acting was able to ſupport it. How greatly Mr Pope intereſted himſelf in it's reception, we are informed by Mr Cibber (21), who likewiſe tells us he had a fling at it in the character of Bays, when the Rehearſal was acted ſoon after. Thus upon the coming of the two Kings of Brentford from the clouds into the throne again, inſtead of what his part directed, he ſaid. *Now, Sir, this revolution I had ſome thoughts of introducing by a quite different contrivance; but my deſign taking air, ſome of your ſharp wits I found had made uſe of it before me; otherwiſe I intended to have ſtolen one of them in the ſhape of a mummy, and t'other in that of a crocodile.* This was ſo much reſented by Mr Pope, that, after the play, coming behind the ſcenes in an extraordinary agitation of ſpirits, he fell upon the actor in very foul language; and Mr Cibber's perſiſting in the ſame inſult ſeveral ſucceeding nights, is aſſigned by him for the firſt cauſe of Mr Pope's perſecuting him with his pen ever afterwards.

[K] *He was taken by Mr Pulteney to Aix.*] He had been entertained the year before with a viſit to his own country [Devonſhire] at the expence of the Earl of Burlington, and had repaid his Lordſhip with a humorous account of the journey (22). He made the ſame return for this ſucceeding favour of Mr Pulteney. This jaunting about with ſome decent appointments, was one of the ſweeteſt pleaſures of his life, and never failed of provoking his muſe. However, Dr Swift rallies the foible with his uſual kind ſeverity. 'I wiſh (ſays he to him in '1729) you had a little villakin in his [Pope's] neigh-'bourhood; but you are yet too volatile, and any Lady 'with a coach and ſix horſes, would carry you to Japan.' The ſame foible comes again croſs the Dean's mind in 1732, when he writes thus to his friend. 'I find by 'the whole caſt of your letter, that you are as giddy and 'as volatile as ever, juſt the reverſe of Mr Pope, who 'hath always loved a domeſtic life from his youth. I 'was going to wiſh you had ſome little place that you 'could call your own; but I profeſs I do not know you 'well enough to contrive any one ſyſtem of life that 'would pleaſe you. You pretend to preach up riding 'and walking to the Ducheſs; yet, from my knowledge 'of you after twenty years, you always joined a violent 'deſire of perpetually ſhifting places and company, with 'a rooted lazineſs, and an utter impatience of fatigue. 'A coach and ſix horſes is the utmoſt exerciſe you can 'bear, and this only when you can fill it with ſuch com-'pany as is beſt ſuited to your taſte (23).'

[L] *He went to Stanton-Harcourt, in Oxfordſhire.*] Here an unfortunate accident again engaged his muſe jointly with Mr Pope; of this he ſent an account to Mr Elijah Fenton in a letter (24), ſoon after it had happened. 'The only news, ſays he, that you can expect to 'have from me here, is news from Heaven; for I am 'quite out of the world, and there is ſcarce any thing 'can reach me, except the noiſe of thunder.' Upon that ſubject he proceeds (in contraſt to Horace) to acquaint his friend, that Blenheim ſtood untouched in the neighbourhood, while a cock of barley in the next field to them, was conſumed to aſhes. 'Would to God, con-'tinues he, that this heap of barley had been all that 'had periſhed! For, unhappily beneath this little 'ſhelter, ſat two much more conſtant lovers, than ever 'were found in romance under the ſhade of a beech-'tree. [illegible] Hewet was a well-ſet man, of about five-'and-t[illegible] Sarah Drew might be rather called 'com[illegible] beautiful, and was about the ſame age. 'They had paſſed through the various labours of the 'year together with the greateſt ſatisfaction; if ſhe 'milked, it was his morning and evening care to bring 'the cows to her hand; it was but laſt fair, that he 'bought her a preſent of green ſilk for her ſtraw-hat, 'and the poſy on her ſilver ring was of his chuſing. 'Their love was the talk of the whole neighbourhood; 'for ſcandal never affirmed, that they had any other 'views, than the lawful poſſeſſion of each other in 'marriage. It was that very morning, that he had ob-'tained the conſent of her parents, and it was but 'till 'the next week they were to wait to be happy. Per-'haps in the intervals of their work, they were now 'talking

(12) This was executed with incomparable humour.

(13) Pope's Works, ubi ſupra

(14) This humour in the character of Timothy Peakod was imitated in a Poem called the Horn-book, publiſhed in 1733.

(15) Mr Gay publiſhed another Farce called the Mohocks, but it was never acted.

(16) Mr Cibber tells us, it was very ill received, if not condemned, the firſt night. Lives of the Poets, Vol. 4. edit. 1753.

(17) In Pope's Works, Vol. 8.

(18) In this play two Lovers of a Virtuoſo's wife to gain acceſs to her, got themſelves ſent to the huſband as two rarities in the forms of an Egyptian Mummy and a Crocodile.

(19) In a ſhort advertiſement prefixed to the play.

(20) It was acted at Drury-Lane in 1717.

(21) In his firſt letter to Mr Pope publiſhed in 1742.

(22) It is called A Journey to Exeter, in an Epiſtle to that Lord.

(23) Letter 49, and 57. in Pope's Works, Vol. 9. edit. 1742.

(24) It is dated Auguſt 3, 1718, and the lightning fell the laſt day of July. Ibid. Vol. 8.

by subscription with good success (*n*), but this was presently damped by the misfortune he had of being involved in the general calamity which happened [*M*] that remarkable year. So that by degrees he fell into such an utter despondency as, being attended with the cholic, brought his life in danger. In this unhappy condition he removed for the benefit of the air in 1722 to Hampstead, where he received some very tender proofs of Mr Pope's affection [*N*]. Recovering from this disorder, he finished, in 1724, his tragedy called *the Captives*; which being honoured with a particular mark of favour from her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales (*o*), he was further encouraged to write a set of fables [*O*] in verse, for the use of the Duke

(n) See his Epistle to Mr Methuen, quoted above.

(o) Viz. that of hearing him read it to her in Manuscript.

'talking of their wedding-cloaths, and John was suiting several sorts of poppies and field flowers to her 'complexion to chuse her knot for the wedding-day. 'While they were thus busied (it was on the last of July, 'between two and three in the afternoon) the clouds 'grew black, and such a storm of lightning and thun-'der ensued, that all the labourers made the best of 'their way to what shelter the trees and hedges af-'forded. Sarah was frightened, and fell down in a 'swoon on a heap of barley; John, who never separated 'from her, sat down by her, having raked toge-'ther two or three heaps the better to secure her from 'the storm. Immediately there was heard so loud a 'crack, as if Heaven had split asunder: every one was 'now sollicitous for the safety of his neighbour, and 'called to one another throughout the field. No an-'swer being returned to those who called to our lovers, 'they stepped to the place where they lay; they per-'ceived the barley all in a flame, and then 'spied this 'faithful pair, John with one arm about Sarah's neck, 'and the other held over her as to screen her from the 'lightning. They were struck dead, and stiffned in this 'tender posture. Sarah's left eye-brow was singed, 'and there appeared a black spot on her breast: her 'lover was all over black, but not the least signs of 'life were found in either. Attended by their melan-'choly companions, they were conveyed to the town, 'and the next day were interred in Stanton-Harcourt 'church-yard. My Lord Harcourt, at Mr Pope's and 'my request, has caused a stone to be placed over them, 'upon condition that we furnished the epitaph, which 'is as follows:

When eastern lovers feed the sun'ral fire,
On the same pile the faithful pair expire.
Here pitying Heav'n that virtue mutual found,
And blasted both, that it might neither wound.
Hearts so sincere th' Almighty saw well pleas'd,
Sent his own light'ning, and the victims seiz'd.

It is thus our poet entertained his friends when he was properly himself, which ought to be remembered in reading the remark of a noble author (25), who, speaking of Mr Gay's letters to Dr Swift, observes, 'they have nothing in them striking, or commendatory, 'and his sentiments only those of an honest, good-'natured man:' it will presently appear that in that correspondence we never see him but in an ill state of health, and under some dejection of spirits; besides, it is allowed he had an awful regard of the Dean as his father, it might have been said, as his preceptor.

(25) Lord Orrery in his account of the Life and Writings of Dr Swift, Letter the XXth.

[*M*] *Involved in the calamity of that year.*] No body will be surprized that a person of Mr Gay's turn was caught in the alluring snare that was laid at this time by the projectors of the South-Sea scheme. He had the ill luck to be possessed of as much original stock as swelled to the imaginary value of about ten thousand pounds. Upon which, Mr Pope and Mr Fenton [illegible] others, not a little delighted with the prospect of [illegible] their friend settled in an independent fortune, to [illegible] possibly necessary to support his spirit in chearfulness, were very assiduous in urging him to sell: he gave them an absolute denial, and even treated the advice (as thousands did at that time) with an air of disdain. Then they endeavoured to prevail on him at least to let as much stock go, as would raise wherewithal to purchase an annuity of one hundred pounds for his life; observing to him, that by this means he would be placed out of the reach of want, and be sure *of a clean shirt and a shoulder of mutton every day* (26). It was further added, that this prudent step was very consistent with any higher views which might possibly arise, since the remainder was enough to give him still a considerable hand in the play, of which he should also wait the event with much less anxiety after this necessary provision; but all this preaching, however sound the doctrine, was given to the winds. Their friend was seized with the general new spirit of prophecy of much greater things than they simply talked of, and all this while lived suitably to that prospect; nor was this spirit quenched, but in the general inundation that presently broke the charm, and stripped poor Gay even of the small pittance of his original stock. This original stock seems to be the thousand pounds, about the disposal of which we are told (27) our author had a consultation with his friends, when Mr Lewis Lord Oxford's steward advised him to intrust it to the funds, and live upon the interest; Dr Arbuthnot to intrust it to providence, and live upon the principal; and Mr Pope was for purchasing an annuity for life; *fecistis probe*, says the author of this story, *interior sum multo quam dudum* †. Dr Swift, who was also for his buying an annuity, having received no agreeable answer, in reply thereto tells him, *You are the most refractory, honest, good-natured man I ever knew* (28).

(26) That was the Expression of Mr Fenton, from whom we had the account of this particular.

(27) By Mr Warburton in a note to Letter XXIXth in Vol. 9. of Pope's Works. edit. 1753.

† Well done; you have hung a little more upon the tenters than before.

(28) Ibid.

[*N*] *He received some tender proofs of Mr Pope's affection.*] Mr Pope's mother lying very ill at this time hindered him from visiting his friend in person, he therefore wrote to him in the following most affectionate terms: 'In the afflicting prospect before 'me, I know nothing that can so much alleviate 'it, as the view now given me (heaven grant it may 'increase) of your recovery—May your health augment 'as fast as I fear her's must decline; I believe that 'would be very fast—May the life that is added to 'you be passed in good fortune and tranquillity, rather 'from your own giving to yourself, than from any ex-'pectations or trust in others—May you and I live to-'gether without wishing more felicity or acquisitions 'than friendship can give and receive, without obliga-'tions to greatness.

'*P. S.* As I told you in my last letter, I repeat it 'in this; do not think of writing to me. The Doctor, 'Mrs Howard, and Mrs Blount, give me daily ac-'counts of you.'

In another letter he expresses himself thus: 'No 'words can tell you the great concern I feel for you; 'I assure you it was not, and is not lessened, by the im-'mediate apprehension I have now every day lain un-'der of losing my mother. Be assured no duty less 'than that should have kept me one day from at-'tending your condition. I would come and take a 'room by you at Hampstead to be with you daily, 'were she not still in danger of death. I have con-'stantly had particular accounts of you from the doctor, 'which have not ceased to alarm me. God preserve 'your life, and restore your health. I really beg it 'for my own sake, for I feel I love you more than I 'thought in health, though I always loved you a great 'deal.' He then made a proposal to attend him to the southern parts, as soon as he should recover strength enough for the journey; and concludes thus: 'Dear 'Gay, be as chearful as your sufferings will permit: 'God is a better friend than a Court; even any honest 'man is better. I promise you my entire friendship in 'all events, heartily praying for your recovery.

'*P. S.* Do not write if you are ever so able; the 'doctor tells me all (29).'

(29) These two Letters are in Vol. 8. of Pope's Works, without a date.

[*O*] *Encouraged to write a set of fables.*] Dean Swift, who informs us that our author was promised a reward for this piece, intimates likewise his opinion how that promise came to put on the face of an affront. 'It must be allowed, says the Dean (30), speaking of 'the Beggar's Opera, this is not the first of Mr Gay's 'works wherein he hath been faulty with respect to 'courtiers and statesmen; for to omit his other pieces, 'even

(30) The Intelligencer, No. III. p. 23. published in 1729.

Duke of Cumberland; theſe he publiſhed in 1726, with a ſuitable dedication to that Prince (*p*), who was then very young. Upon the acceſſion of his preſent Majeſty to the Crown the following year, in ſettling Queen Caroline's Houſhold, the Poſt of Gentleman-Uſher to the youngeſt Princeſs Louiſa, was marked out for Mr Gay; but he declined the offer as unworthy of him [*P*], and his famous Beggar's Opera [*Q*] appeared upon the ſtage early in the enſuing ſeaſon (*q*). The unparallelled ſucceſs of that piece induced him to carry on the plan in a ſecond part, which being excluded the theatre by the Lord Chamberlain [*R*], our author thought proper to print it by ſubſcription, and the

(*p*) This was againſt Mr Pope's advice. See Remark [*U*].

(*q*) Viz. in the beginning of November 1727.

'even in his fables, publiſhed within two years paſt; 'and dedicated to the Duke of Cumberland, for which 'he was promiſed a reward, he hath been thought 'ſomewhat too bold upon courtiers.'

[*P*] *He declined the offer as unworthy of him.*] Our author gives an account of this matter to his laſt mentioned friend (31), intimating the excuſe he had made in a letter to her Majeſty, was his being too far advanced in life. 'So, continues he, now all my ex'pectations are vaniſhed, and I have no proſpect but 'in depending wholly upon myſelf, and my own con'duct. As I am uſed to diſappointments, I can bear 'them; but, as I can have no more hopes, I can 'no more be diſappointed; ſo that I am in a bleſſed 'condition (32). Theſe laſt words are an echo of thoſe which had been ſent him on this occaſion by Mr Pope, who writes thus: *I have many years ago magniſied in my own mind*, and repeated to you a ninth Beatitude, added to the eight in Scripture, 'Bleſſed 'is he who expects nothing, for he ſhall never be diſap'pointed.'—He afterwards declares his approbation of the excuſe ſent by Lord Grantham to the Queen, and concludes in theſe remarkable terms: 'Dear Gay, 'adieu! I can add a plain uncourtly ſpeech, While you 'are no-body's ſervant, you may be any one's friend; 'and as ſuch I embrace you in all conditions of life. 'While I have a ſhilling, you ſhall have ſix-pence, nay, 'eight-pence, if I can contrive to live upon a groat (33).' The Dean, two years afterwards, revenged his cauſe in the following lines (34).'

(31) See Letter xxviii. in Pope's Works, Vol. 9. edit. Warb.

(32) The Dean in anſwer is very merry upon his excuſe to the Queen, and obſerves that Oliver Cromwell did not begin to appear till he was older, Letter xxixi

(33) This Letter is dated, Oct. 6, 1727. See Ibid. Vol. 8.

(34) See his Verſes to Dr Delany, occaſioned by his Epiſtle to his Excellency, John Lord Carteret.

> Thus Gay the hare with many friends,
> Twice ſeven long years at Court attends;
> Who under tales conveying truth
> To virtue form'd a princely youth;
> Who paid his courtſhip with the crowd,
> As far as modiſh pride allow'd;
> Rejects a ſervile uſher's place,
> And leaves St James's in diſgrace.

[*Q*] *His famous Beggar's Opera.*] This piece was received with greater applauſe than was ever known. Beſides being acted in London 63 days without interruption, and renewed the next ſeaſon with equal applauſe, it ſpread into all the great towns of England, was play'd in many places to the 30th and 40th time, at Bath and Briſtol 50, &c. It made its progreſs into Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, where it was performed 24 days ſucceſſively. The Ladies carried about with them the favourite ſongs of it in fans, and houſes were furniſhed with it in ſcreens. The fame of it was not confined to the author only. The perſon who acted Polly, 'till then obſcure, became all at once the favourite of the town: her pictures were engraved, and ſold in great numbers; her life written, books of letters and verſes to her publiſhed, and pamphlets made even of her ſayings and jeſts. Furthermore, it drove out of England (for that ſeaſon) the Italian Opera, which had carried all before it for ten years (35). Dr Swift attributes (36) this unprecedented, and almoſt incredible ſucceſs, to a peculiar merit in the performance, wherein what we call the point of humour is exactly hit; a point, he obſerves, 'which whoever can right'ly touch, will never fail of pleaſing a great majority; 'and which in its perfection, is allowed to be much 'preferable to wit, if it be not rather the moſt uſeful 'and agreeable ſpecies of it.' The Dean likewiſe remarks, that in this piece the author '*hath by a turn of 'humour, entirely new placed vices of all kinds in the 'ſtrongeſt and moſt odious light, and thereby done emi'nent ſervice both to religion and morality.*' He then proceeds to vindicate this aſſertion, by examining the ſeveral particulars; after which, upon the whole, he concludes, that '*nothing but ſervile attachment to a 'party, affectation of ſingularity, lamentable dulneſs, 'miſtaken zeal, or ſtudied hypocriſy, can have the leaſt 'reaſonable objection againſt this excellent moral per'formance.*' This, it muſt be owned, was to the purpoſe, ſince the Beggar's Opera lay moſt expoſed on the ſide of morality, and was at that time warmly attacked from the pulpit (37). Another method to ruin its character on that account, was taken by Mr Colley Cibber, who introduced on the ſtage a rival piece drawn upon the ſame general plan, where none but virtuous characters were exhibited. But let the author himſelf tell us the fate of this attempt: 'After the vaſt ſucceſs, 'ſays he (38), of that new ſpecies of dramatic poetry, 'the Beggar's Opera, the year following I was ſo ſtupid 'as to attempt ſomething of the ſame kind upon a quite 'different foundation, that of recommending virtue 'and innocence, which I ignorantly thought might not 'have a leſs pretence to favour, than ſetting greatneſs 'and authority in a contemptible, and the moſt vulgar 'vice and wickedneſs in an amiable light. But behold how 'fondly I was miſtaken! *Love in a riddle*, for ſo my new'fangled performance was called, was as vilely damn'd 'and hooted at, as ſo vain a preſumption in the idle 'cauſe of virtue could deſerve.—Yet this, continues 'Mr Cibber, is not what I complain of I will allow 'my poetry to have been as much below the other, as 'taſte or criticiſm can ſink it. I will grant likewiſe, 'that the applauded author of the Beggar's Opera had 'in that piece more ſkilfully gratified the public taſte, 'than all the brighteſt authors that ever writ before 'him; and I have ſometimes thought, from the mo'deſty of his motto, *Non hæc novimus eſſe nihil* (39), 'that he gave them that performance as a ſatire on the 'depravity of their judgment, (as Ben Johnſon of old 'was ſaid to have given his *Bartholomew-fair* in ridi'cule of the vulgar taſte which had diſliked his *Sejanus*), 'and by artfully ſeducing them to be the champions of 'the immoralities he deteſted, he ſhould be amply re'venged on their former ſeverity and ignorance (40). 'This were indeed a triumph which the author of Cato 'might have envied. Cato, 'tis true, ſucceeded; but 'reached not by full forty days the progreſs and ap'plauſes of the Beggar's Opera. Will it however, ad'mit of a queſtion, Which of the two compoſitions a 'good writer would rather wiſh to have been the au'thor of? Yet on the other ſide, muſt we not allow, 'that to have taken a whole nation, high and low, in'to a general applauſe, has ſhewn a power in poetry, 'which (though often attempted in the ſame kind) 'none but this one author could ever yet arrive at.' Thus did Mr Cibber ſtrain his voice againſt the Beggar's Opera in 1740, but all in vain. We have ſeen that deathleſs performance ſince flouriſh as before, and ſucceeding Pollies make their fortunes by it.

(35) See Notes to verſe 326 of Pope's Dunciad, book III.

(36) In the Intelligencer, ubi ſupra.

(37) Particularly by the preſent Archbiſhop of Canterbury then preacher at Lincoln's Inn.

(38) In his Apology for his own Life, p. 142, 3s 8vo. edit. 1740.

(39) This inſtance of his modeſty is not forgotten by the author of the abovecited note to the Dunciad.

(40) In condemning ſome of his former plays.

[*R*] *Excluded the ſtage by the Lord Chamberlain.*] The title of it is *Polly, or a ſecond part of the Beggar's Opera.* To conceive an idea of the ferment raiſed by this ſuppreſſion, we muſt compare what our author ſays, with [redacted] are told by Mr Cibber. The firſt intimates [redacted] it had been given him by ſome as a reaſon for the prohibition, that he had written many diſaffected libels, and ſeditious pamphlets; by others, that particularly in this piece he had been charged with writing immoralities; that it was filled with ſlander and calumny againſt ſome particular great perſons, and that Majeſty itſelf was endeavoured to be brought into ridicule and contempt. In anſwer to the firſt, he proteſts his innocence, and ſolemnly declares his loyalty; for the reſt, he appeals to the play, which he gives as the reaſon of printing it. Here we perceive how high the tide ran at Court. In the next place, Mr Cibber will tell us, what an uproar was raiſed in the town: 'Va'rious, ſays he (42), were the ſpeculations upon this 'act

(41) In the Preface to Polly.

(42) In his Apology, &c. p. 144. ubi ſupra.

the advantage he made of it that way, might well be deemed a ſufficient ballance for any ſuppoſed damage from the prohibition; eſpecially as he was taken immediately into the protection of the Duke and Ducheſs of Queenſberry, who made his cafe their own (r), and uſed him with an uncommon degree of kindneſs. But theſe extraordinary favours, beſides the heartening reflections which the new eclat of his poetical fame muſt needs inſpire, aſſiſted too with the diverſions that were affectionately ſuggeſted by Mr Pope [S], and the conſtant leſſons with equal affection inculcated by Dr Swift [T], all put together, were not able intirely to remove a certain painful ſenſe of his ill fortune at Court, *hærebat lateri lethalis arundo.* In a little time he relapſed into his old diſtemper the cholic (s), after which he lived, or rather languiſhed the remainder of his days under an incurable dejection of ſpirits [U], reſiding moſtly at Amesbury, a ſeat of his noble Patron's, near Stone-henge upon Salisbury-plain. In ſo ſweet a retirement he was not without ſome chearful intervals, which he ſtill enjoyed in the company of his muſe (t). In the winter ſeaſons he came with the family to London, and was at their houſe in Burlington-gardens, when he was ſuddenly ſeized with a violent inflammatory fever, which in three days put a period to his life [W], on the 4th of December, 1732. After a very decent funeral ſolemnity [X] his body was interred on the 23d of that month, in the ſouth croſs-iſle over againſt Chaucer's tomb in Weſtminſter-Abbey, where a handſome monument is erected to his memory by the juſt-mentioned illuſtrious perſons, with an inſcription by Mr Pope, to which we muſt refer for his character [Y]. He died inteſtate, ſo

(r) They both quitted the Court on this occaſion.

(s) See a letter to him from Mr Pope, 25 Oct. 1730.

(t) Beſides reviſing the Wife of Bath, he compoſed ſome more Fables, which were added to a new edition printed ſoon after his death, as alſo the Opera of Achilles.

' act of power. Some thought that the author, others ' that the town was hardly dealt with; a third ſort, ' who perhaps had envied him the ſucceſs of his firſt ' part, affirmed when it was printed, that whatever ' the intention might be, the fact was in his favour; ' that he had been a greater gainer by ſubſcriptions to ' his copy, than he could have been by a bare theatrical repreſentation.' He then goes on to tell us, how greatly he ſuffered by this ferment. ' Soon after this ' prohibition, my performance was to come upon the ' ſtage, at a time when many people were out of humour at the late diſappointment, and ſeemed willing ' to lay hold of any pretence of making a reprizal. ' Great umbrage was taken that I was permitted to ' have the whole Town to myſelf, by this abſolute forbiddance of what they had more mind to have been ' entertained with. And ſome few days before my ' bawble was acted, I was informed, that a ſtrong party ' would be made againſt it. Accordingly *Love in a* ' *Riddle* was aſſaſſinated. Indeed it held up its head a ' ſecond day, and would have ſpoke for mercy, but ' was not ſuffered.—Not even the preſence of a royal ' Heir apparent could protect it.'

[S] *The diverſions ſuggeſted by Mr Pope.*] Among others, he propoſed the royal hermitage (built by the Queen in Richmond Gardens) as a good occaſion for Mr Gay to try his muſe upon; urging, that it was expected from him by ſeveral of his friends. One ſhould not bear in mind, continues he, all one's life, any little indignity one receives from a Court. But all this dear friend's arguments availed nothing; he anſwers them all, and concludes, that he *knew* himſelf unworthy of Royal Patronage (43).

(43) Theſe two Letters are dated in 1732. See Pope's Works, Vol. 9.

[T] *The leſſons of Dr Swift.*] Almoſt every letter the Dean wrote to him at that time had ſome inſtance of theſe pointed kindneſſes. Lord Orrery (44), in his remarks on theſe letters between Swift and Gay, having obſerved, that the latter loved the former to a degree of veneration, and that the friendſhip was returned with great ſincerity, concludes, that ' Swift ' writes to him [Gay] in the ſame ſtrain as he would ' have written to a ſon, and ſeems to diſtinguiſh him ' as the correſpondent to whom he had not the leaſt ' grain of reſerve.'

(44) In his Account of the Life and Writings of Dr Swift, &c. Letter xx.

[U] *He languiſhed under an incurable dejection of ſpirits.*] The whole ſeries of the letters between him and his two (ſo often mentioned) friends, affords a melancholy proof of this truth. The following extract (45) will be ſufficient to produce for a ſample. ' Dear Mr Pope, ' My melancholy increaſes, and every hour threatens me ' with ſome return of my diſtemper; nay, I think I ' may rather ſay, I have it on me. Not the divine ' looks, the kind favours and expreſſions of the divine ' Ducheſs, who hereafter ſhall be in place of a Queen ' to me, nay ſhe ſhall be my Queen, nor the inexpreſſible goodneſs of the Duke, can in the leaſt chear ' me. The drawing-room no more receives light from ' theſe two ſtars. There is now (what Milton ſays is in ' Hell) darkneſs viſible.—O that I had never known ' what a Court was! Dear Pope, what a barren ſoil (to ' me ſo) have I been ſtriving to produce ſomething ' out of! Why did I not take your advice, before my ' writing fables for the Duke, not to write them, or ' rather to write them for ſome young Nobleman? It ' is my very hard fate, I muſt get nothing, write for ' them, or againſt them.'

(45) From a letter in Pope's Works, as above.

[W] *Put a period to his life.*] He was attended by two phyſicians, beſides Dr Arbuthnot, who thought him irrecoverable from the beginning, and that it ended in a mortification of his bowels. The Doctor obſerves, it was the moſt precipitate caſe he ever knew. Hence it is that Mr Pope (46) calls it an unexpected death; it could be ſo to him only in that view (47), ſince Mr Gay had prepared him for it in ſeveral letters. After a Somerſetſhire journey, in the preceding ſummer, for his health, he writes (48), that he was little better for it, and began to fear the illneſs he had ſo long and ſo often complained of, inherent in his conſtitution; and concludes, that he had nothing for it but patience. In another letter he expreſſes himſelf in the following terms:—' I ' find myſelf in ſuch a ſtrange confuſion, and depreſſion ' of ſpirits, that I have not ſtrength even to make my ' will; though I perceive, by many warnings, I have ' no continuing city here. I begin to look upon my' ſelf as one already dead, and deſire my dear Mr Pope, ' whom I love as my own ſoul, if you ſurvive me, as ' you certainly will, if a ſtone ſhould mark the place ' of my grave, ſee theſe words put upon it.

' *Life is a jeſt, and all things ſhew it:*
' *I thought ſo once, but now I know it.*

' With what you may think proper. If any body ' ſhould aſk, how I could communicate this after death? ' Let it be known, it is not meant ſo, but my preſent ſen' timents in life (49). What the bearer brings beſide ' this letter, ſhould I die without a will, which I am ' the likelier to do, as the law will ſettle my ſmall ' eſtate much as I ſhould myſelf, let it remain with ' you, as it has long done with me, a remembrance of ' a dead friend. But there is none like you, living or ' dead (50).'

(46) In a Letter to Swift the 22d, Vol. 9. of his Works, edit. 1742.

(47) It was far from being ſo to Dr Swift, as appears from his remarkable indorſement to the above Letter, viz. On my dear friend Mr Gay's death, received Dec. 15, but not read till the 20th by an impulſe foreboding ſome misfortune.

(48) In a Letter dated Oct. 7, 1732.

(49) In this light the objection againſt the double rhyme has leſs weight.

(50) See Pope's Works, Vol. 9.

[X] *After a very decent funeral ſolemnity.*] His body was brought by the company of Upholders from the Duke of Queenſberry's, to Exeter 'Change in the Strand; whence, after lying in very decent ſtate, it was drawn in a hearſe trimmed with plumes of black and white feathers, attended with three mourning coaches and ſix horſes to Weſtminſter-Abbey, at eight o'clock in the evening, on Dec. 23. The pall was ſupported by the Earl of Cheſterfield, Lord Viſcount Cornbury, the Hon. Mr Berkeley, General Dormer, Mr Gore, and Mr Pope; the ſervice being performed by the preſent Dean, Dr Wilcox, Biſhop of Rocheſter, the Choir attending (51).

(51) See Mr Gay's Life printed in 1733.

[Y] *His character.*] It would be tedious to inſert an inſcription ſo well known. We ſhall only take notice, that the laſt line in the poetical part was written at firſt thus, *Striking their aching boſoms—here lies Gay*; but upon Dr Swift's admonition of the cacophony in the two participles, Mr Pope altered it as it now ſtands

so that his fortune, which was not large (*u*), fell (as he desired it should) (*w*) to his two widow sisters (*x*). The week before his death he gave the play-house his opera called *Achilles*, which was acted soon after with applause [*Z*]. Since this there came out a comedy, said to be written by him, called *the Distressed Wife*, the second edition of which was printed in 1750; and very lately his name has appeared to a humourous piece with this title, *The Rehearsal at Goatham.*

(*u*) About 3000 l.

(*w*) See Remark [*U*].

(*x*) Katharine and Joanna, the first was the relict of Mr Baller, and the other of Mr Fortescue. See the dedication to his Life in 1733, 8vo.

stands (52). His friend's moral character is here finely drawn, and perhaps he was the more solicitous to exert himself on that head, as it had been grossly misrepresented, particularly by Mr Jacob (53), which procured him a place in the Dunciad (54).

(52) See Letter, 66 in Vol. 9. of Pope's Works edit. 1742.

(53) See Mr Gay's Life in his Lives of the Poets.

(54) In Book III. lines 149, 150, first edition.

[*Z*] *Achilles was acted with applause.*] The profits of it were given to his sisters (55). It was very assiduously patroniz'd by the Duke of Queensberry, who, Mr Pope observes, acted more than the part of a brother to our author. His papers fell partly into Mr Pope's hands; who, for as much as did so, no doubt took care (as he promised Dr Swift) to suppress things unworthy of him; but he expresses his concern in regard to the rest, which were at the discretion of the administrators, whose partiality he was afraid of (56). Upon the whole, his account does by no means lessen the authenticity of those few pieces mentioned above, which have been published in Mr Gay's name, since his death. P

(55) So says Mr Theoph. Cibber in the Life of Gay, Vol. 4. of the Poets Lives.

(56) See Letter 64, in Vol. 9. of his Works 1742, as also Letters 65, and 67.

GELLIBRAND [HENRY] a very able Mathematician, a learned Writer, and Astronomy Professor in Gresham College in the XVIIth century. He was the grandson of John Gellibrand, who resided, and who died at St Paul's-Cray in Kent, Nov. 25. 1588. and the son of Mr Henry Gellibrand some time Fellow of All-Souls College in Oxford, who marrying and settling at the place before mentioned, died there August 15, 1615 (*a*). This Henry of whom we are treating, was the eldest of his five sons, and a native of the City of London, being born in the Parish of St Botolph Aldersgate, Nov. 17, 1597 (*b*). The same year that his father died, he was admitted a Commoner of Trinity College in Oxford, being then in his eighteenth year. He took his degree of Bachelor of Arts Nov. 25, 1619, at which time, as Wood tells us in his blunt manner, he was esteemed to have no great matter in him (*c*); but happening to hear one of Sir Henry Savile's Mathematical Lectures, either by pure accident, or to save the sconce of a groat if he had been absent, he was so much taken with it, that he applied himself immediately to that noble science (*d*). This tho' treated as a wonder by Anthony Wood, is no more than what fell out to Des Chales, Paschal, and other eminent mathematicians. Our author pursued this study with so much vigour, that before he took his degree of Master of Arts, which was May 26, 1623, he was distinguished, and esteemed for his great knowledge therein, both in the University, and at London. To the first perhaps his making a dial, which yet remains on the east side of the old quadrangle of Trinity College might contribute, and the latter in a great measure arose from his intimate acquaintance with the celebrated Mr Henry Briggs, and other able mathematicians, who flourished at that time (*e*). He was, while Bachelor of Arts, curate of Chidringstone in Kent, but it is probable resigned it that he might pursue his mathematical studies with the greater freedom. Upon the death of the ingenious Mr Edmund Gunter, December 10, 1620. Mr Briggs encouraged our young mathematician to become a candidate for his Professorship at Gresham College (*f*). Upon this occasion he had a certificate from the Rector of that parish, in which he had officiated as curate, and from others of the Clergy in Kent, in respect to his learning and piety; and another from the President, Vice-President, and Fellows of Trinity College in Oxford, which is conceived in very strong terms, and acknowledges not only his assiduity in his studies, but his great frankness in the communication of knowledge, as also his disinterestedness in contenting himself with his own little patrimony, that the pursuit of preferment might prove no detriment to his studies. In all probability these papers had great weight since within a few days after, viz. January 2, 1626, he was elected Astronomy Professor (*g*). He lived from that time as he had done before in a close intimacy with Mr Henry Briggs, who took great pleasure in communicating to him his mathematical notions and discoveries, and at the time of his decease he recommended to Mr Gellibrand the perfecting and publishing a large book, which he did not live to finish (*h*). Some time after this, one William Beale, who was Mr Gellibrand's servant, published, with his master's knowledge and consent, an Almanack for the year 1631, in which the saints names usually put were omitted, and the names of other saints and martyrs mentioned in Mr Fox's book were placed in their room, for which Mr Gellibrand was brought into some trouble (*i*) [*A*]. This might very probably retard the publication of the BRITISH TRIGONOMETRY, which as he had undertaken to perfect at the request of Mr Briggs, so there wanted not several other eminent persons who pressed him very much upon the same head to whom he gave full satisfaction, by causing that work when compleat to be printed in Holland in 1633, which was received with very great applause (*k*) [*B*]. The same year there came abroad at the end of

(*a*) Wood's Lives of the Gresham Professors, p. 336.

(*b*) Wood's Hist. & Antiquit. Oxoniæ, lib. II. p. 296.

(*c*) Fast. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 212. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 612.

(*d*) Ward's Lives of Gresham Professors, p. 81.

(*e*) College certificate, dated Jan. 26, 1630.

(*f*) Ward's Lives of the Gresham Professors, p. 336.

(*g*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 612. Ward's Lives of G. Professors, p. 82.

(*h*) See the Article BRIGGS [HEN this Dictionary.

(*i*) Certificate of the President, and Fellows of Trinity College, dated Jan. 26, 1630. Canterbury's Doom, p. 142.

(*k*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. c. 612.

Mr

[*A*] *Was brought into some trouble.* The person chiefly offended with this almanack, was Dr William Laud, then Bishop of London, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury; and by his means, it is said, that Mr Gellibrand, and his servant Beale, were called into the High-Commission Court; where however they escaped censure, by shewing that this was no innovation of theirs, but had been done before, and pleading also, that they had no ill intention. After Mr Gellibrand's death, this was made part of the accusation against Archbishop Laud, and Major Thomas Gellibrand was produced before the House of Peers as a witness upon this Prelate's prosecution (1).

(1) Prynn's Canterbury's Doom, p. 513

[*B*] *Which was received with great applause.*] The title of this work at large runs thus: Trigonometrin Britannica, *sive*, De doctrina triangulorum: Libri duo Quorum

Mr Thomas James's account of his voyage, for the discovery of a north-west passage, and wintering in Hudson's Bay a short discourse of our author's concerning the longitude, which at that season was very much admired, and which notwithstanding the great improvements that have been since made, may be very justly stiled a curious and a useful piece, even now (*l*) [C]. It is commonly believed that our author made the discovery of the variation of the Magnetic Needle, and this upon the credit of a very great man, who has positively affirmed it, but in this, without doubt there is an error as will be shewn more largely in another place (*m*). In respect to this, however, thus much is true, that Mr Gellibrand was extreamly well acquainted with, and wrote a very learned book upon the subject, which has been and ever will be esteemed by competent judges [D]. He wrote

(*l*) Appendix to Thomas James's Voyage for Discovery of the N. West-Passage, &c. Lond. 1633. 4to.

(*m*) See the Article of GUNTER [Edmond] in this Dictionary.

Quorum prior continet constructionem canonis sinuum, tangentium, & secantium, una cum logarithmis sinuum & tangentium ad gradus & graduum centesimas, & ad minuta & secunda centesimis respondentia: a clarissimo doctissimo integerrimoque viro domino *Henrico Briggio*, Geometriæ in celeberrima academia Oxonienſi professore Saviliano dignissimo, paulo ante inopinatam ipsius è terris emigrationem compositus. Posterior vero usum sive applicationem canonis in resolutione triangulorum tam planorum, quam sphæricorum, è geometricis fundamentis petita, calculo facillimo eximiisque compendis exhibet ab *Henrico Gellibrand* Astronomiæ in collegio Gresshamensi apud Londinenses professore constructus. Goudæ 1633. fol. that is, 'British Trigonometry, or 'the Doctrine of Triangles, in two Books; the first of 'which contains the construction of the canon of sines, 'tangents, and secants, together with the logarithms 'of sines and tangents, &c. by that famous, learned, 'and worthy man, Mr *Henry Briggs*, late Savilian 'Professor of Geometry in the celebrated university of 'Oxford, composed by him a little before his unexpected death. The latter shewing the use or application of the canon in the resolution of plain and 'spherical triangles upon the principles of Geometry, 'and by a short and easy method of calculation, by 'Henry Gellibrand, Professor of Astronomy in Gresham 'College, London.' Printed at Gouda, 1633. folio.' Mr John Newton, in the year 1658, published a work of the like import, and under the same title; the first part of which, analogous to that of Mr Briggs, was his own; but the second a translation of our author's work into English (2).

(2) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 632.

[C] *A curious and a useful piece, even now.*] The title of this little piece is, *An* Appendix *concerning* Longitude, Lond. 1633. 4to, in three leaves. The beginning of this treatise is at once so weighty, and so perspicuous, and represents some points of useful knowledge in so clear, and at the same time in so concise a manner, that the reader cannot but be pleased to peruse it.

'Latitude and longitude are two primary affections 'of the earth; by the help of these two doth the Geographer strive to represent the parts of the earth, that 'they may keep symmetry and harmony with the 'whole. Latitude then is an arch of the meridian 'comprehended between the equator and a parallel; 'but longitude is an arch of the equator, intercepted 'by the prime meridian, and the meridian of a place, 'the difference of longitude being the difference of 'two meridians. The measure of the former is the 'meridian, the equator of this latter. For the exact 'setting of latitudes, we have many and absolute helps; 'so that the error, if there any happen, ought to be 'imputed to the imperfect handling of the artist. But 'the longitude of a meridian, is that which hath, and 'still weareth the greatest masters of Geography. Nevertheless, hath not the wise Creator left man unfurnished of many excellent helps to attain his desire: 'for besides eclipses, especially of the moon (whose 'leisure we must often wait, and perhaps go without, 'if the Heavens be not propitious to us) we have the 'concourse of quick-paced inferior planets, with superior slow ones, or their appulses with some fixed star 'of known place, or else some other artifice derived 'from their motions and positions. As for the magnetical needle, to argue a longitude from its variation, 'is altogether without ground; and though well-furnished seamen are able by their dead reckonings, as 'they term them, to determine the difference of meridians somewhat near, yet by reason of the unknown 'quantity of a degree in a given measure, which is the 'rule of the ship's way, varieties of adverse winds, different sets of tides, and other involved incumbrances, 'they come often wide of the mark they aim at. The 'best way yet known to the world, is that which is deduced from the celestial appearances, which being 'performed by judicious artists, may in a short time 'rectify our geographical and hydrographical charts hitherto in most places foully distorted. It is my intent 'here to give an instance from two several observations 'drawn from the celestial bodies, by the author of this 'discourse, in his discovery for the north-west at the 'bottom of the Bay, being his wintering-place, and 'called by the name of Charlton, which for judgment, 'circumspection, and exactness, may compare with 'most: the first, from the eclipse of the moon; the 'second, from the moon's meridian of Heaven, or her 'coming to the plane of his meridian of Charlton.' This eclipse happened Oct. 9. 1631. and it so fell out, that Mr Gellibrand himself observed the eclipse at the same time at Gresham College, from whence he determines the longitude of Charlton to be west from London 79 deg. 30 min. by the second method he determined it to be one degree less, and to shew that this was no very considerable error, as things then stood, he gives an instance of much greater variations with respect to Rome and Nurembergh, and this from the observations of the best Astronomers Europe had produced. Regimontanus making this difference 36, Werner 32, Appian 34, Mestlin and Origan 33, Stofler 18, Maginus 26, Schoner 12, Mercator and Hondius as much, Stadius 13, Jansonius 10, Longomontanus 16, Lansperg 10, Kepler by two observations on two lunar eclipses, but 4 minutes of time. The reader must observe, that every four minutes of time makes a whole degree in longitude; so that the difference between the first and last of these computations, is no less than eight whole degrees, which will afford a competent judge of these things, matter of great speculation. Some and even great errors, without doubt, there must be in several of these operations; but that they did not wholly proceed from such inaccuracies, there is good ground to suspect. At the end of some copies of Captain James's voyage, there is another discourse after this of Mr Gellibrand's, with this singular address, *To the venerable* artists, *and younger* students *in* Divinity *in the famous university of* Cambridge; subscribed X. Z. but said to be written by Mr W. W. Whoever was the author, it is a very curious piece, and may be reckoned among the first apologies in our language, for the free exercise of thought in Philosophy, and on this account has been very properly reprinted in a late Collection of Voyages and Travels, to which we shall refer the reader for its contents (3).

(3) Harris's Voyages, Lond. 1748. Vol. II. P. 435.

[D] *And ever will be esteemed by competent judges.*] The title of this curious and most considered of all Mr Gellibrand's works, runs thus: *A Discourse* mathematical *on the* Variation *of the* magnetic Needle. *Together with the admirable diminution lately discovered.* London, 1635. 4to.

At the opening of his work, our author declares his chief intention to be the treating of the deflection of the needle from the terrestrial meridian, together with that abstruse and admirable variation of the variation lately discovered to the world. The variation then, is the deflection of the magnetical meridian, from the terrestrial, the horizon determining its quantity and quality. These meridians sometimes are coincident, and in such cases there can be no variation. Sometimes again, they are different; and then, that hemisphere wherein either extremity of the needle lies, denominates its quality; for if it be the eastern hemisphere, it

wrote beſides theſe ſeveral other treatiſes in his own profeſſion, which were publiſhed ſome before and ſome after his death; which added to the great reputation that he had before obtained, and raiſed very high expectations of what he might perform in the courſe of his ſtudies; and others of his labours, there are yet remaining in manuſcript, which are no way inferior either in merit or importance to thoſe which are publiſhed (*n*), and which taken together

(*n*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 623. Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 32, 83.

it is called eaſterly variation; if the weſtern, weſterly. And the horizon, ſuppoſed (as all great circles are) to be divided into 360 parts, and each part ſubdivided into centeſms, or milleſms, defines the quantity, as 10, 20, 30, &c. parts of variation. He then remarks, that for the more diſtinct proceeding, and to give ſome ſatisfaction to thoſe who are not altogether mathematical, it will not be impertinent to the preſent purpoſe, to give ſome probable reaſon for this variation, or ſwerving of the needle from the meridians of moſt places. Take a vigorous magnet, convert it into a ſpherical body, and having found its poles, delineate the ſame with meridians, æquinoctials, and parallels, then take a fine ſewing needle, and applying it to the interſection of a meridian and the equinoctial, it will be found preciſely to point out the poles of the ſtone; and if the needle be moved towards either pole, according to its own direction, it will trace out a circle over the ſaid magnetic pole. But if this ſpherical magnet ſhall have a part of it excavated, as admit about the forty-fifth parallel, and forty-fifth meridian, or degree of longitude, the needle moved forwards from the aforeſaid interſection, as ſoon as it ſhall draw near to the limb of this excavation, will forthwith leave its former poſition, as lying in the plane of the prime meridian, and incline to the other ſolid ſide, not reſpecting at all the aforeſaid poles; and this deflection we call the variation of the needle. And the greater will this variation be, the nearer it approaches to the poles. For whereas before the excavation, each ſide being alike potent, the needle, like an upright and indifferent arbiter, inclined to neither part; after the excavation it will convert itſelf to the more ſolid ſide, rejecting the imperfect and defective, and ſo much the more powerfully, by how much the other ſide ſhall be found to have loſt more of its magnetic vigorous ſubſtance. The like will fall out if the needle be ſo placed as that it ſhall biſect the excavated part; for then it will accurately point out the true poles of the ſtone formerly found, but ſuddenly ſwerve from them after any little diſlocation, ſtrongly applying itſelf to the more ſolid one. As it is with this little, ſo likewiſe with the greater magnet of the earth, whoſe ſolid magnetic parts are great continents; the defective excavated, the deep and vaſt channel of the ſea. For if there were obſervations made in the mid-way between the eaſterly coaſt of China, and this weſtern of Europe, it is very probable there would be found no variation at all, the terreſtrial and magnetical meridians being congrual. But if we ſhall incline to either ſide, as admit to the weſtward, the needle will in like manner move itſelf to the eaſtern continent, as the more prevalent ſide, the channel of the ſea being a part deficient of the ſpherical body of the earth, and the needle finding no encouragement to apply itſelf thereto. And ſo likewiſe for the ocean, which palliates the imperfect parts of the earth; it is evident, that if the needle ſhall equally divide the marine diſtance between two continents, there will be found no variation, as having both the meridians united, the needle equally diſpoſing itſelf to either continent. But if we ſhall ſwerve from this mediety, it will preponderate with the next continent. Our author obſerves, that with reſpect to the variation of the needle, it was a maxim laid down by our learned countryman Dr Gilbert, *that in the ſame place the variation is always the ſame.* This Mr Gellibrand adds, was an aſſertion, that for any thing he ever heard, had never been queſtioned; but notwithſtanding this, magnetical experiments ſhewed that the variation is accompanied with a variation. This he proves by obſervations made by Mr Burrows, at Limehouſe, near London, in 1580. who found the variation there to be 11 deg. 15 min. or near one point of the compaſs: whereas in 1622 Mr Gunter, Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Greſham College, found the variation in the ſame place to be but 6 deg. 13 min. and our author, in 1634. with ſome friends, had recourſe to Deptford, where Mr Gunter had before made the ſame obſervations with thoſe at Limehouſe, and found it not much to exceed 4 deg. It is evident enough from hence, that this variation of the variation was firſt obſerved, at leaſt in England, by Mr Gunter; and from the beſt accounts we have hitherto had, was not obſerved ſo early any where elſe. At the cloſe of his treatiſe our author, who was very far from being a poſitive or an aſſuming man, proceeds thus (4). 'I will 'not here enter into a diſpute concerning the cauſe of 'this ſenſible diminution, whether it may be imputed 'to the magnet, or the earth, or both. It is not un- 'known to the world, how the greateſt maſters of 'Aſtronomy which this age hath afforded, for the 'more eaſy ſolving the apparent anomalar motions of 'the fixed and erratique celeſtial lights, and avoiding 'that ſupervacaneous furniture of the Ancients, do with 'all alacrity embrace that admirable Copernican hy- 'pothefis of the diurnal, annual, and ſecular motions 'of the earth; inſomuch as conferring with that great 'aſtronomer D. Phil. Lanſberg, in Zealand, about 'aſtronomical matters, he did moſt ſeriouſly affirm un- 'to me, he ſhould never be diſſuaded from that truth. 'This, which he was pleaſed to ſtile a truth, I ſhould 'readily receive as an hypotheſis, and ſo be eaſily led 'on to the conſideration of the imbecility of man's ap- 'prehenſion, as not able rightly to conceive of this ad- 'mirable opifice of God, or frame of the world, with- 'out falling ſoul on ſo great an abſurdity. Yet ſure 'I am, it is a probable inducement to ſhake a wavering 'underſtanding. And, which adds ſomewhat more, I 'underſtand by Galilæus, a Florentine, and moſt acute 'and learned mathematician, that an Italian gentle- 'man, of the family of the Marſilii, hath lately found 'the mutation of the terreſtrial meridians, and penned 'a treatiſe thereof, not yet publiſhed, which the ſaid 'Galilæus hath ſeen and read con ſtupore, not without 'amazement. His words are theſe: Surge di preſente 'una quinta novita, &c. which in Engliſh runs thus: 'Now there ariſeth a fifth novelty; from which we may 'argue the mobility of the terreſtrial globe, by the 'means of that which moſt ſubtilly the moſt illuſtrious 'gentleman, Sign. Cæſar, of the moſt noble family of 'the Marſilii of Bologna, a Lyncean academic, alſo 'hath diſcovered, who in a moſt learned tract plainly 'ſheweth, how he hath obſerved a continual mutation, 'although very ſlow, in the meridian line; which diſ- 'courſe, which with wonder I lately ſaw, I hope he 'will impart to all thoſe who are ſtudious of the won- 'ders of nature. Surely if it be ſo, the due conſidera- 'tion of the premiſes doth, as I conceive, lay o- 'pen a fair way for the ſolving of that irregular motion 'imputed to the axis of the earth; I mean the altera- 'ble obliquity of the ecliptic, which to deny (as ſome 'yet do, not without great violence offered to the An- 'tients) I ſhall hardly, without very ſtrong arguments, 'be perſuaded. I pretermit likewiſe, a ſuppoſition 'which might be made of the correſpondent motion of 'the pole of the magnet, with thoſe of ſome of the pla- 'nets, and divers other conceits, which muſt be all left 'to future times to diſcover, this invention be- 'ing but newly preſented to the world in its infancy.' It may perhaps afford the reader ſome ſatisfaction, if we add, that in 1657 there was no variation at all at London, and that in 1747. the variation being obſerved by the accurate Mr George Graham, at his houſe in Fleet-ſtreet, it was found 17 deg. 40 min. weſt (5). We will take the liberty of making a ſmall addition to theſe obſervations, which is, that there is a variation even in this ſecond variation, which is ſlower when it firſt recedes from its due direction, and quicker as the deflection increaſes. If any eſtabliſhed learned ſociety would direct very exact obſervations to be made of the magnetic variation every month for a courſe of years, and if two ſuch aſſemblies, in places at a conſiderable diſtance, would concur in obſerving punctually all lunar eclipſes, and would communicate the reſult of theſe obſervations conſtantly, we ſhould in a few years learn more of this matter, than hitherto we have done in above a century and a quarter.

(4) Diſcourſe Mathematical on the Variation, &c. p. 39.

(5) Philoſophical Tranſactions, 1749, 4to, p. 279.

[E] *Should*

together, fully ſhew that his diligence and application were equal to his ſagacity and penetration, and that he did great honour to the learned foundation to which he belonged; and fully anſwered the hopes that were entertained of him, when his friends at the Univerſity recommended him thither, as one that had a great genius for mathematical learning, and was willing that the world ſhould be the better for it [*E*]. His ſituation at the college, free converſe with the lovers of mathematical ſtudies, and diligent enquiries, gave him an opportunity of contributing much to the improvement of navigation, which probably would have owed more to him, had he lived longer. But he was taken off yet earlier in life than his predeceſſor Mr Gunter, for he died on the ninth of February 1636, in the fortieth year of his age, and was buried likewiſe in the church of St Peter the Poor, without any tomb or inſcription to his memory (*o*). Dr Hannibal Potter, formerly his tutor in Trinity College, and afterwards Preſident of it, preached his funeral ſermon, in which he commended his piety and worth (*p*). It will not be amiſs to add here concerning this learned man Dr Hannibal Potter, that he was ejected from his office of Preſident of Trinity Hall by the parliament, in which he was ſucceeded firſt by Robert Harris Bachelor in Divinity, next by William Hawes Maſter of Arts, then by Dr Seth Ward ſucceſſively Biſhop of Exeter and Saliſbury, but ſurviving to 1660, he was reſtored to his juſt rights, and remained Preſident to his death, after which his corps was interred in the chapel belonging to that learned foundation (*q*). He had himſelf a mathematical diſpoſition, and his brother the Reverend Mr Francis Potter ſet up the dial on the north ſide of the old quadrangle by which he is ſtill remembered (*r*).

(*o*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. II. p. 296.

(*p*) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 83.

(*q*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. II. p. 295.

(*r*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 632.

[*E*] *Should be the better for it.*] The titles of ſuch works of our author as have been publiſhed ſhall follow.

A Preface to the Sciographia *of* John Wells, *of* Brembridge, *in* Hampſhire, Eſq; Lond. 1635. 8vo.

An Inſtitution trigonometrical, *explaining the doctrine of the dimenſions of* plain and ſpherical triangles, *after the moſt exact and compendious way, by tables of* ſines, tangents, ſecants, *and* logarithms; *with the application thereof to queſtions of Aſtronomy and Navigation.* Lond. 8vo. After the deceaſe of the author, this book, having been corrected and enlarged by William Leybourn, was re-printed at London in 1652. 8vo.

An Epitome *of* Navigation; to which were added,

Several neceſſary tables pertaining to Navigation: as, a triangular canon logarithmical, or a table of artificial ſines and tangents, &c. Two chiliads, or the logarithms of abſolute numbers, from an unite to 2000. An appendix concerning the uſe of the fore-ſtaff, quadrant, and nocturnal, in Navigation. Lond. 1674. 8vo.

Oratio in laudem Gaſſendi *aſtronomiæ habita in aula Aedis Chriſti Oxon.* that is, 'An Oration in praiſe of 'the Aſtronomy of Gaſſendus, ſpoken in the hall of 'Chriſt-Church in Oxford.' At what time this was ſpoken does not appear, but in all probability it was before he left the Univerſity.

Beſides theſe, he wrote alſo ſome other pieces, which have not yet ſeen the light; as

At the end of his *Trigonometria Britannica* he ſays, that he had by him *Integram eclipſium doctrinam*, or the doctrine of eclipſes, which he deſigned to have added to that treatiſe, but that the printer could not wait till he had reviſed and fitted it for the preſs.

'Aſtronomia lunaris *ſive* Diatriba in appulſum lunæ 'ad lucidam Pleiadum per triangulorum ratiocinia è ta-'bulis ac hypotheſibus *Ptolemæi, Alphonſi, Copernici, Tychonis, Longomontani, & Lanſbergii.*' That is, Lunary Aſtronomy, or a diſcourſe upon the appulſe of the moon to the bright ſtar (which is the third) in the conſtellation of the Pleiades, according to the hypotheſes of the moſt eminent aſtronomers. In the beginning of this work, he mentions the day on which the obſervation was taken that gave riſe to this diſcourſe, which was Dec. 20. 1634. at St Paul's Cray, in Kent. This little piece, fairly written in his own hand, is now in the poſſeſſion of Sir Hans Sloane, Bart. A. Wood mentions likewiſe a treatiſe of *Building of ſhips*, left by him in MS. which after his death came into the hands of Edward Lord Conway. E

GILBERT [Sir HUMPHREY], a gentleman equally diſtinguiſhed by his great abilities, and heroic courage, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He deſcended from a very ancient and honourable family in the county of Devon, as the induſtrious and very learned collectors of that Shire unanimouſly agree (*a*) [*A*]. His father's name was Otho Gilbert of Greenway, Eſq; his mother Katherine daughter of Sir Philip Champernon of Modbury, in the ſame county, who afterwards married Walter Ralegh of Fardel, Eſq; and by him was mother to the famous Sir Walter Ralegh, who was no leſs allied to him by

(*a*) Collection of Arms, &c. of the ancient families in Devonſhire, by Sir J. Northcote, Bart. MS. Mr Weſtcot's Pedigrees of families in the County of Devon, MS. Sir William Pole's Deſcription of Devonſhire.

[*A*] *Unanimouſly agree.*] If we may rely upon the authority of Mr Thomas Weſtcot, who ſpent many years in ſearching into the deſcents of the moſt antient families in this county, we muſt believe that this houſe, of which we are now ſpeaking, was fixed here in the time of the Saxons; for his words are expreſs, *that* Gilbert *poſſeſſed lands in* Manaton, *in or near* Dartmoor, *in* Edward *the Confeſſor's days* (1). The moſt ſkilful genealogiſts however, have not been able to trace up this pedigree near ſo high; in excuſe of which however it is ſaid, that it was very differently ſpelt, which very much increaſes thoſe difficulties that commonly attend on ſuch enquiries (2). It is agreed, that Jilbert, Jerebert, and Giſlebert, are all the ſame name with Gilbert (3). The old family ſeat was at Greenway, near Brixam, ſtanding very pleaſantly on the eaſt ſide of the river Dart, upon a riſing ground about a mile from Dartmouth, and had a large quantity of lands with a Royalty belonging to it (4). Thomas Gilbert, of Greenway, had a ſon Jeffery, who marrying Joan, daughter and coheireſs of William Compton, of Compton, near Torbay, in the ſame county, brought that eſtate into the family, in the reign of King Edward II (5). From him deſcended Otis or Otho Gilbert, who in the 15th of Edward IV. was High-Sheriff of this county, and who was afterwards knighted (6). There were alſo many other eminent men of this family, which have intermarried with ſome of the moſt honourable houſes in the weſt of England; ſuch as Champernon, Croker, Hill, Chudleigh, Ager, Molineux, Pomeroy, &c. and have yielded matches to others; in particular to the noble family of the Granvils, from whom deſcended the Earls of Bath, and the preſent Earl of Granvile (7). They have married alſo divers daughters and heireſſes, as Compton, Champernon, Valetort (whereby they touch the Blood Royal) Reynward, Trenoch, Littleton, alias Weſtcot, Kelly, and others (8). We may therefore juſtly affirm, that this of which we are ſpeaking was ſcarce inferior to any gentleman's family in England (9).

(1) Weſtcot's Diſc. of Devonſhire in Manaton, MS. in Bibl. Harl.

(2) Fuller's Worthies, Devon. p. 260.

(3) Sir John Northcot's Collections of Arms, Seals, &c. MS.

(4) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 326.

(5) Sir William Pole's Deſcrip. of Devon. in Compton. MS.

(6) Ex Tranſcript. Evident. Dom. Barn. Granville. Fuller's Worthies, p. 270.

(7) Ex Evident. prædict.

(8) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 326.

(9) Weſtcot's View of Devonſhire, in Compton, MS.

by genius than by blood [*B*]. The gentleman of whom we are now writing is thought to have been born Anno Domini 1539, and, tho' a ſecond ſon, derived from his father, who had a good eſtate, and was a good oeconomiſt, a very conſiderable fortune. But it was principally to his mother's care, that he owed that excellent education, firſt at Eton, and next at Oxford, which enabled him to make the figure he did in the world, and to diſtinguiſh himſelf in an age ſo fruitful of great men (*b*). His genius naturally led him to the ſtudies of Coſmography, Navigation, and the art of war, which he improved by a diligent application, as well as by continual practice, for after a ſhort ſtay at Court, where he was introduced to the Queen's knowledge by his aunt (*c*), he expoſed himſelf early in the ſervice of his country, and acquired a great reputation from his actions, before any of his great projects reached the public ear (*d*) [*C*]. The firſt place in which notice was taken of his ripe judgment, as well as daring courage, was in the expedition to Newhaven Anno Dom. 1563, where he behaved with ſo much prudence, and his attempts were attended with ſo great ſucceſs, that tho' then but a young man he was much admired, and his prudence and modeſty raiſed high expectations in all who knew him (*e*). In ſeveral expeditions undertaken in thoſe troubleſome times he added to his fortune, as well as to his fame, and being at all times ready, both in diſcourſe and with his pen, to render a reaſon for his own conduct, and to apologize for others, he came to be very juſtly conſidered by ſome of the moſt eminent perſons in the court of Queen Elizabeth, as one capable of rendering his country great ſervice, particularly in Ireland, where men of true abilities, were at that juncture much wanted (*f*). Their conceptions concurring with Mr Gilbert's views, and with that ambition of making himſelf known by great atchievements, which was the ruling paſſion of his mind, he accepted the advantageous offers that were made him, and paſſing over into that iſland, arrived by merit at the honourable poſt of commander in chief and governor of the province of Munſter, where in Anno Dom. 1569, he performed great things with a handful of men, and became more dreaded by the Iriſh, than any Engliſhman employed in that ſervice (*g*) [*D*]. In an action at Kilkenny,

(*b*) See the dedication of Mr Hooker's diſcourſe of a Comet, addreſſed to Sir John Gilbert. Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh.

(*c*) Supply of Iriſh Chronicles, by Hooker, p. 132.

(*d*) Fuller's Worthies, in Devon. p. 260. Supply of Iriſh Chronicles, by Hooker, p. 132.

(*e*) Stowe's Annals, p. 812.

(*f*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 626.

(*g*) Stowe's Annals, p. 812.

[*B*] *By genius than by blood.*] It is very remarkable that the lady mentioned in the text, Mrs Katherine Champernon, had by two huſbands five ſons all of whom were made Knights, in a reign when that honour was as ſparingly beſtowed, as it has been laviſhly conferred in others (10). As for Sir Carew and Sir Walter Raleigh, our author's half brothers, they will be mentioned in another part of this Work, and therefore we ſhall ſpeak in this note of thoſe only that were of the whole blood. His elder brother, Sir John Gilbert, received that honour from Queen Elizabeth, in 1570 (11), and was Sheriff of Devonſhire four years, and afterwards (12) he is alſo ſaid to have been Cuſtos Rotulorum of the county, and a man of ſuch conſummate prudence, that ſcarce any thing in thoſe parts was done without conſulting him (13). He was likewiſe diſtinguiſhed for his charity and beneficence to the poor, which gained him univerſal reputation. He married the daughter of Sir Richard Chudleigh, of Aſhton, by whom he had no iſſue, and lies buried with her in the cathedral church of St Peter, in the city of Exeter (14). The younger brother of our hero was Sir Adrian Gilbert, who was alſo a perſon of great worth and learning. He it was that a little after his brother, Sir Humphry Gilbert's death, took out a patent for a diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage; under which the famous John Davis was ſent to diſcover and actually did diſcover the ſtreights that bear his name (15). He alſo recovered the ſilver mines at Combe-Martin in Devonſhire, which were afterwards wrought with more credit than profit by Sir Bevois Bulmer (16). We might mention other marks of this gentleman's great learning and public ſpirit, but theſe are ſufficient for our purpoſe, and will abundantly account to the reader for that general ſupport which Sir Humphry Gilbert's projects met with, whether ſucceſsful or not, and even after his death; for not only his family, but his friends, ſupported his very laſt project, in which he periſhed (17); and whether they were gainers by it or not, this is very certain, that the nation has drawn a perpetual benefit ever ſince from the diſcoveries made by him, and proſecuted by thoſe who aſſiſted him.

(10) Riſdon, Fuller, Prince, &c.

(11) Sir William Pole's Deſcription of Devon. MS.

(12) Fuller's Worthies, Devon. p. 274.

(13) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 327.

(14) Izacke's remarkable Antiquities of Exeter.

(15) Hakluyt's Voyages, tom. III. p. 96, 98.

(16) Fuller's Worthies, Devon. p. 245. Prince's Introduction, p. 2, 3.

(17) See Sir George Peckham's treatiſe of Weſtern Planting.

[*C*] *Reached the public ear.*] His father, Mr Otho Gilbert, died when this ſon of his was very young, but had ſo great expectations from the extraordinary ſpirit and quickneſs which he diſcovered even while a child, that he made a good proviſion for him, and particularly deſired that the utmoſt care might be taken of his education. It is very ſingular, that though he was ſo much admired and diſtinguiſhed for his writings, there is no mention at all made of him by Anthony Wood. When he came from the univerſity, there was, it ſeems, an intention of ſending him to the inns of court, which was in that age (and a good cuſtom it was) the uſual method of finiſhing a gentleman's education; but his aunt, Mrs Katherine Aſhley, who waited upon Queen Elizabeth, was ſo extremely pleaſed with her nephew, and had ſo good an opinion of his parts, that inſtead of ſuffering him to be made acquainted with the Laws, ſhe would needs introduce him at Court; and there he was for ſome time not only in the Queen's ſervice, but in her favour, who would often confer with him in matters of learning, and in all probability about his favourite ſtudies of Coſmography and Navigation (18), which could not but be favourable to his fortunes in the ſucceeding part of his life, and entitle him to ſuch marks of his Sovereign's favour, as even his great merit would ſcarce have procured, if he not been ſo early brought into her majeſty's family. This produced in the breaſt of our hero ſo true an affection, and ſo warm a loyalty to his Sovereign, that there is ſcarce an action of his life that has eſcaped oblivion, which is not tinctured therewith. In 1571, when he ſerved in Parliament as Burgeſs for Plymouth, he drew upon himſelf very ill treatment from one Mr Wentworth, for the pains he took to moderate that licentiouſneſs of ſpeech, which he conceived might become as dangerous to the liberties of the ſubject, as offenſive to the Queen's prerogative (19). He was not however ſo much a courtier, as either to deſire to paſs his days in eaſe and pleaſure, or to dream of arriving at great things, but by patience and perſeverance in a road beſet with perils, as clearly appears by the choice he made of a device (20), as the cuſtom of thoſe times was, and which very probably he did when he was a young man, and juſt entering into the world, viz. *Mars* and *Mercury* joined by a *croſs*, with this motto, *Quid non? i. e.* What not? intimating, that almoſt any thing may be atchieved, if to ſtrength and wit there is added patience.

(18) Hooker's Supply of Iriſh Chronicles, p. 132.

(19) D'Ewes's Journal of Parliament, p. 175.

(20) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 328.

[*D*] *Than any Engliſhman employed in that ſervice.*] The reputation our young ſoldier had acquired under the command of Ambroſe Earl of Warwick, raiſed him ſo high in the general eſteem of the Court, that he ſeems to have gone to Ireland with no ordinary circumſtances of favour and confidence, as may be collected from the letters of Sir Henry Sidney, then Lord Deputy, both before and after his arrival (21); by whom he was immediately made a Captain upon that eſtabliſhment; a command of greater weight, and conſequently of more honour, than it is now: and he was farther,

(21) Sydney's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 28, 36, 38.

Kilkenny, under the command of Sir Peter Carew, Captain Gilbert, and Captain Davels, with only ten private men, had the courage to begin the charge, by which they opened a path to a glorious victory, which ſtruck the Iriſh with amazement (*b*). His march directly to Limerick, and the conſternation which appeared in the people thereupon, induced the proud Earl of Glencar or Glencarty to offer his ſubmiſſion, and this being accepted, he and Mac Donnogh came to the governor, and acknowledged their offences upon their knees. Having thus reſtored the quiet of the province, his next care was to provide for its continuance, which with great ſpirit and vigilance he performed, putting proper garriſons into all the ſtrong places that were requiſite to keep the rebellious natives in awe, and proper magiſtrates into the towns, that ſtrict juſtice might be done to thoſe who remained in their duty (*i*). When he had ſettled all in the beſt order poſſible, he went to make a report of what he had done to the Lord Deputy Sir Henry Sydney, who to ſhew his approbation of his ſervices, conferred on him the honour of Knighthood at Drogheda on New-year's-day 1569-70, and ſoon after granted him licence to repair to England, where his private affairs at that time required his preſence (*k*). His ſucceſſor in his government was Sir John Perrot, who had the title given him of Lord Preſident of Munſter, and who in thoſe days was generally believed to be the Queen's natural brother. It was not long after his return to England, that he married a young lady, who was an heireſs, which added conſiderably to his fortune, but abated nothing of his public ſpirit, for in 1572 he ſailed with a ſquadron of nine ſhips to Flanders, with a reinforcement for Colonel Thomas Morgan, who at that time meditated the recovery of the port of Fluſhing (*l*). How long he continued there does not appear, but upon his return to England he ſeems to have reſumed his ſtudies with freſh vigour, and to have formed a deſign of adding to the glory of his Queen and Country by ſome generous and uſeful undertaking, worthy of that great reputation which he had already obtained, as well for extenſive learning as undaunted courage (*m*). The firſt public diſcovery he made, both of his mathematical knowledge, and of his patriot intentions, was in his diſcourſe to prove that there is a north-weſt paſſage to the Eaſt Indies, which was firſt printed in the year 1576, tho' in all probability it was written ſome time before (*n*). It is a very plain, methodical, and judicious piece [*E*], at the cloſe of which there is an account of another treatiſe of

(*b*) Supply of Iriſh Chronicles, by Hooker, p. 132.

(*i*) Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, part i. p. 335.

(*k*) Supply of Iriſh Chronicles, by Hooker, p. 132.

(*l*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 264.

(*m*) Supply of Iriſh Chronicles, by Hooker, p. 132.

(*n*) This treatiſe is ſtill preſerved in Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 11.

farther, by that noble perſon's intereſt, choſen a member of that Parliament, which ſat in 1568 (22). But, in order to give the reader a more diſtinct idea of theſe tranſactions, it will be requiſite to acquaint him with the nature of that rebellion, in the ſuppreſſion of which our hero was employed. Whilſt the Lord Deputy and the Parliament were endeavouring the proſperity and peace of Ireland, by enacting good and wholſome laws, others were as buſy to put all into diſorder and confuſion; for ſome of the looſer ſort of the Iriſh Lords were diſtaſted to that degree at the loſs of their Captainries, and Iriſh extortions, as alſo at the impoſt on wine, that they reſolved by force to procure the repeal of thoſe laws, or at leaſt prevent the execution of them, and ſo making religion their pretence, they confederated together (23). James Fitzmorris was the ringleader of all this miſchief; he added to the general grievances, the particular injuries done to his own family by the impriſonment of the Earl of Deſmond, and his brother, Sir John; and he inveigled the Earl of Glencarty, by telling him that the Queen was to be married to the Earl of Leiceſter, and that thereupon the Lord Deputy, who married that Earl's ſiſter, was to be King of Ireland; and when the Earl of Glencarty was once engaged, Mac Donnogh, and many more of the Cartyes, came in of courſe; and Fitzgerald, Seneſchal of Imokilly, was as forward in this rebellion as any of them; and although Sir Edmund Butler, who was Seneſchal to his brother, the Earl of Ormond, and conſequently hated all the family of Deſmond, and had formerly ſerved againſt James Fitzmorris, yet, becauſe he did not dare to appear before commiſſioners ſent by the Lord Deputy to Kilkenny, to examine and redreſs the grievous complaints made againſt him, and partly thro' zeal for the Catholic Cauſe, and fondneſs of the Iriſh uſurpations, he joined with the reſt of the rebels (24). The confederates being reſolved to make ſomething conſiderable for their own benefit of this rebellion, if it were poſſible, ſent the titular Biſhops of Caſhel and Emly, and the youngeſt brother of the Earl of Deſmond, as their Ambaſſadors to the Pope and the King of Spain, to implore aid and aſſiſtance to reſcue their religion and country from the tyranny and oppreſſion of Queen Elizabeth (25). It was for the ſuppreſſing this rebellion, that Mr Gilbert was raiſed to the rank of Colonel, which ſeems to have been in thoſe days a title of ſupreme command; for his forces conſiſted of 100 horſe, 400 regular foot, and a certain number of that kind of Iriſh militia diſtinguiſhed by the name of Kerns (26). When he was ſent over to the aſſiſtance of the Dutch he had the ſame title, and is reported to have been the firſt Engliſhman that bore it in that ſervice, where he was inſtrumental in ſettling the new diſcipline, as is evident from the following letter of Mr Camden's, to Sir Edward Cecil, afterwards Lord Viſcount Wimbleton (27). 'The propoſition you make is out of the reach of my profeſſion, and not of antiquity, but of late memory. By reaſon of Sir Robert Cotton's abſence, I can impart nothing from him as yet, and for my own obſervation, it is very ſlender. Only I remember, that after Captain Morgan in the year 1572, had firſt carried to Fluſhing 300 Engliſh, and had procured Sir Humphry Gilbert to bring over more, and to be Colonel of the Engliſh there, a new military diſcipline was ſhortly after brought in, and the new march, by ſome that had ſerved the Duke of Alva, and entertained eſpecially by the important inſtance of Sir Roger Williams, although ſtrong oppoſition was then made againſt it by Captain Pykeman, and after by Captain Read, antient leaders, and Sir William Pelham, who were ſcornfully termed by the contrary party, St George's ſouldados, and Sir John Smith, who had ſerved under the Conſtable Momorancy, twice in Hungary, at Penon de Velez, and Malta, yea, and under Dalva, encountered with his pen againſt the new diſcipline, and did write much, which was never publiſhed.' We may very well collect from hence, that if Sir Humphry Gilbert had been a man who had nothing in view but his own ſatisfaction and intereſt, in ſome eaſy, honourable, and beneficial employment, he had by this time raiſed himſelf to ſuch a height in the Queen's eſteem, to ſo great credit with her Miniſters, more eſpecially of the Leiceſtrian faction, and ſuch extenſive reputation amongſt perſons of diſtinction throughout the kingdom, that he might without difficulty have fixed himſelf where he pleaſed, ſince he that ſoars upon the wings of favour and merit, can hardly fail of reaching any height.

[*E*] *It is a very plain, methodical, and judicious piece.*] We may aſſert, without any danger of being thought to flatter the memory of this moſt worthy perſon,

(22) Hooker's Supply of Iriſh Chronicles, p. 132.

(23) Sydney's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 39.

(24) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, part i. p. 332, 333.

(25) Hooker's Supply of Iriſh Chronicles, p. 130.

(26) Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, part i. p. 333.

(27) Camdeni & illuſtrium Virorum Epiſtolæ, p. 350, 351.

of Navigation, which he had then written, and intended alſo to publiſh, and which is now probably loſt. The deſign of this diſcourſe was in all likelyhood to ſtir up a ſpirit of diſcovery

ſon, that there is no treatiſe written in that age of ſpeculative and practical knowledge in our country, that has come down to us with more honour to it's author, in point of various and extenſive learning, ſoundneſs and ſagacity of judgment, or of clearneſs and candour in all that he has delivered; and therefore we may preſume it will be very agreeable to our ingenious and inquiſitive readers, if we give them an abſtract of this little work, that is not in every hand, and the rather, becauſe this is a ſubject as warmly debated, and of which as high hopes have been entertained in our days, as in his. The title equally plain and modeſt, runs at large thus (28):

(28) Hakluyt's Voyages, tom. III. p. 11.

A Diſcourſe *written by Sir* Humphry Gilbert, *Knt. to prove a paſſage by the* North weſt *to* Cathaia *and the* Eaſt-Indies. The firſt thing worthy of obſervation in this curious and inſtructive piece, is the natural, perſpicuous, and accurate method in which it is written, being divided into *ten* chapters, each of which fully anſwers it's title, and comprehends all if not more than can be expected from it. In the *firſt* he undertakes to prove by authority, that America is an iſland, and conſequently, that there is a paſſage on the north ſide of it to Cathaia, China, and the Eaſt-Indies. In this he lays down all that is delivered by antient authors concerning the great iſland of Atlantis, compares the opinions of later writers, who have endeavoured to render thoſe accounts more intelligible, and who are all of them led from thence to conclude, that America is an iſland. He then proceeds to the maps and charts publiſhed by the beſt Geographers, from which the ſame thing appears; and foreſeeing that an objection might be made againſt this method of reaſoning, taken from the incertainty that there may be, whether theſe writers did not ſpeak more confidently than they ought to do of things with which they were but indifferently acquainted; he undertakes to make it manifeſt, that the paſſage by ſea to Muſcovy, which was eſteemed the great glory of their own times, was really known 700 years before. His own words upon this head will beſt content the reader, if he can bear (which ſure may be eaſily done) with his ſtyle, that is now a little antiquated. 'What moves, (ſays he) 'theſe learned men to affirm thus much, I know not, 'or to what end ſo many and ſundry travellers of both 'ages have allowed the ſame. But I conjecture, that 'they would never have ſo conſtantly affirmed, or notified 'their opinions therein to the world, if they had not had 'great good cauſe, and many probable reaſons, to have 'led them thereunto. Now, leaſt you ſhould make 'ſmall account of antient writers, or of their experi'ences which travelled long before our times, reckon'ing their authority amongſt fables of no importance, 'I have, for the better aſſurance of thoſe proofs, ſet 'down ſome part of a diſcourſe written in the Saxon 'tongue, and tranſlated into Engliſh by M. Nowel, 'ſervant to Sir William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, and 'Lord High-Treaſurer of England; wherein there is 'deſcribed a Navigation which one Ochther made 'in the time of King Alfred, King of Weſt Saxe, 'anno 871 the words of which diſcourſe were theſe: '*He ſailed right north, having always the deſart land* '*on the ſtarboard, and on the larboard the main ſea,* '*continuing his courſe until he perceived that the coaſt* '*bowed directly towards the eaſt, or elſe the ſea opened* '*into the land, he could not tell how far, where he* '*was compelled to ſtay until he had a weſtern wind, or* '*ſomewhat upon the north; and ſailed thence directly* '*eaſt along the coaſt, ſo far as he was able in four* '*days, where he was again enforced to tarry until he had* '*a north wind, becauſe the coaſt there bowed directly to*'*wards the ſouth, or at leaſt opened he knew not how* '*far into the land; ſo that he ſailed thence along the* '*coaſt continually full ſouth, ſo far as he could travel in* '*the ſpace of five days; where he diſcovered a mighty ri*'*ver, which opened far into the land, and in the entry* '*of this river he turned back again.* Whereby it ap'peareth, that he went the very ſame way that we now 'do yearly trade by St Nicholas into Muſcovy, 'which way no man in our age knew for certainty to 'be by ſea, until it was ſince diſcovered by our 'Engliſhmen in the reign of King Edward VI. but 'thought before that time, that Groenland had joined 'to Normoria, Byarmia, &c. and therefore was ac'counted a new diſcovery, being nothing ſo indeed, as 'by this diſcourſe of Ochther appeareth. Neverthe'leſs, if any man ſhould have taken this voyage in 'hand by the encouragement of this only author, he 'ſhould have been thought but ſimple; conſidering, 'that this Navigation was written ſo many years paſt, 'in ſo barbarous a tongue, by one only obſcure author; 'and yet we in theſe our days find, by our own ex'periences, his former reports to be true. How much 'more then ought we to believe this paſſage to Cataia 'to be verified by the opinions of all the beſt both 'antique and modern Geographers, and plainly ſet 'out in the beſt and moſt allowed maps, charts, 'globes, coſmographical tables, and diſcourſes of this 'our age, and by the reſt not denied, but left as a 'matter doubtful?' The deſign of his *ſecond* chapter is to prove that there is ſuch a paſſage by reaſon and argument; as in the former chapter he had ſhewn himſelf an excellent Coſmographer, ſo in this, he makes it clearly appear, that he was a very knowing Seaman; all bodies of water growing ſhallower as they approach either to ſhore or ſource, he thinks, that the ſea growing ſtill deeper in this north-weſt courſe, argues a paſſage to ſome mighty ocean, rather than to any coaſt. If America had not been an iſland, he thinks, that the Tartars or the Japoneſe would have found ſome way into it, which was never alledged; or that ſome beaſts at leaſt would have found their way over mountains impaſſable to man; but our eldeſt travellers into Aſia, never heard there any thing of America; nor did the firſt conquerors of America find the leaſt reaſon to believe the inhabitants of that part of the world had any knowledge of Aſia; neither were any beaſts ſeen, that with any ſhadow of reaſon could be judged to come from thence. He proceeds next to the doctrine of tides and currents, concerning which he diſcourſes with great judgment and perſpicuity, ſupporting all along his arguments by facts, and concluding with this remarkable doctrine, which is the beſt hitherto laid down, in favour of ſuch a paſſage, viz. *That the current in the great* ocean *could not have been maintained to run continually one way from the beginning of the world unto this day, had there not been ſome thorough paſſage by the fact aforeſaid, and ſo by circular motion be brought again to maintain itſelf.* For the tides and courſes of the ſea are maintained by their interchangeable motions, as freſh rivers are by ſprings, by ebbing and flowing, by rarefaction and condenſation.

The ſcope of the *third* chapter is to eſtabliſh from facts, that part of this north-weſt paſſage has been already viſited by ſeveral eminent perſons, which affords a ſtrong probability that the reſt may be diſcovered. He obſerves, that Marco Polo affirms, he ſailed 500 miles north-eaſt from the continent of Aſia, and found the ſea all open; Franciſcus Vaſques de Coronado, ſays he, paſſing from Mexico by Cevola, through the country of Quivira, to Siera Nevada, found there a great ſea, where were certain ſhips laden with merchandize, carrying in their prows the pictures of certain birds, called Alcatrazi, part whereof were made of gold, and part of ſilver; who ſignified by ſigns, they were thirty days coming thither; which likewiſe proveth America by experience to be diſjoined from Cataia on that part, by a great ſea, becauſe they could not come from any part of America, as natives thereof; for, that ſo far as is diſcovered, there hath not been found there any one ſhip of that country. He cites alſo John de Barros to prove this opinion is received in China, and Franciſco Lopez de Gomara, who poſitively aſſerts America to be an iſland, and ſhews how it lies in reſpect to Groenland. It is at the cloſe of this chapter that the paſſage occurs concerning Sebaſtian Cabot, of which we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to ſpeak at large.

In his *fourth* chapter he produces evidence in order to make it plain, that this paſſage has been actually ſailed thorough. He alledges firſt the authority of Gemma Friſius, who ſays, that there went from Europe three bretliren through this ſtreight, from whence it took the

name

diſcovery in his countrymen, and to facilitate a deſign he had formed for planting unknown countries, as well as for the diſcovery of the north-weſt paſſage; for that he had ſtill

name of *Fretum trium fratrum*; he next quotes Pliny, who ſpeaks of certain Indians caſt upon the coaſt of Germany; he mentions another inſtance of the ſame kind, which happened anno Dom. 1160. and upon theſe grounds he aſſerts, they could come no other way than by this north-weſt paſſage.

In his *fifth* chapter he offers the reaſons upon which this poſition is founded. The paſſage, he thinks by the Cape of Good-Hope, muſt have been utterly impaſſable to an Indian veſſel. He alledges the ſame thing with reſpect to Africa. In caſe they had come by a ſouth-eaſt paſſage he ſhews, that they muſt have touched on other European countries, before they came to Germany. To have gone through the ſtreights of Magellan was too hard a taſk in his opinion for ſo ſlight a veſſel; and if any ſhould conclude, that theſe people did not come from India, but from Africa, or America, he refutes this by obſerving, that the inhabitants of both theſe parts of the globe never had, ſo far as we know, before the arrival of the Europeans, any ſhips in which they made uſe of ſails.

In his *ſixth* chapter he produces many arguments to render it more than probable, that either there is no north-eaſt paſſage, or if ſuch a paſſage there be, it can only be paſſable for a ſmall part of the year. What he has delivered upon this part of his ſubject, is not only very rational, and diſcuſſed throughout with the utmoſt ſagacity, but his obſervations have been many of them verified by the attempts that have been made ſince his time; ſo that to one who is well verſed in the nature of this diſpute, and is alſo well acquainted with the hiſtory of the endeavours uſed to diſcover it, cannot fail of entertaining a very high opinion of Sir Humphry Gilbert's ſtyle and penetration, from the weight and ſhrewdneſs of his remarks upon this topic.

The buſineſs of the *ſeventh* chapter is to enforce the point before laid down, that if thoſe Indians came not by any of the other paſſages but by the north-weſt, then this has been certainly paſſed, and there muſt be ſuch a paſſage open. His ſuggeſtions to facilitate the full perſwaſion of this, are ſo happily imagined, and ſo conciſely expreſſed, that it may not be amiſs to give ſome few of them in his own words. 'Firſt, the one half of the winds of the compaſs 'might bring them by the north-weſt, beating always 'between two ſheets, with which kind of ſailing the 'Indians are only acquainted, not having any uſe of a 'bow-line, or quarter-wind, without the which no 'ſhip can poſſibly come, either by the ſouth-eaſt, 'ſouth-weſt, or north-eaſt, having ſo many ſundry 'capes to double, whereunto are required ſuch change 'and ſhift of winds. And it ſeemeth likely, that they 'ſhould come by the north-weſt, becauſe the coaſt 'whereon they were driven lay eaſt from this our paſ'ſage; and every wind doth naturally drive a ſhip to an 'oppoſite point from whence it bloweth, not being 'otherwiſe guided by art, which the Indians do ut'terly want; and therefore it ſeemeth that they came 'directly through this our fret, which they might do 'with one wind; for if they had come by the cape de 'Buona Speranca, then muſt they (as aforeſaid) have 'fallen upon the ſouth parts of America; and if by 'the fret of Magellan, then upon the coaſts of Afric, 'Spain, Portugal, France, Ireland, or England; and 'by the north-eaſt, then upon the coaſts of Cerenceſſi, 'Tartary, Lappia iſland, Terra de Labrador, &c. 'and upon theſe coaſts, as aforeſaid, they have never 'been found; ſo that by all likelihood they could ne'ver have come without ſhipwreck upon the coaſts of 'Germany, if they had firſt ſtricken upon the coaſts of 'ſo many countries, wanting both art and ſhipping to 'make orderly diſcovery, and altogether ignorant both 'in the art of navigation, and alſo of the rocks, flats, 'ſands, or havens, of thoſe parts of the world, which in 'moſt of theſe places are plentiful.' He then mentions other inſtances of perſons who had paſſed this ſtreight, and then concludes with a fact that fell within the compaſs of his own knowledge. 'There was, ſays he, 'one Salvaterra, a gentleman of Victoria, in Spain, 'that came by chance out of the Weſt-Indies into Ire'land, anno 1568, who affirmed the north-weſt paſ'ſage from us to Cataia conſtantly to be believed in 'America navigable; and further ſaid, in the preſence 'of Sir Henry Sydney (then Lord Deputy of Ireland) in 'my hearing, that a friar of Mexico, called Andrew Ur'daneta, more than eight years before his then coming 'into Ireland, told him, that he came from Mer du 'Sur into Germany through this north-weſt paſſage, 'and ſhewed Salvaterra at that time (being then with 'him in Mexico) a ſea-card, made by his own expe'rience and travel in that voyage, wherein was plainly 'ſet down and deſcribed this north-weſt paſſage, agree'ing in all points with Ortelius's map. And further 'this friar told the King of Portugal, as he returned 'by that country homeward, that there was (of cer'tainty) ſuch a paſſage north-weſt from England, and 'that he meant to publiſh the ſame; which done, the 'King moſt earneſtly deſired him not in any wiſe to 'diſcloſe or make the paſſage known to any nation; 'for that, ſaid the King, if England had knowledge 'and experience thereof, it would greatly hinder both 'the King of Spain and me. This friar (as Salvaterra 'reported) was the greateſt diſcoverer by ſea that hath 'been in our age. Alſo Salvaterra being perſwaded 'of this paſſage by the friar Urdaneta, and by the 'common opinion of the Spaniards inhabiting Ame'rica, offered moſt willingly to accompany me in this 'diſcovery, which it is like he would not have done if 'he had ſtood in doubt thereof.'

The *eighth* chapter contains the reaſons that were advanced by our author at the Council-table, in the preſence of her Majeſty and the Lords, to ſhew, that the arguments offered by Mr Anthony Jenkinſon, as to the probability of a north-eaſt paſſage, were not convincing. It ſeems, Mr Jenkinſon, who was a very great traveller, and to whom his countrymen are indebted for many uſeful informations, did not at all conteſt the probability of a north-weſt paſſage; but, from the general tradition amongſt the people in the northern parts of Ruſſia, concluded, that there was alſo a paſſage to the north-eaſt. The reaſons alledged by Mr Jenkinſon are certainly far enough from being concluſive, and the anſwers of Sir Humphry Gilbert overthrow them plainly; but then, theſe are very far from being the ſtrongeſt arguments that might be urged to prove there was ſuch a paſſage. One thing deſerves particular attention, that this was a matter diſcuſſed before the Privy-Council, and even in the preſence of Queen Elizabeth. In her reign, not only matters relating to the Crown, but ſuch affairs as had any relation to her ſubjects welfare, paſſed for concerns of State, and were treated accordingly.

The *ninth* chapter comprehends the motives upon which, ſuppoſing that there is a north-eaſt paſſage to the Indies, this by the north-weſt ſhould be preferred. He obſerves, that all circumſtances conſidered, the paſſage is ſhorter, the voyage far ſafer, and more wholſome, the return eaſy, the neceſſary winds (both going and coming) more certain, and above all, the power of maintaining ourſelves in poſſeſſion of the north-weſt paſſage, as long as we continue ſuperior to our neighbours in a naval force.

In the *tenth* chapter are laid down the advantages that would attend this diſcovery, ſuch as the putting it in our power to obtain larger quantities of the moſt valuable commodities of the Eaſt, and at leſs expence than any other nation, by which we might be enabled to ſell them cheaper; the carrying on this trade by the exchange of our own commodities, inſtead of ſending ſilver; the increaſing our manufactures at home, eſtabliſhing uſeful colonies abroad, augmenting our ſhipping, multiplying our ſeamen, and giving a new incitement to the induſtry of our people of all ranks. He afterwards mentions ſeveral circumſtances that may farther prove, as well the certainty as the facility of ſucceeding in this undertaking, concluding his whole diſcourſe in the following manner: 'Further, becauſe it 'ſufficeth not only to know that ſuch a thing there is, 'without ability to perform the ſame, I will at leiſure 'make you partaker of another ſimple diſcourſe of na'vigation, wherein I have not a little travelled to 'make myſelf as ſufficient to bring theſe things to ef-

ſtill this among other public ſpirited and glorious projects in view, is plain from the letters patents granted to his brother Adrian Gilbert (*o*). For the preſent, however, he adhered to his deſign of planting, and with that view procured from the Queen, an ample patent, dated at Weſtminſter June 11, 1578, wherein he had full powers given him to undertake the diſcovery of the northern parts of America, and to inhabit and poſſeſs any lands, which at that time were unſettled by Chriſtian Princes, or their ſubjects (*p*). Immediately after procuring theſe letters patents, Sir Humphry applied himſelf to the getting aſſociates in ſo great an undertaking, wherein at firſt he ſeemed to be very ſucceſsful, his reputation for knowledge being very great, and his credit as a commander thoroughly eſtabliſhed; yet when the project came to be actually executed, many receded from their agreements, and others, even after the fleet was prepared, ſeparated themſelves, and choſe to run their own fortunes in their own way (*q*). Theſe diſappointments, however, did not hinder Sir Humphry from proſecuting his ſcheme, in which he was ſeconded by his brother Sir Walter Raleigh, and a few other friends of unſhaken reſolutions. With theſe he ſailed to Newfoundland, where he continued but a ſhort time, and being then compelled to return, he in his paſſage home met with ſome Spaniſh veſſels from whom he cleared himſelf but not without great difficulty. This ſeems to have been in the ſummer of 1579, but we have a very dark account of it, without either dates or circumſtances, further than thoſe which have been already given (*r*). Yet his miſcarriage in this his firſt undertaking, was far from diſcouraging him; for after his return he went on as chearfully as he had done before, in procuring freſh aſſiſtance for compleating what he had intended, and for promoting Chriſtian knowledge, by means of Engliſh ſettlements in undiſcovered lands. This conduct of his is ſufficient to ſhew not only the ſteadineſs of his courage, but the extent of his credit, ſince after ſuch a diſappointment, another commander would ſcarce have perſwaded any adventurers to join with him, which, however, was not by any means his caſe (*s*) [*F*]. At this time it is moſt probable he received from

(*o*) Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, by Mr Oldys, p. 22.

(*p*) This patent is extant in Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 135.

(*q*) See Mr Hales account in Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 145.

(*r*) Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, by Mr Oldys, p. 13.

(*s*) Sir George Peckham's Relation of Sir Humphry's Voyage, Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 165.

'fect, as I have been ready to offer myſelf therein. 'And therein I have deviſed to amend the errors of 'uſual ſea-cards, whoſe common fault is to make the degrees of longitude in every latitude of one like bigneſs; 'and have alſo deviſed therein a ſpherical inſtrument 'with a compaſs of variation, for the perfect knowing 'of the longitude; and a preciſe order to prick the 'ſea-card, together with certain infallible rules for the 'ſhortening of any diſcovery, to know at the firſt entering of any fret, whether it lie open to the ocean more 'ways than one, how far ſoever the ſea ſtretcheth 'itſelf into the land. Deſiring you hereafter never to 'miſlike with me for the taking in hand of any laudable and honeſt enterprize: for, *if through* pleaſure 'or idleneſs *we purchaſe* ſhame, *the* pleaſure *vaniſheth*, 'but *the* ſhame *remaineth* for ever.'

The great credit of the author, and the high reputation which his treatiſe had obtained amongſt the beſt judges, was in all probability the reaſon that ſo great hopes were raiſed of the expedition by Capt. Martin Frobiſher, who ſailed the very ſame year this piece was publiſhed, in order to carry this deſign into execution, and make the actual diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage; and though that great man failed, yet ſo ſtrong an impreſſion was made by the facts and arguments alledged by Sir Humphry, that his brother afterwards formed a company under the Queen's letters patents (29), which was ſtiled *The Collegues of the Fellowſhip for the Diſcovery of the* North-West *Paſſage*, in which Sir Walter Raleigh, and other perſons of diſtinction, were likewiſe concerned.

(29) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 27.

[*F*] *Was not by any means his caſe.*] In this note we ſhall endeavour to diſcuſs thoſe points relating to the life of our author, in reſpect to which, ſome who have gone before us are ſtrangely miſtaken. The Rev. Mr Prince, in his life of Sir Humphry Gilbert, aſſures us, that he was knighted by Queen Elizabeth in 1577 (30); whereas we have ſhewn the reader, that he was really knighted by the Lord Deputy of Ireland near ſeven years before. It is true, that he cites a great authority for this (31), and is therefore the more excuſable, but that he is in an error notwithſtanding, may not only be proved by the teſtimony of Mr Hooker, who was well acquainted with Sir Humphry, ſat in Parliament with him at Dublin, wrote a hiſtory of things which paſſed under his own eye, ſingled out Captain Gilbert as his countryman and acquaintance, that he might furniſh the world with ſuch notices about him, as might otherwiſe be buried in oblivion, and dedicated his book to his brother Sir Walter Raleigh (32); but from an inconteſtable evidence, which is a letter of Sir Thomas Smith, Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth, to Sir Sir Francis Walſingham, in which he ſtiles him Sir Humphry Gilbert, in 1572 (33), as Camden alſo does (34), and other writers, who could not be miſtaken.

(30) Worthies of Devonſhire, p. 327.

(31) Sir William Pole's Catalogue of Knight's made in the reign of Queen Eliz. in Devon.

(32) Hooker's Supply of Iriſh Chronicles, p. 132.

(33) Sir Dudley Diggs's compleat Embaſſador, p. 299.

(34) Camdeni & illuſtrium Virorum Epiſtolæ, p. 350, 351.

But there is another and a greater error in Prince's Life, for which he cites no authority, and for which indeed it is impoſſible that any authority ſhould be cited. The caſe is this; inſtead of two, he will needs have it, that Sir Humphry Gilbert made three expeditions for diſcovery, but gives us the dates of none, except the laſt. The firſt voyage, he ſays, was undertaken by himſelf, to his great charge and hazard, and was almoſt overthrown in the prime, by the failure of divers of the adventurers in their contracts and promiſes (35). If he had ſtopped here, it had been well, becauſe this is matter of fact; but, ſays he, though in this he failed in a great meaſure of his expectation, yet being of a noble diſpoſition he was not daunted, and ſo proceeded to a ſecond voyage, wherein he made great diſcoveries, and gave name to a certain fretum in the northern ſeas, called Gilbert's Streights, to this day. Now this voyage was not only unknown to that worthy regiſter of the great actions performed by our countrymen at ſea, Mr Hakluyt, but to Captain Edward Hales, who mentions very particularly his firſt attempt in that copious and accurate account which he gives us of his ſecond expedition, wherein he was Rear Admiral, in the Golden Hind, of which he was both captain and owner; it was alſo unknown to his intimate friend, Sir George Peckham, who contributed largely to his laſt expedition, and wrote an excellent book to vindicate his friend's memory, and in ſupport of his undertaking, immediately after his deceaſe. But what is ſtill ſtranger, and indeed not a little abſurd, Mr Prince, who makes both theſe expeditions the conſequences of his patent, as indeed they muſt have been, places them nevertheleſs before the year 1577, whereas the patent bears date on the 11th of June, 1578 (36). That there can be no miſtake in figures, is evident from that motive which preſſed him to his laſt undertaking, viz the fear that his patent would expire, as it muſt have done if he did not take poſſeſſion of ſome country within the ſpace of ſix years. Now that time would have been much more than elapſed, if he had made two fruitleſs expeditions under that patent before 1577, for he ſailed on his laſt adventure the very day that the ſixth year commenced from the date of his patent, viz. June the 11th, 1583.

(35) Worthies of Devon. p. 327.

(36) See the Patent as before referred to in Hakluyt.

But however, all this is very accurate, or at leaſt very pardonable, in compariſon of another writer, who though an Engliſhman born, was ſo little maſter of his mother-

from that gracious princeſs Queen Elizabeth, as a mark of her peculiar favour an emblematical Jewel, being a ſmall anchor (*t*) of beaten gold, with a large pearl at the peak, which he wore ever after at his breaſt; ſo that he had the ſatisfaction of perceiving that his credit with the Queen was not weakened, either by diſtance or diſaſters, the ſenſe of which (ſuch was the loyalty of thoſe times) gave him the courage to affront any dangers, ſince he was now ſure of not being ſhipwrecked at home. One thing which accelerated this ſecond expedition of Sir Humphry's, was, that, tho' his patent was perpetual, yet there was a clauſe in it, by which it was declared void, in caſe no poſſeſſion was taken within the ſpace of ſix years. This term drawing to a cloſe, he in the ſpring of the year 1583 haſtened his friends in their preparations, ſo that by the firſt of June his little fleet was in readineſs to ſail. It conſiſted of five ſhips, 1. The Delight, of the burthen of one hundred and twenty tons, Admiral, in which went the General Sir Humphry Gilbert, and under him Captain William Winter. II. The bark Ralegh, a ſtout new ſhip of two hundred tons, Vice-Admiral, built, manned, and victualled, at the expence of Sir Walter, then Mr Ralegh, under the command of Mr Butler. III. The Golden Hind, of forty tons, Rear-Admiral, commanded by Captain Edward Hayes, who was alſo her owner. IV. The Swallow, of like burthen, commanded by Captain Maurice Brown. V. The Squirrel, of the burthen of ten tons, under the command of Captain William Andrews (*u*). They ſailed from Plymouth on the 11th of June, and on the 13th the bark Ralegh returned, the Captain, and moſt of thoſe on board her, falling ſick of a contagious diſtemper. On the 30th of the ſame month the reſt of the fleet had ſight of Newfoundland. On the third of Auguſt they landed, the General read his commiſſion, which was ſubmitted to by all the Engliſh veſſels upon the coaſt, and on the fifth he took poſſeſſion of the harbour of St John, in the name of the Queen of England, and granted as her patentee certain leaſes, unto ſuch as were willing to take them. At the ſame time a diſcovery was made of a very rich ſilver mine, by one Daniel, a Saxon (*w*), an able miner, brought by the General for that purpoſe. Sir Humphry now inclined to put to ſea again, in order to make the beſt uſe of his time in diſcovering as far as poſſible, and having ſent home the Swallow, with ſuch as were ſick or diſcouraged through the hardſhips they had already undergone, he left the harbour of St John's in 47° 40′ N. L. on the 20th of Auguſt, himſelf in the ſmall ſloop called the Squirrel, becauſe being light ſhe was the fitter for entering all creeks and harbours, Captain Brown in the Delight, and Captain Hayes in the Golden Hind (*x*). On the 27th they found themſelves in the latitude of 44°, and tho' the weather was fair, and in all appearance like to continue ſo, yet on the 29th of Auguſt in the evening a ſudden ſtorm aroſe wherein the Delight was loſt, twelve men only eſcaping in her boat (*y*). This was a fatal blow to Sir Humphry Gilbert, not only with reſpect to the value of the ſhip and the lives of the men, but alſo in regard to his future hopes, for in her he loſt his Saxon miner, and with him the ſilver ore, which had been dug in Newfoundland, and of which he was ſo confident as to tell ſome of his friends, that he doubted not to borrow

(*t*) Sir William Pole's deſcription of Devonſhire.

(*u*) Sir George Peckham's Relation of Sir Humphry's Voyage, Hakluyt Vol. III. p. 148.

(*w*) Mr Hales account of Sir Humphry's Voyage in Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 154.

(*x*) Sir George Peckham's Relation of Sir Humphry's Voyage in Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 166.

(*y*) Richard Clarke's account of the ſhipwreck of the Delight, in Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 164.

mother-tongue, that from a very plain quotation in one of our old chronicles, he took it into his head, that Sir Humphry Gilbert flouriſhed in the reign of Henry the VIIth; we will firſt produce the paſſage that occaſioned this blunder, and then the life itſelf, which is very ſhort. 'This year 1489 (but it ought to be 1497) 'ſays John Stowe (37), one Sebaſtian Gabato, the ſon 'of a Genoeſe, born in Briſtol, profeſſing himſelf to 'be expert in knowledge of the circuit of the world, 'and iſlands of the ſame, as by his charts and other 'reaſonable demonſtrations he ſhewed, cauſed the 'King to man and victual a ſhip at Briſtol to ſearch 'for an iſland which he knew to be repleniſhed with 'rich commodities; in the ſhip divers merchants of 'London adventured ſmall ſtocks, and in the company 'of this ſhip ſailed alſo out of Briſtol three or four 'ſmall ſhips fraught with ſleight and groſs wares, as 'courſe cloth, caps, laces, points, and ſuch other. 'Sir Humphry Gilbert, Knight, in his book intituled 'A Diſcovery for a new Paſſage to Cataia, writeth thus: 'Sebaſtian Gabato, by his perſonal experience and 'travel, hath ſet forth and deſcribed this paſſage in 'his charts, which are yet to be ſeen in the Queen's 'Majeſty's Privy-Gallery at Whitehall, who was ſent 'to make this diſcovery by King Henry the VIIth, 'and entered the ſame fret, affirming that he ſailed 'very far weſtward with a quarter of the north on the 'north ſide of Terra de Labrador, the 11th of June, 'until he came to the ſeptentrional latitude of 67 ⅓ deg. 'and finding the ſeas ſtill open, ſaid that he might, 'and would have gone to Cataia, if the enmity of the 'maſter and mariners had not been'

(37) Chronicles, p. 480, 481.

The life written by Pits is conceived in the following terms. 'Humfredus Gilbertus (38) Anglus Equeſtris 'ordinis, vir Mathematicarum ſcientiarum peritiſſimus, 'navigationis valdè expertus, cujus chartæ totius mundi, & aliæ particularium regionum dicuntur adhuc in 'magno precio haberi, & Londini in domo regia, quæ 'vulgo Alba Aula dicitur, ſervari. Hic Henrici ſeptimi Regis juſſu & expenſis varias navigationes ad inveſtigandas terras novas ſuſcepit. Scripſit *Itineraria 'multa, Libras plures. De Navigatione ad terram* 'Cataiam, *Librum unum*. Et chartas exquiſitas multas. 'Claruit Anno Domini 1500, dum in Anglia rerum 'potiretur Henricus hujus nominis ſeptimus.' That is, Humphry Gilbert, an Engliſh Knight, was a perſon thoroughly verſed in the mathematical ſciences, very ſkilful in navigation, whoſe maps of the whole world, and of many particular countries, are ſaid to be ſtill much eſteemed, and are yet preſerved in the Royal Palace at London, which is ſtiled Whitehall. This gentleman, by the command and at the expence of Henry the VIIth, undertook ſeveral expeditions for the diſcovery of new countries. He wrote accounts of many of his voyages in ſeveral books; of the navigation to the land of Cathaia, in one book; we have likewiſe ſeveral excellent charts of his drawing. He flouriſhed Anno Domini 1500, in the reign of Henry the VIIth.

(38) De illuſtribus Angliæ Scriptoribus, p. 866.

This is an admirable feature of Dr Pits, and is a convincing proof of his knowledge and accuracy in writing lives; but as wonderful as this is, it is perhaps not leſs ſo, that this life ſhould be tranſcribed into the works of a learned prelate (39), not only without alteration, but without the leaſt notice taken of the error of Pits. The deſire of ſetting theſe matters right, and preventing poſterity from being miſled, while that is a thing practicable, induced us to ſtate theſe points ſo largely, that there might not remain ſo much as a ſhadow of doubt concerning them.

(39) Bibliotheca Britannica Hibernica, ſive de Scriptoribus, &c. p. 316.

[G] That

borrow ten thouſand pounds of the Queen for his next voyage (z) [G]. On the ſecond of September he went on board the Golden Hind, in order to have his foot dreſſed, which by accident he had hurt in treading on a nail. He remained on board for that day, and thoſe who were in the veſſel, did all that in them lay, to perſwade him to make his voyage home in her, which he abſolutely refuſed to do, affirming, that he would never deſert his bark, in which, or his little crew, with whom, he had eſcaped ſo many dangers (a). A generous, but fatal reſolution; for the veſſel being too ſmall to reſiſt the ſwell of thoſe tempeſtuous ſeas, about midnight on the 9th of September was ſwallowed up and never ſeen more. In the evening, when they were in great danger, Sir Humphry was ſeen ſitting in the ſtern of the ſhip, with a book in his hand, and was often heard to ſay with a loud voice, *Courage, my lads! we are as near Heaven at ſea, as at land* (b). Thus he died like a chriſtian hero, full of hopes, as having the teſtimony of a good conſcience. Mr Edward Hayes, who accompanied Sir Humphry in his voyage, and who hath left us an account of it, affirms, that he was principally determined to his fatal reſolution of ſailing in the Squirrel, by a malicious report that had been ſpread of his being timorous at ſea. Upon which he very juſtly obſerves, that it was rather raſhneſs, than adviſed reſolution, to prefer the wind of a vain report to the weight of his own life. Other particulars he mentions, amongſt which there are ſome very worthy of the reader's knowledge (c) [H]. As to the perſon of this wife and brave man, it was ſuch as recommended him

(z) Mr Haies account as above.

(a) Sir George Peckham's Relation.

(b) Mr Haies account of this Voyage.

(c) See alſo Sir George Peckham's Relation.

[G] *That he doubted not to borrow ten thouſand pounds of the Queen for his next voyage.*] In order to give the reader the beſt ſatisfaction in our power upon this ſubject, which ſome time or other perhaps may be of uſe, we muſt have recourſe to that deſcription of Newfoundland, which was penned by Captain Edward Haies upon the ſpot, with great perſpicuity and accuracy, and with ſuch intrinſic marks of veracity, as cannot eſcape the notice of an intelligent reader. After deſcribing the produce of the ſea, lakes, and rivers, he goes on thus.

(40) Hakluyt's Voyages, tom. III. p. 153, 154.

' (40) Upon the land beaſts of ſundry kinds, red ' deer, buffaloes, bears, ounces, or leopards, ſome ' greater, and ſome leſſer, wolves, foxes, which to ' the northward a little further, are black, whoſe fur ' is eſteemed in ſome countries of Europe very rich; ' otters, beavers, martins, and, in the opinion of moſt ' men that ſaw it, the General had brought unto him ' a fable alive, which he ſent unto his brother Sir John ' Gilbert, Knight, of Devonſhire, but it was never ' delivered, as after I underſtood. We could not ob' ſerve the hundredth part of creatures in thoſe uninha' bited lands, but theſe mentioned may induce us to ' glory the magnificent God, who hath ſuperabundant' ly repleniſhed the earth with creatures, ſerving for ' the uſe of man, though man hath not uſed the fifth ' part of the ſame, which the more doth aggravate the ' fault and fooliſh ſloth in many of our nation, chuſing ' rather to live indirectly, and very miſerably to live ' and die within this realm, peſtered with inhabitants, ' than to adventure as becometh men to obtain an ha' bitation in thoſe remote lands, in which nature very ' prodigally doth miniſter unto men's endeavours, and ' for art to work upon. For, beſides theſe already ' recounted, and infinite more, the mountains gene' rally make ſhew of mineral: iron very common; ' lead, and ſomewhere copper; I will not aver of ' richer metals, albeit, by the circumſtances following, ' more than hope may be conceived thereof. For ' amongſt other charges given to enquire out the ſingu' larities of this country, the General was moſt curious ' in the ſearch of metals, commanding the mineral-man ' and refiner eſpecially to be diligent. The ſame was a ' Saxon born, honeſt, and religious, named Daniel; who ' after ſearch, brought at firſt ſome ſort of ore, ſeeming ' rather to be iron than other metal. The next time ' he found ore which with no ſmall ſhew of content' ment he delivered unto the General, uſing proteſta' tion, that if ſilver were the thing that might ſatisfy ' the General and his followers, there it was, adviſing ' him to ſeek no further, the peril whereof he under' took upon his life (as dear unto him as the Crown of ' England unto her Majeſty, that I may uſe his own ' words) if it fell not out accordingly. Myſelf at this ' inſtant liker to die than to live, could not follow this ' confident opinion of our refiner to my own ſatiſ' faction; but afterward demanding our General's opi' nion therein, and to have ſome part of the ore. He re' plied, Content yourſelf, I have ſeen enough, and were it ' but to ſatisfy my private humour, I would proceed no ' further. The promiſe unto my friends, and neceſſity ' to bring alſo the ſouth countries within compaſs of ' my patent near expired, as we have already done ' theſe north parts, do only perſwade me further. ' And touching the ore, I have ſent it aboard, where' of I would have no ſpeech to be made, ſo long as ' we remain within harbour, here being both Por' tugals, Biſcains, and Frenchmen not far off, from ' whom muſt be kept any bruit, or muttering of ſuch ' matter. When we are at ſea, proof ſhall be made; ' if it be to our deſire, we may return the ſooner hi' ther again: whoſe anſwer I judged reaſonable, and ' contenting one well wherewith, I will conclude this ' narration and deſcription of Newfoundland ' We ſhall in the ſucceeding note afford the reader further evidence of Sir Humphry Gilbert's being thoroughly perſwaded of the truth of this report of the Saxon miner. It muſt indeed be allowed, that Sir George Peckham does not inſiſt upon this point, which perhaps might ariſe from his not being thoroughly apprized of it, ſince in the beginning of his treatiſe, he ſpeaks of Sir Humphry's death, as a thing not abſolutely certain; ſo that he muſt have publiſhed his book immediately after Captain Haies returned in the Golden Hind to England. However in this work of his we find a paſſage, that perhaps is not very far wide of the ſubject, and which at the ſame time will acquaint the reader with the cauſes why this worthy gentleman was not in every thing ſo explicit as might be expected (41).

(41) True report of the late diſcoveries, and poſſeſſion taken in the right of the Crown of England of the Newfoundlands, by that valiant, and worthy gentleman Sir Humphry Gilbert, Cap. V. towards the end.

' Beſides all this, ſays he, if credit may be given to ' the inhabitants of the ſame ſoil, a certain river doth ' thereunto adjoin, which leadeth to a place abound' ing with rich ſubſtance. I do not hereby mean the ' paſſage to the Moluccas, whereof before I made ' mention. And it is not to be omitted, how that ' about two years paſt, certain merchants of St Malo ' in France, did hire a ſhip out of the iſland of Jerſey, ' to the end that they would keep that trade ſecret ' from their countrymen; and they would admit no ' mariner, other than the ſhip-boy belonging to the ' ſaid ſhip, to go with them, which ſhip was about ' ſeventy ton. I do know the ſhip and the boy very ' well, and familiarly acquainted with the owner, ' which voyage proved very beneficial. To conclude, ' this which is already ſaid, may ſuffice any man of rea' ſonable diſpoſition, to ſerve for a taſte, until ſuch ' time as it ſhall pleaſe Almighty God, through our ' own induſtry, to ſend us better tidings. In the mean ' ſeaſon, if any man well affected to this journey ſhall ' ſtand in doubt of any matter of importance touching ' the ſame, he may ſatisfy himſelf with the judgment ' and liking of ſuch of good calling and credit, as are ' principal dealers herein; for it is not neceſſary in this ' treatiſe publickly to ſet forth the whole ſecrets of the ' voyage.'

[H] *Very worthy of the reader's knowledge.*] After having related at large the loſs of the Delight, which was ſtiled their Admiral, Captain Haies acquaints us, that this diſaſter ſunk the ſpirits of the men in both ſhips (42). ' Thoſe (ſays he) in the frigate were al' ready

(42) Capt. Haies Relation in Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 157, 158, 159.

him ſo eſteem and veneration at firſt ſight; his ſtature was beyond the ordinary ſize, his complexion ſanguine, and his conſtitution very robuſt *(d)*. The compaſs of his learning, and

(d) Supply of Iriſh Chronicles, by John Hooker, p. 136.

'ready pinched with ſpare allowance, and want of 'cloaths chiefly, whereupon they beſought the General 'to return for England before they all periſhed; and 'unto them of the Golden Hinde they made ſigns 'of their diſtreſs, pointing to their mouths, and to 'their cloaths, thin, and ragged; then immediately 'they alſo of the Golden Hinde grew to be of the 'ſame opinion and deſire to return home. The for-'mer reaſons having alſo moved the General to have 'compaſſion of his poor men, in whom he ſaw no 'want of goodwill, but of means fit to perform the 'action they came for, reſolved upon retiring, and 'calling the Captain and Maſter of the Hinde, he 'yielded them many reaſons inforcing this unexpected 'return; withal, proteſting himſelf greatly ſatisfied 'with that he had ſeen and knew already. Reite-'rating theſe words, *Be content, we have ſeen enough, 'and take no care of expence paſt; I will ſet you forth 'royally the next ſpring, if God ſends us ſafe home. 'Therefore I pray you let us no longer ſtrive here, 'where we fight againſt the elements.* Omitting cir-'cumſtance, how unwillingly the Captain and Maſter 'of the Hinde condeſcended to this motion, his own 'company can teſtify; yet comforted with the Gene-'ral's promiſes of a ſpeedy return at ſpring, and in-'duced by other apparent reaſons, proving an impoſ-'ſibility to accompliſh the action at that time, it was 'concluded on all hands to retire.

'So upon Saturday in the afternoon, the 31ſt of 'Auguſt, we changed our courſe, and returned back 'for England; at which very inſtant, even in winding 'about, there paſſed along between us and towards 'the land, which we now forſook, a very lion, to our 'ſeeming, in ſhape, hair, and colour; not ſwimming 'after the manner of a beaſt, by moving of his feet, but 'rather ſliding upon the water with his whole body, 'excepting the legs, in ſight, neither yet diving un-'der, and again riſing above the water, as the manner 'is of whales, dolphins, tunnies, porpoiſes, and all 'other fiſh; but confidently ſhewing himſelf above 'water without hiding, notwithſtanding we preſented 'ourſelves in open view and geſture to amaze him, as 'all creatures will be commonly at a ſudden gaze on 'ſight of man. Thus he paſſed along turning his 'head to and fro, yawning and gaping wide, with 'ugly demonſtration of long teeth, and glaring eyes; 'and to bid us a farewel (coming right againſt the 'Hinde) he ſent forth a horrible voice, roaring and 'bellowing as doth a lion, which ſpectacle we all be-'held ſo far as we were able to diſcern the ſame, as 'men prone to wonder at every ſtrange thing, as this 'doubtleſs was, to ſee a lion in the ocean ſea, or fiſh 'in ſhape of a lion; what opinion others had thereof, 'and chiefly the General himſelf, I forbear to deliver, 'but he took it for bonum omen, rejoicing that he 'was to war againſt ſuch an enemy, if it were the 'devil.

'The wind was large for England at our return, 'but very high, and the ſea rough, inſomuch as the 'frigate wherein the General went was almoſt ſwal-'lowed up. Monday in the afternoon we paſſed in 'the ſight of Cape Race, having made as much way 'in little more than two days and nights back again, 'as before we had done in eight days, from Cape Race 'unto the place where our ſhip periſhed; which hin-'drance thitherward, and ſpeed back again, is to be 'imputed unto the ſwift current, as well as to the 'winds, which we had more large in our return. 'This Monday the General came aboard the Hinde 'to have the ſurgeon of the Hinde to dreſs his foot, 'which he hurt by treading upon a nail; at which time 'we comforted each other with hope of hard ſucceſs 'to be all paſt, and of the good to come. So agree-'ing to carry our lights always by night, that we 'might keep together, he departed into his frigate, 'being by no means to be intreated to tarry in the 'Hinde, which had been more for his ſecurity. Im-'mediately after followed a ſharp ſtorm, which we 'overpaſſed for that time, praiſed be God. The wea-'ther fair, the General came aboard the Hinde again 'to make merry together with the captain, maſter, 'and company, which was the laſt meeting, and con-'tinued there from morning until night; during which 'time there paſſed ſundry diſcourſes touching affairs 'paſt, and to come, lamenting greatly the loſs of his 'great ſhip, more of the men, but moſt of all, of his 'books and notes, and what elſe I know not, for 'which he was out of meaſure grieved, the ſame 'doubtleſs being ſome matter of more importance 'than his books, which I could not draw from him; 'yet by circumſtance, I gathered the ſame to be the 'ore which Daniel the Saxon had brought unto him 'in the Newfoundland. Whatſoever it was, the re-'membrance touched him ſo deep, as not to be able 'to contain himſelf he beat his boy in great rage 'even at the ſame time, ſo long after the miſcarrying 'of the great ſhip; becauſe, upon a fair day, when 'we were becalmed upon the coaſt of Newfoundland, 'near unto Cape Race, he ſent his boy aboard the Admi-'ral to fetch certain things, amongſt which this being 'chief, was yet forgotten and left behind. After 'which time he could never conveniently ſend again 'aboard the great ſhip, much leſs he doubted her ruin 'ſo near at hand.

'Herein my opinion was better confirmed, diverſly 'and by ſundry conjectures, which maketh me have 'the greater hope of this rich mine; for whereas the 'General had never before good conceit of theſe 'north parts of the world, now his mind was 'wholly fixed upon the Newfoundland; and as before 'he refuſed not to grant aſſignments liberally to them 'that required the ſame into theſe north parts, now 'he became contrarily affected, refuſing to make any 'ſo large grants, eſpecially of St John's, which cer-'tain Engliſh merchants made ſuit for, offering to 'employ their money and travel upon the ſame; yet 'neither by their own ſuit, nor of others of his own 'company, whom he ſeemed willing to pleaſure, it 'could be obtained. Alſo laying down his deter-'mination in the ſpring following, for diſpoſing of his 'voyage then to be re-attempted, he aſſigned the cap-'tain and maſter of the Golden Hinde unto the ſouth 'diſcovery, and reſerved unto himſelf the north, af-'firming, that this voyage had won his heart from the 'ſouth, and that he was now become a northern man 'altogether. Laſt, being demanded what means he 'had at his arrival in England to compaſs the charges 'of ſo great preparation as he intended to make the 'next ſpring, having determined upon two fleets, one 'for the ſouth, another for the north. *Leave that to 'me*, he replied, *I will aſk a penny of no man; I will 'bring good tidings unto her Majeſty, who will be ſo 'gracious to lend me ten thouſand pounds; willing us 'therefore to be of good cheer, for he did thank God* (he 'ſaid) *with all his heart for that he had ſeen, the 'ſame being enough for us all, and that we needed not 'to ſeek any further.* And theſe laſt words he would 'often repeat with demonſtration of great fervency of 'mind, being himſelf very confident and ſettled in be-'lief of ineſtimable good by this voyage, which the 'greater number of his followers nevertheleſs miſtruſt-'ed altogether, not being made partakers of thoſe ſe-'crets which the General kept unto himſelf; yet all 'of them that are living may be witneſſes of his 'words and proteſtations, which ſparingly I have de-'livered.

'Leaving the iſſue of this good hope unto God, 'who knoweth the truth only; and can at his good 'pleaſure bring the ſame to light, I will haſten to the 'end of this tragedy, which muſt be knit up in the 'perſon of our General. And as it was God's ordi-'nance upon him, even ſo the vehement perſwaſion and 'intreaty of his friends, could nothing avail to divert 'him from a wilful reſolution of going through in his 'frigate, which was overcharged upon their decks 'with fights, nettings, and ſmall artillery, too cum-'berſome for ſo ſmall a boat, that was to paſs through 'the ocean ſea at that ſeaſon of the year, when by 'courſe we might expect much ſtorm of foul weather, 'whereof indeed we had enough. But when he was in-'treated by the captain, maſter, and other his well-'wiſhers of the Hinde, not to venture in the frigate,

and the ſtrength of his judgment made him remarkable for his prudence, when a very young man, tho' he was naturally of a warm and haſty temper. His love for his country, and his zeal for the Queen's ſervice led him into undertakings and expences beyond his fortune, which induced the famous Mr Camden to make the following remark upon his demiſe (e), 'about this time, ſays he, Sir Humphry Gilbert periſhed at ſea. A man of 'a bold and blyth temper, equally diſtinguiſhed for the arts of war and peace, he was 'loſt in his paſſage home, from that part of north America, upon which we have be-'ſtowed the name of Newfoundland; and whither he ſailed but a little before, having 'ſold a part of his patrimony, upon the hopes of what might ariſe from a Colony, which 'he intended to erect there. But when he had publickly aſſerted the right of the Engliſh 'Crown to that country, firſt diſcovered by Sebaſtian Cabot for Henry the ſeventh, Anno 'Dom. 1497, and had made leaſes to ſeveral of his companions, he by ſhipwrecks, and 'the want of every neceſſary, was ſo diſtreſſed, that he was obliged to give over his 'deſign, having learned too late, what his example may teach others, that the difficulty 'of planting colonies, in diſtant parts of the world, at the expence of private men, is 'far beyond what he, and many more thro' a fond credulity, and to their own loſs, had 'perſwaded themſelves.' It is eaſy to conceive how many, and how great obſtacles were to be overcome in eſtabliſhing the doctrine of plantations; when ſo candid, ſo judicious, and ſo public ſpirited a man, as Camden really was, could think in this manner, and miſtake the glorious ſchemes of a patriot, for the mercenary views of a projector (f). It was to vindicate Sir Humphry Gilbert's character in this reſpect, to do juſtice to his virtues, and to offer that incenſe to his memory, which as a confeſſor and martyr for the good and glory of his country, ſo worthy, ſo learned, ſo pious a man deſerved, that this article was compoſed. For to ſpeak the truth, and no more than the truth, he and his brother Sir Walter Raleigh were the parents of our plantations (g), laid the foundation of the Engliſh trade, and conſequently of our power at ſea, points of ſuch high importance, that they can never be treated too copiouſly, or with too much emphaſis [I]. Beſides theſe titles to

(e) Annal. Eliz. p. 402. Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 328, 329.

(f) See the true Motives to theſe undertakings in Captain Hales *Relation*, and Sir George Peckham's treatiſe of *Weſtern Planting*.

(g) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 143. & ſeq. Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 626. Evelyn's Navigation, and Commerce, p. 77.

'this was his anſwer: *I will not forſake my little company going homeward, with whom I have paſſed ſo many ſtorms and perils.* And in very truth, he was 'urged to be ſo over-hard by hard reports given of 'him, that he was afraid of the ſea, albeit this was 'rather raſhneſs, than adviſed reſolution, to prefer the 'wind of a vain report to the weight of his own life. 'Seeing he would not bend to reaſon, he had proviſion 'out of the Hinde, ſuch as was wanting aboard his 'frigate, and ſo we committed him to God's pro-'tection, and ſet him aboard his pinnace, we being 'more than 300 leagues onward of our way home. 'By that time we had brought the iſlands of *Açores* 'ſouth of us, yet we then keeping much to the north, 'until we had got into the height and elevation of 'England, we met with very foul weather, and terrible 'ſeas, breaking ſhort and high, pyramid-wiſe. The 'reaſon whereof ſeemed to proceed either of hilly 'grounds, high and low within the ſea, as we ſee 'hills and dales upon the land, upon which the ſeas 'do mount and fall; or elſe the cauſe proceedeth of 'diverſity of winds ſhifting often in ſundry points, all 'which having power to move the great ocean, which 'again is not preſently ſettled, ſo many ſeas do en-'counter together, as there had been diverſity of 'winds. Howſoever it cometh to paſs, men which all 'their life-time had occupied the ſea, never ſaw more 'outrageous ſeas. We had alſo upon our main-yard 'an apparition of a little fire by night, which ſeamen 'do call Caſtor and Pollux; but we had only one 'which they make an evil ſign of more tempeſt; the 'ſame is uſual in ſtorms. Monday the ninth of Sep-'tember in the afternoon, the frigate was near caſt 'away, oppreſſed by waves, yet at that time reco-'vered; and giving forth ſigns of joy, the General 'ſitting abaft with a book in his hand, cried out unto us 'in the Hinde, ſo oft as we did approach within hear-'ing, *We are as near to Heaven by ſea, as by land.* 'Reiterating the ſame ſpeech, well beſeeming a ſoldier, 'reſolute in JESUS CHRIST, as I can teſtify he was, 'the ſame Monday night about 12 of the clock, or 'not after, the frigate being a-head of us in the Golden 'Hinde, ſuddenly her lights were out; whereof, as it 'were in a moment, we loſt the ſight; and withal, our 'watch cry'd, the General was caſt away; which was 'too true: for in that moment the frigate was de-'voured and ſwallowed up of the ſea. Yet ſtill we 'looked out all that night, and ever after, until we 'arrived upon the coaſt of England. Omitting no 'ſmall fail at ſea unto which we gave not the tokens 'between us agreed upon, to have perfect knowledge 'of each other, if we ſhould at any time be ſe-'parated.'

[I] *Or with too much emphaſis*] It is aſſerted in the text, that Sir Humphry Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh were the parents of our plantations, and the great authors of our extenſive trade and naval power. It is fit that this ſhould be proved: with reſpect to Sir Humphry Gilbert, it was ſaid at the time, and univerſally admitted for a fact, that he was the firſt perſon who carried men out of this nation with an intent to ſettle; that with this view he took poſſeſſion for the Queen, and under her authority for himſelf, proclaimed her title, publiſhed laws, and granted lands. It is true no people ſtaid at that time, but they ſettled there afterwards in virtue of his leaſes. Sir Walter Raleigh was a joint-adventurer with him, and the very year that Sir Humphry Gilbert periſhed, took out a new patent for the ſame purpoſes, and of the like tenure with that of Sir Humphry; upon which he immediately proceeded, and ſent a colony at his own expence to ſettle upon the Continent, which gave a beginning to the reduction and improvement of that country, which was called Virginia (43). Having mentioned this, it will be proper to put the reader in mind, that he is not to underſtand this ſtrictly of the country now ſo called, but for almoſt all that we now poſſeſs upon the continent of North America, from the Carolina's to Nova Scotia (44). Some indeed are very poſitive, that this name was impoſed by Queen Elizabeth, in alluſion to herſelf, as a virgin Queen, and it may be ſo; but it is generally believed, that this title was in people's mouths ſome years before this royal nomination; and it is pretty evident, that the firſt fruitleſs attempt of Sir Humphry Gilbert was directed towards that country, which will qualify at leaſt, the inſcription upon the globe placed in, and the verſes under his picture, if it be his, which is left entirely to the reader's judgment. But that himſelf, his half-brother Sir Walter Raleigh, his brother of the whole blood Sir Adrian Gilbert, or his friend and aſſociate Sir George Peckham, were chiefly moved to theſe adventures, from the conſideration of private advantage, cannot be ſurmiſed. No; they had greater and far more noble views: they aimed at civilizing and converting the natives of thoſe countries, the promoting induſtry, virtue, and laudable ambition at home. In ſhort, they were patriots, patriots of the old rock, deſirous of meriting the love of their country by ſerving it. They were men of great and generous minds; and if they

(43) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 23.

(44) Britiſh Empire in America, Vol. I. p. 345.

to fame, from his ſword and from his pen, he was a great orator likewiſe, and merited much of his country, by his ſpeeches in the Iriſh and Engliſh houſe of commons (*b*), where he ſteadily ſupported the true intereſt of theſe nations, with an eloquence founded on his zeal for truth, and the ſervice of the public, ſupported by ſound reaſon, and adorned with learning, and that inexpreſſible beauty in diſcourſe, which is the effect of true genius, the greateſt gift of heaven, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed excellence, with which mortals are endowed. A word or two now of his private character. He was a man eſteemed in his country, beloved by his friends, and to whom thoſe who were not ſo, could object only a little too much warmth (*i*), and what they ſtiled a preſumption, which was, in truth, a generous enthuſiaſm, which little minds calumniate, becauſe they cannot comprehend (*k*). He married (as we obſerved) out of the court of his glorious miſtreſs, a lady of diſtinguiſhed birth and fortune, Ann the daughter of Sir Anthony Ager of Kent (*l*), by whom, Prince tells us, he had nine ſons (*m*). Hooker who knew him perſonally, and wrote immediately after his death, ſays, but five (*n*), and one daughter, in which they both agree. His eldeſt ſon, Sir John Gilbert, through the default of heirs-male, became the heir of the family, and was ſtiled of Greenway and Compton, in the County of Devon, Knight (*o*). He followed his father's example, and tho' he died in the flower of his age acquired the character of a gallant ſoldier, and a great officer (*p*), but left no iſſue, which was the caſe of all his brethren, except the youngeſt Raleigh Gilbert, Eſq; (*q*), who made a great figure at ſea, and had the happineſs to execute ſome part of that plan, which his father had the honour to contrive. He married the daughter of Mr Kelly, by whom he had Ager Gilbert, Eſq; (*r*), who eſpouſed the daughter of Edmund Walrond, Eſq; and by her had iſſue Humphry Gilbert, who parted with the ancient ſeat of Greenway, and fixed himſelf at Compton near Torbay. This was the gentleman to whom the Reverend Mr Prince owed many informations, and in whoſe houſe he ſaw an original picture of this his illuſtrious anceſtor, which he thus deſcribes. In one hand he held a General's ſtaff, while the other reſted upon a globe, with this word VIRGINIA written thereon, having the golden anchor with the pearl a-peak, hanging to his breaſt, at the bottom were theſe verſes, which tho' none of the ſmoothеſt are yet ſenſible, and claim the reader's notice, on another account which we ſhall preſently mention (*s*).

(*b*) Hooker's Supply of Iriſh Chronicles, p. 133. D'Ewe's Journ. p. 189. Willis's Notitia Parliam. Vol. II. p. 295.

(*i*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 160.

(*k*) Fuller's Worthies, Devon. p. 260.

(*l*) Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, part i. p. 336.

(*m*) Worthies of Devon. p. 329.

(*n*) Supply of Iriſh Chronicles, p. 133.

(*o*) Wiſcot's View of Devon. in Greenway, MS.

(*p*) Sir William Pole's Catalogue of the Knights in Devonſhire, temp. Jac. I.

(*q*) Engliſh Empire in America, Vol. I. p. 40.

(*r*) Survey of Devon. in Compton. MS.

(*s*) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 328, 329.

Here may you ſee the portraict of his face,
Who for his country's honour oft did trace
Along the deep, and made a noble way
Unto thy growing fame, VIRGINIA.
The *picture* of his *mind*, if ye do crave it,
Look upon *Virtue's picture*, and ye have it.

A very intelligent and judicious writer has intimated, that poſſibly this might not be the picture of Sir Humphry Gilbert, but of his half-brother Sir Walter Raleigh (*t*), or one might be tempted to gueſs it was the pourtrait of his ſon Captain Raleigh Gilbert, who it is certain made a voyage to Virginia, A. D. 1607, on the behalf of his uncle Sir Walter, an account of which voyage was publiſhed after his return, and was very inſtrumental in ſpreading the fame, and procuring the ſettlement of that noble country (*u*). Upon mature deliberation, however, there is nothing improbable in following the common opinion, that this picture was painted for Sir Humphry Gilbert, ſince it might be done ſoon after the return of him, and his brother Sir Walter Raleigh from their voyage for a diſcovery in 1579, when it is ſuppoſed that he received that jewel from the Queen. This accounts for there being no mention of his expedition to Newfoundland, or his death (*w*). It may be objected that it would be a ſtrange piece of vanity, to have his picture with theſe verſes done in his life-time, and hung up in his own houſe; but to this we may eaſily reply, that this picture might be drawn by the direction of his brother Sir John Gilbert, and with the reſt of his effects come afterwards into the poſſeſſion of Sir Humphry's deſcendants as heirs by the collateral line (*x*). However this matter be, it is very certain, that this gentleman's life and death (*y*) was a continual commentary upon

(*t*) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh.

(*u*) Purchas's Pilgrimage, p. 830. Engliſh Empire, in America, Vol. I. p. 40.

(*w*) Sir William Pole places this in A. D. 1577.

(*x*) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 329.

(*y*) Fuller's Worthies of Devon. p. 260.

they formed projects, they were projects founded on the moſt glorious baſis, that of national utility. That in this, they had likewiſe a regard to the welfare of their families, and had great hopes of enriching them, is true; and why not? They hazarded their perſons and their fortunes, and they had a juſt right to recompence; but as this recompence could never have been received, till thoſe benefits aroſe to the nation which they promiſed, this can take nothing from their fame, for the labourer is ever worthy of his hire; and he who expects a reward out of the riches he procures his country, ought not to be thought mercenary. But in purſuit of theſe glorious ends, Sir Humphry Gilbert, injured his fortune. What then? His ſcheme was far from being chimerical, and though fruitleſs to himſelf, it was fruitful to his country. In twenty years after his deceaſe, there were 250 ſhips from the weſt of England (45) annually employed in the Newfoundland fiſhery; theſe ſhips ſailed in March, and returned in September; they employed at leaſt 10,000 ſeamen, fiſhermen, and ſhoremen, who ſpent every winter at home what they got in their ſummer fiſhery, that is upwards of 100,000l. excluſive of the perſons employed in England, in building and rigging their ſhips, and other neceſſary ſervices, and the profits of this trade, which were very conſiderable (46). Could an Engliſhman

(45) Diſcourſe upon trade, by Sir Joſiah Child, p. 227.

(46) View of the benefits reſulting from the poſſeſſion of Newfoundland.

upon his own generous maxim (z), *that he is not worthy to live at all, who for fear or danger of* death *ſhunneth his* country's ſervice, *or his* own honour; *ſince* death *is inevitable, and the* fame *of* virtue *immortal.*

(z) At the cloſe of his Diſcourſe on the northweſt paſſage.

man live or die to better purpoſe? Can the misfortune of ſo great a man be denied a tear? Or is it poſſible to contemplate his virtues, without owning that they deſerve to be for ever remembered? Towards this, if the preſent article can at all contribute, it will do honour to the book; and we may hope, will contribute to propagate that ſpirit which diſtinguiſhed the age Sir Humphry Gilbert lived in, and which we ſincerely wiſh might diſtinguiſh this, in the eyes of our poſterity. E

GILBERT, or GILBERD [*A*] [WILLIAM] a moſt learned Phyſician in the XVIth and beginning of the XVIIth century, and author of the book *De Magnete*, &c. [i. e. of the load-ſtone,] was born at Colcheſter in the year 1540 [*B*]. He was the eldeſt ſon of Hierome Gilberd, gent. [*C*], ſome time Recorder of that borough (*a*). Anth. Wood aſſerts (*b*), that 'he was educated in both our Univerſities, but whether 'in Oxon firſt or Cambridge, he could not juſtly tell:' The epitaph on his monument mentions only Cambridge. After having ſtudied ſome time there, but how long we have no certain account; he travelled into foreign countries, where probably he had the degree of Doctor of Phyſic conferred upon him (*c*); for he doth not appear to have taken it in either of our Univerſities. At his return to England, being juſtly famed for his learning, knowledge in Philoſophy, and admirable ſkill in Chemiſtry, he was choſen a member of the College of Phyſicians in London (*d*) [*D*]; and practiſed in that city for above thirty years with great applauſe and equal ſucceſs (*e*). In which time being grown in the higheſt reputation, he was ſent for to Court, and became chief Phyſician to Queen Elizabeth (*f*); who had ſo great a value for him, that ſhe allowed him an annual penſion to encourage him in his ſtudies (*g*). He was alſo chief Phyſician to K. James I. (*b*). In 1600 he publiſhed his book of the Load-ſtone, which being the firſt regular ſyſtem on that curious ſubject [*E*], and confirmed by many experiments, (a method not much uſed at

(*a*) Memoirs MS. penes me.

(*b*) Athenæ Oxon. edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 321.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Wood, Ibid.

(*e*) From his epitaph.

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*b*) Epitaph.

[*A*] *Gilbert*, or *Gilberd.*] The firſt, is the manner in which his name is written by all authors, who make mention of him or his writings. But the latter is uſed both in his own epitaph, and his father's; and in the Records of the town of Colcheſter: And therefore ſeems the trueſt.

[*B*] *Was born at Colcheſter in the year* 1540.] This I collect from his epitaph, in which he is ſaid to have been in the 63d year of his age, Novemb. 30. 1603, when he died.

[*C*] *The eldeſt ſon of Hierome Gilberd*, gent.] This gentleman was born at Clare in Suffolk; admitted a free burgeſs of Colcheſter in 1553 (1), and ſome time Recorder of that borough. He died in 1583, as appears by his epitaph, formerly on a braſs plate in the church of H. Trinity, Colcheſter, but now gone. 'Here 'lyeth the body of Iherome Gilberd, ſome time Re-'corder of this towne of Colcheſter, and Elizabeth his 'firſt wife, and Margaret his daughter; he died 23 of 'May 1583 (2).'

(1) Record book of Colcheſter, called the Oath-book, p. 215.

(2) R. Symonds's Collect. in the Heralds Off. Vol. I. fol. 437.

[*D*] *He was choſen a member of the College of Phyſicians in London.*] The author of the article *Gilbert* (Dr *William*), in the General Dictionary, is guilty at leaſt of an inaccuracy in the following paſſage: 'And 'at his return being famed for his learning, and his 'profound ſkill in Philoſophy and Chemiſtry, *and his* 'book *De Magnete*, he became Fellow of the College 'of Phyſicians at London, and Phyſician in ordinary 'to Queen Elizabeth.'——For it is hardly credible, that Dr Gilberd ſhould practiſe above 27 years in London, and be ſeveral years Phyſician to Queen Elizabeth, before he was admitted a member of the College of Phyſicians. And therefore he was unqueſtionably a member of it, long before he was *famed* for *his book De Magnete*; which was publiſhed only about three years before his deceaſe.

[*E*] *In* 1600 *he publiſhed his book of the Loadſtone*, &c.] The title of it was, *De Magnete, magneticiſque Corporibus, & de magno magnete Tellure, Phyſiologia nova.* Lond. 1600. fol. i. e. 'Of the Magnet (or 'Loadſtone) and magnetical bodies, and of that great 'Magnet, the Earth.' To which he added afterwards an Appendix of ſix or eight ſheets; but whether printed, we cannot find. This edition is ſcarce; but the book hath been re-printed abroad, particularly in Germany, with a preface by Wolfgang Lochman, M. D. 'In the firſt chapter, he gives an account of what had 'been written by the Ancients and Moderns con-'cerning the Loadſtone; notes that its Verticity to 'the Poles was firſt obſerved about three or four 'hundred years ago; mentions, with due praiſe, the 'obſervations of our countrymen Thomas Harriot, 'Robert Hues, Edward Wright, and Abraham Ken-'dal, on its properties; and the writings of William 'Borough, concerning the variation of the compaſs; 'of William Barlow, in his Supplement; and of 'Robert Norman, in his new attractives, who firſt 'found out the declination of the needle. In the ſe-'cond chapter, he mentions the various names of the 'Loadſtone; and, among the reſt, that of Magnes, 'from Magneſia, a country of Macedon, abounding in 'iron: and obſerves, that Euripides the poet was the 'firſt who gave it the name of *Magnes.*——In the reſt 'of the book, he treats of the various phænomena and 'properties of this moſt curious and valuable mineral, 'the Loadſtone, under theſe four heads; 1. Its At-'traction; 2. Its Direction to the Poles of the Earth, 'and the Earth's verticity and fixedneſs to certain 'points of the world; 3. Its Variation; 4. Its Decli-'nation: All which he illuſtrates by divers curious 'experiments, and diagrams. Theſe ſeveral proper-'ties he derives from the magnetical nature of the 'Earth, which he ſuppoſes to be a great Magnet.—— 'And ſhews the great uſe of the Declination of the 'Loadſtone in finding out the Latitude.' This book hath received its due praiſes from the moſt learned men. The great Lord Verulam ſtyles it, 'a painful 'and experimental work (3);' and mentions it in many other places with applauſe: As doth alſo Dr Hakewill, who ſays, Dr Gilbert 'hath written in Latine a 'large and learned Diſcourſe of the properties of this 'Stone (4).' Sir Kenelm Digby honours the author with the name of 'an admirable ſearcher into the na-'ture of the Loadſtone (5).' The moſt learned Dr Jſ. Barrow takes alſo proper notice of him (6). But Dr Gilberd having, in the firſt chapt. of his Iſt Book, animadverted upon Joſeph Scaliger's opinion, [*Exercitat. in Cardanum*, 131.] that hypercritic, brings him under his laſh; ſaying, in his ſupercilious way, That he had ſhewed his learning more than the nature of the Loadſtone: And that he had performed nothing worthy of the expectation which he had raiſed.—— *Guliſmus Gilbertus——ante triennium tres ampliſſimos commentarios de ea re* [de Magnete] *edidit, quibus magis mihi probavit doctrinam ſuam quam Magnetis naturam* (7).——*Quidam Anglus ante triennium libro de Magnete edito, nihil expectatione eâ, quam excitârat, protulit* (8).

(3) Advancement of Learning, l. 2. c. 13.

(4) Apologie of the power and providence of God, &c. l. 3. c. 10. §. 4.

(5) Treatiſe of Bodies, c. 20.

(6) Opuſcula, p. 87.

(7) Joſ. Scaligeri Epiſt. l. 2. epiſt. 200. ed. Francof. 1628. 8vo.

(8) Ibid. l. 1. epiſt. 90.

[*F*] *But*

at that time,) was well received in the world. But it ſeems to have met with a better reception abroad than at home [F]. And, to detract from him, A. Wood ſays (i), that twenty years before he publiſhed this book, Mr William Barlow had knowledge in the Magnet (k)[G]: Which might be true, for Dr Gilbert mentions him with due honour. But Dr Gilbert was the firſt who obliged the world with his experiments and obſervations on that ſubject, Dr Barlow's not being publiſhed till 1616 (l). And how far he might be indebted to the former, we have no certain account. Beſides his book *de Magnete*, Dr Gilbert writ another piece [H]: And was the inventor of two moſt ingenious and neceſſary inſtruments for ſea-men, to find out the Latitude of any place without the help of the ſun, moon, and ſtars [I]. He died, unmarried, November 30, 1603, aged 63 (m), and was buried in the chancel of the church of Holy Trinity in Colcheſter, where there is a handſome monument for him [K]. By his will, he gave all his books in his library, his globes, inſtruments, and cabinet of minerals to the College of Phyſicians, London. His picture is in the Schools-gallery at Oxford, which ſhews him to have been of ſtature, tall, and of a chearful countenance. He had four brothers, Ambroſe; William, a Proctor in the Arches; Hierom; and George (n).

(i) Athenæ, Vol. I. col. 495.

(k) See above the article BARLOW (WILLIAM).

(l) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 495.

(m) From his epitaph.

(n) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 321.

[F] *But it ſeems to have met with a better reception abroad than at home.*] This is intimated in the following paſſage in his epitaph. *Librum de Magnete apud* Exteros *celebrem in rem nauticam compoſuit.* However, it met with due commendation from ſeveral learned men at home, as appears by the laſt note but one.

[G] *A. Wood ſays, that twenty years before he publiſhed this book, Mr William Barlow had knowledge in the Magnet.*] But there is great reaſon to queſtion the truth of this ſtory of Mr Wood's. For, according to him, Mr Barlow did not publiſh his *Magnetical Advertiſement* till the year 1616. And Edward Wright obſerves, in his encomiaſtic epiſtle to Dr Gilberd, that the Doctor had kept his Book *de Magnete* almoſt eighteen years by him, before publication. Mr Wright's words are, *Optimis igitur auſpiciis [doctiſſime D D. Gilberte] in lucem prodeat Magnetica Philoſophia tua, non in nonum tantum annum (quod Horatius præcipit) ſed in alterum jam fere novennium preſſa, quam plurimis laboribus, ſtudiis, vigiliis, artificiis, ſumptibuſque tuis non modicis, per tot continuos annos e tenebris demum denſaque caligine otioſe exiliterque philoſophantium, infinitis artificioſe adhibitis experimentis eruta.* Παρεγκωμιαστικὸν, at the beginning of the Book.

[H] *Dr Gilbert writ another piece.*] It was publiſhed at Amſterdam 1651. 4to, from a MS. in the Library of Sir William Boſwell, Knt. under the title of *De mundo noſtro ſublunari Philoſophia nova.* i. e. Of our ſublunar world.

[I] *And was the inventor of two moſt ingenious and neceſſary inſtruments, &c.*] This invention of his was publiſhed by Thomas Blondeville, in a book intituled, 'Theoriques of the Planets, together with the making 'of two Inſtruments for Seamen to find out the Lati-'tude without ſeeing of Sun, Moon, or Stars, invented 'by Dr Gilbert.' Lond. 1602. 4to.

[K] *Where there is a handſome monument for him.*] A print of it is to be ſeen in the Hiſtory and Antiquities of Colcheſter, by P. M. The Epitaph thereon is very unelegant, and hardly Latin, as appears by the beginning of it; which is thus. *Poſuerunt hunc Tumulum Ambroſius & Gulielmus Gilberd, in memoriam pietatis fraterne Gulielmo Gilberd ſeniori Armigero, & Medicinæ Doctori. Hic primævus Filius Hieronimi Gilberd Armigeri, Natus erat Villæ Colceſtriæ,* &c. The reſt is incorporated into the text of this Article. C

GLANVILL [JOSEPH] an eminent Divine, a general ſcholar, and a very polite writer in the XVIIth century. He was the ſon of a merchant at Plymouth, and was deſcended from an ancient and honourable family ſeated near Taviſtock in the county of Devon (a). We have no account preſerved either of the place or manner in which he received the firſt rudiments of a learned education, ſince if there had, it is highly probable they would have been communicated to one or other of thoſe learned Divines, who manifeſted an earneſt deſire of recommending his memory with honour to poſterity (b). It is however probable, that the quickneſs of his parts diſtinguiſhed him even in his tender years, ſince we find him entered of Exeter College in the Univerſity of Oxford, under the tuition of Mr Samuel Conant, April 19th, 1652 (c). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in the ſame Univerſity October the 11th 1655 (d). In the midſt of the following ſummer, he thought proper to remove to Lincoln College, the Reverend Mr Paul Hood being then Rector of that learned foundation (e). June the 29th, 1658. he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (f), and about that time was appointed chaplain to Francis Rous, Eſq; Provoſt of Eaton College, and one of thoſe, whom the Protector Oliver deſigned a member of his other houſe (g). But this patron of his dying very ſoon after, Mr Glanvill returned back to Lincoln College, where Mr Wood tells us he became a great admirer of Mr Richard Baxter, and a zealous perſon for a Commonwealth (h), the former is certainly true, but there ſeems to be ſome proof wanting of the latter, ſince immediately on the reſtitution of the government in Church and State, by the Reſtoration of King Charles the ſecond, Mr Glanvill ſhewed great readineſs in conforming, as other eminent and learned perſons, who had been educated in thoſe unhappy times, alſo did, without deſerving in the leaſt to be reproached for turning about, becauſe in all probability they followed the light of reaſon and their own conſciences (i) [A]. At leaſt

(a) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 351.

(b) Dr Horneck and Archdeacon Pleydell.

(c) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 662.

(d) Faſt. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 107.

(e) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 162.

(f) Faſt. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 122.

(g) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 565, 566.

(h) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 662.

(i) Parker's Hiſtory of his own Times, p. 33.

[A] *They followed the light of reaſon and their own conſciences.*] It is really a point of juſtice due to the memory of this worthy perſon, to wipe off the ſtain of ſo ill-grounded and ſo ill-mannered a reflection as, *that after the* Reſtoration *he turned about, and became a* Latitudinarian (1). We ought to conſider that he came a boy of ſixteen to the univerſity, about four years after the King's murder, and the ſubverſion of the Conſtitution. His buſineſs there was not to give but to receive leſſons, and to make the moſt of that education that was then to be had in the univerſity. There could be nothing criminal in retiring from thence to live in the lodgings of Mr Francis Rous, then Provoſt of Eaton, who was himſelf a notorious time-ſerver, had been

(1) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 663.

leaſt thus much is certain, that tho' Mr Glanvill differed in opinion from many of his old friends, yet was he very far from falling out with them; on the contrary, he ſhewed them very great civilities, particularly to Mr Richard Baxter, in defence of whom he would have written, if Mr Baxter himſelf had not diſſuaded him that he might run no riſk of loſing preferment out of reſpect to him (*k*). As a proof of his ſincerity in this, and of his full confidence in the friendſhip of Mr Glanvill, he ſuffered him to ſee and peruſe a treatiſe of his own, in anſwer to what had been written againſt him by the Biſhop of Worceſter, which he ſhewed to no other perſon whatſoever (*l*). Another point of his conduct expoſed him alſo to the cenſure of Mr Wood; for notwithſtanding all the benefits he derived from that ſevere diſcipline, for which his college and tutor were famous, yet he regretted that he was not bred at Cambridge, becauſe there in his opinion he might have gained an earlier and more thorough knowledge of thoſe notions that were then current under the title of the New Philoſophy (*m*). To theſe ſentiments, however, he was ſo much addicted, and thought the promoting them of ſo great conſequence, that when he was but juſt entered the twenty-fifth year of his age, he ventured to write in defence of them, and publiſhed ſoon after this treatiſe to which his name was prefixed (*n*), in ſupport of a free enquiry, a philoſophy founded upon reaſon and experiment, and againſt the tyranny, which under the name and authority of Ariſtotle had been ſo long exerciſed in the ſchools [*B*]. This

(*k*) Kennet's Regiſter, p. 609.

(*l*) Life of Mr Richard Baxter.

(*m*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 662.

(*n*) Kennet's Regiſter, p. 402.

Speaker of that little Parliament which, with his aſſiſtance, ſurrendering their power to General Cromwell, afforded him the colour of aſſuming the ſupreme authority, which ſervice procured him this place and dignity; and indeed *Oliver* could not well do leſs than make that gentleman a Lord, who had made him a Prince (2). But what was this to Mr Glanvill? He had no ſhare whatever in theſe tranſactions; and before he had time to contemplate the character of his patron, he loſt him. At his return to Oxford it is acknowledged, that he ſhewed a ſtrong inclination for the new Philoſophy; that is, he knew and was willing to follow the light as ſoon as he ſaw it. Let us hear what Biſhop Sprat, who was in the ſame ſituation, ſays upon this ſubject, and whoſe apology muſt ſatisfy every rational and candid peruſer (3). 'I dare appeal, ſays he, to all unintereſted men who knew the temper of that place, 'and eſpecially to thoſe who were my own contemporaries there, of whom I can name very many, whom 'the happy Reſtoration of the kingdom's peace found 'as well inclined to ſerve their Prince and the Church, 'as if they had been bred up in the moſt proſperous 'condition of their country. This was undoubtedly 'ſo: nor indeed could it be otherwiſe; for ſuch ſpiritual frenzies which did then bear rule, can never 'ſtand long before a clear and a deep ſkill in nature. 'It is almoſt impoſſible that they who converſe much 'with the ſubtilty of things, ſhould be deluded by ſuch 'thick deceits. There is but one better charm in the 'world than real Philoſophy, to allay the impulſes of 'the falſe ſpirit, and that is the bleſſed preſence and aſſiſtance of the true.' To be ſatisfied as to the matter of fact, and that we may be ſure this eloquent writer does not impoſe upon us, let us remember, that at the ſame time with Joſeph Glanvill, A. M. Dr Simon Patrick, Dr Edward Stillingfleet, Dr John Tillotſon, Dr Samuel Parker, Dr Simon Ford, Dr John Worthington, Dr Edward Reynolds, Dr John Conant, Dr Edward Rainbow, Dr Richard Cumberland, and very many more, who had had their education and their benefices during the iniquity of the late times, had ſenſe and learning ſufficient to ſhake off their prejudices, and to rejoice in a reſtored and eſtabliſhed Church (4). Theſe are the aſſertions and the ſentiments of a very judicious hiſtorian, and learned prelate, and we have no room (notwithſtanding Wood's inſinuations) to doubt of their truth.

(2) Walker's Hiſtory of Independency.

(3) Hiſtory of the Royal Society, p. 54.

(4) Biſhop Kennet's Hiſtorical Regiſter, p. 931.

[*B*] *Had been ſo long exerciſed in the ſchools.*] The title of this book at large runs thus:

The Vanity *of* Dogmatizing; *or Confidence in opinions, manifeſted in a diſcourſe of the ſhortneſs and uncertainty of our knowledge, and its cauſes; with ſome reflections on* Peripateticiſm, *and an apology for* Philoſophy. *By* Joſ. Glanvill, M. A. Lond. 1661. in 12mo.

It is addreſſed to the Reverend Mr Joſeph Maynard, B. D. afterwards Doctor in Divinity, and Rector of Exeter College in Oxford. This dedication is dated from Cecil-Houſe in the Strand, March 1. 1660. Then follows a ſhort preface, and after that three copies of verſes to the ingenious author. In this treatiſe our author aſſigns ſeveral reaſons for the ſhortneſs of human knowledge. 1. That knowledge lies deep, and is therefore difficult. 2. Becauſe we can perceive nothing but by proportion to our ſenſes, from the impoſtures and deceits of our ſenſes, the fallacy of our imaginations, the precipitancy of our underſtandings, the intereſt which our affections have in our dijudications. He afterwards makes ſeveral reflections on the peripatetic Philoſophy, and obſerves that it is litigious, and hath no ſettled ſignification of words, that it gives no ſatisfactory account of the phænomena, and is unfit for new diſcoveries, and hath been the author of no one invention, that it is in many things impious and ſelf-contradictory. For proof of this he tells us, that Ariſtotle held that the Reſurrection is impoſſible, that God underſtands not all things, that the world was from eternity, that there is no ſubſtantial form, but moves ſome orb, that the firſt mover moves by an eternal immutable neceſſity, that if the world and motion were not from eternity, then God was idle. Of the Ariſtotelian contradictions, ſays he, Gaſſendus hath preſented us with a catalogue, of which theſe are but a few. Ariſtotle in one place ſaith, that the ſcintillation of the planets is not ſeen, becauſe of their propinquity, but that of the riſing and ſetting ſun is, becauſe of it's diſtance; and yet in another place he makes the ſun nearer us than they are. He aſſerts, that the elements are not eternal, and endeavours to prove it, and yet makes the world ſo, and the elements it's parts. In his meteors he ſays, that no dew is produced in the wind, and yet afterwards admits it under the ſouth, and none under the north. In one place he defines a vapour humid and cold, and in another humid and hot. He affirms the faculty of ſpeaking to be a ſenſe, and yet before he allowed but five. In one place, that nature doth all things beſt; and in another, that it makes more evil than good. And ſomewhere he contradicts himſelf within one line, ſaying, that an immoveable mover hath no principle of motion.

Mr Glanvill then proceeds to ſhew, that dogmatizing is the effect of ignorance, inhabits with untamed paſſions, and an ungoverned ſpirit, is a great diſturber in the world, is ill-mannered and immodeſt, holds men captive in error, betrays a narrowneſs of ſpirit. In the laſt chapter he gives us an apology for Philoſophy, and vindicates it from the imputation of irreligion; and aſſerts, that next after the divine word, it is one of the beſt friends to piety. Neither is it any more juſtly accountable for the impious irregularities of ſome that have paid an homage to it's ſhrine, than religion itſelf, for the ſinful extravagancies both opiniative and practical, of high pretenders to it. It is a vulgar conceit, that Philoſophy holds a confederacy with Atheiſm itſelf; but moſt injurious, for nothing can better antidote us againſt it: and they may as well ſay, that Phyſicians are only murderers. A *philoſophic Atheiſt* is as good ſenſe (that is as much nonſenſe) as a *divine one*. His matter was new and of importance, his manner very eaſy and florid, which gave his book a great courſe in the world.

[C] *Which*

This ſmall diſcourſe made him known in the literary world, and raiſed him alſo ſome conſiderable antagoniſts, againſt whom he defended himſelf with great ſpirit (o), which to ſay the truth was the more eaſy for him to do, ſince they did not take notice of the moſt exceptionable paſſages in his book, which however he was prudent enough to omit upon a reviſal [C]. About this time he entered into Holy Orders, and became not long after Rector of Wimbiſh in the county of Eſſex, which ſeems to have been his firſt eccleſiaſtical preferment (p). In the ſucceeding year however he met with a better preferment, for Mr John Humfrey being ejected from the vicarage of Frome Selwood in Somerſetſhire, our author was preſented thereto by Sir James Thynne, in the beginning of November 1662 (q). He publiſhed the ſame year, but was ſo cautious as not to put his name to it, a very ingenious diſcourſe on the fundamental point of the ancient eaſtern philoſophy, from

(o) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 351.

(p) Kennet's Regiſter, p. 529.

(q) Calamy's Life of Baxter, Vol. ii. p. 615.

[C] *Which however he was prudent enough to omit upon a reviſal.*] Amongſt theſe paſſages there is one which ſhall be produced here, not only as a thing curious and extraordinary, not to ſay extravagant, but becauſe it will give the reader a better conception of our author's diſpoſition and capacity, than the moſt laboured character could do. He had a quick and lively genius, a ready flow, but not a great command of words, and began with handling ſubjects which it required much experience, and a judgment more ſolid than could be expected in a man of his years to manage in a maſterly manner. Theſe were the ſentiments of Dr Beal, as appears in a letter of his to the honourable Mr Boyle, in which he commends and cenſures our author with equal candour (5).

(5) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 488.

But now to the paſſage (6). 'That one man, ſays 'he, ſhould be able to bind the thoughts of another, 'and determine them to their particular objects, will 'be reckoned in the firſt rank of impoſſibles; yet 'by the power of advanced imagination, it may very 'probably be effected; and the ſtory abounds with 'inſtances. I'll trouble the reader but with one, and 'the hands from which I had it make me ſecure of the 'truth on't.

(6) Vanity of Dogmatizing, Chap. xx. p. 195, & ſeq.

'There was very lately a lad in the univerſity of Ox'ford, who being of very pregnant and ready parts, 'and yet wanting the encouragement of preferment, was 'by his poverty forced to leave his ſtudies there, and 'to caſt himſelf upon the wide world for a livelihood. 'Now his neceſſities growing daily on him, and want'ing the help of friends to relieve him, he was at laſt 'forced to join himſelf to a company of vagabond 'gypſies, whom occaſionally he met with, and to fol'low their trade for a maintenance. Among theſe 'extravagant people, by the inſinuating ſubtilty of his 'carriage, he quickly got ſo much of their love and 'eſteem, as that they diſcovered to him their myſtery; 'in the practice of which, by the pregnancy of his 'wit and parts, he ſoon grew ſo good a proficient, as 'to be able to out-do his inſtructors. After he had 'been a pretty while well exerciſed in the trade, there 'chanced to ride by a couple of ſcholars who had for'merly been of his acquaintance. The ſcholars had 'quickly ſpied out their old friend among the gypſies, 'and their amazement to ſee him among ſuch ſociety, 'had well nigh diſcovered him; but by a ſign, he pre'vented their owning him before that crew: and 'taking one of them aſide privately, deſired him with 'his friend to go to an inn not far diſtant thence, pro'miſing there to come to them. They accordingly 'went thither, and he follows: After their firſt ſalu'tations, his friends enquire how he came to lead ſo 'odd a life as that was, and to join himſelf with ſuch 'a cheating beggarly company. The ſcholar gypſy 'having given them an account of the neceſſity which 'drove him to that kind of life, told them, that the 'people he went with were not ſuch impoſtors as they 'were taken for, but that they had a traditional kind 'of learning among them, and could do wonders by 'the power of imagination, and that himſelf had 'learnt much of their art, and improved it further 'than themſelves could. And to evince the truth of 'what he told them, he ſaid, he would remove into 'another room, leaving them to diſcourſe together, 'and upon his return, tell them the ſum of what they 'had talked of; which accordingly he performed, 'giving them a full account of what had paſſed be'tween them in his abſence. The ſcholars being a'mazed at ſo unexpected a diſcovery, earneſtly deſired 'him to unriddle the myſtery. In which he gave 'them ſatisfaction, by telling them, that what he did 'was by the power of imagination, his fancy binding 'theirs; and that himſelf had dictated to them the diſ'courſe they held together while he was from them: 'That there were warrantable ways of heightening 'the imagination to that pitch as to bind another's; 'and that when he had compaſſed the whole ſecret, 'of ſome parts of which he ſaid he was yet ignorant, he 'intended to leave their company, and give the world 'an account of what he had learned.

'Now that this ſtrange power of the imagination is 'no impoſſibility, the wonderful figuatures of the fœtus 'cauſed by the imagination of the mother, is no con'temptible item. The ſympathies of laughing and 'gaping together are reſolved into this principle; and 'I ſee not why the fancy of one man, may not deter'mine the cogitation of another, rightly qualified, as 'eaſily as his bodily motion. This influence ſeems to 'be no more unreaſonable, than that of one ſtring of a 'lute upon another, when a ſtroke on it cauſeth a pro'portionable motion in the ſympathizing conſort, which 'is diſtant from it, and not ſenſibly touched. Now if 'this notion be ſtrictly verifiable, it will yield us a good 'account how angels inject thoughts into our minds, 'and know our cogitations; and here we may ſee the 'ſource of ſome kinds of faſcination. If we are pre'judiced againſt the ſpeculation, becauſe we cannot 'conceive the manner of ſo ſtrange an operation, we 'ſhall indeed receive no help from the common Philoſo'phy; but yet the hypotheſis of a mundane ſoul, lately 'revived by that incomparable Platoniſt and Carteſian 'Dr H. More, will handſomely relieve us. Or, if 'any would rather have a mechanical account, I think 'it may probably be made out ſome ſuch way as fol'lows. Imagination is inward ſenſe; to ſenſe is re'quired a motion of certain filaments of the brain, and 'conſequently in imagination there is the like; they 'only differing in this, that the motion of the one pro'ceeds immediately from external objects, but that of 'the other hath it's immediate riſe within us. Now 'then, when any part of the brain is ſtrongly agitated, 'that which is next, and moſt capable to receive the 'motive impreſs, muſt in like manner be moved. 'Now we cannot conceive any thing more capable of 'motion than the fluid matter that is interſperſed a'mong all bodies, and contiguous to them. So then 'the agitated parts of the brain, begetting a motion 'in the proxime æther, it is propagated through the 'liquid medium, as we ſee the motion is which is 'cauſed by a ſtone thrown into the water. Now when 'the thus moved matter meets with any thing like that 'from which it received it's primary impreſs, it will 'proportionably move it, as it is in muſical ſtrings 'tuned uniſons. And thus the motion being conveyed 'from the brain of one man to the fancy of another, 'it is there received from the inſtrument of convey'ance, the ſubtile matter and the ſame kind of ſtrings 'being moved and much, what after the ſame man'ner as in the firſt imaginant; the ſoul is awakened 'to the ſame apprehenſions as were they that cauſed 'them. I pretend not to any exactneſs or infal'libility in this account, foreſeeing many ſcruples 'that muſt be removed to make it perfect. It is only 'an hint of the poſſibility of mechanically ſolving the 'phænomenon, though very likely it may require ma'ny other circumſtances compleatly to make it out.' Our author in proceſs of time came to think and write in a very different manner.

[D] *Or*

from which moſt of their capital doctrines where deduced, and, which by many plauſible arguments he endeavoured to ſhew, was not contradictory to, or incompatible with, revealed religion (r) [D]. The foundation of the Royal Society for promoting thoſe ends, and encouraging thoſe enquiries, which had been the ſubject of our author's firſt treatiſe, encouraged him to reſume his labours in the ſame cauſe of free ſpeculation, upon which he publiſhed a work new at leaſt in title (s), tho' in reſpect to the matter not very different from his former diſcourſe, except that it was cloſer, more methodical, and free from thoſe conjectures and ſuſpicious narratives, which with ſenſible people had hurt the credit of the former. By this judicious management the new work was much better received, and obtained a very good character, amongſt ſuch as were deſirous of ſeeing the road to truth made as plain and laid as open as it was poſſible [E]. To this he added a defence of his former book againſt Mr White, a famous champion of the Church of Rome, and of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy (t), the whole being cloſed with a ſhort epiſtolary diſcourſe concerning Ariſtotle, one of the moſt ſolid and ſenſible performances that ever fell from our author's pen, and with which, tho' his antagoniſts were very angry, yet, except beſtowing hard names, they were utterly unable to return him any anſwer [F]. In juſtice to his zeal

(r) Kennet's Regiſter, p. 735.

(s) Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 665.

(t) See an account of this anſwer in the note.

[D] *Or incompatible with revealed religon.*] The title of this book is as follows:

Lux Orientalis: *or an* Enquiry *into the opinion of the* eaſtern Sages, *concerning the* pre-exiſtence *of* ſouls: *being a* Key *to unlock the grand* myſteries *of* Providence, *in relation to man's* ſin *and* miſery Lond. 1662. in 12mo.

It is dedicated to Francis Willoughby, Eſq; a gentleman of great wiſdom and learning (7). In the preface he remarks, that his deſign in this book is only an innocent repreſentation of an ancient and probable opinion, which I conceive, ſays he, may contribute ſomewhat towards the clearing and vindicating the divine attributes, and ſo repreſenting the ever bleſſed Deity as a more fit object of love and adoration, than the opinions of the world make him.——For there is nothing more for the intereſt of religion, than that God be repreſented to his creatures as amiable and lovely, which cannot be better done than by clearing up his providence and dealing with the ſons of men, and diſcovering them to be full of equity, ſweetneſs, and benignity. In this treatiſe he propoſes the ſeveral opinions concerning the original of ſouls, and obſerves, that the daily creation of them is inconſiſtent with the divine attributes; that the traduction of them is impoſſible, and the reaſons for it weak and frivolous. He then exhorts his readers to look towards the ancient ſages, thoſe eaſtern ſophi, who have filled the world with the fame of their wiſdom, and then obſerves, that it was the opinion of the Indian Brachmans, the Perſian Magi, the Egyptian Gymnoſophiſts, the Jewiſh Rabbins, ſome of the Grecian Philoſophers, and Chriſtian Fathers, that the ſouls of men were created all at firſt, and at ſeveral times and occaſions, upon forfeiture of their better life and condition, dropped down into theſe terreſtrial bodies. This the learned among the Jews made a part of their Cabala, and pretend to have received it from their great law-giver, Moſes. Our author proceeds to remark, that the Scripture ſaith nothing againſt it; that it's ſilence is no prejudice to this doctrine, but rather an argument for it, as the caſe ſtands; that pre-exiſtence was the common opinion in our Saviour's time; that our forgetting the former ſtate was no argument to diſprove it; that the proof of the poſſibility of pre-exiſtence would be ſufficient, all other hypotheſes being abſurd and contradictory; but, that it is proved alſo by poſitive arguments; that an argument for it may be drawn from the conſideration of the divine goodneſs, which always doth what is beſt; that another argument may be drawn from the great variety of men's ſpeculative inclinations, and the diverſity of our genius's. He then ſhews what countenance it hath from the Old and New Teſtament, and afterwards ſtates a philoſophical hypotheſis of the ſoul's pre-exiſtence, ſo as to juſtify the commendations he had beſtowed on this fundamental point of oriental Theology.

(7) Wood's Faſt. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 139.

[E] *And laid as open as it was poſſible.*] The title of this piece at large runs in theſe words:

Scepſis Scientifica: *or* Confeſs'd Ignorance *the way to* Science: *in an* Eſſay *on the* Vanity *of* dogmatizing, *and* confident opinion. Lond. 1665. 4to.

The imprimatur is dated Oct. 18. 1664. It is dedicated to the Royal Society in ſo copious a manner, that this diſcourſe takes up 28 pages. Henry Oldenberg, Eſq; in a letter of his to the Hon. Mr Boyle, dated Decemb. 10. the ſame year, acquaints him (8), 'that 'this work had been preſented by Lord Brereton to the 'Society, and the addreſs prefixed thereto read, 'in which dedication, ſays he, the author expreſſeth a 'very great reſpect to the ſaid Body, and their deſign, 'which I was very glad (and ſo were others) to find to 'be ſo well underſtood at laſt by ſome, though I fear 'the great expectation he raiſeth of their enterprize, 'may be of more prejudice than advantage to them, if 'they be not competently endowed with a revenue to 'carry on their undertakings.'

(8) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 328.

We have intimated in the text, and the fact is really ſo, that this is no more than his former book againſt dogmatizing reviewed and more cloſely digeſted, all ſuch paſſages (and particularly that reſpecting the Oxford ſcholar) being rejected, as might be attended with difficulty of proof; and perhaps when he was making this reviſal, it would have been as well to have thrown out the doctrine, as the example; which however with his reaſoning upon it, is ſtill retained. This book makes a better appearance, and is of a larger ſize, than his former treatiſe, which notwithſtanding is rather contracted than enlarged; for though our author has given it as his opinion, that he was more fortunate in his firſt thoughts than in his corrections, yet his practice does by no means agree with that aſſertion; ſince it is not eaſy to find a writer (at leaſt of his rank) who has reviewed his performances oftener, or altered them more, of which in the courſe of this article we ſhall give the reader abundant proofs.

[F] *They were utterly unable to return him any anſwer.*] The adverſary againſt whom our author was to vindicate his book, was already known to the learned world by ſeveral names, calling himſelf ſometimes Thomas Albius, ſometimes Thomas Anglus, and ſometimes Thomas Anglus ex Albiis, each of which appellations belongs to, and is the ſame with, Thomas White, ſecond ſon of Richard White, of Hutton in Eſſex, Eſq; by Mary his wife, daughter of Edmund Plowden, the great lawyer in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (9); which Thomas White having been always from his childhood a Catholic became at length a ſecular prieſt, and a noted philoſopher, as his writings ſhew, ſays honeſt Anthony Wood who had a kindneſs for theſe ſort of people, tho' the chief merit of this gentleman was his being a great diſciple of Sir Kenelm Digby, and a ſteady advocate for the peripatetic Philoſophy. He wrote againſt our author in Latin, and gave his treatiſe the following fanciful title,

(9) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 665.

Sciri, *ſive*, Sceptices & Scepticorum *a Jure Diſputationis* Excluſio.

This induced Mr Glanvill to intitle his anſwer, that it might bear ſome ſimilitude to the diſcourſe it was intended to refute,

Scire tuum nihil eſt: *or the* Author's defence *of the* vanity of dogmatizing, *againſt the exceptions of the learned* Thomas Albius, *in his late* Sciri.

—— *No doubt but ye are the men, and wiſdom ſhall die with you.* Job.

In this anſwer our author ſets down the objections of his antagoniſt in his own words in Latin, and then his anſwers

zeal as well as out of reſpect to his abilities, our author was choſen a Member of the Royal Society (*u*), a circumſtance, that as on the one hand it did him a great deal of honour, ſo on the other it expoſed him to a heavy load of envy from ſome, and kept up the reſentment of others, who could not think of quitting the beaten path, or bear to ſee thoſe principles ridiculed in their old age, to which they had paid ſo great deference in their youth. But however, the countenance given him by his friends, and the credit he had obtained by his writings, raiſed his courage ſo much, that he ventured in the ſucceeding year, which was 1666, to deliver his ſentiments upon another knotty point, about which the moſt judicious perſons were not then and perhaps never will be agreed (*w*). This was the ſubject of witchcraft [*G*], and proved the beginning of a controverſy, that laſted as long as his life, and was managed with great warmth, and abundance of plauſible arguments on both ſides. June 23d 1666, he was inducted into the Rectory of St Peter and St Paul at Bath (*x*), in which city he from that time fixed his reſidence, yet had not been long there before he found himſelf ſurrounded with new opponents, who undertook the defence of Ariſtotle (*y*), and the old philoſophy, and treated our author Glanvill with as much aſperity for having drawn his pen againſt them, as if the authority of that philoſopher had been ſacred (*z*), or that any ſyſtem of opinions ought to claim implicit reverence independent of their foundation in truth. Mr Glanvill however had a ſpirit that was not to be ſubdued by ſuch treatment, and therefore inſtead of receding in the leaſt from his former ſentiments, he ſupported them upon all occaſions with great firmneſs, and with that fluency of language, for which he was particularly diſtinguiſhed, a circumſtance of no weight at all with his adverſaries (*a*), who pretended that Reaſon ought to have greater reſpect paid it than Rhetoric; as, on the other hand, the friends of our author

(*u*) Sprat's Hiſtory of the Royal Society, p. 432.

(*w*) Conſiderations on Witchcraft.

(*x*) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 351.

(*y*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 665.

(*z*) Stubbe's Diſcourſe on Phlebotomy.

(*a*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 753.

anſwers in Engliſh, from which it appears, that whereas Mr White repreſented Mr Glanvill as a Sceptic, and wrote againſt him, though with many commendations of his abilities, as ſuch he is therein miſtaken, Mr Glanvill having no intention to maintain what are ſtrictly and properly ſtiled Sceptical Principles, but to oppoſe Confidence in Opinions; the truth and certainty of which cannot be proved as prejudicial to learning and knowledge.

In his *Letter to a* Friend, *concerning* Ariſtotle, which contains but 22 pages, he in a very clear and cloſe chain of reaſoning, juſtifies his oppoſition to the received authority of thoſe doctrines that have been long taught in the ſchools, under the ſanction of that Philoſopher's name. In reſpect to theſe he obſerves, that whatever fondneſs later ages may have expreſſed for him, the pious fathers of the firſt and pureſt ages of Chriſtianity ſhewed no ſuch veneration for Ariſtotle, but frequently reproved his notions with a keen and impartial ſeverity, of which he gives various inſtances. He next remarks, that Ariſtotle roſe into all this credit after his works came into the hands of the Arabians, and in an age when ignorance was epidemic. He then ſhews that it is very doubtful, whether the greateſt part of the pieces that paſs under the name of this philoſopher are his or not, which he diſcuſſes with much learning and candour. He mentions alſo that irreverence with which Ariſtotle treated all other philoſophers; ſo that in oppoſing him, he only follows his own example. He proceeds then to ſhew, that the Corpuſcularian and Atomical Philoſophy was prior in point of time to that of Ariſtotle; ſo that ſuch as eſpouſe it, ought to be eſteemed rather defenders, than deſpiſers of antiquity. He produces the authority of many ancient and eſteemed authors, to ſhew that the morals of Ariſtotle were none of the beſt; and laſtly he proves, that he borrowed almoſt all he wrote, and was not over ready to acknowledge from whom he borrowed; qualities that did not ſeem to warrant any exceſſive reſpect to him.

[*G*] *This was the ſubject of Witchcraft.*] The title of this book of his ſtood originally thus, though frequently altered in ſubſequent editions.

Some Philoſophical Conſiderations *touching the* Being *of* Witches, *and* Witchcraft. Lond. 1666 4to.

It was in the form of an epiſtle to Robert Hunt, Eſq; a Juſtice of the Peace, who had been very active in taking the examinations againſt ſeveral ſuppoſed witches; but the book being burnt in the great fire at London in the beginning of September the ſame year, it was re-printed there again in 1667. in the ſame ſize. Again, under the title of *A Blow at* modern Sadduciſm, *in ſome* Philoſophical Conſiderations *about* Witchcraft. Lond. 1668. 4to. To this book are ſubjoined *A* Relation *of the famed* Diſturbance *at the* Houſe *of Mr* Mumpeſſon, *and Reflections on* Drollery *and* Atheiſm. In 1668 he publiſhed *Palpable Evidence of* Spirits *and* Witchcraft, *in an account of the famed diſturbance by a* Drummer *in the houſe of Mr* Mumpeſſon. Lond. 1668. This is the ſame with the *Relation* abovementioned, only the title altered. *A Whip for the Droll* Fiddler *to the* Atheiſt, *being Reflections on* Drollery *and* Atheiſm. Lond. 1668. This is likewiſe moſtly the ſame with the *Reflections on Drollery*, &c. above-mentioned.

Sadduciſmus Triumphatus, *or full and plain Evidence concerning* Witches *and* Apparitions, *in* two *parts*. Lond. 1681. in 8vo. and there again in 1682. with large additions, by Dr Henry More, the editor of both editions. The *firſt* part treats of the poſſibility, the *ſecond* of the real exiſtence of Witches, with a letter to Dr Henry More, upon the ſame ſubject. The firſt part conſiſts of his conſiderations touching the being of witchcraft, re-printed here the fifth time. The ſecond part contains an anſwer to part of *the Diſplay of ſuppoſed Witchcraft*, &c. by Mr John Webſter, *Practitioner in Phyſic and Chirurgery in the Weſt Riding of Yorkſhire*, printed at London 1667, in folio, and Mr Glanvill's former relation of the famed diſturbance at the houſe of Mr Mumpeſſon, and a ſecond narrative of it enlarged with a collection of twenty ſix modern relations. The author's imperfect preface to the ſecond part gives an account of the ſeveral editions of his former treatiſe of Witches, and relates the many motives which induced him to make thoſe large additions in that edition. The perſon who peruſed his papers after his death, digeſted his materials which were left ſomewhat imperfect, and ſupplied what was wanting by advertiſements through the whole work. The laſt advertiſement is the moſt conſiderable; and as an appendix to the firſt part, concerning the poſſibility of apparitions, &c. is added *An Account of the* nature *of a* Spirit, tranſlated out of the two laſt chapters of Dr More's *Enchiridion Metaphyſicum*. We ſhall have occaſion to mention the firſt of theſe pieces in another note; but it may not be amiſs before we cloſe this to obſerve, that in the laſt edition of it, it was dedicated to Charles Duke of Richmond and Lenox, and that dedication is dated from Bath June 8. 1668. At the time he was making his collection of relations, our author held a correſpondence with the great Mr Boyle, who gave him many very juſt cautions about his management of ſo tender a ſubject, and hinted to him, that the credit of Religion might ſuffer from weak arguments upon ſuch topicks (10). In his anſwers Mr Glanvill profeſſes himſelf much obliged for thoſe kind admonitions, and promiſes him to be exceeding careful in the choice of his relations.

(10) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 244. 628.

thor conceived, that if Reaſon had not been on his ſide, he could never have maintained his diſpute with ſo much viſible advantage, or thoſe who oppoſed him driven to take ſhelter in ſcurrilous language, and groundleſs aſperſions (*b*) [*H*]. But not relying upon theſe deciſions, which however ſatisfactory in regard to his behaviour in a perſonal diſpute, were of little or no force towards ſettling a point of ſuch high importance to the public; he reſolved once more to carry his cauſe before that tribunal, and to appeal on the behalf of truth and ſcience, to the candid judges of that age, and to poſterity (*c*), which he did in a ſmall but elegant treatiſe, that added highly and juſtly to his reputation, and which is ſtill very much eſteemed by the curious, being become ſo ſcarce as not to be met with in other hands (*d*) [*I*]. That applauſe which our author received from ſome of the moſt eminent

(*b*) Dr Horneck's Preface to his Remains.

(*c*) Plus-Ultra, ch. 1.

(*d*) Britiſh Librarian, p. 116.

[*H*] *To take ſhelter in ſcurrilous language and groundleſs aſperſions.*] The reader will eaſily perceive, from what has been ſaid in the text, that our author's writing in defence of the new Philoſophy, engaged him in a kind of literary war, from the very time that his firſt book appeared, which he probably hoped might have received ſome check upon his retiring from the univerſity to Bath; but even there he found many opponents, who not being ſo well able to deal with him themſelves, contrived in the year 1667 (11) to carry him to the houſe of a brother Clergyman, the Rev. Mr Robert Croſs, Vicar of Great Chew, near Penſford in Somerſetſhire, who was a great admirer of Ariſtotle, and a violent defender of the peripatetic Philoſophy, as Mr Glanvill found to his coſt, who not having been previouſly informed of this intended altercation, was in ſome meaſure ſurprized, and did not anſwer with that quickneſs and facility which otherwiſe he would have done. Upon this Croſs, who ſaw his advantage, and was none of the moſt humane adverſaries, declaimed paſſionately againſt modern innovators, and maintained poſitively, that Ariſtotle alone had more advantages for acquiring knowledge than the Royal Society, or all the preſent age had, or could have, and that for this ſtrong reaſon, becauſe he had ſurveyed all Aſia. However, our author ſoon recovered himſelf, and in ſome future converſations, and by letters, ſtrove to make good that cauſe for which he was an advocate, and in ſupport more eſpecially of the Royal Society, and their proceedings, of which aſſembly knowing him to be a member, Mr Croſs had not only ſpoke with intemperate freedom, but with the utmoſt virulence and contempt. After this controverſy had been carried on for ſome time in this manner, by which our author was conſtrained to bend his thoughts, particularly to the compariſon between the old and new methods of philoſophiſing, the jejune dryneſs of the former, and the prolific vigour of the latter, he ſaw it would be no difficult buſineſs to draw up an entertaining and inſtructive account of modern improvements, and daily experience convinced him, that nothing could be more expedient or even neceſſary for the ſupport of his private character, vindicating the honour of the Royal Society, or affording proper information to the public.

(11) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 753.

[*I*] *As not to be met with in other hands.*] The title of this ſmall but valuable performance runs thus: PLUS ULTRA: or *The Progreſs and Advancement of* Knowledge *ſince the days of* Ariſtotle. *In an account of ſome of the moſt remarkable* late Improvements *of practical uſeful Learning to encourage* philoſophical Endeavours. *Occaſioned by a Conference with one of the Notional Way.* By Joſeph Glanvill. Lond. 1668. in 12mo. The *Imprimatur* is dated May 2. 1668. After his dedication to William (Pierce) Biſhop of Bath and Wells, and his preface to the Clergy of that dioceſe, we come to the work itſelf, which in the running title is called Modern Improvements of uſeful Knowledge, and is divided into eighteen chapters, though the whole is written by way of letter to a friend. He remarks at the very entrance of his work, that the two principal ways of promoting knowledge, are firſt, by enlarging the hiſtory of things, and ſecondly, by improving intercourſe; and in theſe reſpects this age hath great advantages from the improvements of Mathematics, particularly of Arithmetic, Algebra and Geometry, Aſtronomy, Optics and Geography. He then obſerves, that uſeful knowledge is aſſiſted by the inſtruments lately invented, as the teleſcope, microſcope, thermometer, barometer, and air-pump, and by the modern improvements of Natural Hiſtory. That the later ages have great advantages for ſpreading and communicating knowledge, particularly by printing, the compaſs, and the Royal Society. Our author ſhews the reaſons of the inſtitution of that Society, and their deſigns, and gives an account of what Mr Boyle had then done for the promotion of uſeful knowledge, and what he had by him not then publiſhed, and points out the reaſons for the world to expect greater things of the Royal Society.

He next ſhews the abſurdity of making compariſon between the advantages which Ariſtotle had for knowledge, and thoſe of later ages; and concludes with certain obſervations about the cenſure of Atheiſm applied to philoſophical men, and an apology for the Royal Society, and other generous Philoſophers; and with regard to himſelf, he gives us the following account: In his firſt education he was continually inſtructed into a religious and faſt adherence to every thing which he was taught, and a dread of diſſenting in the leaſt article. This diſcipline he underwent in his younger days, and thought very ſtrangely of thoſe who believe any thing different from the opinions of their inſtructors. But advancing in years, and coming to a freer exerciſe of his own mind, he began to make reflexions upon the vaſt diverſity and variety of apprehenſions and religions in the world. He conſidered, that they were all as confident in their way, as he was in that wherein he was inſtructed; and the greateſt part had nothing but their education for their inducement. He thought how eaſy we are in our firſt age, and that the children muſt believe; yet men, eſpecially thoſe bred in the way of ſtudy, muſt try. He conſidered what he ſhould firſt adviſe an Heathen or Mahometan to do, who had been brought up to idolatry and fables, and upon the conſultation with himſelf concluded, that it ſhould be to look about him, and to examine other religions, regarding his own with the ſame eye of indifferency and ſuſpenſion, as if he had never been born under that faith, which was a thing extrinſic and accidental, and therefore not fit to make an argument to engage a reaſonable belief; and when he had ſo thought, he turned the tables, and took the counſel himſelf. He therefore bent his chief ſtudies and endeavours to know the truth of the Chriſtian Faith; and after the foundations laid in the ſettling the grand article, the Being of a God, and the conſequent doctrines of a Natural Theology, he ſat down to enquire about the authority of the holy Scripture; not that he poſitively doubted or diſtruſted their veracity, but that he might have a firm bottom, and be able to give an account of his Faith and Hope. In his enquiry the firſt diſcourſes he met with on the ſubject did not at all ſatisfy, but ſeemed weak and greatly obnoxious. But in the progreſs of his ſearch, he lighted upon thoſe grounds which, I thank God, ſays he, quieted my mind, and gave me the moſt demonſtrative aſſurance that the nature of the thing could bear, of the truth and certainty of thoſe ſacred writings, which undoubtedly contain the fulleſt diſcoveries of the divine wiſdom and perfections, which I infinitely admire, and ſhall eternally adore that goodneſs that bleſſed the ſons of men with ſuch clear diſcoveries of his will. And though I perceive that the follies and ſuperſtitions of ſects, who have the holy oracles always in their mouths, and preſs them for the ſervice of their conceits, have prejudiced ſome of the pretenders to reaſon againſt them; yet this I ſee, that the wiſer, freer, better, and more reaſonable any man is, the greater ſtill is his veneration of thoſe holy records, and the reliſh of them increaſeth with our improvements in virtue and goodneſs. The very learned Morhoff cenſures this book, and in doing it ſays ſome very coarſe things of this nation, which however is the leſs wonderful

eminent men, as well in point of knowledge as rank; from this excellent performance, raiſed the reſentment of his adverſaries to a very high degree, which they diſcovered in ſome railing and abuſive pieces (*e*), to which Mr Glanvill replied with great vehemence and ſpirit, but at the ſame time intermixed a little too much of that kind of language by which he had been provoked (*f*); which however had in ſome meaſure its effect, and might perhaps contribute to his being leſs diſturbed afterwards (*g*) [*K*]. His credit was now ſo thoroughly eſtabliſhed, that he was frequently called upon to preach before numerous aſſemblies, and on many ſolemn occaſions. Amongſt theſe one was at a viſitation of the dioceſe, and his diſcourſe at that time on the harmony between Religion and Reaſon was not only exactly ſuitable to the ſeaſon and the audience, but in itſelf ſo perfectly adapted to that weighty and delicate ſubject, as to meet with general approbation (*b*) [*L*]. He was

(*e*) See Stubbe's Letters to Mr Boyle.

(*f*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 562.

(*g*) See the Preface to his Eſſays.

(*b*) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 351.

wonderful when we conſider, that from his own words it appears he had never ſeen it, but took the character of it from Stubbe's anſwer, and Cauſabon's epiſtle, which led him to believe, that Mr Glanvill had ſpoken diſreſpectfully of all ages and all nations but his own; whereas nothing can be more remote from the ſcope and tendency of his book, which differs very little from thoſe of his former treatiſes that Morhoff had ſeen, read, and commended (12).

(12) Polyhiſtor. literar.

[*K*] *To his being leſs diſturbed afterwards.*] In ſome chapters of the book mentioned in the preceding note, our author has treated the old Somerſetſhire Vicar with a degree of raillery, which however it might pleaſe the bulk of his readers, muſt naturally give him who was the ſubject of it much uneaſineſs. Mr Croſs thereupon ſet pen to paper, and wrote not ſo much a defence of his own ſentiments, as a reply to thoſe railleries; but the preſs being at that time under a licence, it was, upon peruſal, rejected by ſuch as had that power committed to them, both at Oxford and at London; and this, as our author ſays, for it's incomparable railing and impertinence. Mr Glanvill notwithſtanding, by his intereſt, procuring an account of the contents of it, ſent it in a private letter to Dr Ingelo; which letter afterwards coming into a friend's hands in London, was printed at London, and called the Chew Gazette; but there were not 100 copies of it, and thoſe all given into private hands. In this letter Mr Glanvill preſented a collection of ſome of the ſcurrilous names which Mr Croſs had called him, recited about ſixteen of his groſs falſhoods, diſcovered the contemptible impertinency of the book, and gave a ſpecimen of the learning which Mr Croſs ſhewed in ſchool-ſcraps, little ends of verſe, and children's phraſes, which are, ſays our author, all the reading he diſcovers. Theſe things are in brief repreſented in the Gazette, and much more largely in a Latin account of his performance, which I have ready by me. After this letter was abroad, Mr Croſs wrote ballads againſt our author, and engaged Mr Henry Stubbe, the Phyſician of Warwick, in his defence, who publiſhed a book intituled,

The Plus Ultra *reduced to a* Non-Plus: *or a* Specimen *of ſome* Animadverſions *upon the* Plus Ultra *of Mr* Joſeph Glanvill; *with divers enquiries made about ſeveral matters.* Lond. 1670. 4to.

This occaſioned our author to publiſh

A Prefatory Anſwer *to Mr* Henry Stubbe, *the* Doctor *of* Warwick. *Wherein the malignity of his temper, the hypocriſy of his pretences, the falſhood of his reports, and the impertinency of his arguings and quotations, in his animadverſions on* Plus Ultra, *are diſcovered.* By Joſ. Glanvill. Lond. 1671. 12mo. This piece is addreſſed to his much honoured friend Francis Godolphin, Eſq;

Upon this Mr Stubbe wrote *A Preface againſt* Eccbolius Glanvill, *Fellow of the Royal Society*, ſubjoined to his *Reply unto a* Letter *written to Mr* Henry Stubbe, *in defence of the* Hiſtory *of the* Royal Society. Oxford, 1671. 4to.

He fell upon him likewiſe in his *Epiſtolary Diſcourſe concerning* Phlebotomy, *in oppoſition to* George Thomſon, *Pſeudo-Chymiſt, a pretended* Diſciple *to the Lord* Verulam. Lond. 1671. 4to.

Mr Glanvill immediately publiſhed *A farther Diſcovery of Mr* Stubbe, *in a brief reply to the laſt pamphlet againſt* Joſeph Glanvill. Lond. 1671. 8vo. To this tract is ſubjoined *Ad Clerum Somerſetenſem Epiſtola* ΠΡΟΣΦΩΝΗΣΙΣ.

Dr Meric Cauſabon alſo made ſome reflections upon our author's *Plus Ultra*, in a *Letter* to *Peter du Moulin*, D. D &c. *concerning Natural and Experimental Philoſophy, and ſome books lately ſet out about it.* Cambridge, 1669. 4to.

In this letter Dr Cauſabon vindicates Ariſtotle from the imputations thrown upon him by Mr Glanvill, who he obſerves doth not want words to ſet out his matter to the beſt advantage; and remarks, that whereas a long inventory is given by our author of things lately diſcovered that were not known to the Antients, it would have been the part of an impartial man to have told us at the ſame time, that we have loſt ſome things, alſo known to the Antients, and what they are, which happily might deſerve as much reſpect, ſo much at leaſt, as not to be paſſed in ſilence. Many ſuch things, beſides what is collected by Pancirollus, in a treatiſe of that argument, have been obſerved by more than one, Phyſicians and others, all which I cannot call to mind ſuddenly. But after all theſe, and many other reflections of the ſame kind, Cauſabon, who was a man of great candour, and conſiderable knowledge, at the cloſe of his letter delivers himſelf thus: 'What I 'had to except againſt the book you brought me, 'I have told you; I muſt now thank you for it: for 'in very truth, his Divinity at the end, which is ſome-'what myſtical, (I hope I do not underſtand it) and 'thoſe two particulars, his contempt of Ariſtotle, and 'his cenſuring all other learning beſides Experimental 'Philoſophy, and what tendeth to it, as uſeleſs and 'mere wrangling, and diſputing excepted; I have read 'the reſt, wherein he doth give us an exact account of 'late diſcoveries, with much pleaſure. For tho' I think 'many ages may paſs before the uſe of many of thoſe 'particulars are known, yet Ariſtotle hath taught me '(and he proves it excellently) that nothing can be in na-'ture ſo mean, or ſo vile, but deſerves to be taken no-'tice of, and will afford to an ingenious ſpeculative man 'matter of pleaſure and delight.' Mr Glanvill mentions this piece of Dr Cauſabon at the end of the preface to his Prefatory Anſwer to Mr Henry Stubbe, and tells us, that he had anſwered the ſtrictures of that reverend man in a particular diſcourſe, *which I think*, ſays he, *to publiſh next, when I reckon with Mr* Stubbe.

But notwithſtanding our author never publiſhed any thing upon this head; only ſome years afterwards he judged it expedient to give this account of his conduct, 'The learned Dr Meric Cauſabon writ reflections on this 'eſſay in a letter to Dr Peter du Moulin, who it 'ſeems had preſented it to him. They were printed 'in the year 1669, and my anſwers ſoon after ready: 'but conſidering that the Doctor allowed all that 'which was my main deſign, and only oppoſed his own 'miſtakes and ſuſpicions, I thought fit to ſuppreſs my 'reply, and was the rather ſilent, becauſe not willing 'to appear in a controverſy with a perſon of fame and 'learning, who had treated me with ſo much civility, 'and in a way ſo different from that of my other aſ-'ſailants.'

[*L*] *To meet with general approbation.*] The title of this piece at large is conceived in the following terms:

ΛΟΓΟΥ ΘΡΗΚΕΙΑ,: or *a ſeaſonable* Recommendation *and* Defence *of* Reaſon *in the affairs of* Religion, *againſt* Infidelity, Scepticiſm, *and* Fanaticiſm *of all ſorts.* Lond. 1670. 4to. It is a diſcourſe on Rom. xii. the latter part of verſe 1, addreſſed *ad Clerum:*

Our

was encouraged from thence to print it thrice; at firſt without his name, afterwards added to a piece which he owned, and a third time in another form. His ſucceſs in this performance encouraged him to proceed ſomewhat farther in the ſame track, and as he found that there ſtill remained an unaccountable animoſity in the boſoms of ſome learned and good men, againſt the new methods propoſed for the advancement of uſeful knowledge, from

Our author begins with obſerving, that there is nothing which hath done ſo much miſchief to Chriſtianity, as the diſparagement of reaſon, under pretence of reſpect and favour to religion; ſince hereby the very foundations of the Chriſtian Faith have been undermined, and the world prepared for Atheiſm. Whereas, to repreſent the fair agreement that is between reaſon and religion, is the moſt ſeaſonable ſervice that can be done unto both; ſince hereby religion will be reſcued from the impious accuſation of it's being groundleſs and imaginary, and reaſon alſo defended againſt the unjuſt charge of thoſe that would make this beam of God prophane and irreligious. Our author's deſign is to ſhew, that religion is a reaſonable thing; in treating of which propoſition, he 1. States what he means by religion, and what by reaſon. 2. Demonſtrates their harmony and agreement. 3. Diſables the main objections which are alledged againſt the uſe of reaſon in the affairs of Faith. 4. Improves all by ſome inferences and advices.

With regard to the firſt particular he obſerves, that the name of religion ſignifies binding, and ſo imports duty, and all duty is compriſed under theſe two generals, worſhip and virtue. Worſhip comprehends all our duties to God; virtue all thoſe which relate to our neighbour, or ourſelves. Religion then primarily conſiſts in theſe. But duty cannot be performed without knowledge; and ſome principles there muſt be which muſt direct theſe practices; and thoſe which diſcover and direct them in thoſe actions of duty are called principles of reaſon. Theſe are of two ſorts; ſome are, 1. Fundamental and eſſential, others acceſſory and aſſiſting. Fundamental principles are ſuch as are ſuppoſed to the duties of religion, one or more, and ſuch as are abſolutely neceſſary to the performance of them reſpectively. Of this ſort our author mentions four. 1. That there is a God of infinite perfection. 2. That we are ſinners, and expoſed to his diſpleaſure. This is neceſſary to confeſſion of ſins and repentance; parts of worſhip. 3. That God is our maker, and the author of all our bleſſings. This is neceſſary to the duties of prayer, praiſe, and adoration. 4. That there is moral good and evil; without this there can be no charity, humility, juſtice, purity, or the reſt. The acceſſory and aſſiſting principles are, 1. That God will pardon us if we repent. 2. That he will aſſiſt us if we endeavour. 3. That he will accept of ſervices that are imperfect, if they are ſincere. 4. That he will reward or puniſh in another world, according to what we have done in this.

This Mr Glanvill eſteems to be the ſum of religion in general, and that Chriſtianity takes in all thoſe duties, and all the principles, advancing the duties to nobler meaſures, and encouraging them by new motives and aſſiſtances, and ſuperadding two other inſtances, Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper. And for the principles, it confirms thoſe of natural religion, and explains them further, and diſcovers ſome few new ones. And all theſe, ſays he, both of the former and latter ſort, are contained in the Creed. Here are all the fundamentals of religion, and the main aſſiſting principles alſo. And I call nothing elſe religion but plain duties, and theſe acknowledged principles, and though our Church requires our aſſent to more propoſitions, yet thoſe are only articles of communion, not doctrines abſolutely neceſſary to ſalvation. And if we go beyond the Creed for the eſſentials of faith, who can tell where we ſhall ſtop? The ſum of religion primarily is duty, and duty is all that which God hath commanded to be done by his word or our reaſons, and we have the ſubſtance of theſe in the Commandments. Religion alſo, in a ſecondary ſenſe, conſiſts in ſome principles relating to the worſhip of God and of his Son, in the ways of devout and virtuous living, and theſe are compriſed in that ſummary of belief called the Apoſtles Creed. This I take to be religion; and this religion I ſhall prove to be reaſonable. But I cannot undertake for all the opinions ſome men are pleaſed to call orthodox; nor for all thoſe that by many private perſons, and ſome Churches, are counted eſſential articles of faith and ſalvation.

Our author then proceeds to fix the proper notion of reaſon, which is ſometimes taken for reaſon in the faculty, which is the underſtanding, and at other times for reaſon in the object, which conſiſts in thoſe principles and concluſions by which the underſtanding is informed. This latter is meant in the diſpute concerning the agreement or diſagreement of reaſon and religion. Having premiſed this, our author goes on to his ſecond point, to ſhew that religion is reaſonable; which implies two things, viz. That reaſon is a friend to religion, and that religion is ſo to reaſon. From theſe two reſults their correſpondence and agreement. Under the firſt branch he obſerves, that with regard to the principles of religion, which are called Faith, reaſon greatly befriends them. 1. By proving ſome of thoſe principles. 2. By defending all. Having ſhewn how ſerviceable reaſon is to religion, he next proves, that religion befriends reaſon; for which purpoſe he offers ſome teſtimonies of Scripture in which God himſelf, and Chriſt and his apoſtles, own and acknowledge reaſon. From this diſcourſe he draws the following inferences. 1. Reaſon is certain and infallible. 2. Reaſon is, in a ſenſe, the word of God. 3. The belief of our reaſon is an exerciſe of faith, and faith is an act of reaſon. 4. No principle of reaſon contradicts any article of faith. 5. When any thing is pretended from reaſon againſt any article of faith, we ought not to cut the knot by denying reaſon, but endeavour to untie it by anſwering the argument; and it is certain it may be fairly anſwered. 6. When any thing is offered us for an article of faith that ſeems to contradict reaſon, we ought to ſee that there be good cauſe to believe that this is divinely revealed, and in the ſenſe propounded. 7. There is nothing that God hath revealed to oblige our faith, but he hath given us reaſon to believe that he hath revealed it. 8. A man may hold an erroneous opinion from a miſtaken ſenſe of Scripture, and deny what is the truth of the propoſition, and what is the right meaning of the text, and yet not err in faith. 9. In ſearching after the ſenſe of Scripture, we ought to conſult the principles of reaſon as we do other Scriptures. 10. The eſſentials of religion are ſo plainly revealed, that no man can miſs them that hath not a mighty corrupt biaſs in his will and affections to infatuate and blind his underſtanding.

Theſe are ſome propoſitions, ſays Mr Glanvill, that follow from my diſcourſe, and from one another. The better they are conſidered, the more their force will be perceived; and I think they may ſerve for many very conſiderable purpoſes of religion, charity, and the peace of mankind. He then addreſſes himſelf to his brethren of the clergy in the following reflections. 1. To diſclaim reaſon as an enemy to religion, tends to the introduction of Atheiſm, Infidelity, and Scepticiſm, and hath already brought in a flood of theſe upon us. 2. The denial of reaſon in religion, hath been the principal engine that heretics and enthuſiaſts have uſed againſt the faith, and that which lays us open to infinite follies and impoſtures. 3. By the ſame way great advantage is given to the Church of Rome; againſt whom, if we argue from reaſon, it would not only be diſingenuous, but ridiculous, to diſclaim the authority of reaſon, if urged on her behalf againſt us. On the whole he concludes clearly, that without adhering to reaſon, and acknowledging it in a certain ſenſe for our great guide in matters of religion, there can be no ſecurity againſt the tyranny of eccleſiaſtical power; or which late experience had ſhewn to be a worſe tyranny, that of fanatic ſpirits, men carried away with the fervour of their imaginations, and who were in the right to deſpiſe and declaim againſt reaſon, which they could not either uſe in their own cauſe, or ſuffer to be urged in behalf of any other.

from an apprehenſion that they might be dangerous to concerns of a higher nature, he determined, that as he had ſhewn the connexion between Reaſon and Religion, he would likewiſe explain the ſtrict correſpondence between Religion and the new Philoſophy (*i*). This he performed with equal ſuccinctneſs and perſpicuity, and merited thereby the thanks of the wiſeſt and beſt men in the nation, as well as the particular acknowledgments of the members of the Royal Society, in ſupport of whoſe laborious and laudable endeavours this treatiſe was chiefly written (*k*) [*M*]. He was in other reſpects far from being a lazy or uſeleſs member of that learned Society (*l*); but, on the contrary, contributed chearfully to the maintenance of that reputation, which from their vigorous efforts to promote a uſeful and practical knowledge of the works of nature and art, had ſo juſtly eſtabliſhed their reputation at home and abroad (*m*) [*N*]. In July 1672, he exchanged the vicarage of Frome

(*i*) Morhofii Polyhiſtor. ii. 2, 9, 2.

(*k*) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 352.

(*l*) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 367.

(*m*) Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 28, 39, 49

[*M*] *This treatiſe was chiefly written*] The title of this treatiſe at large runs thus:

PHILOSOPHIA PIA: or, *A Diſcourſe of the religious temper and tendencies of the* Experimental Philoſophy *which is profeſſed by the* Royal Society. Lond. 1671. 8vo.

This ſuccinct but very ſolid performance he addreſſed to that very learned prelate Dr Seth Ward, then Biſhop of Saliſbury. In this treatiſe he undertakes to diſcuſs theſe four points. That God is to be praiſed for his works. That his works are to be ſtudied by thoſe that would praiſe him for them. That the ſtudy of nature and God's work is very ſerviceable to religion. That the miniſters and profeſſors of religion ought not to diſcourage, but promote, the knowledge of nature and the works of it's author. In diſcuſſing the firſt point he ſhews, that what is called the religion of nature, ariſes from the conſideration of the works of God, and conſiſts chiefly in paying him that homage which unbiaſſed reaſon will teach us is due to a Being of ſuch infinite wiſdom and goodneſs as is expreſſed in them. He farther ſhews, that in ſcripture God himſelf inſiſts upon his works as demonſtrations of his attributes; that holy men, inſpired by him, make theſe the topic of their hymns and praiſes, and that the ſabbath was ſet apart and hallowed for this very purpoſe, that men might have time to contemplate the works of God, and from thence be made ſenſible of their obligation to bleſs and fear him. As to the ſecond head, he remarks, that as this is our higheſt duty, ſo it claims our higheſt attention, that God is pleaſed with rational ſervice, and that it is impoſſible to praiſe him ſincerely, unleſs we do it ſenſibly, and from a thorough perſwaſion of the truth of thoſe praiſes we offer, which never can be had but from a ſteady and cloſe application to the ſtudy of his works. In reference to the third point, he clearly demonſtrates, that this ſtudy leads to the very perfection of religion, by obliging us to ſee and take notice of the Almighty in every thing that we behold or enjoy; and if, ſays he, this knowledge of nature be abuſed to different and contrary purpoſes, natural wiſdom is not in fault, but the perverſe will of him who turns this excellent inſtrument of religion upon itſelf. But that the knowledge of nature may be uſed to a nobler purpoſe, appears from the aſſiſtance that it affords againſt the capital enemies of religion, which are atheiſm, ſadduciſm, ſuperſtition, enthuſiaſm, and the humour of diſputing. He inſiſts at large upon each of theſe points, after which he paſſes to the fourth head, and upon that he remarks, that from what he has already proved, it is clear that the miniſters and profeſſors of religion ought to encourage what has a viſible tendency to ſupport it, and that it is a very great prejudice to ſuppoſe that they ſtray beyond the proper bounds of their function, whenever they bend their ſtudies towards Natural Philoſophy; whereas in truth it is a part, and a very valuable part, of Theology. He then anſwers two objections; the firſt grounded on St Paul's declaration, that he deſired to know nothing but Chriſt, and him crucified; he ſuggeſts that by nothing, muſt be underſtood in this place, nothing inconſiſtent with, or withdrawing the mind from, that important and neceſſary office; for otherwiſe, this would exclude all kind of ſcience, however innocent, however neceſſary; and taking in this diſtinction St Paul's declaration, does by no means extend to this point.

The ſecond objection is taken from the repeated cautions given by the ſame Apoſtle, againſt being led away by vain Philoſophy. To this he replies, that the caution is very juſt with reſpect to a notional, captious, and wrangling Philoſophy, which ſerves only to waſte time, to excite heats, and to draw mankind from the purſuit of truth; but has nothing to do with a prudent enquiry into the operations of nature, which muſt be attended with a conviction of the divine interpoſition in all things, ſince experiment is a kind of natural revelation, conducting thoſe who purſue it to the knowledge of truth and it's author; and therefore Natural Philoſophy is not that vain Philoſophy which the Apoſtle condemned. He adds, that by their progreſs in theſe ſtudies, men enlarge their faculties, purify their deſires, elevate their views, conceive humbly of themſelves, and reverently of him from whom they come, and in whoſe hands they are. His concluſion is thus; the ſtudy of God's works, joined with thoſe pious ſentiments they deſerve, is a kind of anticipation of Heaven; and next after the contemplations of his word, and the wonders of his mercy diſcovered in our redemption, it is one of the beſt and nobleſt employments, the moſt becoming a reaſonable creature, and ſuch a one as is taught by the moſt reaſonable and excellent religion in the world.

[*N*] *Their reputation at home and abroad.*] It frequently happens, that men of lively parts and happy abilities for writing, when materials are in their power, labour notwithſtanding under ſuch defects, in point of attention and application, as render it very unfit for ſuch long and ſerious enquiries, as are abſolutely requiſite towards promoting the views of an active ſociety, in procuring that kind of intelligence which can only increaſe the ſtock, or if I may be allowed the expreſſion, the capital of real merit. It is therefore very extraordinary to find in Mr Glanvill, the ſame ability and the ſame readineſs in one way as in the other; and it is certainly a piece of juſtice due to his memory, to ſet this in a clear and ſtrong light, and this the rather becauſe ſuch as have given us memoirs of him paſs it by, either from want of attention, or want of information. The proofs of what we have advanced lie in the Philoſophical Tranſactions of the Royal Society (13); from whence it appears, that he aſſiſted diligently in the execution of the moſt arduous ſervice on which he could be put by that learned body; that is, in anſwering clearly, cautiouſly, and circumſtantially, thoſe queries that were directed to him about the mines in Mendip-hills, and theſe alſo that reſpect the Bath; from which, becauſe they are very curious, we will make an extract in his own words, for the information and entertainment of the reader.

(13) Philoſophical Tranſactions of the Royal Society, No. xlix.

The country round this city is very hilly and uneven, but the hills lie in no order; they are generally rocky and ſteep from ſouth-weſt and by-weſt to north-and-by-north; the whole tract of the country, within five and ſeven miles, abounds with coal-mines, more or leſs. But there are no other conſiderable mines that I can hear of nearer than Mendip, which is ten miles hence, excepting ſome of lead, at Berry in Glouceſterſhire, which lies upon the north of this place about four or five miles diſtant.

The hills for the moſt part afford a free-ſtone, and on the north-weſt of Lanſdown, which has that ſituation to the town, and is juſt above it, the ſtones digged there are a ſort of hard ſtone, commonly called a lyas, blue and white, poliſhable.

The town and baths are of very great antiquity. Beſides what I find in very ancient chronicles to that purpoſe, one of our great antiquaries (Mr P.) aſſerts, that theſe baths were 800 years before Chriſt; which if ſo would

Frome for the rectory of Streat, with the chapel of Walton annexed, in Somerſetſhire, with Mr Richard Jenkins, M. A. (*n*). About the ſame time he was appointed one of the Chaplains in ordinary to King Charles the IId. (*o*). A perſon of honour and great fame, and for whoſe learning and univerſal accompliſhments our author profeſſes a high and juſt veneration, having preſſed him to reviſe and re-publiſh his diſcourſe on the uſefulneſs of Philoſophy, in the ſupport of true Religion, he took from thence an occaſion to review ſeveral other pieces of his, and together with one new diſcourſe, publiſhed them altogether in a volume, under the modeſt title of Eſſays; though in reality they might have been entituled his

(*n*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 663.

(*o*) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 351.

would give occaſion to enquire, how conſiſtent with it that hypotheſis concerning the cauſe of the heat of theſe waters would be, which makes it to be the fermentation of minerals *in fieri*; and whether it be likely that the minerals through which theſe waters paſs, ſhould be in that ſtate of imperfection ſo many hundred years; and that the whole diſpoſed matter in thoſe places ſhould not be perfectly concreted in ſo great a tract of time. You doubtleſs know the other conjecture, which ſuppoſeth the cauſe of this heat to be, that two ſtreams having run through and imbibed certain ſorts of different minerals, meet at laſt, after they have been deeply impregnated, and mingle their liquors, from which commixture ariſes a great fermentation that cauſes heat; like as we ſee it is in vitriol and tartar, which, though ſeparately they are not hot, yet when mingled, beget an intenſe heat and ebullition between them. This ſeems to me a probable cauſe of the laſtingneſs of the heat of of theſe waters. But it is not my buſineſs to offer hypotheſes; therefore, craving pardon for this digreſſion, I proceed in my account.

It is affirmed here, that the town for the moſt part is built upon a quagmire, though the places all about it very firm ground. Some workmen that have been employed in digging, have found a mine ten feet deep without the north gate, the higheſt place of the town at ſeven. The earth between is a kind of rubbiſh, ſometimes they find pitching a man's length underground, and paſſages for the water to paſs; ſeven or or eight feet down they have met with oyſter ſhells.

The town and country circumjacent generally abound with cold ſprings; and in ſome places the hot and cold ariſe very near each other: in one place within two yards, and in others within eight or nine of the main baths.

The guides of the croſs bath inform me, that when there is a great weſt wind abroad, ſtanding by the ſprings they feel a cold air ariſing from beneath; if the wind be at eaſt, and the morning cloſe, with a little miſling rain, the croſs bath is ſo hot as ſcarce to be endured, when the King's and hot baths are colder than uſual. In other winds, let the weather be how it will, this bath is temperate. The ſprings that bubble moſt are coldeſt. The croſs bath fills in ſixteen hours, both in winter and ſummer, without any difference from heat or cold, floods or drought. That of the King's in twelve or fourteen. A man may better (ordinarily) endure four hours bathing in the croſs bath, than 1 ½ in the others. In the Queen's bath, which hath no ſprings of it's own, but comes all out of the King's, they have found under a flat ſtone, which upon occaſion was taken up, a tunnel and a yielding mud in and under it, into which they thruſt a pike, but could feel no bottom. In the King's bath there is a ſpring ſo hot that it is ſcarce ſufferable, ſo that they are fain to turn much of it away for fear of inflaming the bath. The hotteſt ſpring will not harden an egg.

The bath water does not paſs through the body like other mineral waters, but if you put in ſalt it purgeth preſently. Upon ſettlement it affords a black mud, uſeful in aches, applied by way of cataplaſm, to ſome more ſucceſsful than the very waters. The like it depoſits upon diſtillation, and no other. Nor hath any more been diſcovered, upon all the chymical examinations that have come to our knowledge. One Dr Aſtendorff found that the colour of the ſalt drawn from the King's and hot bath was yellow; that which was extracted from the croſs bath white. This Doctor concluded, that the croſs bath had more of allum and nitre than the hotter baths, which abound more with ſulphur. And yet that bath looſens ſhrunk ſinews, by which it ſhould ſeem it abounds not much with allum. It is harſher to the taſte than the other baths, and ſoaks the hands more. A man cannot drink half the quantity of ſtrong drinks in the bath that he can out of it; but if he hath drank before to exceſs, it allays much, and is a great refreſhment to the body. The bath provoketh urine.

The bath guides live to a very great age, ſometimes to near 100 years, ordinarily, if they are temperate, to 70. There are two at this time above 80, a man and his wife. In the croſs bath the guides have obſerved a certain black fly with ſcaled wings in the form of a lady cow, but ſomewhat bigger. They ſay it ſhoots quick in the water, and ſometimes bites. It lives under the water, and is never found but in very hot weather: they ſuppoſe it comes up with the ſprings; it is not to be ſeen elſewhere. I had one of thoſe inſects ſent me laſt year, which I preſerved 'till I came to London, intending to have given it you, but I know not how I loſt it there.

The croſs bath eats out ſilver exceedingly; and I am told, that a ſhilling, in a week's time, hath been ſo eaten by it, that it might be wound about one's finger. The baths agree (as the vulgar ſpeaks) with braſs, but not with iron; for they will eat out a ring of this metal in ſeven years, when braſs rings ſeem to receive no prejudice at all from it.

When women have waſhed their hair with the mixture of beaten eggs and oatmeal, this will poiſon the bath ſo as to beget a moſt noiſome ſmell, caſting a ſea-green on the water, which otherwiſe is very pure and limpid; this will taint the very walls, and there is no cleanſing of it but by drawing the bath.

In ſummer the baths purge up a green ſcum on the top, but in winter never; but then leave a yellow on the walls. The walls that keep in the hot ſprings are very deep ſet and large; 10 feet thick and 14 deep from the level of the ſtreet. The cement of the wall is tallow, clay, lime, and beaten bricks In the year 1659 the hot bath (a bath particularly ſo called, of equal heat with the King's bath) was much impaired by the breaking out of a ſpring, which the workmen at laſt found again and reſtored. In digging they came to a firm foundation of factitious matter, which had holes in it like a pumice-ſtone, through which the water played, ſo that 'tis like the ſprings are brought together by art; which probably was the necromancy the people of ancient times believed and reported to have contrived and made theſe baths; as in a very ancient manuſcript chronicle I find theſe words, *When* Lud Hidibras *was dead*, Bladud, *his ſon, a great Nygromancer, (ſo it is there writ) was made King, and he made the wonder of the hot bath by his Nygromancy, and he reigned 21 years, and after he died, and lies at the new* Troy. And in another old chronicle it is ſaid, that King Bladud ſent to Athens for Necromancers to effect this great buſineſs, who it is like were no other than cunning artificers, well ſkilled in architecture and mechanics. It hath been obſerved, that leaves like thoſe of olives come ſometimes out of the pump of the hot bath.

What our author barely hints, as to the artificial conſtruction of theſe baths by the Britiſh King Bladud, who is reported to have reigned here before the coming of Cæſar; and that not by the help of Magic, but of an art far ſuperior, that of genuine Philoſophy, which, as Lord Bacon long ago obſerved, can only enable man to know and to command nature, may poſſibly deſerve the reader's attention; and perhaps it will not diſpleaſe him, if we refer to a very ancient poetical fragment, which the ingenious Mr Selden has preſerved from oblivion, and which (under the appearance of ſimple credulity) may very poſſibly conceal a greater ſecret than has been hitherto ſuſpected by moſt of it's peruſers (14).

(14) Commentary on Drayton's Poly-Olbion, under the Title of Illuſtrations on the third Song.

his Philoſophical Works(*p*), for theſe treatiſes ought to be regarded as his laſt and moſt mature conſiderations on the ſeveral uſeful and important ſubjects, which in the courſe of fifteen years had employed his thoughts, and exerciſed his pen (*q*); and therefore of theſe, as is very requiſite, we ſhall give a diſtinct and comprehenſive account at the bottom of the page [*O*]. In the ſame year that this treatiſe came abroad, which was 1676, he loſt his old antagoniſt Dr Henry Stubbe; who coming to attend ſome of his patients at Bath, and going from thence on a viſit to Briſtol, had the misfortune in his return, to fall from his horſe into a ſhallow river, where he was drowned; and his corps being afterwards interred in the great church at Bath, near the tomb of Biſhop Mountague, Mr Glanvill did honour to his memory in a funeral ſermon which he preached upon that occaſion (*r*). June 22. 1678, our author was inſtalled Prebendary of Worceſter, in the room of Mr Henry Greiſly (*s*), then lately deceaſed, which it is ſaid was procured by the intereſt of his patron and his wife's relation, the Marquis of Worceſter (*t*); but might as probably proceed from the kindneſs of that pious and worthy prelate, Dr James Fleetwood, then Biſhop of this dioceſe (*u*). This conjecture is the more reaſonable, ſince a little before he attained this which was his laſt preferment, he had publiſhed a diſcourſe concerning preaching, which was generally well received, and underſtood to be equally ſeaſonable and uſeful in diſſwading young gentlemen from that immethodical and enthuſiaſtical manner of haranguing, which had been the vice of the preceding times, and that affectation of wit and fine ſpeaking, which began to be faſhionable in thoſe times; inſtead of which, he recommended a plain and practical purſuit of the moral duties recommended in the Sacred Writings, as the true eloquence

(*p*) See the Preface to thoſe Eſſays.

(*q*) From 1661 to 1676.

(*r*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 568.

(*s*) Willis's Hiſt. of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 669.

(*t*) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 351.

(*u*) Godwin de Preſul.

[*O*] *At the bottom of the page.*] The title at large, if we may ſo ſpeak of a very ſhort one, runs thus:

ESSAYS *on ſeveral important ſubjects in* Philoſophy *and* Religion. *By* Joſeph Glanvill, *Chaplain in ordinary to his Majeſty, and Fellow of the* Royal Society. Lond. 1676. 4to.

To this work is prefixed a very polite dedication to Henry Marquis and Earl of Worceſter, in which he acknowledges his own obligations fairly, and at the ſame time applauds his patron highly for his generoſity, loyalty, hoſpitality, perfect œconomy of his houſhold, and ſincere regard for piety and religion, virtues ſtrange in other places, but which ſeem to have been, and what is yet more ſingular, are ſtill hereditary in the illuſtrious houſe of Beaufort. There follows next a ſhort preface, in which the author's reaſons for writing are aſſigned, and ſome ſhort account given of each eſſay. There are *ſeven* in all, the titles of which, for the reaſons that are aſſigned in the text, we will ſet down with a very conciſe view of their contents. I. *Againſt* Confidence *in* Philoſophy, *and matters of* Speculation. p. 33. The reaſon of putting the pages is to ſhew the ſize of each diſcourſe; for though they are digeſted into a volume, yet they are ſo printed as that they might have been publiſhed ſeparate. This firſt eſſay comprehends the ſubſtance of his Vanity of Dogmatizing, and of his Scepcis Scientifica, but diſpoſed into a better method, the ſtrain of reaſoning cloſer, the language more correct, and, in ſhort, the whole diſcourſe very much improved, and at the ſame time not a little curtailed. II. *Of* Scepticiſm *and* Certainty, *in a ſhort* Reply *to the learned Mr* Thomas White. p. 31. This is digeſted into the form of a letter to a friend, which not only comprehends whatever is inſtructive or material in the Defence which he publiſhed againſt Mr White's Sciri, but alſo a great deal of new matter brought into a narrow compaſs, which ſerves to illuſtrate the ſubject, and to ſatisfy without cloying the judicious and inquiſitive peruſer. III. *Modern Improvements*, or *uſeful Knowledge*. p. 56. This comprehends the ſubſtance of his *Plus Ultra*, freed from thoſe digreſſions and altercations which were of very little conſequence to the public, and the exciſion plainly prove the ſincerity of the author in the declaration made by him in the preface, that he engaged in quarrels very unwillingly, and quitted them as ſoon as he could. As it ſtands in this collection, there are very few pieces in our language that can enter into competition with it, with reſpect either to the pleaſure that it gives in the peruſal, or the improvement that may be drawn from it upon reflection. IV. *The* Uſefulneſs *of* real Philoſophy *to* Religion. p. 43. This takes in the ſubſtance of the treatiſe which he entitled *Philoſophia Pia*, which he was commanded by one of his patrons to reprint, and which put him upon reviſing his other pieces. V. *The* Agreement *of* Reaſon *and* Religion. p. 28. As to this, the author ſpeaks thus in his preface: It contains the ſubſtance of many thoughts and anxieties about that important matter in a little compaſs. My chief care was to ſtate and repreſent the whole affair clearly, which I think I have done. The ſubject hath been written on by divers ſince, who ſome of them have perplexed the matter again; others have added no one thought. They have written a great deal, I wiſh I could ſay to purpoſe. I know this freedom is capable of a wrong interpretation, but I am urged to it by a little vexation, that the pretenders to ſuch a ſubject ſhould afford me no advantage for the improving my conceptions on it. VI. *Againſt* Modern Sadduciſm *in the matter of* Witches *and* Apparitions. p. 61. Though this is the longeſt of all his performances, yet it is reduced as well as the reſt, in compariſon of the ſize in which it before appeared. It is alſo very conſiderably improved, inſomuch that even thoſe who differ widely from our author's opinion, cannot help owning, that he has ſet it in the faireſt light poſſible, and done as much towards throwing light upon ſo obſcure, ſo embarraſſed, and ſo diſagreeable a ſubject, as could well be expected, and even more. However, when it had again paſſed his pen, and was uſhered into the world, though ſtill under his name, yet with all the helps that could be given it by his friend Mr Henry More, the famous Bayle could not help expreſſing his regret, that men of ſo great parts ſhould employ their time, and beſtow ſuch incredible pains, upon a topic that could never procure any tolerable returns of approbation or applauſe. VII. *Antifanatic* Theology *and Free* Philoſophy. p. 58. This piece is entirely new, and is a kind of ſupplement to the philoſophical romance of the celebrated Lord Bacon. In it our author takes occaſion to cenſure, and even to expoſe the follies, abſurdities, and outrages, that followed from the prevailing ſpirit of Fanaticiſm during the Uſurpation. He has indeed painted them with great freedom, and with a boldneſs which ſhews him to have been very able in that kind of writing. He ſays, that the only good proceeding from this heterogeneous mixture of miſchiefs, was that ſalutary fermentation by which the minds of mankind were freed from their former prejudices, and wonderfully diſpoſed to receive that admirable ſettlement in Church and State once more, that had been ſo wantonly deſtroyed. This deſerves the more conſideration, as our author was a very ſincere, and even a zealous Proteſtant, tho' not at all inclined to ſeverity and perſecution. He had felt the inconveniencies of Enthuſiaſm, and he was very apprehenſive of thoſe evils that naturally fill up the train of ſuperſtition. In this diſcourſe he warns the reader againſt both, and points out to him the only remedy, which in his judgment is the adhering firmly to a Church equally rational in her doctrines, and moderate in her diſcipline.

[*P*] *As*

quence of the pulpit (w) [P]. He was himſelf a great preacher in this way, as appeared from many of his diſcourſes printed in his life-time, with other pathetical and eloquent exhortations to a religious and virtuous life (x), as well as other pieces that were made public after his deceaſe, of which ſomewhat ſhall be ſaid in the notes (y) [Q]. His laſt work, which hardly came from the preſs while he was yet living, expreſſed his ſincere and even zealous affection for the Proteſtant Religion, without any view to preferment, or temporal intereſts; ſince it is thought he would have been queſtioned if he had lived for that treatiſe, which without queſtion aroſe from the overflowings of his heart, and his pious concern for that Church, to the ſervice of which he had ſo long dedicated his labours. This performance however added much to his reputation, and made his loſs ſo much the more regretted (z) [R]. He was attacked in the autumn of the year 1680 by a fever, into which

(w) See Dr Horneck's Preface to his Remains.

(x) See an account of them in Note [Q].

(y) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 353.

(z) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 667.

[P] *As the true eloquence of the pulpit.*] The title of this little piece is conceived in the following terms: *An* Eſſay *concerning* Preaching; *written for the direction of a* young Divine, *and uſeful alſo for the* People, *in order to profitable hearing.* Lond 1678. in 12mo. Our author's name is not prefixed to it The imprimatur is dated Dec. 6. 1677.

This eſſay is addreſſed to Mr Charles Fountain. Mr Glanvill tells us, that he purpoſely kept himſelf from reading any other writers on this ſubject, that he might freely without biaſs give his own apprehenſions; but that ſince the papers were written and tranſcribed, he had looked over two or three of the chief of thoſe diſcourſes, and was exceedingly encouraged, by finding that his conceptions as to the main are not only conſiſtent but very agreeable with theirs. At the end of this eſſay, is a letter to a Member of Parliament concerning the ſtate of miniſters in corporations and great towns With this eſſay is likewiſe printed *a ſeaſonable* Defence *of* Preaching, *and the* plain way *of it.* Written by way of dialogue.

[Q] *Somewhat ſhall be ſaid in the notes.*] We are here to mention the titles of our author's ſmaller works, which conſiſted of

Several ſermons, as *A* Faſt *ſermon on King* Charles *the* Firſt's *Martyrdom*, on Rom. xii. 2. Lond. 1667. Catholic Charity *recommended, in a* ſermon *before the Lord Mayor of* London, on 1 Pet part 1. part of the 22d verſe, in order to the abating the animoſities among Chriſtians that have been occaſioned by differences in religion. Lond. 1669. in 4to. *An earneſt* Invitation *to the* Lord's Supper. Lond. 1673, 1674, 1677, in 12mo. *Seaſonable* Reflections *and* Diſcourſes, *in order to the conviction and cure of the* ſcoffing Infidelity *of a degenerate age.* Lond. 1676. 8vo. This conſiſts of four ſermons, viz. 1. *The* Sin *and* Danger *of* ſcoffing *at* Religion, on 2 Pet. iii. 3. 2. *The* Church's Contempts *from* profane *and* fanatic enemies, on Pſalm cxxiii. 3, 4. 3. Moral Evidence *of a* Life *to come*, on Matt. xxii. 32. 4. *The* Serious Conſiderations *of a future* Judgment, on Acts xvii. 31. He likewiſe publiſhed two diſcourſes, viz. *A* Diſcourſe *of* Truth, *by Dr* George Ruſt, *Biſhop of* Dromore *in* Ireland. And *The* Way *to* Happineſs *and* Salvation. Lond. 1677. 12mo. Theſe diſcourſes were printed in 1683 in 8vo. with this title, Two choice and uſeful Treatiſes; the one *Lux Orientalis*, &c. the other a *Diſcourſe of Truth.* By the late Rev. Dr George Ruſt, Lord Biſhop of Dromore in Ireland, with annotations on them by Dr Henry More. Theſe annotations are full as large as the diſcourſes themſelves. The title to the latter annotations on Dr Ruſt's diſcourſe runs thus: Annotations on the *Diſcourſe* of *Truth*; in which is inſerted by way of digreſſion, a brief Return to Mr Baxter's Reply, which he calls *A* Placid Collation *with the learned Dr* Henry More, *occaſioned by the Doctor's* Anſwer *to a* Letter *of the learned* Philothoriſt. *Wherunto is annexed a devotional* Hymn, *tranſlated for the uſe of the ſincere* Lovers *of* true Piety. Dr Ruſt's diſcourſe of Truth was afterwards printed in his Remains, collected and publiſhed by Henry Hallywell. Lond. 1686. 4to. Letters *to the Dutcheſs of* Newcaſtle. *A* Letter *to the Earl of* Briſtol, *with another to a* Friend, *of the* Uſefulneſs *of the* univerſal Character, *with the way of learning it.* This was never printed (15). Some *Diſcourſes, Sermons*, and *Remains.* Lond. 1681. 4to. with our author's picture before them. Theſe ſermons, which were in number eleven, were moſt of them printed before ſeparately. Dr Anthony Horneck was the editor of this collection, and placed before it a character of the author, the more to be depended upon becauſe he knew him intimately, and therefore could not be deceived, and becauſe he himſelf was a man of primitive integrity, and conſequently one who would not deceive others. Of this the reader will hear more in it's proper place; at preſent let us intreat him to conſider how many uſeful works this learned and worthy man publiſhed in leſs than twenty years, all devoted to the nobleſt purpoſes, ſuch as extending the faculties of the mind, right directions to the motions of the heart, and then he will ceaſe to wonder, that he triumphed over all oppoſition, even that which is laſt overcome by the learned, envy; and was as univerſally beloved, as for his generous public ſpirit and unbounded benevolence he deſerved.

(15) Thoreſby's Antiquities of Leeds, p. 535.

[R] *So much the more regretted.*] The title of this ſmall treatiſe runs thus:

The zealous and impartial Proteſtant: *ſhewing ſome great but leſs heeded dangers of* Popery, &c. *in a letter to a* Member *of* Parliament. Lond. 1681 4to.

There was a great warmth in this gentleman's writings when he was a young man, and we need not wonder that he retained it to the laſt, ſince he died before he was an old one. This was not however either an over-bearing fondneſs for his own opinions, or a bitter ill-natured furious zeal againſt thoſe with whom he differed; but the pure effects of his ſincerity, and that frame of temper which was natural to him. We muſt not interpret it here or in any of his other performances as the effects of reſentment, but rather as a proof of his being in earneſt. It is not eaſy to offer to the reader's conſideration a ſtronger argument of this, than obſerving, that he provoked equally both of the contending factions, ſtiled in his writings Fanatics and Papiſts. If he had been at all afraid of abuſe, he would certainly have avoided the one, if he had conſtantly attended to his intereſt, he would not have ventured upon the other; and if he had ſtudied his own eaſe, he would have declined both. But being as he really was a man of a free ſpirit, he firſt of all applied himſelf with indefatigable care to the ſearch of truth, and having found it, he became a bold and conſtant advocate for it upon all occaſions, and againſt all it's enemies. It was this diſpoſition that induced him to preach very pathetically, againſt what he took to be the reigning errors of the times, which were on one ſide an inclination to miſtake private opinions ſupported by conſtitutional fervour, for a kind of divine inſpiration, and conſequently placing religion too much in ſpeculative notions, without a due reſpect either to moral duties or to Chriſtian charity. On the other hand, a proneneſs to ſuperſtition, a willingneſs to prefer authority to reaſon, and an abſurd deference for the traditions of men, how irreconcileable ſoever to the word of God. Whatever calmer people might find of imprudence in this conduct, there was certainly nothing in it either mean or unworthy of a clergyman of the Church of England; and though it might ſometimes expoſe him to hard treatment from his adverſaries, yet without queſtion it recommended him to the regard and eſteem of well meaning and honeſt men. He ſuffered while living not a little from the reproaches of thoſe who thought he had deſerted them, becauſe he was bred amongſt them, and if he had not ceaſed to live at the very time he did, he would have run an eminent hazard of being perſecuted by the oppoſite party. Yet, as it generally happens in ſuch caſes, his memory was far from being injured from theſe remarkable indications of a mind equally

which, notwithſtanding all the care of his Phyſicians, he relapſed, and breathed his laſt in his own houſe at Bath, October the 4th, in the ſame year, about the age of forty-four. He was buried in his own pariſh-church on the 9th of that month, when the Rev. Mr Joſeph Pleydell, Archdeacon of Chicheſter, preached his funeral ſermon, which was afterwards publiſhed, and which, with Dr Anthony Horneck's character, did juſt honour to the memory of ſo good a man [*S*]. But as a farther teſtimony of the care of his family, and that in a place where he had lived ſo many years, and had preached with ſo much ſucceſs, there might be ſome monument dedicated to his memory, a decent tablet was erected, with a modeſt inſcription thereon, in the Abbey church [*T*]. He had two wives; the name of the firſt was Mrs Mary Stocker, and the ſecond, whom he left a widow, Mrs Selwin; but it does not appear that he had any children by either. He was ſucceeded in his Rectory of Bath by William Clement, of Chriſt-Church; in his Prebend of the cathedral church of Worceſter by Ralph Battel, A. M. of Peter-houſe in Cambridge; and in his Rectory of Streat with Walton by Charles Thirlby, Archdeacon of Wells.

GODDARD,

equally incapable of fear or of diſſimulation, and thoſe who had formerly treated him with a degree of rudeneſs, through a haſty ſuſpicion, that a removal from them was advancing ſo much nearer Popery, willingly acknowledged their miſtake, and approved his honeſt deſign in this treatiſe (16) to forewarn ſuch as were leſs attentive to the danger they were in from the artificial practices of the enemies to our conſtitution in Church and State; ſo that by this ſmall piece he ſeemed to have ſet a ſeal upon his religious principles, and to have ſhewn himſelf in every reſpect a conſiſtent member of the Church of England.

(16) See Mr Richard Baxter's ſecond Part of a true Defence of a mere Nonconformiſt, &c. Lond. 1680. 4to.

[*S*] *To the memory of ſo good a man.*] The worthy preacher of his funeral ſermon thus took his leave of the audience upon that mournful occaſion: 'I had once thought to have given you his character, but I am not aſhamed to tell you I found myſelf not able to do it worthy of him. And calling to mind a ſaying of one of the Roman Hiſtorians, I ſoon deſiſted from any farther attempt of it; who when he was reckoning up ſome of the great men of that age, Virgil and Ovid, Livy and Salluſt, and going to commend them, ſtops and concludes thus: 'Men of eminency, as their admiration is great, ſo is their cenſure full of difficulty.' Dr Horneck's character of our author is pretty long; we will therefore borrow from it only a few ſentences. 'The author of theſe diſcourſes (Mr Glanvill) as his wit lay out of the common road, ſo this genuine offspring of his fertile brain ſoars above the common level of eccleſiaſtical orations. Death ſeemed to envy the vaſt parts of ſo great a man, and in the aſcent of his age ſnatched him away, when the learned world expected ſome of his greateſt attempts and enterprizes. As he valued no notions that were mean and trivial, ſo thoſe he hath ſent abroad favour of more than ordinary genius. His ſoul ſeemed to be ſpun of a finer thread than thoſe of other mortals, and things looked with another face when they paſſed through the quicker fire of his laboratory. Some curious artiſts, though their work is materially the ſame with that of meaner artificers, yet the ſhape they give it, and the neatneſs of the fabrick, makes it ſeem a thing compoſed of different ingredients. Even the moſt obvious truths coming from our author received a greater luſtre, and that meat which familiarity made in a manner nauſeous to ſome nicer palates, when dreſſed with his ſauce, became more poignant, and conſequently more acceptable. His diſcourſes from the pulpit, as they were very ſolid, ſo they were (which is the grace and life of them) pathetic, and by his zeal and fervour one might gueſs how big his deſire unto God for Iſrael was that they might be ſaved. Though he met with diſappointments ſometimes, yet he remembered he was a Chriſtian, and as he was not without his croſſes, ſo he carried himſelf under them like a true philoſopher. His mind ſeemed to be ſerene when things went moſt contrary to his wiſhes; and whatever ſtorm the inconſtancy and fickleneſs of ſublunary objects threw upon him within, ſtill he felt a calm beyond that of Socrates, when the ungrateful Athenians ſent him the fatal draught to drink his death and ruin.' We might add many other teſtimonies to theſe, but it may be ſufficient to ſay, that able and worthy men of all Churches commended while they differed from him, which as it is a ſure ſo it is a very ſingular teſtimony of his extraordinary merit. Amongſt theſe the moſt eminent were the learned Mr White, a member of the Church of Rome; the celebrated Nonconformiſt, Mr Richard Baxter; the famous Peter Bayle; and Dr Meric Cauſabon, of our own Church.

[*T*] *With a modeſt inſcription thereon in the Abbey church.*] He lies buried in the north iſle, and on a large blue ſtone the following memorial is engraven, as we have procured it to be very exactly copied by a perſon on whoſe fidelity we can depend, who was at Bath in the ſummer of 1752.

Adverte Viator!
Deponuntur hic Exuviæ Joſephi
Glanvile, nuper Carolo 2do à Sacris; Wigornienſis Eccleſiæ Prebendarii; Regali Societatis Socii, & Civitatis hujus
Rectoris.

Qui poſt 42 inſumptos Annos, in Studio & Contemplatione, Verbi & Operum Dei, bis recidiva fatigatus febre ad Æternam Requiem aſpiravit
4 die Nov. 1680.

Uxor ejus ſecunda Margarita (e Selwinorum Proſapia)
Mœrens poſuit.

In Engliſh thus:

Turn thy Eyes hither, Paſſenger!
Here are depoſited the Remains
of Joſeph Glanvill, late Chaplain to Charles the ſecond,
of Worceſter Cathedral Prebendary,
of the Royal Society a Member,
and of this City Rector.

Who, after twenty-four Years,
conſumed in the Study and Contemplation
of the Word, and of the Works of God,
worn out by his Relapſe into a fever,
aſpired to everlaſting reſt
Nov. 4th, 1680.

His ſecond Wife Margaret, ſprung from the Selwyns
(of Glouceſterſhire)
Placed with Grief this Stone.

As this inſcription is to be found not in one but in ſeveral books, we ſhould not have given it a place here, but with a view to correct a ſtrange miſtake that has hitherto eſcaped without notice. This is the tranſpoſition of the figures 42 for 24. That this muſt be ſo appears from hence, that Mr Glanvill at the time of his deceaſe was but forty-four, as appears not only from Wood's account (17), but from a circumſtance mentioned in the dedication of the firſt book he publiſhed, as well as from the time at which he took his degrees; but more clearly ſtill from the conſideration of the date when rectified, which points to the year 1666, when he became Rector of the Abbey church at Bath; a circumſtance that puts the correction beyond all doubt, by rendering the inſcription clear and conſiſtent. E

(17) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 662.

GODDARD [Dr JONATHAN], a learned writer, an excellent Chemiſt, and a celebrated Phyſician, in the XVIIth century. He was the ſon of Henry Goddard, a rich ſhip-builder at Deptford; but was himſelf a native of Greenwich, in the ſame county of Kent, and born there about the year 1617 (a). We are not told where he received the firſt rudiments of learning; but it is certain, that in the year 1632, being then fifteen years of age, he was admitted a commoner of Magdalen-Hall in Oxford (b); where he continued until he was of ſtanding for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and then travelled for his improvement in the knowledge of Phyſic (c). After his return, having taken the degree of Bachelor in that faculty at Chriſt-College in Cambridge, upon the 7th of November 1640, he promiſed to obey the laws and ſtatutes of the College of Phyſicians London (d). Upon the twentieth of January 1642, he proceeded Doctor of Phyſic at Catherine-Hall in Cambridge, being then a practitioner in London (e), and December the twenty-ſecond following he was admitted a candidate of the College of Phyſicians, and afterwards elected a Fellow on the fourth of November 1646, and appointed to read the Anatomy Lecture March the fourth the enſuing year (f) [A]. He had then lodgings in Wood-ſtreet where Dr Wilkins, Dr Ent, Dr Gliſſon, Dr Wallis, Mr Foſter, with other learned and inquiſitive perſons ſometimes met to improve and cultivate the New Philoſophy, ſeveral of which company removed to Oxford where they purſued the ſame deſign (g). He was afterwards Phyſician to General Cromwell, and attended him firſt into Ireland and then into Scotland (h). On the ninth of December 1651, he was appointed Warden of Merton College in Oxford, by the parliament, upon the reſignation of Sir Nathaniel Brent (i), and January the fourteenth the ſame year, was incorporated Doctor of Phyſic in that univerſity (k). The year following Cromwell, who was then in Scotland, being Chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford, did by an inſtrument, bearing date October the ſixteenth, conſtitute him, together with Dr Owen, Dean of Chriſt-Church-College, Dr Wilkins, Warden of Wadham, Dr Goodwin, Preſident of Magdalen, and his own brother-in-law Mr Peter French, Prebendary of Chriſt-Church, or any three or more, of them to act as his Delegates in all matters relating to grants or diſpenſations that required his aſſent (l). And in 1653, Dr Goddard was choſen ſingly to repreſent the univerſity in parliament, and alſo one of the Council of State (m) [B]. Upon the ſeventh of November 1655, he was elected Profeſſor of Phyſic in Greſham-College in the room of Dr Winſton then lately deceaſed (n). He continued in his headſhip of Merton-College, till the reſtoration of King Charles the ſecond in 1660, when he was removed by a letter from His Majeſty, bearing date July the third; who claiming the right of nomination during the vacancy

(a) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. c. 537.

(b) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 270.

(c) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 537.

(d) Regiſtr. Col. Medic. Lond.

(e) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 537.

(f) Regiſtr. Col. Medic. Lond.

(g) Dr Wallis's Account of his own Life, prefixed to Langtoft's Chronicle, Vol. I. p. clxii.

(h) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 537.

(i) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. II. p. 86.

(k) Faſt. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 97.

(l) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. II. p. 439. Faſt. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 98.

(m) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 537.

(n) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 270.

[A] *The enſuing year.*] At this ſeaſon, by a happy conjunction of men of the greateſt abilities, the art of medicine began to be freed from thoſe falſe and fallacious notions with which it had been hitherto encumbered (1). It was quickly diſcerned, as ſoon as this reformation came to be attempted, that the beſt foundation which could be laid for the ſuperſtructure of extenſive knowledge and ſucceſsful practice was the thorough knowledge of Anatomy. That this might be rendered more clear and certain, the great improvements made a few years before ſet in a true light, and their conſequences rendered more apparent, were the great ends propoſed in Dr Goddard's lectures. As he undertook them with great chearfulneſs, ſo he performed them with equal alacrity and accuracy, diſcourſing in a rational and perſpicuous manner on the wonders of the human frame, and explaining to his auditors, with an eaſy and unaffected eloquence, the wiſdom of the ſupreme Being in the diſpoſition of the various parts of the body of man, ſuitable to the purpoſes for which he was created, and after which it is in vain to enquire by any other method than that of Diſſection (2). It was from theſe lectures that his great reputation took it's riſe, and therefore he carefully preſerved and fitted them for the preſs, as the indefatigable Anthony Wood informs us; and yet the public has not been hitherto ſo happy as to receive them from the preſs, though it is highly probable, that if he had not been taken away by a ſudden death, he would either have publiſhed them himſelf, or directed the publication of them after his deceaſe (3); for his learning was not more extenſive than his zeal for the ſervice of ſociety, and as his own knowledge was grounded upon reaſon and experiment, ſo he was always ready to communicate thoſe lights to others, which he would have wiſhed to have received himſelf; and to put poſterity into poſſeſſion of thoſe advantages which were derived to him from a natural ſagacity, aſſiſted by an indefatigable application.

(1) See Dr Goodall's Hiſtorical Preface to his account of the Royal College of Phyſicians.

(2) Regiſt. Col. Medic. London.

(3) Wood's Athen. Oxon.' Vol. ii. col. 538.

[B] *And alſo one of the Council of State.*] In the zenith of his fortunes Dr Goddard ſhewed himſelf a true patron of learning, and omitted no opportunity of doing kind offices to thoſe who ſtood in need of them, of rewarding ſuch as were conſpicuous for their merit, or of paying all poſſible reſpect to thoſe who were at that time the ornaments of the univerſity for eloquence or ſcience, and this without any diſtinction of party, having none of that narrowneſs of mind which was the common failing of the great men of thoſe times (4). This it was that engaged Mr Edmund Dickenſon, who was afterwards Phyſician to King Charles the ſecond, to dedicate to him that book, which was the ground-work of his reputation, in which he paid him very high compliments, and in very elegant Latin (5). He was alſo one of thoſe four eminent perſons to whom Dr John Wallis dedicated a celebrated work of his (6); but amongſt all the addreſſes of this ſort, was that of Mr Seth Ward, afterwards Biſhop of Saliſbury, and one of the greateſt men of that age. 'You, Sir, ſays he, excel 'in every kind of literature, profoundly verſed in Phy-'ſic, and in Natural Hiſtory, in what relates to Che-'miſtry the moſt diſtinguiſhed in the College of Phyſi-'cians, accurately ſkilled in all the learned tongues; be-'ſides all this, diſtinguiſhed and moſt ſucceſsful in the 'practice of Phyſic; deſervedly conſpicuous in the ma-'nagement of public affairs with the utmoſt prudence, 'and the higheſt reputation for integrity. In the Ma-'thematical Sciences alſo you have exerciſed your ta-'lents with the greateſt approbation, and long ago, 'the firſt, as far as my knowledge reaches, of the 'Engliſh nation, you contrived and wrought moſt ex-'cellent teleſcopes.' He then proceeds to his moral character, and commends him for his generous diſpoſition, his candour, affability, and benevolence to all good and learned men. Let us add, before we put an end to this note, that he was the firſt patron of honeſt Anthony Wood, who dedicated to him his brother's ſermons, which he publiſhed in 1655, and ſent it him to London bound in blue Turkey leather, with gilt leaves, as he has carefully ſet it down in the hiſtory of his own life, where, as Warden of Merton College, he always mentions Dr Goddard with marks of kindneſs and reſpect (7).

(4) See Wood's Dedication.

(5) Delphi Phœnicizantes, A. D. 1655. See the Article of DICKENSON [EDMUND].

(6) Matheſis Univerſalis, A. D. 1656.

(7) Life of Anthony à Wood, publiſhed by Thomas Hearne.

[C] As

vacancy of the ſee of Canterbury, appointed Dr Edward Reynolds, his Chaplain, and ſoon after Biſhop of Norwich, to be Warden of that college as ſucceſſor to Sir Nathaniel Brent, no notice being taken of Dr Goddard (*o*). After this he ſettled himſelf at Greſham-College, and was continued a Fellow of the College of Phyſicians by their new charter in 1663 (*p*), and being likewiſe nominated one of the firſt Council of the Royal Society in their charter the ſame year (*q*), he became very zealous and ſerviceable in promoting the deſign of that inſtitution. For being an accurate and experienced Chemiſt, he employed his elaboratory at the college, in trying, from time to time, many curious experiments for the uſe of the Society, as well as for making his own medicines (*r*) [*C*]. He was not barely an able and ſucceſsful Phyſician, but alſo a very conſcientious man in his practice, and exceedingly jealous of the honour of his profeſſion, which induced him to write two treatiſes upon a ſubject that muſt have been otherwiſe diſagreeable to him, and which, notwithſtanding, he handled with ſo much critical caution, and with ſuch an air of decency and dignity, as put it out of the power even of thoſe who were ready enough to find fault, to fix any cenſure upon them (*s*) [*D*]. Upon that diſmal deſtruction, which the greateſt

(*o*) Kennet's Regiſter, p. 197.

(*p*) Goodall's Royal Coll. of Phyſicians, p. 70.

(*q*) Bp Sprat's Hiſtory of the Royal Society, p. 137.

(*r*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 538.

(*s*) Stubbe's Campanella revived, p. 21.

[*C*] *As well as for making his own medicines.*] His reputation for Chemiſtry had riſen ſo high, that Anthony Wood ſeems to inſinuate, the Royal Society, at it's firſt inſtitution, was not a little obliged to him for the experiments made for their ſervice in his elaboratory at Greſham-College; or in his own rough expreſſion, when any curious experiment was to be done, they made him their drudge 'till they could obtain to the bottom of it. He did not however always labour for nothing, if it be true, which is very confidently affirmed, that he ſold the ſecret of making the Guttæ Anglicanæ, or Engliſh Drops, to King Charles the ſecond for 5000*l.* of which precious receipt this is ſaid to be a true copy (8):

(8) From a large collection of curious Receipts in ſeveral languages, MS.

'Take five pounds of human cranium of a perſon 'hanged, or dead of ſome violent death, two pounds of 'dried vipers, two pounds of hartſhorn, and two of *ivo*-'ry, mince the whole ſmall, put it in two or three re-'torts, and diſtil it in a reverberatory furnace, with the 'ſame precautions as are ordinarily uſed in diſtilling 'hartſhorn and vipers to extract their volatile ſalt. When 'the veſſels or receivers are cold, unlute them and ſhake 'them well, in order to looſen the volatile ſalt from the 'ſides of the veſſels. Pour the whole into a large glaſs 'cucurbite, and filtrate it through a brown paper, in or-'der to ſeparate the oil, which is here uſeleſs: put the fil-'trated liquor in a glaſs retort, with a ſand heat, and fit a 'glaſs thereto as a recipient; take care all things be well 'luted, and make a cohobation of the ſaid matters at 'three times; but by the way, add all the ſalt before 'ſeparated from the receivers, and after the ſaid three 'cohobations, unlute the retorts and pour the whole 'into a matraſs with a long neck, to which fit a ſuita-'ble capital and receiver, lute all the joinings on each 'with a wet bladder, and ſet the veſſel in a ſand heat, 'by this means the volatile ſalt will be ſublimed and 'ſtick to the capital and upper part of the matraſs. 'Continue the fire 'till ſpirit enough hath roſe to fuſe 'and diſſolve the ſalt which aroſe firſt, then take all 'the fire out of the furnace, that the diſtillation may 'proceed no further, which is a circumſtance of the 'laſt importance, without which the medicine would 'be weakened by too much phlegm. As to the doſe 'of this remedy, they begin with ſeven or eight drops, 'increaſing by degrees to forty or fifty on preſſing oc-'caſions, as in apoplexies, lethargies, weakneſſes, &c.'

The real compoſition of the Guttæ however is ſomewhat controverted. Dr Liſter aſſures us, that he had the ſecret communicated to him by King Charles the ſecond, and that it is no other than the volatile ſpirit of raw ſilk rectified with oil of cinnamon, or other eſſential oil. The ſame author aſſures us, he had found by experience that the Guttæ Anglicanæ, were not in any reſpect preferable to the common volatile ſpirits of hartſhorn and ſal ammoniac, except that the ſmell is more ſupportable (9). It will not always however be found expedient, to take the ſentiments of one great man of the ſame faculty in prejudice to the preſcription of another; and whoever conſiders what the honourable and learned Mr Boyle has written upon ſubjects of the ſame nature (10), will be inclined to think, that if there be any thing due to authority, it is at leaſt equal on the ſide of Dr Goddard. Let us alſo add, that theſe drops were not calculated for the relief of perſons in ſlow and chronical caſes, but in violent and acute diſtempers, when if their operation had not been certain and apparent, it is not eaſy to conceive how they could have gained their author any credit; and if they were, why it ſhould be taken from him.

(9) See the article LISTER [MARTIN], in this work.

(10) Boyle's Works, Vol. IV. p. 306, 316.

[*D*] *To fix any cenſure upon them.*] The title of the firſt of theſe two diſcourſes was,

A Diſcourſe concerning Phyſic, *and the many* abuſes *thereof by the* Apothecaries. Lond. 1668. 8vo (11).

(11) Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. xli. p. 836.

One author obſerves, that at the time of writing this treatiſe, the greateſt part of the Apothecaries were far from being poſſeſſed of that degree of knowledge, requiſite to fit them for the due execution of their own employment, notwithſtanding which they were very deſirous of invading that of the Phyſician, and of preſcribing as well as compounding medicines; an evil upon which he expatiates very largely, and ſhews with what prejudicial conſequences it is attended with regard to the art of Phyſic, the progreſs of which it retards, the credit of Phyſicians, which ſuffers often for other men's faults; and the patients themſelves, who while they ſeek to avoid expence, are brought into a condition that lays them under a neceſſity of parting with much more money than might have purchaſed health at firſt. The remedy he propoſes, as only capable of removing all theſe miſchiefs, is that Phyſicians make their own medicines. This he obſerves would in the firſt place make all cures more ſpeedy and more cheap, at the ſame time, that it would remove all fear of having bad medicines employed from a motive of gain, with reſpect to which, ſays he, no man having the intereſt would then have the power, nor any having the power could have the intereſt, to prepare medicines unfaithfully. In the next place he clearly demonſtrates, that this would be highly beneficial to the Phyſician, as it would bring to his ſight and knowledge many particulars that muſt otherwiſe eſcape them; he goes even ſo far as to tell them, that without having recourſe to this, or ſome method very like it, the art of Phyſic muſt remain where it is, as wanting the neceſſary power to proceed further. In ſupport of this he ſays, that Phyſicians in former ages were well acquainted with moſt things which they diſpenſed, mixed them with their own hands, and very carefully obſerved their effects, otherwiſe there had been no ſuch art as that of Phyſic; and from thence he infers, that the ſureſt and moſt certain way of extending this art, is to reſume this manner of proceeding. The peruſal of books, in his judgment, is very far from being ſufficient to give a Phyſician any true notion of the qualities, virtues, or doſes of the Materia Medica, becauſe theſe are taken upon truſt, and it is never reaſonable to depend upon other men's eyes and underſtanding, where we may employ our own. Laſtly, he inſiſts upon it, that it is the duty of a Phyſician, ſince without taking this precaution he can never be thoroughly ſatisfied that he has done, or rather that all has been done for his patient it was in his power to do, which if he cannot be, he acts a part unbecoming his profeſſion, below the behaviour of his predeceſſors, and unworthy of a liberal education. He ſuggeſts, that for want of this method, many excellent and efficacious medicines are kept as ſecrets, becauſe the inventors and owners of them are afraid of riſking their own reputations, by putting their receipts into the hands of men who have no other view than to get money, and who may therefore be tempted to pre-

pare

greateſt part of the city of London ſuſtained, in 1666, he quitted Greſham-College, as the other profeſſors did, in order to leave a place ſo convenient, as that is, by its ſituation to be applied to the uſe of the city, and for the management of public affairs (*t*). He proſecuted however, a very great variety of learned labours, with indefatigable diligence, and alſo wrought for the Royal Society, for which he had a tender affection, as having known it in embryo, as well as a high eſteem on account of that ſpirit of promoting uſeful knowledge which influenced all their proceedings, in ſupport of which he communicated to them a very ſhort diſcourſe on the art of making wine (*u*), which, how far it has been juſtified by future experiments will appear in the notes [*E*]. He likewiſe afforded them

(*t*) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 271.

(*u*) Bp Sprat's Hiſtory of the R. S. p. 193.

pare them in the manner by which they may get moſt money. Throughout the whole treatiſe there are interſperſed a great variety of phyſical and philoſophical remarks, and other curioſities, which will ever render it a very valuable performance in the opinion of candid and competent judges. It was alſo allowed at the time that the author's temper and moderation were as conſpicuous therein as his learning and abilities. His ſecond treatiſe upon the ſame ſubject bears the following title:

A Diſcourſe *ſetting forth the* unhappy condition *of the* Practice *of* Phyſic *in* London. *Lond.* 1669. 4to.

[*E*] *Will appear in the notes.*] When the eloquent Hiſtorian of the Royal Society undertook that important work, there is no doubt that his greateſt care was employed about thoſe ſpecimens which he produced of the Society's proceedings; and amongſt theſe we may ſafely affirm, there is none of greater importance than the following ſuccinct paper, which for it's manner, as well as matter, may be eſteemed a maſter-piece (12) in it's kind, and which bears this title:

(12) Hiſtory of the Royal Society, p. 293.

A Propoſal *for making* Wine, *by Dr* Goddard.

'It is recommended to the care of ſome ſkilful 'planters in Barbadoes, to try whether good wine may 'not be made out of the juice of ſugar-canes. That 'which may induce them to believe this work to be 'poſſible is this obſervation, that the juice of wine, 'when it is dried, does always granulate into ſugar, as 'appears in raiſins, or dried grapes; and alſo that in 'thoſe veſſels wherein acute or unfermented wine is 'put, the ſides are wont to be covered over with a 'cruſt of ſugar. Hence it may be gathered, that 'there is ſo great a likeneſs of the liquor of the cane 'to that of the vine, that it may probably be brought 'to ſerve for the ſame uſes. If this attempt ſhall 'ſucceed, the advantages of it will be very conſider'able; for the Engliſh being the chief maſters of the 'ſugar trade, and that falling very much in it's price 'of late years, while all other outlandiſh productions 'are riſen in their value, it would be a great benefit to 'this kingdom, as well as to our weſtern plantations, 'if part of our ſugar, which is now in a manner a 'mere drug, might be turned into wine, which is a 'foreign commodity, and grows every day dearer; 'eſpecially ſeeing this might be done by only bruiſing 'and preſſing the canes, which would be a far leſs la'bour and charge, than the way by which ſugar is now 'made.'

Upon this the learned Dr Shaw has made a very full practical commentary, which ſome time or other will in all probability produce the deſired effect, and put us in poſſeſſion of thoſe liquors by art, which have not been beſtowed upon us by nature. His words are theſe (13):

(13) Chemical Lectures, p. 119.

Thoſe who have never been in wine countries, or otherwiſe made themſelves acquainted with the nature and common preparation of wines, proceed in their judgment of them according to report, popular notions, and the immediate information of the ſenſes. Thus for inſtance, Red Port wines, to pleaſe the common palate, muſt be bright, deep-coloured, rough, rich, and racy, two or three years old, &c. and when this or any other notion comes once to be eſtabliſhed as the criterion of wine, the cooper is thence directed how to hit the general taſte, and make a ſaleable commodity. Upon the ſame foundation, Philoſophical Chemiſtry inſtructs us to imitate the wine-coopers, and from almoſt any ſweet and tart vegetable juice to make ſaleable wines, even Sacks, Mountains, Sherries, or Ports, all which, by the way, are uſually mixed liquors, though the baſis of them all is the juice of the grape. This juice of the grape being chemically examined and conſidered, proves to be no more than a large proportion of real ſugar diſſolved in water, with the addition only of a certain flavour in the juice of the grape according the vine. Whence we lay it down as an axiom, and the reſult of a careful enquiry, that a ſaccharine ſubſtance is the baſis of wines. For ſugar is not peculiar to the ſugar-cane, but obtainable alſo from grapes; and accordingly we often find large grains thereof in dried raiſins, particularly thoſe of Malaga, that have laid for ſome time, and ſweat together, whereby they run into candy, a ſaccharine efflorescence, and actual grains of ſugar. So again, it is cuſtomary in France to evaporate the juice of the grape 'till it becomes congulable in the cold, and in this ſtate to uſe it as a moiſt ſugar, under the name of Reſiné. And the ſame thing is to be underſtood as practicable in malt, or wort, and the ſweet juices of all vegetables that afford a wine by fermentation. Hence therefore we may derive a ſet of rules for boiling down, or otherwiſe procuring, the eſſential matter of wines in a ſmall bulk, and preſerving it ſound and ſerviceable for many years, in order to the making of all kinds of wines, vinegars, and brandies, even in countries where no vines grow. And this diſcovery alſo affords great light into the true nature and uſes of vinous and acetous fermentation. To illuſtrate and confirm this diſcovery by an example upon the footing of the preſent experiment, Take 2 C ½ of double refined ſugar; put it into a pipe or wine-veſſel of two hogſheads; fill the veſſel within four gallons of the top, with pure ſpring water; ſet it in a warm place or wine-vault; add three or four pounds of freſh ale yeaſt, or rather of new wine yeaſt, and the liquor in a few months time will ferment into a ſound, colourleſs, and flavourleſs wine, and remain ſuſceptible of any colour at pleaſure, ſo as with the ſtain called turnſol, to be made of the true claret colour, and with a little eſſential vegetable oil of any particular flavour required. And this is delivered as an experiment that ſucceds to great perfection, ſo as to ſhew a rational and practicable method of producing wines in the ſugar colonies, or elſewhere, that ſhall rival thoſe of France, Italy, or Spain; and if the nature of fermentation be well underſtood, the proceſs may be greatly ſhortened in point of time, and other advantages.

When Dr Goddard's propoſal is read by itſelf, it ſeems to be no more than a philoſophic conjecture, the certainty of which one may be eaſily led to doubt, ſince many things appear plauſible in theory, that will by no means ſucceed when attempts are made to carry them into practice; but when we adjoin Dr Peter Shaw's experiment, the caſe is put beyond all doubt, and the only ground of ſurprize that remains is this, that ſo little uſe ſhould be made of ſo important a diſcovery. Perhaps one reaſon may be, that both papers have been ſeldom read together, which was the principal reaſon for inſerting them here; and to this let us be permitted to add a remark or two more. In theſe warm climates grapes have not hitherto been brought to any perfection, with reſpect to making wine, yet they grow there naturally, their cluſters being very large, and finely flavoured for eating; whence one might be tempted to conceive, that by the help of Chemiſtry, an eſſential oil might be extracted, that would give an high, rich, and grateful flavour to the ſugar wine. It is very poſſible, that a few trials of this ſort, under the direction of a ſkilful perſon, might lead to an unexpected and unhoped for degree of perfection; ſince it is a matter of the utmoſt notoriety, that Madeira wine and other liquors are very highly improved, by being barely carried into that climate. Add to all this, that what Dr Goddard propoſed is founded in political as

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them many other and moſt uſeful communications, ſome of which are printed in their Tranſactions, and many more are preſerved in their Regiſters, which ſerve as monuments of his extenſive and various learning (*w*), juſtifying the high commendation given him by ſome of the greateſt perſons living at that time, and whoſe writings, as well as his own, will ever do honour to that age and this nation [*F*]. As ſoon as things were in ſome meaſure ſettled, and the public tranquillity reſtored, he returned to his lodgings and his ſtudies at Greſham College, where he continued to the time of his death, which was very ſudden and unexpected (*x*). He uſed to meet a ſelect number of his learned friends at a place in Bloomſbury, where they diſcourſed of philoſophic ſubjects, and in his return from thence on the evening of the twenty-fourth of March 1674, he was ſeized with an apoplectick fit in Cheapſide near the corner of Woodſtreet, and dropped down dead (*y*). He left behind him a very well choſen library of books finely bound, which he intended to have made a preſent to the Royal Society, as an addition to the Arundel library, but dying without a will his intention was defeated, and they fell to his heir at Law, who was his nephew by his ſiſter, at that time a ſcholar in Caius College in Cambridge (*z*), his body lies buried in St Helen's church, on the north ſide of the chancel near the rails of the communion table without any monument.

(*w*) See their titles in the Notes.

(*x*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 538.

(*y*) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 271.

(*z*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 538.

well as philoſophical reaſon; for, by this means we might gain what is now a foreign commodity, and run very little riſk of being rivalled by the French, who would hardly ſuffer their colonies to interfere with one of the principal branches of their domeſtic commerce

[*F*] *Will ever do honour to that age, and this nation.*] Beſides the two treatiſes already mentioned, and his anatomical lecture, which has never been publiſhed, our author wrote many other pieces upon different ſubjects, ſome of which were printed in his lifetime, ſome after his deceaſe, and ſome are ſtill preſerved in the regiſters of the Royal Society, and have not been hitherto printed.

Of thoſe printed in his life-time, excluſive of what have been already mentioned, there were but two.

I. *Some Obſervations concerning the* Texture *and* ſimilar Parts *of the* Body *of a* Tree; *which may alſo hold in ſhrubs, and other woody plants* (14).

(14) Regiſters of the Royal Society, Vol. I. p. 5.

The ſubſtance of this diſcourſe has been publiſhed by one of the ableſt and moſt ingenious writers in our language, with this juſt encomium upon our author (15). 'What I am about to add, ſays he, concerning the 'texture and ſimilar parts of the body of trees, which may 'alſo hold in ſhrubs, and other ligneous plants, is both 'a curious and rational account of their anatomization, 'and worthy of the ſagacious enquiry of that incom-'parably learned perſon, Dr Goddard, as I find it en-'tered amongſt other of thoſe precious collections of 'this illuſtrious Society.'

(15) Evelyn's Silva, Lond. 1670. fol. p. 159.

II. Experiments *of a Stone called* Oculus mundi.

This is a very rare, and, conſidered in that light, a precious ſtone, of which we find but very little ſaid, even by very accurate writers of Natural Hiſtory. It is an opake ſtone, in colour reſembling marble, or rather ivory, and when put into common water, becomes in no very long time tranſparent and full of luſtre, but when taken out, it very quickly recovers its former appearance. The great Mr Boyle thinks this may be accounted for by ſaying (16), that the water entering the crooked pores of the ſtone, rectifies them for the time, and ſo renders them pervious to the rays of light; and, in confirmation of his ſentiment, he appeals to theſe experiments of our author, whom he calls a learned member of the Royal Society; which manifeſtly proves, that the ſtone when thoroughly wiped, is nevertheleſs found by a nice balance to weigh more when it is taken out of the water, than when it was put in.

(16) Boyle's Works, Vol. II. p. 85. Vol. IV. p. 222. Vol. V. p. 95.

The following pieces were publiſhed after his death.

Obſervations of a Cameleon (17).

(17) Philoſophical Tranſactions No. CXXXVII. p. 930.

Experiments of refining Gold *with* Antimony (18).

Arcana Goddardiana. Theſe are ſome receipts publiſhed at the end of the ſecond edition of the *Pharmacopœia Bateana.* Lond. 1691

(18) Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. CXXXVIII. p. 935.

Experiments *of weighing* Glaſs-canes, *with the* Cylinders *of* Quickſilver *in them, according to the* Torricellian *Experiment.*

Theſe were read before the Royal Society, Aug. 6. 1662, and entered in their regiſters, and with other accounts of the ſame kind, afterwards printed in Dr Wallis's *Mechanica* (19).

(19) Vol. I. p. 185.

The following are entered in the regiſters of the Royal Society, but have not been printed.

A brief experimental Account of the Production *of ſome* Colours, *by a mixture of ſeveral liquors, either having little or no colour, or being of different colours from thoſe produced* (20).

(20) Vol. I. p. 3.

An Experiment of Exhalation *raiſed from* Water, *and returning to* Water *again* (21).

(21) Vol. II. p. 83.

About that time he likewiſe made ſome other experiments, relating to water, which may be ſeen in p. 93 and 97 of the ſame volume.

An Experiment of a Glaſs Tube *and* Quickſilver (22).

(22) Vol. II. p. 225.

By this experiment was ſhewn the preſſure of the air, by the adhefion of the finger to the orifice of that part of the tube from which the air had been expelled by the quickſilver.

A diſcourſe upon Eggs, *containing* ten *ſigns whereby to diſtinguiſh* new Eggs *from thoſe which are* ſtale (23).

(23) Vol. III. p. 8.

An Experiment to ſhew that Spirit *of* Wine *in a veſſel* exhauſted of air, *becomes* lighter (24).

(24) Vol. III. p. 18.

Obſervations upon the Experiments *of ſeveral* liquors *in a* tube *of about* thirty-ſix *foot in length, erected* perpendicularly, *in order to ſhew their* comparative weight (25).

(25) Vol. III. p. 60.

De mercurio Quæſtiones tres, *a* Johanne Baptiſti Signi, *medico* Florentino, *per* Joh. Bapt. Gorniani, *coram reg. ſocietate propoſitæ: Cum reſponſionibus medicorum* Londinenſium *quorundam ex eadem ſocietate* (26).

(26) Vol. IV. p. 65.

This was brought in by Dr Goddard, and read June 10. 1669.

An Experiment to ſhew whether the Muſcles *of an* Animal *in their* action, *are bigger or leſs in their* total *ſum of dimenſions* (27).

(27) Vol. IV. p. 95.

By this experiment it appeared, that the dimenſions of a muſcle are leſs in it's contraction than relaxation.

E

GODWYNE, GODWINE, GODWIN, or GOODWIN Earl of Kent, and alſo Earl, or Duke of the Weſt Saxons. One of the greateſt captains, and one of the ableſt ſtateſmen, of whom any notice remains in our hiſtories before what is ſtiled the Norman Conqueſt (*a*). His actions are repreſented in various and contradictory lights, by different writers, ſo that hitherto, whatever memoirs have been collected concerning him, are ſo dark, ſo embarraſſed, and ſo inconſiſtent, that it is very difficult, if not impoſſible, to frame any juſt notion of his conduct and character, which nevertheleſs appears to be highly neceſſary, towards underſtanding the true ſources of that great revolution,

(*a*) See Caxton, Cooper's Chronicle, Holinſhed, Speed, Daniel, Milton, Baker, Rapin, &c.

which happened in England, within a few years after his demiſe [*A*]. He was deſcended from an ancient noble Saxon family, and inherited a great eſtate from his anceſtors, and it is probable, he was Earl of Kent, before Knute or Canutus, the firſt of our Daniſh Kings, came to the throne, which the beſt authorities we have place in A. D. 1017 (*b*). In the third year of that prince's reign, his affairs making it neceſſary for him to return into his hereditary dominions, which were attacked by the Vandals or Swedes, he ſailed thither with a very numerous fleet, and a potent army, compoſed of Engliſh as well as Danes (*c*). The former were commanded in chief by Earl Godwin, and when they came into the field, and were encamped not far from the enemy, advice was brought to the King early one morning, that the Engliſh had left their quarters, and were either fled or had deſerted. Knute upon this advanced towards the enemy's camp, and ſaw with ſurprize, that it was abandoned, and none left in it but dead or wounded men (*d*). But he was quickly informed that Earl Godwin, taking the advantage of a dark night, had entered it ſuddenly, and tho' far inferior in ſtrength had routed the Vandals, and was then in purſuit of them. This gave him a very high opinion of Earl Godwin, and created ſuch an affection in him for the Engliſh nation, that he treated them ever after with the ſame kindneſs and cordiality that he did the Danes (*e*). On his return to England the next year, he rewarded Earl Godwin with very large grants, but it does not appear from any of our writers, whether it was before or after this expedition that he married the King's daughter (*f*); but tho' moſt of our ancient chronicles maintain the contrary, there are very ſtrong reaſons, which prove he had no other wife than this daughter of the King's, whom it is more than probable he married at the very entrance of his reign, when by ſuch alliances he fought at leaſt to ſtrengthen his own intereſt, and to blend in proceſs of time the two nations (*g*) [*B*]. The King went twice or thrice at leaſt after this

(*b*) Chronicum Saxonicum.

(*c*) Chronicon Johannis Bromton Abbatis Jornalenſis, col. 908. Chron. Saxon.

(*d*) Math. Weſtm. Annal. Hen. Huntingdon. Hiſt. lib. VI.

(*e*) Chron. Johan. Bromton.

(*f*) Hen. de Knyghton Canonicus Leycestrencis de eventibus Angliæ, col. 2333.

(*g*) Sax. Grammat. Adam Bremens, Polydor Virgil.

[*A*] *Which happened in England within a few years after his demiſe.*] The principal and eſſential point in all Hiſtory is truth; for without that, whatever there may be of elegance in the compoſition, or of weight and ſagacity in reflections, or whatever value it may have in any other reſpects, ſuch a work is not Hiſtory. A man of great talents, and one who is maſter of a fine ſtyle, may out of a few facts placed in bad order, and told in a very rough manner, frame not only a pleaſant and paſſable, but a very plauſible relation; which, if his materials in general be deſtroyed, will be received with poſterity for true Hiſtory. Or if a man who is a little more ſcrupulous, and has likewiſe a greater degree of diligence, ſhall aſſemble a large heap of materials, and reſolve to bring them all in, ranged in the beſt order he is able, though inconſiſtent and contradictory, his labours may alſo find acceptance with many, though it is impoſſible they ſhould ſatisfy the inquiſitive and well-judging few. Inſtances of both kinds may be found in the general hiſtories of moſt nations in Europe, but more eſpecially in our own; which, for this reaſon, in theſe early periods particularly, has been juſtly cenſured as incertain, dark, and perplexed (1). To avoid abſolutely theſe objections in the form of a General Hiſtory, muſt be a work of very great difficulty, or rather, to ſpeak freely and impartially, altogether impracticable. Our ingenious, judicious, and laborious Antiquary, Mr William Lambard, ſaw this, and therefore long ago fell into our method; that is, he framed an alphabetical catalogue of the principal articles in our Old Hiſtory eſpecially, and ranged under each head what he could collect concerning it out of ancient writers, with his own remarks, out of which he propoſed to draw ſeveral regular and correct pieces, in which things ſhould be repreſented methodically, and as near the truth as it was poſſible (2). Since his time we have, through the commendable induſtry of many great men, ſuch as Sir Henry Savile, Mr Camden, Sir Roger Twyſden, Mr Selden, Biſhop Fell, Dr Gale, Mr Hearne, and many others, recovered a multitude of ancient writers relating to Engliſh Hiſtory. But if this has added to the quantity of materials, it has added no leſs to that perplexity which was before ſo great and ſo formidable a bar, to the reducing the tranſactions of our anceſtors into a tolerable degree of order and certainty. The only way to come at this, is not barely to conſider what is ſaid by a multitude of writers of the ſame perſons and things, but to weigh the authorities of theſe writers, to conſider the reſpective advantages and diſadvantages under which they wrote, the viſible ſpirit and deſign of their writings, their ſeveral capacities for the taſks they reſpectively undertook; and, in ſhort, whatever elſe may contribute to diſtinguiſh where they deſerved credit, and where they ought to be rejected. If this can poſſibly be done, the likelieſt method of doing it is to take up ſingle threads, and to purſue them with as ſtrict an eye as may be, 'till we have freed them from beginning to end, as far as we are able, from all embarraſſments, and ſo as to produce them even and ſtrait to the contemplation and cenſure of proper judges. This is what, by way of inſtance, we have done with regard to Earl Godwin, the ſeries of whoſe actions deſerves to be traced with as much accuracy as any character whatever of like antiquity. The way in which we have traced it, is to place in the text the facts that are preſerved by authors of the greateſt credit, and who lived neareſt his own time, who conſequently had the beſt opportunities of knowing what they wrote, and who were the leaſt likely to deceive themſelves, or attempt to deceive others. In the notes we have occaſionally given an account of the authorities upon which we relied, of the facts which we have rejected, and the motives which led us to reject them, and have alſo added circumſtances that are diſcovered from the compariſon of facts, and which tend to eſtabliſh the credit and certainty of this great man's Hiſtory, as we have delivered it.

(1) See the learned Mr Bolton's diſcourſes upon the Engliſh Hiſtory, printed at the end of Trivet's Annals. Milton's Introduction to the Hiſtory of England; and Biſhop Nicholſon's Account of the Hiſtorians within this period.

(2) Alphabetical deſcription of the chief places in England and Wales, London 4to 1730.

[*B*] *And to blend in proceſs of time the two nations.*] There is nothing ſaid in the Saxon chronicle concerning the marriage of Earl Godwin, ſo that all that can be collected on this head is from writers of far leſs antiquity, which is the true reaſon of it's appearing ſo incertain and obſcure. Some ſay, that he married the ſiſter, others the daughter, of King Knute, but none of our writers mention the name of this lady (3). However, they are pleaſed to tell us, that ſhe was a very wicked woman, and that ſhe cauſed the handſomeſt children, but more eſpecially girls, that could be met with in England, to be ſtolen, and ſent over into Denmark, where ſhe ſold them, and accumulated thereby immenſe riches (4). They add, that ſhe was killed by a thunder-bolt, and that Godwin had had only one ſon by her, who, while a child, riding an unruly horſe, given him by the King, his grandfather, or uncle, into the river Thames, was there thrown into the water and drowned (5). After which Earl Godwin married another wife, of whoſe family there is not a ſyllable any where ſaid, and by her had ſix or ſeven ſons, and one daughter. But Polydor Virgil, following the lights given him by ſome of our ancient Hiſtorians, which are now loſt, and agreeing with foreign writers that are ſtill remaining, ſets this matter in a very clear and conſiſtent light; ſo much the more to be conſidered, as for for want of this key the whole ſtory of Godwin and his family, their great influence and unbounded authority, is very intricate, if not unintelligible; but this once known,

(3) Willielmus Malmeſburienſis de Geſtis Regum Anglorum, lib. ii. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I.

(4) Willielm. Malmeſburienſis.

(5) Hen. Knyghton.

this into Denmark, but whether Earl Godwin attended him or not, or whether he accompanied him to Rome, or in his expedition into Scotland after his return from thence, does not appear (*b*). It is moſt likely that he did not, but that the King left him in England, as one upon whom he could ſafely rely, and who in his abſence was able to keep the kingdom in peace. We aſſert this the rather, becauſe of the vaſt power he had, at the time of this monarch's death; which he muſt have attained gradually, as other great men died, or fell into the King's diſpleaſure, while he remained firm in his favour, and may be preſumed to have preſerved himſelf, partly by his ſervices, but chiefly by his alliance (*i*). On the demiſe of this monarch, Anno Domini 1036, there was an aſſembly held of all the great men in the kingdom, to determine whom they ſhould raiſe to the throne; in which Earl Leofric, and moſt of the governors of the countries north of the river Thames, and the ſeamen of London, were for Harold ſirnamed Harefoot, the ſon of Elgiva the daughter of Ælfem, Earl of Hampſhire, by the deceaſed King, for, as to the ſtory of his being a ſuppoſititious child, and the ſon of a Shoemaker impoſed upon the King by that lady, it is very improbable, from this circumſtance of his having ſo ſtrong a party amongſt the nobility, and his being at the ſame time ſo acceptable to the people (*k*). However this was vehemently oppoſed by Earl Godwin, and the Weſt-Saxon lords, who, tho' they could not prevail to ſet him aſide, yet they obtained in favour of the Queen Dowager Emma or Ymma, who had been the wife of Ethelred, as well as of Knute, that ſhe ſhould continue to reſide at Wincheſter, with the domeſticks of the King her ſon, and ſhould enjoy all the country of the Weſt-Saxons, that was under the government of Godwin (*l*). In this year moſt writers place the murther of Alfred, the eldeſt ſon of Queen Emma by King Ethelred, but of this there is not a word in the Saxon Chronicle, nor was it inſerted in any chronicle till after the Conqueſt, as is evident from what William of Malmeſbury ſays, that he took it upon common fame and would not warrant the truth of it (*m*). It is alſo plain that the murther of this prince was originally aſcribed to his mother; but after the Normans came in, the monks were ſo complaiſant as to diſcharge her of this heavy load, and lay it wholly upon the ſhoulders of Earl Godwin (*n*) [C]. The next year Queen Emma was baniſhed, and retired for ſhelter

(*b*) Chron. Saxon.

(*i*) Eadmeri Monachi Cantuarienſis Hiſtoriæ novorum ſive ſui ſæculi; Simeonis Dunelmenſis Hiſtoria.

(*k*) Chron. Saxon. Florent. Wigorn. Aluredi Beverlacenſis Annales. Abbreviationes Chronicorum Autore Radulfo de Diceto.

(*l*) Chron. Saxon. Sim. Dunelmenſ. Thomæ Sprotti Chronica, p. 71, col. 2.

(*m*) De geſtis Regum Anglorum, lib. II. Alured. Bever. Sim. Dunelm. col. 179. Chron. Johan. Bromton, col. 935.

(*n*) Annal. Winton.

known, becomes as plain and probable as can be. Canutus then upon the death of Edmund Ironſide, becoming King both of the Danes and Engliſh, fought to enlarge his intereſt, and to ſecure his family, by intermixing the two nations, as is ſaid in the text; upon which he married himſelf an Engliſh lady, the daughter of the Earl or Duke of Hampſhire, and gave his daughter in marriage to Earl Godwin, whoſe name was Thira (6), which the Engliſh altered into Githa, and thus ſhe was ſiſter to King Knute, that is to Hardecnute, or Canutus the ſecond (7). The reaſon why the monks after the Conqueſt were ſo extremely deſirous to confuſe and hide this matter, was to prevent poſterity from ſeeing what the nature of that title was by which Harold claimed the Crown; for if they had owned him to be the grandſon of Knute, or Canutus the Great, it might have been thought at leaſt as good as that of William the Norman, who was not deſcended either from the Saxon or the Daniſh Line (8). That Godwin married a Daniſh princeſs, was a thing too notorious to be denied, and that he had iſſue by her, might have been preſerved by tradition; but theſe being removed out of the way by the thunder-bolt and the ſkittiſh horſe, Harold, and the reſt of his children, were attributed to another wife (9). But as there is a fatality that attends liars, ſo we have an ancient abbey chronicle which betrays all this, and that by endeavouring to ſupport it. We have therein a moſt horrid picture drawn of Swayn Earl of Shropſhire (10), who is ſaid to have been one of the proudeſt and haughtieſt perſons of his time, fancying himſelf to be deſcended from Swayn King of Denmark; nor would he be perſwaded out of this, tho' his father, Earl Godwin, and his mother, Lady Githa, came and aſſured him, that he was their own child, and not of any ſuch lineage as he pretended. This ſilly tale is plainly grounded upon a tradition, that Earl Swayn, of whom we ſhall ſpeak hereafter, valued himſelf very much upon his being the great-grandſon of the Daniſh monarch of the ſame name, who made no inconſiderable figure in that conqueſt, which was afterwards finiſhed and compleated by his ſon Knute.

(6) Anglicæ Hiſtor. lib. VIII.

(7) Lelandi Collectanea, tom. I. p. 759.

(8) Churchill's Divi Britannici, p. 185.

(9) Will. Malmeſburienſis.

(10) Regiſtrum Wigorniæ in Biblioth. Cottoniana. Monaſticon Anglicanum, Vol. I. p. 133.

[C] *And lay it wholly upon the ſhoulders of Earl Godwin*] We have in another place obſerved, that the Saxon Chronicle is ſilent on this head, and, which is ſtill more extraordinary, takes no notice at all of this Alfred, ſuppoſed to be the elder brother of Edward the Confeſſor. Eadmerus, another Hiſtorian, who lived near theſe times, is as ſilent, and it is very improbable, that if he had ever heard or believed this ſtory, would have ſtiled Godwin, as he does, a magnanimous Earl (11). Walter of Hemingford, a man of judgment and veracity, in his introduction to his Hiſtory (12), ſpeaks largely of Godwin, but without the leaſt hint of this tranſaction. It is however true, that in the annals of Wincheſter, though this fact is not related at large, yet it is more than once mentioned, with inſinuations that Queen Emma and Earl Godwin were equally involved in it; but all this is to make way for the ſtory of Queen Emma's penance (13). Yet in that ſtory Robert Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in his ſpeech to the Biſhops, who are ſaid to have favoured the Queen, charges her, and her only, without any mention of Earl Godwin. His words are theſe: 'How can you have the confidence (ſpeaking to the 'Biſhops) to take upon you the defence of that beaſt, 'rather than woman, who hath ſo much detracted 'from the King, her ſon, and yet calls her paramour 'the Anointed of the Lord: ſhe offers herſelf to purge 'the Biſhop, but who ſhall purge her, who conſented to 'the death of her ſon Alfred, and prepared poiſon for 'his brother Edward? But if ſhe deſires to be acquitted, let her walk blindfold and barefoot over nine red-'hot ploughſhares, four for herſelf, and five for the Bi-'ſhops; and if ſhe eſcapes, let her be reputed innocent.' We ſee then, that according to this chronicle, the Queen and the Earl were both ſuſpected; but from the Archbiſhop's ſpeech, one would ſuppoſe the fault lay chiefly in her. Take the whole fact therefore together, and the Queen muſt be acquitted, in virtue of her purgation; but take that as it ought to be taken, for a fable invented by the monks, and to which no regard was paid by the beſt ancient Hiſtorians, and the whole buſineſs falls to the ground (14). This will appear ſtill the more clearly from the ſubject of the following note, which will ſet the true character of Godwin in a proper light, and ſhew that if he had great power and influence at this time, he uſed it well and wiſely; for ſurely he who ſet up Edward, might have ſet up his own ſon as eaſily, if he had been ſo ambitious as he is repreſented; or if he had apprehended any difficulty therein, might have dealt with Edward as he is ſaid to have done with his brother Alfred; but as he did neither, we ought in common juſtice to conclude, that his memory was much injured from a ſuperſtitious regard to

(11) Monachi Cantuarienſis Hiſtoriæ novorum, ſive ſæculi, p. 4.

(12) Chronica Walteri Hemingford de geſtis Regum Angliæ, lib. I. cap. I.

(13) Annal. Winton.

(14) Chron. Saxon. Eadmeri Hiſtoriæ. Will. Malmeſburienſis.

ſhelter to Baldwin Earl of Flanders, who gave her a retreat in the city of Bruges. But why ſhe went thither, rather than to her own country of Normandy, unleſs it was becauſe of the cloſe alliance between this Earl and our Earl Godwin, is not eaſy to diſcover (o). What ſhare Earl Godwin had in this monarch's adminiſtration, is not to be diſcovered from our moſt authentic hiſtory, but if there be any truth in what ſome writers ſuggeſt, that he was ever obliged to leave England (p), after the death of King Knute, this is moſt likely to be the time, neither is it improbable, that he might attend the Queen-Dowager, and return with her and her ſon (q). For Harold dying at Oxford on the 17th of March 1039, Hardecnute came with a great fleet to Sandwich a week before Midſummer, and was there received as King, both by the Engliſh and Danes, for which as the Saxon Annals ſay, they were but ill rewarded (r). But as to his cauſing his brother's body to be taken up and thrown into the Thames, and his proſecution of Earl Godwin, for his cruelty towards his brother (s), thoſe Annals are entirely ſilent, and it may be with good reaſon, of which the reader will meet with ſome proofs in the notes [D]. The next year his brother Edward came over from Normandy, and ſeems to have remained at court till the death of the King, which happened on the eighth of June 1041, at Lambeth at a wedding (t), thro' drunkenneſs, as ſome writers ſay; and, as others ſuggeſt, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon (u). However it happened a great confuſion enſued, for tho' but half a Dane himſelf, yet having been educated and reigning in that country, during the life of his brother Harold, he was entirely addicted to their cuſtoms, had a great confidence in them, and levied exorbitant ſums upon his Engliſh ſubjects for their profit (w). This incenſed the nation to ſuch a degree, that they unanimouſly declared they would exclude the whole line of Knute, and never ſuffer any Dane to bear the regal title in this kingdom. They alſo expelled the Danes wherever they were ſettled, and obliged them to return home, reſolving to convert the day of the King's death into an anniverſary feſtival, for the extinction of the Daniſh tyranny in England (x). In this perilous ſituation of things, Edward the ſon of King Ethelred and Queen Emma, neither of whom were at all beloved by the people, was under great anxiety and terror (y). He was naturally of a timorous diſpoſition, and, according to the beſt accounts we have, ſo little ambitious, or at leaſt had ſo little hope of ſucceeding his brother, that the care of his own ſafety occupied all his thoughts. It was with this view, that with the greateſt teſtimonies of fear and diſtreſs, he applied himſelf to Earl Godwin, as the only perſon who could protect him, and procure him a ſafe paſſage into Normandy, which was all he deſired (z). Upon his propoſing this to that Earl, who received him with all imaginable marks of kindneſs and tenderneſs, he told him, it was a notion unworthy of his blood and birth, that he was the ſon of a King, and of a Queen, that he was arrived at a mature age, was of a mild and peaceable diſpoſition, very capable, if he would apply his thoughts to the adminiſtration of public affairs, of repairing the miſchiefs the nation had ſo long ſuffered; and that at all events, it was infinitely more glorious for him to live a King in his own, than a wretched and miſerable exile in a foreign country (a). By theſe and other diſcourſes of this ſort, Edward was prevailed upon not to act himſelf, but to ſuffer Godwin to act as he thought proper, who in a meeting of the nobility, held at Gillingham, by the diſplay of that eloquence for which he was ſo famous, and thro' the influence he had upon the minds of the nobility, procured Edward to be choſen, which choice was afterwards confirmed at London, where he was declared King (b). As there was a great ſcarcity of proviſions that year, and a prodigious mortality amongſt the cattle, the ceremony of

(o) Chron. Saxon. Henrici Huntindonienſis Hiſtoria lib. VI. Willielm. Malmeſburienſis de Geſtis Regum Anglorum, lib. II.

(p) Chron. Saxon. Johan. Bromton, Florent. Wigorn.

(q) Johan. Bromton. Rogeri de Hoveden. Annal.

(r) Chron. Saxon. Willielm. Malmeſburienſis. Rogeri de Hoveden.

(s) Math. Weſtm. Annal. Sim. Duneim. Hen. Knyghton.

(t) Chron. Saxon. Sim. Duneim. Willielm. Malmeſburienſis. Rogeri de Hoveden.

(u) Johan. Bromton. H. Huntingdon.

(w) Chron. Saxon.

(x) Johanni Roſſi Hiſtoria regum Angliæ.

(y) Annal. Winton. in Biblioth. Cottoniana, ſub effigie Domitiani, A. 13.

(z) Will. Malmeſburienſis.

(a) Chron. Antiq. in Bibliotheca Cottoniana ſub effigie Othonis, D. 7.

(b) Ailredus Abbas Rievallis de vita & miraculis Edwardi Confeſſoris. Will. Malmeſburienſis.

to the fame of Edward the Confeſſor, one of the weakeſt, none of the mildeſt of our monarchs, and whoſe beſt title to the throne aroſe from the affection of Earl Godwin to the Saxon Line.

[D] *With ſome proofs in the notes.*] If Queen Emma ſuffered under her ſon, Edward the Confeſſor, for being an accomplice at leaſt in the murther of his brother; Earl Godwin, if we will believe Simeon of Durham, and other writers, had been both purged and puniſhed for it before (15). King Hardecnute, ſay they, was no ſooner ſeated on the throne, than Alfric, Archbiſhop of York, charged Earl Godwin and Biſhop Living with having conſpired the death of Prince Alfred; upon which charge the Biſhop was convicted, and removed from his Biſhoprick, but reſtored ſome time after for a ſum of money. Earl Godwin had ſhared the ſame fate if he had not pacified the King by a preſent of a moſt magnificent galley, which had a ſtern gelt with gold, manned by eighty choſen ſoldiers, having gold bracelets on their arms, weighing ſixteen ounces each, and the reſt of their arms ſuitable. But all this would not have done, if the Earl had not taken his oath, that what he did, he did by the expreſs command of King Harold; ſo that he was the inſtrument only, and not the contriver, of this tragedy. This King might indeed very readily credit him almoſt without an oath, if we could believe it true, that he was one of thoſe, who by this King's order had dug up his brother's body, and after cutting off the head, had thrown it into the Thames (16). But farther ſtill, if there was the leaſt truth in this, Queen Emma muſt have been abſolutely innocent; and after this open enquiry and trial, Edward the Confeſſor could not be at all in the dark about the death of his brother; for which notwithſtanding, he is not only ſaid to have put his mother to her purgation, but even after her death to have brought Earl Godwin to a new trial for this fact, and that in a ſolemn manner, before his Peers; which ſo great a man as Mr Selden believed to be true (17), and cites it as the original of ſuch kind of proceedings in Parliament. But how ſtrange after all this muſt it appear, that there is not a word of theſe three trials, any more than of the murther of Alfred, in the Saxon Annals, in the Hiſtory of Eadmerus, or in any other author of equal credit. The judicious reader therefore will not wonder, that we conſider them all in the ſame light, as the inventions of later times, and ſubject, like all invented hiſtories, to ſuch variations and abſurdities, as plainly ſhew them to ſuch as will be at the pains to compare and conſider them, to be but mere inventions, which ought to have been long ago exploded from our Hiſtories.

(15) Simeonis Dunelmenſis Hiſtoria. Lelandi Collectanea, tom. I. p. 759.

(16) Johan. Bromton, col. 936. Hen. Knyghton, col. 2326. Math. Weſtm. Annal.

(17) Titles of Honour, p. 525.

the Coronation was put off to the next ſpring, when the King was inaugurated with great ſolemnity at Wincheſter upon Eaſter-Day, which happened that year upon the eleventh of April (*c*). What we have ſaid is taken chiefly from Malmeſbury, a very diligent, and, for the times in which he lived, a very learned Hiſtorian. But ſurely if any credit be due to our ancient Abbey chronicles, that of Wincheſter (*d*) claims it as to this fact, and therefore the reader will find the account of this tranſaction literally tranſlated from thence at the bottom of the page [*E*]. Upon this occaſion Archbiſhop Eadſig preached the firſt Coronation ſermon of which we have any remembrance preſerved, and therein very freely told both the King and the people their duty (*e*). The ſame year, that is A D. 1042, the King reunited to his Domain, the lands which his mother Queen Emma had held, and took from her all the treaſures ſhe had amaſſed, becauſe he thought ſhe had treated him unkindly while under his misfortunes (*f*). In ſome ancient chronicles this

(*c*) Chron. Saxon. Alured. Beverlacenſis, p. 59. Sim. Dunelm. col. 179.

(*d*) Annal. Winton. ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Chron. Saxon.

(*f*) Annal. Winton. Chron. Saxon. Rogeri de Hovedon.

[*E*] *At the bottom of the page.*] We hope in this note to ſatisfy the reader, in as great a degree as the nature of this attempt will admit, that we have truth on our ſide, and that in vindicating the character of Earl Godwin, againſt the current of our common hiſtories, we have done what it became us to do, in ſupport of truth, in regard to the memory of the dead, and in juſtice to poſterity. We have ſuggeſted, that our ancient abbey chronicles were altered and interpolated after the Conqueſt, and that amongſt many other reaſons which might be mentioned, the Saxon chronicle deſerves the utmoſt reſpect, becauſe it has viſibly ſuffered leſs in this reſpect than almoſt any other (18). We promiſed the reader in this note to prove from the ancient chronicle of the church of Wincheſter, that Edward the Confeſſor was raiſed to the throne purely by the favour and aſſiſtance of Earl Godwin; we ſhall prove this, and make good the obſervations before-mentioned at the ſame time. There is, or at leaſt there was, in the Cotton Library, an ancient copy of the annals (19) before-mentioned, ending in the year 1086, and from thence we will literally tranſlate this curious paſſage: 'The King being dead, (Hardecnute) the 'care of the kingdom, with the conſent of the Queen 'and the council of the Nobles, was committed to 'Earl Godwin, 'till a perſon worthy of that dignity 'ſhould be elected King. Edward, the ſon of Emma, 'being at that time in a woful condition, three Dukes of 'Normandy, his relations, two Richards and a Robert 'being dead, had no friend in that country, William, 'the ſon of Robert, a youth, being at that time with the 'King of France. Having no reaſon to hope ſo much as 'a ſpark of pity from his mother in this deſperate ſtate, 'thought it ſafer to ſupplicate an open enemy, than 'to apply to a pretended friend; leaving therefore 'Normandy, and ſailing into England, when he had 'landed at Southampton, avoiding his mother, who 'was then at Wincheſter, he went directly to Godwin, 'at London, a man ſuppoſed to be no friend to him, 'and to have been the murderer of his brother. There 'one morning very early getting into his bed-chamber, 'he proſtrated himſelf upon the ground, with his arms 'ſtretched out in the very form of a croſs before God-'win, who was but juſt awake. To whom Godwin ſaid, 'Who, and what wretch art thou, and what would 'thou have? Stand up, that I may ſee thee To this 'anſwered Edward, I am indeed a poor ſervant of 'thine, who, without any fault of my own, have been 'an exile even from my youth; ſave, I beſeech thee, 'my life; and then burſt out into a violent flood of 'tears. Godwin, extremely moved with the tears and 'miſery of this ſupplicant, promiſed him, with an 'oath, that he ſhould be ſafe. Riſe, riſe, (ſaid he) 'and doubt not of ſecurity; by the face of St Luke, 'thou ſhalt not die: be not afraid to truſt me with thy 'ſecret, whoever thou art. To this he replied, I am 'Edward, the youngeſt ſon of Ethelred; let me, I be-'ſeech thee, find favour in thy ſight. For thy own 'good, returned Godwin, haſt thou come to me, and 'what I have ſworn ſhall not be in vain. I will be to 'thee a father, and thou ſhalt be to me a ſon. Only 'ſwear to me, by God and thy own ſoul, that thou 'wilt take my daughter to wife, and ſuffer me to re-'main the firſt man in the kingdom, and I will give 'to thee the realm of England. He having ſworn, 'Godwin kiſſed him, and commanded him to go be-'fore him to Wincheſter, and not to make himſelf 'known to any man, nor even to his mother. Edward 'therefore came in a mean habit to Wincheſter, and 'eat ſometimes in his mother's Court, ſometimes in 'the houſe of the Biſhop, but unknown, while in the 'mean time he diligently endeavoured to find out their 'ſentiments. In the mean time Godwin ſummoned 'all the Nobility to attend the Queen at Wincheſter, in 'order to proceed to the choice of a King; and there 'accordingly they met in the epiſcopal church. God-'win ſat on the Queen's left hand, becauſe the Arch-'biſhop ſat on the right, having Edward at his feet, 'with his hood over his face. After having explained 'his intentions in a long ſpeech, he put his hand upon 'the head of Edward, the Queen knowing nothing of 'the myſtery, lifted him up, and ſhewing him to all 'the aſſembly, who were extremely ſurprized, Behold, 'ſaid he, your King. This is Edward, the Son of 'this Queen Emma, and of Ethelred, King of the 'Engliſh nation. Him I elect for King, and to him 'I firſt do homage. After ſome diſputes the election 'was conſented to, though it diſpleaſed many; but at 'that time there were none who durſt openly oppoſe 'Godwin.'

'This, though it might ſuffice for our purpoſe at preſent, ſhall not be all that we will quote from this chronicle, for what follows may very probably be as entertaining to the reader, as ſhewing what the general ſenſe of men was in thoſe times. 'Edward, ſon of Ethel-'red, King of England, thus elected, was crowned 'alſo at Wincheſter. He took to wife Weditha, but 'both of them preſerved their virginity. He honoured 'Godwin above all men; as for his mother, he neither 'reverenced nor deſpiſed her in public. Many there 'were who had befriended him in exile, that came to 'him from Normandy; amongſt theſe was one Robert, 'whom in proceſs of time he made firſt Biſhop of 'London, and afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury. 'Edward had his mind ſo tainted by the invidious ſug-'geſtions of this Archbiſhop, that he grew at length 'to ſuch bitterneſs, as to expel Earl Godwin, who had 'made him King, and whoſe daughter he had married, 'from his councils; and having deſpoiled him and his 'family of their honours, beſtowed them among their 'enemies. He took from Queen Emma, his mother, 'all that ſhe poſſeſſed, and cauſed her to be confined 'in the abbey of Werewell, where he allowed her a 'very ſcanty ſubſiſtence. Alwine, Biſhop of Wincheſter, 'who was ſaid to be familiar with his mother, he 'ſtripped of his patrimonial eſtate, and forbid him, 'upon pain of death, to ſet his foot without the city 'of Wincheſter.' This, if it be true, or if it comes any thing near the truth, ſhews what great obligations Edward, ſurnamed the Confeſſor, lay under to Earl Godwin, and there is no doubt that paſſages of the like kind were found in other chronicles of thoſe days; in which, though they have tolerably eſcaped later revolutions, they are now wanting, and in many of them things are inſerted that are utterly inconſiſtent with them; yet they appear to have had ſuch weight with William of Malmeſbury (20), that it is plain he took the ſubſtance of them into his book; but this was purely the effects of his own diligence and good ſenſe; for other Hiſtorians of that time adopted the common notions out of reſpect for the Normans; for it was out of compliment to them that theſe alterations were made; and if the Saxon chronicle, and this of Wincheſter, had not eſcaped, William of Malmſbury's account would have run the hazard of being thought of his own invention.

(18) See the learned Biſhop Gibſon's excellent preface, prefixed to his edition of that Chronicle.

(19) Sub effigie Domitiani, A. 23.

(20) De Geſtis Regum Anglorum, lib. II.

this is ſaid to have been done by the advice of Earl Godwin, and Biſhop Living, the ſucceeding times a long ſtory was told of the Queen's being ſuſpected of too much familiarity with Alwin then Biſhop of Wincheſter; and that the Earl charged both her and him with being the authors of prince Alfred's death, and the Queen with an attempt to poiſon Edward himſelf, upon which having paſſed the trial of the Ordeal, ſhe in memory of the nine burning plough-ſhares, over which ſhe went blindfold unhurt, gave nine manors to the church of Wincheſter, and was thereupon reſtored to the King's favour (*g*). But of all this, not a word in the Saxon Annals, in the hiſtory of Eadmerus, or in William of Malmeſbury. As for thoſe who penned the annals probably they never heard of it, and for the other two writers, they had more ſenſe and regard to veracity, than to ſet it down if they did. A. D. 1043, Archbiſhop Eadſig being very infirm, intreated the King that he might reſign his ſee to Siward Abbot of Abington, which, at the inſtance of Earl Godwin, he was permitted to do; and it is ſaid in the annals (*b*), that this affair was tranſacted with much ſecrecy, becauſe the Archbiſhop apprehended, if his intention was publickly known, ſome perſon of leſs probity and learning would by dint of intereſt or of money (theſe are the very words in the chronicle) have thruſt himſelf into the See. The ſame year the King married Egitha, which ſome have ſoftened into Editha, the daughter of Earl Godwin, a lady not only of great beauty and piety, but of conſiderable learning alſo, and a great encourager of it in others, as Ingulphus of his own knowlege and experience, as having participated of her bounty, acknowledges (*i*). But the King, either out of ſecret hatred to her father, as ſome ſay (*k*), or from an unreaſonable and unwarrantable zeal for chaſtity, as others aſſert, never lived with her as a wife (*l*), tho' nothing of this appears in the Annals, and Malmeſbury, who mentions both cauſes as we do doubtfully, very roundly declares afterwards, that he will not anſwer for the fact (*m*). In 1045, Earl Swayn, one of Godwin's ſons, left the kingdom, and retired to Flanders, on account, as we are told, of his violating the chaſtity of an Abbeſs (*n*). The next year, the King being at Sandwich, with a great fleet to repel the Daniſh pirates that waſted the coaſt, Earl Swayn came thither to him, and had prevailed upon the King to reſtore him to his honours and eſtate; but that his own brother Harold, and his couſin Beorn, hindered it, aſſuring the King that he was unworthy of his mercy, upon which he had four days time given him to retire (*o*). He not long after met with his father and his couſin Beorn at ſea, and having got the latter on board his ſhip, carried him away to the iſland of Axmouth and there murthered him, of which his relations at London having notice, and of the church where he was interred, they removed his corps to Wincheſter, and buried it there by that of his uncle King Knute (*p*). In 1047 there was a great council held at London, and ſoon after the King pardoned Earl Swayn (*q*). This year died Archbiſhop Eadſig, who upon the demiſe of Siward had reſumed his See, to which upon this vacancy the King promoted Robert, who was a Norman, and who was ſuſpected, as Malmeſbury obſerves, to have infuſed into the King's boſom, a jealouſy and hatred of Earl Godwin, which quickly broke out with great fury upon the following occaſion (*r*). Euſtace Earl of Boloigne, who had married the King's ſiſter, came over to make him a viſit, and in his return paſſing from Canterbury to Dover, he ſent ſome of his retinue, when he was within a mile of the place, to take up quarters for him, in which behaving themſelves very rudely, and one of them attempting to thruſt himſelf into a houſe without the owner's leave, wounded him, upon which the townſman killed him in his own defence. This ſo provoked Earl Euſtace, that he broke into the man's houſe, and not ſatisfied with killing him would have puniſhed others, which excited a great tumult, wherein more than twenty of the townſmen were killed, and nineteen of his own people (*s*). Upon this, with the few that were left, he fled to the King, and told him a lamentable ſtory, laying all the fault on the town's people, to which the King too readily yielding belief, diſpatched his orders to Earl Godwin not to hear, but to puniſh the people of Dover. The Earl, who as the Annals ſay, thought it hard to be made the deſtroyer of thoſe who were under his protection, delayed going, and inſinuated to the King that it would be right to hear both ſides (*t*). About this time the Welſh having invaded Herefordſhire, which was within the limits of Earl Swayn's government, plundered the country and built a fort there; the King ſummoned the nobility to Glouceſter, but Earl Godwin and his ſons, who thought that force was beſt repelled by force, had aſſembled a great army, and were upon the point of attacking the Welſh, when they were ſummoned to attend the King at this council; for the Welſhmen had applied to Edward, and made him believe that they were not the aggreſſors in this buſineſs, but that Earl Godwin and his aſſociates had aſſembled theſe forces for bad purpoſes (*u*). The King having with him Earl Siward, Earl Leofric, and moſt of the nobility in the northern parts of his kingdom about him, endeavoured to induce them to act againſt Earl Godwin, and thoſe of his party. The Earl and his ſons having notice of this, remained firm, notwithſtanding, tho' ſuch as were with them thought it a grievous thing, as the Saxon Annals ſay, to act againſt their prince (*w*); but Malmeſbury with great probability affirms, that Earl Godwin gave poſitive orders to his army not to act offenſively, but to repel force by force, in caſe they were attacked. However, if more moderate counſels had not interfered, a civil war had certainly enſued. The nobility about the King having prevailed upon

(*g*) Annal. Winton. Thomæ Rudborn. Hiſt. Winton. Rogeri de Hoveden.

(*b*) Chron. Saxon.

(*i*) Chron. Saxon. Ingulphi Hiſtoria. Will. Malmeſburienſis.

(*k*) Ailredus Rievallis.

(*l*) Will. Malmeſburienſis. Sim. Dunelm.

(*m*) De Geſtis Regum Anglorum, lib. II.

(*n*) Chron. Saxon. Rogeri de Hoveden Annal.

(*o*) Chron. Saxon. Hen. Huntindon. Rogeri de Hoveden.

(*p*) Chron. Saxon. Will. Malmeſburienſis.

(*q*) Chron. Saxon. Hen. Huntindon.

(*r*) De geſtis Regum Anglorum, lib. II. Chron. Saxon. Annal Winton.

(*s*) Chron. Saxon. Rogeri Hoveden.

(*t*) Chron. Saxon. Math. Weſtm. Annal. Hen. Knyghton.

(*u*) Chron. Saxon. Will. Malmeſburienſis.

(*w*) Chron. Saxon.

him, to let matters reſt as they were, and to ſummon a great council at London in the beginning of September, both parties ſeparated without coming to blows (*x*). At the meeting of the great council, where the Lords both of the Southern and Northern Provinces were preſent, Earl Swayn was declared an outlaw, and Earl Godwin and Earl Harold were cited to appear and give an account of their proceedings (*y*). The two Earls declared themſelves ready to come, provided they had hoſtages given them for their ſecurity. This was refuſed, and they were again ſummoned to appear, with no more than twelve in their company, and as they declined this they had five days given them to quit the kingdom (*z*). Earl Godwin and Earl Swayn went immediately to Flanders, to Earl Baldwin, and Harold retired into Ireland (*a*). As ſoon as the King knew they were gone, he cauſed his Queen to be ſeized, and having taken from her her lands, and whatever money ſhe had; he ſent her to the nunnery of Werewell, where ſhe was committed to the cuſtody of his ſiſter, tho' it does not appear that this unhappy princeſs was charged with any offence, but was puniſhed for the fault, or rather for the King's ſuſpicion, of her father (*b*) [*F*]. The King likewiſe to ſhew his reſentment ſtill more, gave the county of Earl Swayn, to Earl Odda; and that of Harold, to Earl Elfgar the ſon of Earl Leofric (*c*). In 1052, died Queen Emma on the ſixth of May (*d*), and the King ordered a fleet to aſſemble at Sandwich, under the command of Earl Rolfe and Earl Odda; however Earl Godwin came with a ſquadron from Flanders, to a point of land near Rumney in Kent, of which the Earls having notice they ſailed after him (*e*). But he having early intelligence of their motions, retired to Penſey in Suſſex, and from thence returned to Flanders; but the King's fleet, thro' the fault of thoſe who commanded it, diſperſed, and the ſeamen returned home (*f*). Earl Godwin having notice of this, put to ſea again as ſoon as poſſible, and being joined at the Iſle of Wight by his ſon Harold, with nine ſhips from Ireland, they ſailed along the coaſt of Suſſex, and took out of every port what ſhips there were in it, and having done the like on the coaſt of Kent, they came to the Buoy in the Nore, and ſo directly up the river (*g*). The King had moſt of the nobility about him, and a conſiderable force; Earl Godwin however, and thoſe of his party, ſent a very ſubmiſſive meſſage to the King, deſiring to be reſtored to their honours and eſtates, of which they had been unjuſtly deprived (*h*). To this the King ſhewed himſelf ſo much averſe, that the Earl had much difficulty to hinder thoſe of his party from committing hoſtilities (*i*). At length, by the interpoſition of Biſhop Stigand, and other prudent men, a negotiation was ſet on foot, hoſtages given, and a peace concluded (*k*). Upon this the Norman Archbiſhop Robert, with moſt of his party, withdrew, being reſolved to paſs over into France, and in their way committed many outrages and murthers (*l*). In a ſhort time after a great council was called at London, purſuant to the treaty, at which moſt of the nobility were preſent, and there, upon a full hearing, Earl Godwin and his ſons were acquitted, reſtored to the King's favour, and to all the honours and preferments they had formerly enjoyed (*m*) [*G*]. The Queen

(*x*) De geſtis Regum Anglorum, lib. II. Sim Dunelm. Math. Weſtm. Annal.

(*y*) Chron. Saxon.

(*z*) Hen. Knyghton.

(*a*) Marian. Scota. Chron. Saxon.

(*b*) Rog. Hoveden. Hen. Huntindon. Math. Weſtm. Annal.

(*c*) Chron. Saxon. Will. Malmeſburienſis.

(*d*) Annal. Winton. Sim. Dunelm. Rog. Hoveden.

(*e*) Chron. Saxon. Rog. Hoveden.

(*f*) Hen. Huntindon. Will. Malmeſburienſis.

(*g*) Chron. Saxon. Sim. Dunelm.

(*h*) Rog. Hoveden. Hen. Huntindon.

(*i*) Chron. Saxon.

(*k*) Will. Malmeſburienſis. Sim. Dunelm.

(*l*) Chron. Saxon. Rog. Hoveden. Will. Malmeſburienſis.

(*m*) Chron. Saxon. Eadmeri Hiſt.

[*F*] *For the King's ſuſpicion of her father.*] The uſage that Edward gave this lady, joined perhaps to the ſtrange reaſon which Malmeſbury ſays he aſſigned for it, that ſhe alone ſhould not enjoy peace and plenty, when her father and all the reſt of her family were plunged into difficulties and diſtreſs, has countenanced the opinion, that the King married this lady purely to ſatisfy the ambition of her father. But it may not be amiſs to conſider, that if this had really been the caſe, the King would certainly have married her ſooner; whereas from the Saxon chronicle it appears that he did not marry her 'till the third year of his reign (21), which argues no ſuch haſte on her father's ſide. It may be alſo, that ſhe was not marriageable before, notwithſtanding what is ſaid of Prince Alfred's falling a victim ſix years before to the contempt he ſhewed the father, in rejecting his only daughter. By the way, let us reflect a little on the inconſiſtencies into which theſe writers fall, by endeavouring to vent their ſpleen againſt this family, without regard not only to the truth of Hiſtory, and the genuine ſtate of things, but even to their own relations. For, Where was the great inequality of this match? or, Why ſhould this young Prince refuſe it?

(21) Chron. Saxon.

He was an adventurer only, and had no good title to the Crown, but for want of a better; that is, becauſe Edward, the father of Edgar Atheling, the ſon of Edmund Ironſide, and this prince's own nephew, was not within the reach of the Engliſh. What hurt therefore would it have done him, or his title, to have married the grand daughter of Canutus the Great? or, Why might not this determine Edward to have Egitha for a Queen, though not for a wife? Certain it is, that his behaviour towards her at all times was none of the beſt; which, joined to her own eaſy and affable behaviour, the envy of Courts, and the malice of the Normans, drew upon her calumnies, to which poſſibly the ears of her weak huſband were not always ſhut. But Malmeſbury, who mentions theſe, tells us alſo, that when ſhe died, pretty late in the reign of King William, ſhe fully cleared herſelf by a ſolemn declaration on her death-bed, that ſhe had never given any cauſe for theſe ſuſpicions (22). It was, to ſay the truth, no very high commendation of Edward the Confeſſor, that though he was awed by his counſellors, and governed by his flatterers, yet he was a very tyrant to his wife, and his mother, whom he committed both to the ſame place, after treating them both in the ſame manner; that is, in the words of the old Annaliſt, after ſtripping them to the laſt farthing (23). And as to his Queen, allowing her only one maid, as the Saxon chronicle affirms, it may be the ill uſage of the Queen-Confort contributed to break the heart of the Queen-Mother; for it is certain, if any thing in theſe times can be ſo, that ſhe died before the Queen was reſtored to her meek huſband's favour. By the way, if we yield entire credit to the chronicle of Wincheſter, this will be the more probable; for in that we have ſeen Earl Godwin was ſo far from accuſing Queen Emma, that he was diſgraced with her; and it may be, that upon his reconciliation the marriage took place. At all events the King's conduct in this particular was univerſally condemned; and no wonder, ſince he ſhewed himſelf thereby to be no better a man as a King, than as a huſband.

(22) De Geſtis Regum Anglorum, lib. II.

(23) Annal. Winton.

[*G*] *They had formerly enjoyed.*] The learned Lawyer and great Antiquary mentioned in the text, is the famous Mr Selden; he, ſpeaking of the juriſdiction exerciſed in the great Council, or Witenagemote, tells us, that it conſiſted either in a deliberative power, which

Queen was likewiſe ſent for back to Court, and had reſtitution made of whatever had been taken from her. Robert was deprived of the Archbiſhoprick, in which he was ſucceeded

which concerned their aſſenting to new laws, and adviſing in matters of ſtate, or in a judicial, which was of giving judgments upon ſuits or complaints in the ſame court (24). He gives inſtances of all theſe; and in ſpeaking to the laſt, the caſe of criminal proceedings, ſays he, is that againſt Earl Godwin. He having had a trial before the Lords, under King Hardecnute, *(coram proceribus regni licet falſo ſe purgarat*, ſaith Bromton) touching the death of Alfred, ſon to King Ethelred, and brother to him that was afterwards Edward the Confeſſor, had fled out of England, and that as it ſeems upon ſome judgment of baniſhment, or at leaſt of an oulawry given againſt him, and that alſo in a Witenagemote, or Parliament. And upon his return, with hope of Edward the Confeſſor's favour, he ſollicited the Lords to intercede for him with the King. In the time of his return the Witenagemote or Parliament ſat at London.

(24) Titles of Honour, p. 525.

He then proceeds to give the words of the Hiſtorian in Latin, which in Engliſh are to this effect (25): That the King having ſummoned a great council, as ſoon as he there beheld Earl Godwin, immediately accuſed him before them all of having betrayed and murthered his brother, Prince Alfred, in theſe words: 'Thou traytor, Godwin, I accuſe thee of the death 'of Alfred, my brother, whom thou haſt traiterouſly 'murthered; and for the proof of this, I refer myſelf 'to the judgment of *curiæ veſtræ*, *i. e.* your court.' Then the King proceeded thus: 'You, moſt noble 'Lords, the Earls and Barons of the kingdom, you, 'who are my liegemen, being here aſſembled, have 'heard my appeal, as alſo the anſwer of Earl Godwin. 'I will, that you now give a right ſentence between 'us in this my appeal, and afford due juſtice therein.' Then the Earls and Barons, having maturely debated this matter among themſelves, ſome were for giving judgment for the King, but others differed from them, ſaying, that Earl Godwin had never been obliged to the King by either homage, ſervice, or fealty, and therefore could be no traytor to him; and beſides, that he had not killed the Prince with his own hands. But others replied, that no Earl, Baron, nor any other ſubject of the King, could by law wage battle againſt him in his appeal, but ought upon the whole matter to ſubmit himſelf to the King's mercy, and offer him reaſonable amends. Then Leofric, Earl of Cheſter, who was an upright and ſincere man, both with reſpect to God, and the world, ſpoke thus: 'Earl Godwin, 'who next to the King, is indeed a perſon of the beſt 'quality in England, cannot deny, but that by his counſels 'Alfred, the King's brother, was killed; and therefore 'my opinion is, that both himſelf, and his ſons, and 'twelve of us Earls, that are his friends and kinſmen, 'ſhould appear humbly before the King, each of us 'carrying as much gold and ſilver as he can hold in 'his arms, and offering it to him, moſt humbly ſup'plicate for his pardon; and then the King ſhould re'mit to the Earl all rancour and anger whatſoever a'gainſt him; and having received his homage and 'fealty, peaceably reſtore to him all his lands.' To this the aſſembly agreed; and thoſe that were appointed, loading themſelves with treaſure after the manner aforeſaid, went unto the King, ſhewing him the order and manner of their judgment, which he being unwilling to contradict, complied with, and ſo ratified whatever they had before decreed. 'The circumſtances, ſays 'Mr Selden, that belong to this caſe, are variouſly 'expreſſed in the publiſhed ſtories of William of 'Malmeſbury, Huntingdon, Hoveden, Florentius, and 'others. But it ſeems by Florentius, that this was in 'the Conſilium, as he calls it, or Witenagemote, held 'in 1052, or the ninth year of the Confeſſor: for 'then, he ſays, was the Earl reconciled to the King's 'favour in that court, though neither he, nor any 'other, relate this proceeding as Bromton doth.'

(25) Johan. Bromton, col. 936, 937, 938.

But, as Mr Tyrrel very well obſerves (26), it is ſurprizing that Mr Selden did not ſee, that if there had been any truth in this ſtory, it muſt have happened at leaſt ten years before; for the year to which he fixes was not, as he ſuppoſes, the ninth, but the twelfth year of Edward's reign; and if this tranſaction could ever have happened, it muſt have happened in the ſecond. Indeed the author who reports it acknowledges he did not believe it, for he ſaw that it was big with abſurdities and contradictions. Yet in the main, and for the purpoſe for which he brings it, Mr Selden is certainly right; for there was a great council in the year 1052, in which Earl Godwin might be ſaid, with great propriety, to be tried by his Peers. We will give the reader a much better authority than that which we have ſubverted, and this is the Saxon chronicle, which relates the whole matter thus (27): 'A great Council, (27) Chronicon. '(the Saxon words are *Mycel Gemote)* without London, 'was then ſummoned, (that is, in ſome place near 'London) and there all the Earls and other Noblemen 'met in this Council; in which aſſembly Earl Godwin 'made his defence, and purged himſelf there before 'Edward the King, his Lord, ſhewing himſelf to be 'entirely free from the crime that had been objected 'to him, to his ſon Harold, and to all the reſt of his 'ſons. The King thereupon received the ſaid Earl 'and all the reſt of his ſons into full friendſhip, 'and reſtored him to his whole county, and whatever 'he before poſſeſſed, as he likewiſe did to all who 'were with him. The King likewiſe reſtored to his 'Lady, that is, to the Queen, whatever ſhe formerly 'poſſeſſed. There alſo, by unanimous conſent, Ro'bert, the Archbiſhop, and all the Frenchmen, were 'outlawed, becauſe that they were the principal inſtru'ments of the enmity that had ariſen between the 'King and Earl Godwin; and Biſhop Stigand was pro'moted to the Archbiſhoprick of Canterbury.' As there can be nothing clearer or plainer than this, ſo the reader cannot but acknowledge, that it comes up as fully to Mr Selden's propoſition, in regard to the juriſdiction of theſe great Councils, as what he is pleaſed to call the record preſerved by the Hiſtorian whom he cites; in which there are not only ſeveral words in the original which were not in uſe in the Saxon times, and which conſequently prove, that it cannot be the tranſcript of any record, but alſo various circumſtances that ſhew it was written long after the time, from popular rumours only, and full of contradictions. For if it happened as the chronicle expreſsly ſays, it did happen early in the Confeſſor's reign, then the King muſt have afterwards married the daughter of a man who ſtood in a manner ſelf-convicted of his brother's murther, who fled for it, and who with the aſſiſtance of his friends, had commuted his crime for a ſum of money.

(26) General Hiſtory of Britain, Vol. I. p. 84.

But if, with Mr Selden, we place this record in 1052, we muſt then admit, that the King, with all this in his heart, and with a full perſwaſion that Earl Godwin was both a murtherer and a traytor, had married his daughter, and intruſted him with the conduct of all his affairs, and which is ſtill worſe, after a confeſſion of theſe crimes, received him again into his favour. But there *is* an expreſſion in what Mr Selden calls a record, which is equally irreconcilable to both dates; for Earl Leofric is made to ſay, that after the King, Earl Godwin was the moſt conſiderable man in the realm. Now this was impoſſible if he was an outlaw, and had been ſo for years, as muſt have been the caſe in 1042; neither was it true ten years after, for even then he had been driven out of his country, and was ſuing to be reſtored. One obſervation more, and we will conclude. The crime imputed to the Earl, and of which he cleared himſelf before this Council, could not be the murther of the King's brother; for in that Harold, and the reſt of his ſons, were never ſaid to have any concern; indeed how ſhould they, when the eldeſt could not have been more than twenty, and ſome of them might have been in their cradles. Upon the whole, the Saxon chronicle ſhews, that the King, miſled by his affection for his brother-in-law, had commanded Godwin Earl of Kent to puniſh the people of Dover unjuſtly, that through the inſinuations of his foreign favourites, he had reſented his not complying with theſe orders, as an act of treaſon; that for this he had driven him and his whole family into exile without a hearing; that theſe points being made out in a great Council, who were

ceeded by Stigand, and with moſt of the Normans were baniſhed the kingdom, for having been the great inſtruments in the late troubles (*n*). But Earl Godwin did not live long to enjoy this return of proſperity, for on the fifteenth of April 1053, he departed this life, and was buried in the old monaſtery at Wincheſter (*o*) [*H*] His widow lady Githa, who

(*n*) Chron. Waiteri Hemingford. Sim. Dunelm.

(*o*) Annal. Winton. Chron. Saxon. Allured Bever

were the proper judges between the King and his Nobles, Earl Godwin, and all his family, were reſtored to their juſt rights, and the foreign favourites baniſhed. But theſe forcigners becoming afterwards maſters of this kingdom, and having an intereſt in corrupting this period of our hiſtory, did as much in that reſpect as they could, and out of their maſs of fictions and falſhood, by the aſſiſtance of the Saxon chronicle, the only authentic authority yet remaining, we have once more recovered the truth.

[*H*] *And was buried in the old monaſtery at Wincheſter*.] All men, however great and potent, muſt leave the felicities of this world, and account for the uſe they made of them in the next. But if in his life-time the fortune of Earl Godwin was envied, and his actions traduced after his deceaſe, his death hath furniſhed ſtill more matter, though the commonalt of all accidents that befel him, than the reſt. It may afford the reader ſome entertainment, as well as information, to ſee how the ſtories told upon this head have been gradually augmented, to a degree beyond all power of belief. In the Saxon chronicle, and in that of Wincheſter, the fact is ſet down as in the text, that is, the Earl's death, the time of it, and the place where he was buried. In the chronicles of Durham (28) we read, that the King keeping his Eaſter week at Wincheſter, Earl Godwin being as uſual at the King's table in the holidays, was ſuddenly ſtruck with ſo violent a diſeaſe, that he fell from his ſeat. Upon this his three ſons, the Earls Harold, Toſty, and Gyrth, took him up, and carried him into the King's chamber, hoping that in a little time he would come out of his fit; but he growing worſe and worſe, died upon the fifth day after, which was the fifteenth of April. Another Hiſtorian tells us (29), that Godwin, the King's father-in-law, ſitting with him at table, addreſſed him in theſe words: 'It has been often told 'thee, O King, though falſely, that I have conſpired 'againſt thee; but if the God of Heaven be true and 'juſt, let not this morſel of bread paſs through me, if 'I ever ſo much as thought of working thy deſtruction.' But God, true and juſt, heard the voice of this traytor, ſo that ſtrangled with that bit of bread, he went to taſte the pains of death eternal. William of Malmeſbury (30) has a different ſtory; he ſays, that ſome diſcourſe aroſe concerning the King's brother Alfred, upon which Earl Godwin ſaid, 'As often, O King, as this 'ſubject is mentioned, I ſee plainly with what counte'nance you look upon me; but let not God ſuffer this 'morſel to be ſwallowed by me, if I had any know'ledge of the contrivances to his prejudice, or to 'your's.' Having ſaid this, and put the bit of bread he had in his hand into his mouth, he was inſtantly choaked with it

(28) Simeonis Dunelmenſis Hiſtoria, col. 187.

(29) Abbreviationes Chronicorum Autore Radulfo de Diceto, col. 476.

(30) De Geſtis Regum Anglorum, lib. II.

But the profeſſed Hiſtorian of Edward the Confeſſor intending to add the laſt hand to this fine tale, after having told us what a wicked wretch this Godwin was, and how he had thruſt out all the King's Norman friends and favourites, was thus by his own confeſſion puniſhed by the hand of God (31). Upon a certain feaſt day, when Godwin, with other Nobles, was at the King's table, it happened while they were at dinner, that the cup-bearer made a falſe ſtep through haſte, but as he tripped with one foot, he recovered himſelf immediately on the other, without ſlipping down. Of this many of thoſe who were preſent took notice, ſaying, that one foot came in luckily to the aſſiſtance of the other; upon which the Earl, to throw in his jeſt amongſt the reſt, added, 'So brother ſhould aſſiſt bro'ther, when either ſtands in need.' The King turning towards him replied, 'So might my brother have 'helped me, if Godwin had not interpoſed.' Upon this the Earl was much caſt down, and with a countenance full of ſorrow he ſaid, 'I know, O King, that in 'your own mind you ſtill look upon me as the author 'of his death, and that you ſtill yield credit to thoſe 'who have ſtiled me a traytor to him and to thee; 'but God, who knows the ſecrets of all hearts, ſhall 'judge, and ſo let this morſel which I hold in my 'hand paſs through my throat without doing me hurt, 'as he knows that neither guilt of treaſon towards 'thee, or knowledge of thy brother's death, reſts in 'me.' Having ſaid this, and put the piece into his mouth, he ſwallowed it half down; but then he tried in vain to get it farther, and ſtruggling next to force it up, it ſtuck faſt; the courſe of the ſprings of life being ſtopped, his eyes turned, and his arms became ſtiff. The King ſeeing his miſerable death, and fully perſwaded in himſelf that it was the effect of divine judgment, he ſaid to thoſe who ſtood by, 'Drag out this 'dog.' His ſons upon this came, and taking him from under the table, laid him on a bed, where in a very little time the traytor breathed his laſt.

(31) Ailredus Abbas Rievallis de vitæ & miraculis Edwardi Confeſſoris, col. 394, 395.

Though the abbot of Reveſby did his beſt to illuſtrate this ſtory, yet being rather a florid than an accurate writer, there are ſome unlucky eſcapes; for, either this Confeſſor had no conſcience, or he would not have expected that his elder brother would have ſerved him, ſeated on a throne. He would have been cautious alſo of behaving in ſuch a manner to the father of his Queen; and, his meek ſpirit conſidered, he never would have called him dog in his laſt minutes, and preſently after put it in the power of his ſons to revenge the indignity. The worſt of all is, the abbot has not told us where this happened; and therefore ſome who wrote after him have laid the ſcene at Wincheſter, while others have transferred it to Windſor (32). One of our antiquaries ſays, that Wulſtan Biſhop of Worceſter curſed the bread (33); another writer ſays, that before the Earl ſwallowed it, the King bleſſed it (34). One no doubt is as true as the other; but we muſt not ſuppoſe, that all monks were ſo blind or ſo bad as to believe this tale, for Eadmerus of Canterbury, and Walter of Hemmingford, are both ſilent. After an interval of ages comes Polydor Virgil, and to ſhew the quickneſs of Italian wit, adds a very conſiderable circumſtance that ſlipped the abbot of Reveſby's invention (35). He ſays, yet indeed it had been ſaid before him, though not in conjunction with the abbot's ſtory, that it was Harold, who being the King's cup-bearer, ſtumbled, and occaſioned all this miſchief. But it is time to leave theſe ſimple falſhoods to the reader's contempt, and not purſue them any farther, though that might be eaſily done, as they are falſhoods as much unworthy of criticiſm as of credit. But we cannot conclude this note without producing a very authentic teſtimony in ſupport of the truth that we aſſert, and in diſproof of all this long legend of lies. We ſtand indebted for this to the honeſt and diligent John Stowe, whoſe care and induſtry in collecting the materials of our hiſtory could be only equalled by his integrity. He had in his cuſtody a manuſcript life of Edward the Confeſſor, which after the Saxon Chronicle, was perhaps the moſt authentic piece of hiſtory that eſcaped the general wreck of all that regarded the Saxon conſtitution. Out of this curious work he has extracted the following paſſages in relation to this great man's death, and the impreſſion it made upon the Engliſh nation; which therefore we ſhall tranſcribe in his own words: 'Duke Godwin and his ſons being reconciled 'to the King, and the country being quiet, in the 'ſecond year after died the ſaid duke, of happy me'mory, whoſe death was the ſorrow of the people; 'him their father; him the nouriſher of them and the 'kingdom; with continual weeping they bewailed. 'He was buried with worthy honour in the old mo'naſtery of Wincheſter, giving to the ſame church 'gifts, ornaments, and rents of lands. Harold ſuc'ceeded in his dukedom, which was a great com'fort to the whole Engliſh nation; for in virtue both 'of body and mind he excelled all people, as another 'Judas Macchabeus, and was a friend to his country, 'diligently ſupplying his father's place, and walking 'in his ſteps; that is to ſay, in patience, mercy, and 'affability, to well-willers; but to diſquiet perſons, 'thieves, and robbers, with a lion's countenance, he 'threatened

(32) Math. Weſtm. Annal. Joban. Bromton, col. 949. Hen. Knyghton, col. 2336. Will. Malmeſburienſis Chronicon Godſtovianum, p. 81.

(33) Lambard's Dictionary of England, p. 415.

(34) Hen. Huntingdon.

(35) Anglicæ Hiſtor. lib. VIII.

who had great poſſeſſions gave, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, very liberally to ſeveral churches, that they might pray for his ſoul's health, and particularly to that of Wincheſter, the manors of Bleodan and Craukumb, with ornaments of different kinds (p). He was ſeized at the time of his deceaſe of an immenſe eſtate in different counties, of which we are able to give no account with any tolerable degree of accuracy, but from a moſt authentic record it appears (q), that amongſt others he held theſe Leleburne, Fereburne, Seleſburne, Boltone, Herbretreton, Brunſell, Coteham, Hore, Hancheſt, Fulcheſtan, Romenel, Eſtefort, Oiſtreham, and Boltune in Kent. Dodimere, Iver, Erbentone, Hiham, Wilendone, Radetone, Wineltone, Toringes, Leſtone, Bercheham, Silleton, Lorentone, Trovorde, Tocherſt, Stodeham, Botendone, Seleham, Tadeham, Borne, Gontone, Eſtone, Icemore, Clepinges, Beneſtede, Hentone, Laneſwic, Rotingedene, Briſtelmeſtune, Berchinges, Fochinges, Saleſcome, Herſt, Pluntune, Bercham, Bedling, Wilſtaneſtune, Congeltune, Apleſham, Ordinges, Dentune, How, Eſſingetune, Walſingtune, and Etune in Suſſex; and Stantune in Herefordſhire, Witley in Surry, Sudbertune, Wallope, Alwartone, Funtley, Hallege, Ceptune, Seneorde, Hamledune, Bockeland, Copenore, and Sudtune in Hampſhire. Out of his poſſeſſions he gave in his lifetime to the cathedral of Canterbury, the towns and lordſhips of Stiſtede and Cogſhall in Eſſex; as alſo Chich, which he received from the gift of King Canute (r), tho' ſome have not ſcrupled amongſt other crimes to charge him with injuſtice done to the Church. In reſpect to his widow and his poſterity, we ſhall give a ſuccinct account of them at the bottom of the page [I]. The modern hiſtorians have treated his character as indifferently as the Monkiſh

(p) Annal. Winton.

(q) Domeſd. Kanc.

(r) W. Thorn. col. 2224.

'threatened his juſt ſeverity.' Thus much addeth he out of the ancient monument intituled Vita Edwardi (36).

[I] *At the bottom of the page.*] We have already proved clearly, that the lady Githa was the ſame perſon with her whom Polydor Virgil calls Thira, the daughter of Knute, and the ſiſter of Hardecnute (37). It appears that ſhe had conſiderable eſtates in different counties, from the ſurvey taken in the time of the Conqueror, viz. Hertinges, Tractone, Meredone, Mundreham, Weſtmeſtan, and Odemanſcote, in Suſſex, Cerdenord, in Berks, Otringtone, in Devon, as alſo of Edeſtoche and Stoches, in the county of Bucks (38). She obtained from the Conquerer the body of her ſon King Harold, and cauſed it to be interred at Waltham-Abbey. After this ſhe was one of thoſe perſons of great quality whom the Conqueror blocked up at Exeter, from whence however ſhe had the good luck to make her eſcape, and retiring into France, carried with her great riches (39). By this lady he had ſix, ſome writers ſay ſeven, ſons, and one daughter; of theſe it is moſt probable, that Swegen, or Swægn, as the Saxons called him, Suane, or Swane, according to our manner of writing, was the eldeſt. He was Earl of the counties of Oxford, Glouceſter, Hereford, Somerſet, Berks, and as ſome ſay of Salop alſo (40). That he was Earl of one or more of them ſo early as 1045, is out of doubt (41); and a very indifferent character we have of him in all our hiſtories. His firſt exploit was ſeducing Egiva abbeſs of Leominſter, whom he kept as his wife for a year, and becauſe the King and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury would not allow him to make her ſo, he quitted the realm (42). In 1046 he returned, and endeavoured to obtain his pardon; at which time he murthered his couſin, Earl Beorn, of which we have a large account in the Saxon Chronicle; ſo that there is no foundation for ſaying that work was penned by a monk, partial to Godwin and his family (43). He was however afterwards pardoned, and reſtored to his honours, but fell into diſgrace again at the ſame time with his father, and for his ſake (44). Malmeſbury ſays he was a man of a perverſe diſpoſition, diſloyal to the King, and one who tarniſhed the honour of his illuſtrious family by turning pyrate (45), which in thoſe times was no great diſgrace. After his laſt baniſhment he went barefoot to Jeruſalem, and died in his return, ſome ſay of a cold, and others in battle (46). He was married, tho' we know not well to whom, and left iſſue a ſon, Hæcun (47), of whom we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. Harold, the ſecond ſon, deſerves more than a note, and therefore we ſhall ſay nothing of him here. The third was Wlnoth, or Walnoth, of whom we have very little to ſay; he ſome way or other fell into the hands of the Normans, with his nephew Hæcun, and after the Conqueſt was brought over hither, and died a priſoner at Saliſbury (49). The fourth ſon, though ſome make him the ſecond, was Toſti, who A. D. 1056 was made Earl of Northumberland by King Edward, as ſome ſay, becauſe Waltheof, the ſon of Earl Siward, was a child (49); but the Saxon Chronicle informs us, that he was made Earl of the Eaſt Angles the year before, when Earl Elfgar was baniſhed (50). He was a bold reſolute man, as appears by his uſage of Pope Nicholas the ſecond; for accompanying Aldred, who was elected Archbiſhop of York, to Rome, his Holineſs refuſed him the pall, and in his return he was robbed; upon which Earl Toſti told the Pope, that if he did not make the Biſhop amends, he would ſtop it out of the revenues he received from England, where he muſt not expect that his cenſures ſhould do much execution, when they could not terrify thieves at his own door; upon which the Pontiff granted Aldred the pall, and all that he deſired (51). He was with his brother Harold in the expedition againſt the Welſh, and behaved very bravely (52). A. D. 1064 the people of Northumberland expelled Toſti, and murthered all who acted under his authority, and elected Morker, the ſon of Elfgar, for their Earl; upon which King Edward ſent Harold to pacify them, which he did without reſtoring his brother; upon which Toſti fled into Flanders, where he had married Judith, the daughter of Earl Baldwin (53). He returned again in 1066 with a ſtrong ſquadron and a good army, but was beat by Earl Eadwin, and forced to retire; but having joined Harold King of Norway, who had a fleet of 300 ſail, and a vaſt army, they defeated Earl Morker and Earl Eadwin, but ſoon after were beat by King Harold at Stamford bridge, and both of them ſlain (54). He was the founder of the monaſtery of Tinmouth, and had large eſtates in different counties, but it does not appear he had any iſſue. The fifth was Gyrth, who was ſo highly in King Edward's favour, that we find him ſubſcribing a charter as an Earl ſo early as 1044 (55); when he muſt have been a very young man he likewiſe ſubſcribed other charters, but there is yet extant an original Saxon charter directed to him, which, becauſe it is very ſhort, and very curious, we will tranſcribe in Engliſh (56). 'Edward, King, 'greeteth Wlfy, Biſhop, and Gyrth, Earl, and all my 'Nobles in Oxfordſhire. And I tell you, that I have 'given to Chriſt and St Peter into Weſtminſter 'that ſmall village wherein I was born, by name 'Githſhepe, and one Hyche at Merſce, ſcot-free and 'rent-free, with all the things which belong thereunto 'in wood and field, in meadows and waters, with 'church, and with the immunities of the church, as 'fully, and as largely, and as free, as it ſtood in mine 'own hand, as alſo as my mother Imme, upon my 'right of primogeniture, for my maintenance gave it 'me entire, and bequeathed it to the family.' He is ſaid to have been a young man of knowledge and virtue far above his years (57), and behaving himſelf very bravely, was killed with his brother at the fatal battle of Haſtings

(36) Annales; or a General Chronicle of England, p. 97.

(37) Hiſtoria Anglicæ, lib. VIII.

(38) Doomeſd.

(39) Odoric Vital. p. 513.

(40) Chron. Sax. Regiſt. Wigorn.

(41) Chron. Saxon.

(42) Johan. Bromton.

(43) Chron. Saxon.

(44) Sim. Dunelm. col. 186.

(45) De Geſtis Regum Anglorum, lib. II.

(46) Hen. Knyghton. Sim. Dunelm.

(47) Rogeri de Hoveden, p. 257.

(48) Will. Malmeſburienſis. Rog. Hoveden.

(49) Hen. Huntingdon, fol. 210. Ingulph, fol. 510.

(50) Chron. Saxon.

(51) Hen. Knyghton, col. 2336. n. 30 and 40. Johan. Bromton, col. 952. n. 20.

(52) Hen. Huntingdon, fol. 210.

(53) Will. Malmeſburienſis. fol. 46. Hen. Huntingd. fol. 210.

(54) Rog. Hovedon. fol. 257.

(55) Monaſt. Anglicanum, Vol. II. p. 90.

(56) MS. num. 24. James in Muſæo Bib. Bod. p. 54.

(57) Hen. Huntingdon.

Monkiſh writers, upon whom they relied, and finding different relations of his behaviour, and wide chaſms in his hiſtory, they reconciled the former, and filled up the latter, according to their own notions of things, as the reader will be thoroughly ſatisfied, if he takes the trouble to conſult and compare them (s). One thing very remarkable with regard to this hiſtory is, that not only the moſt authentick chronicle we have, reports none of the crimes that are commonly charged upon this nobleman; but the moſt judicious hiſtorians, in their order of ſucceſſion, have likewiſe paſſed them over in ſilence, and are content to tranſmit him to poſterity, as a bold, eloquent, factious perſon, who during the reign of a very weak prince managed all things at his will, which in ſome meaſure may be true (t). As for the crowd of tranſcribers, who followed one another implicitly, except what they added from the mouth of common fame, or to make their court to their reſpective patrons, they have indeed treated him very ill; and from theſe the Norman writers and the Normanized hiſtorians, from whom came our chronicles in verſe, who when the ſtudy of our antiquities came to be revived were too much reſpected, with regard to what they delivered, as to theſe early times, have uſed him much worſe (u). From them the Engliſh hiſtorians in the two laſt centuries took very freely, and upon their faith, and upon a ſuppoſition, that it was to little purpoſe to aim at coming at truth in theſe times of confuſion, is the true ſource of that inconſiſtency which appears in all the accounts hitherto publiſhed of this great Earl. Sir William Dugdale (w) and Mr Tyrrel (x) indeed have ſhewn more judgment and greater impartiality than any of the reſt. Yet both of them ſeem to think him guilty of the murther of Alfred, and what ſeems to juſtify them therein, are the imputations of the ſame kind in the Annals of Wincheſter (y). But to this we may oppoſe not only the ſilence of the Saxon Chronicle, but the apparent and irreconcileable contradictions viſible in all the accounts of this matter, as hath been largely ſhewn, both in this and in a former article, from whence the certainty of that fact is unqueſtionably deſtroyed. If we may be indulged a conjecture, it ſhould ſeem moſt probable if this prince was really killed at all, that he came over with his brother, at the inſtance of Queen Emma in the laſt year of the reign of Hardecnute, and was then treacherouſly deſtroyed, upon which his brother Edward fled in great fear to Normandy (z), from whence he came again when the ſupreme authority was committed to Earl Godwin, upon Hardecnute's death, which however it is very hard to conceive, he would have done, if he had looked upon Earl Godwin, as concerned in that fact; and as to the Annals of Wincheſter, it is not difficult to perceive that they have undergone ſome interpolation, ſince there ſtill remains a paſſage in them in regard to Queen Emma's courſe of life, during the reign of her favourite ſon Hardecnute, which is not very conſiſtent with the tale of her purgation. When therefore that was to be put in, whatever tended to fix the death of Alfred upon her was to be put out, and this ſeems to have thrown it upon Godwin. But as Queen Emma's diſgrace was prior to the King's marriage with that Earl's daughter, it is very improbable that he was then loaded with this charge; and as to what is ſaid in thoſe Annals of the Norman Archbiſhop ſtirring up the King againſt both the Queen and the Earl, it ſeems to be confounding facts that happened at very different times; for when Queen Emma fell into diſgrace, he was not either Biſhop or Archbiſhop, tho' he might be the author of it nevertheleſs, as he certainly was of the King's enmity to Earl Godwin, notwithſtanding the obligations he had to him, and as we have ſeen was depoſed and baniſhed for it, by judgment of his Peers. We will cloſe this long article with two obſervations; the firſt is, that if the remark made by ſeveral of our hiſtorians be true, that tho' Edward the Confeſſor was not either a wiſe or a brave prince, yet he was generally ſucceſsful, it ought in a great meaſure to be aſcribed to the abilities of Earl Godwin and his ſons, by whom all the ſucceſſes in his reign were obtained. The ſecond, that the public ruin of the Engliſh nation, and of the Engliſh conſtitution, by the Norman invaſion, was the conſequence of the diviſions in and deſtruction of this family; ſo that if ever there was a great man, who flouriſhed in this country, whoſe character and conduct deſerved to be examined with care and candour, this is he.

(s) See Milton, Daniel, Sir William Temple, &c.

(t) Eadmeri Hiſtoriæ. Rog. Hoveden. Walteri Hemingford.

(u) Robert of Glouceſter, publiſhed by Thomas Hearne, p. 326, 341, 342. Lanquet's Chronicle as publiſhed by Biſhop Cooper, fo. 196. Peter Langtoft's Chronicle, Hearne's edition, p. 55.

(w) Baronage of England, Vol. I. p. 15.

(x) General Hiſtory of Britain, Vol. I. b. VI. p. 84.

(y) Monaſticon Anglicanum, Vol. I. p. 33.

(z) Lanquet's Chronicle, publiſhed by Cooper, fol. 195.

(58) Chron. Saxon.

(59) Ord. Vit. p. 504.

Haſtings (58); as was alſo Earl Leofwine, the ſixth ſon; both of theſe had very large eſtates, but it does not appear that they were married, or had children. Elfgare, the ſeventh ſon, is ſaid to have been a monk at Rheims in France (59). As for Egitha, conſort of the Confeſſor, we have ſaid much of her already, to which we ſhall add, that the old life of that King before-mentioned was dedicated to her, that ſhe had a competent allowance from the Conqueror (60), and dying on the 18th of December 1074, was buried near her huſband (61).

(60) Will. Malmeſburienſis.

(61) Leland. Collectanea, tom. I. p. 598.

GODWIN [THOMAS], a learned Divine, an excellent Preacher, and Biſhop of Bath and Wells, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was a native of the pleaſant town of Ockingham in the county of Berks (a), but we know nothing of his parents, who very probably were but in low circumſtances. He received the firſt tincture of letters in the free ſchool of that place (b), and the pregnancy of his parts, recommended him to Dr Richard Layton Archdeacon of Bucks, and rector of Brington in the county of Northampton, a zealous Reformer, and one of the viſitors of monaſteries, who kept him ſome time in his houſe (c), and about the year 1538, ſent him to the Univerſity of Oxford, where

(a) Godwini, de Præſulib. Angliæ Comment. Lond. 1616. 4to p. 444.

(b) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 709.

(c) Godwin's Catal. of Engliſh Biſhops, p. 385.

where he was entered of Magdalen College (*d*). His patron becoming the year after Dean of York, exhibited to him as long as he lived, and other friends, raiſed by his own merit, ſupplied his loſs in that great man (*e*). In 1544, he became Probationer, and the next year Bachelor of Arts, and Fellow of his college (*f*). His zeal for the Reformation drew upon him ſome ill will, which with a proſpect of bad times, made him very gladly embrace the rectorſhip of Brackley ſchool in Northamptonſhire, which was in the gift of his college, and having quitted his fellowſhip, he retired thither in 1549 (*g*); while he preſided in this ſchool, he took to wife Iſabella the daughter of Nicholas Purefoy of Shalſton in the county of Bucks, Eſq; and what time he could ſpare from his ſchool, he ſpent in the ſtudy of Divinity and Phyſic, making great proficiency in both (*h*). In 1555, he took his degree of Bachelor of Phyſick, by the practice of which faculty he maintained his family during the reign of Queen Mary, when he ſeems to have quitted his ſchool on account of the perſecution he met with from Dr Bonner, Biſhop of London (*i*). In the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, he received Holy Orders from the hands of Dr Nicholas Bullyngham, Biſhop of London, to whom he became chaplain; and by his favour had often the honour to preach before the Queen; who was ſo well pleaſed with the gravity of his perſon, and his plain and pathetic oratory, that, for eighteen years together, he was conſtantly one of her Lent Preachers (*k*). But notwithſtanding this brought him into public notice, and high reputation, it was ſome years before he had any preferment; at length on the removal of Thomas Sampſon, Bachelor of Divinity, who was deprived for Non-Conformity by the definitive ſentence of Archbiſhop Parker, he in the month of June 1565, was promoted to the Deanery of Chriſt-Church Oxford (*l*), and in the month of December in the ſame year, he had the prebend of Milton Eccleſia beſtowed upon him, by his kind patron Biſhop Bullyngham, on the death of Richard Mawde Maſter of Arts (*m*). In the ſpring of the ſucceeding year, he was promoted to the Deanery of Canterbury, on the demiſe of that famous ſtateſman Dr Nicholas Wotton, who was the firſt Dean of that church, and at the ſame time Dean of York (*n*). In the Autumn he attended Queen Elizabeth in her pompous viſit to the univerſity of Oxford, at which time he took his degree of Doctor in Divinity with ſingular applauſe [*A*]. During the time he enjoyed this deanery, the houſe at Canterbury was much damaged by fire, and that at Charthan in great want of repair; ſo that the Chapter threatened him with a ſuit for dilapidation, which he prevented by rebuilding the deanery (*o*). After he had remained eighteen years at Canterbury, within which ſpace he exchanged his prebend of Milton-Eccleſia for that of Leighton-Boſard, on the deprivation of Gabriel White (*p*); he was promoted to the ſee of Bath and Wells, when it had been three years vacant, by the death of Dr Gilbert Barkley; and was ſucceeded in his deanery by Dr Richard Rogers, ſuffragan Biſhop of Dover (*q*). He was confirmed Biſhop and Paſtor of the church of St Andrew's, Wells, September the 11th, in the pariſh of St Mary le Bow, London, and and was conſecrated on Sunday September the thirteenth, 1584, by the Archbiſhop, at Lambeth, the Biſhops of London and Rocheſter aſſiſting (*r*). This laſt promotion, whether proceeding from the Queen's affection, or from the good Archbiſhop's great regard for him, was far from being conducive to his honour, in point of public character, or to his happineſs, in reſpect to private life. There was, at the time he was raiſed to the epiſcopal dignity, a very high diſtaſte among the courtiers againſt the Clergy and the Church, but more eſpecially againſt the Biſhops; not ſo much from any difference in point of doctrine, though that was likewiſe pretended, as on account of their revenues, of which they were eager to ſpoil them, and were not at all at a loſs for plauſible pretences to cover their unjuſt proceedings (*s*). Our Prelate felt this very early, and it found him in a condition which

(*d*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 709.

(*e*) Godwin's Catalogue of Engliſh Biſhops, p. 385.

(*f*) Wood's. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 709.

(*g*) Godwin's Catalogue of Engliſh Biſhops, p. 385.

(*h*) Faſti Oxonienſis, Vol. I. col. 83.

(*i*) Godwin's Catalogue of Engliſh Biſhops, p. 385.

(*k*) Sir J. Harrington's Brief View, &c. p. 3.

(*l*) Hiſtoria & Antiquitates, Oxon. lib. II. col. 254, 255.

(*m*) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. III. p. 221.

(*n*) Somner's Antiquities of Canterbury. p. 297.

(*o*) Harris's Hiſtory of Kent, p. 585.

(*p*) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals.

(*q*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 686.

(*r*) Regiſtr. Whitgift.

(*s*) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Whitgift, book iv. chap. 25.

[*A*] *With ſingular applauſe.*] We have ſeveral ſhort, and one very full account of this viſit of the Queen's; from whence it appears, that ſhe ſet out from Woodſtock for Oxford on Saturday the firſt of Auguſt, and remained in that city till the Friday following, being attended by the Dean of Toledo, then Ambaſſador from his Catholic Majeſty; the Marquis of Northampton; the Earls of Warwick, Suſſex, Huntingdon, Rutland, Oxford, and Ormond; the Biſhops of Saliſbury and Rocheſter, Lord Howard of Effingham, then Lord Chamberlain; Windſor, Stafford, Strange, Sheffield, Montjoy, Henry Seymour, Gray, and Paget (1) On every day the Queen was entertained with academical exerciſes of different kinds; in which the wits of the ableſt men in that age, and perhaps there have been few abler in any, were ſtretched to the utmoſt, to merit the applauſe of ſo illuſtrious an audience; but more eſpecially after the Queen, of the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, and Sir William Cecil, Chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge. On Thurſday the Queen was preſent at a divinity-act, in which Dr Lawrence Humphries was defendant; and the Doctors, Godwin, Weſtphaling, Overton, Calfehill, and Peirce, were opponents. Dr Jewel, Biſhop of Saliſbury, acted as moderator. At the concluſion, the Queen herſelf made a ſpeech, at the earneſt requeſt of the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, the Earl of Leiceſter, Chancellor of this univerſity, and Sir William Cecil, which muſt have been extempore, ſince, in the ſeveral relations which are ſtill preſerved of this tranſaction, the copies of this ſpeech differ widely in point of expreſſion, though ſcarce at all in ſubſtance (2). The next day, in the afternoon, ſhe left Oxford, being accompanied by the heads of the univerſity to Shotover-Hill, where the public orator, Mr Roger Marbec, made a ſhort ſpeech; which ended, the Queen gave him her hand to kiſs, turning her eyes towards the city, ſhe ſaid, *Vale Academia inclyta, valete ſubditi fidiſſimi, valete ſcholares chariſſimi, Deumque ſtudiis veſtris propitium habeatis; Valete! Valete!* Farewel illuſtrious univerſity, farewel moſt faithful ſubjects, farewel moſt dear ſcholars, may Providence be ever propitious to your ſtudies; farewel! farewel! The large account we have of this royal viſit, was written for the ſatisfaction of William Lord Brooke, Baron of Cobham, and Sir William Petre, both Privy-Counſellors to her Majeſty.

(1) Joannis Berebloci Commentarii de rebus geſtis Oxoniæ ibidem commorante Elizabetha Regina.

(2) Hiſtoria & Antiquitates Univerſitatis Oxonienſis, lib. I. p. 287.

[*B*] *In*

which made him feel it very ſenſibly. He was drawing towards ſeventy, ſubject to ſeveral infirmities, and ſo broken with the gout that he was ſcarce able to ſtand. To govern his family, that he might bend the whole of his abilities to the diſcharge of his duty, he married a ſecond wife, who was the widow of a trader of London, of years very ſuitable to his own; for which, notwithſtanding, he was ſtrangely miſrepreſented to the Queen, ſo that he entirely loſt her favour; and was abandoned to the fury of his perſecutors, who ſought, by all the methods they could contrive, either to fright or to weary him, into granting a long leaſe of one of the beſt manors belonging to his ſee (*t*). What the iſſue was, as well as what the circumſtances were, of this unequal contention, between favourites in the fulneſs of power, and a poor old Prelate, decayed in credit, and declining in health, the reader may learn from the pen of a perſon of diſtinction, who was an eye-witneſs of the whole, and an actor in ſome part of the buſineſs (*u*) [*B*]. This unlucky and troubleſome diſpute, with it's conſequences, contributed not a little to deject his mind; and thereby augmented the ſtrength of his diſeaſe, and the feebleneſs of his body (*w*). In the ſummer of 1587, Dr Whitgift, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, viſited his dioceſe (*x*). The two ſucceeding years his health became more and more impaired, till at length, being attacked by

(*t*) Godwin de Præſulibus Angliæ, Cantab. 1743. fol. p. 389.

(*u*) Sir John Harrington's Brief View, p. 3.

(*w*) Goodwini de Epiſcop. Bathon. & Wellen. p. 98, 99.

(*x*) Regiſtr. Whitgift.

[*B*] *In ſome part of the buſineſs.*] We find ſome mention made of this affair by Fuller (3) and other writers, particularly Wood (4), who, except naming the great favourite, who was Sir Walter Raleigh, has nothing but what he collected and contracted from the original account, which is ſo well worth the reader's peruſal, and ſo ſingular in it's kind, it would be doing him an injury not to inſert it (5). 'He came to 'the place, ſays Sir John, as well qualified for a Biſhop 'as might be, unreprovable, without ſimony, given 'to good hoſpitality, quiet, kind, affable, a widower, 'and in the Queen's good opinion. Non minor eſt 'virtus quam quærere parta tueri. There is not leſs abi'lity ſhewn in keeping than in acquiring. If he had held 'on as clear as he entered, I ſhould have highly ex'tolled him: but ſee his misfortune that firſt loſt him 'the Queen's favour, and after forced him to another 'miſchief. Being aged and diſeaſed, and lame of the 'gout, he married (as ſome thought for opinion of 'wealth) a widow of London. A chief favourite of 'that time, whom I am ſorry to have occaſion to name 'again in this kind, had laboured to get the manor of Ban'well from this Biſhopric; and diſdaining the repulſe, 'now hearing this intempeſtive marriage, took advan'tage thereof, cauſed it to be told the Queen, know'ing how much ſhe miſliked ſuch matches, and inſtant'ly purſued the Biſhop with letters and mandates for 'the manor of Banwell for one hundred years. The 'good Biſhop, not expecting ſuch a ſudden tempeſt, 'was greatly perplext; yet a while he held out, and 'endured many ſharp meſſages from the Queen, of 'which myſelf carried him one, delivered me by my 'Lord of Leiceſter, who ſeemed to favour the Biſhop, 'and diſlike the Knight for moleſting him; but they 'were ſoon agreed, like Pilot and Herod to condemn 'Chriſt. Never was harmleſs man ſo traduced to his 'ſovereign: it was ſaid that he had married a girl of 'twenty years old, with a great portion; that he had 'conveyed half the biſhopric to her; that becauſe 'he had the gout he could not ſtand to his marriage; 'with ſuch ſcoffs, to make him ridiculous to the vul'gar, and render him odious to the Queen. The good 'Earl of Bedford happening to be preſent when theſe 'tales were told, and knowing the Londoner's widow 'the Biſhop had married, ſaid merrily to the Queen 'after his dry manner, *Madam, I know not how much 'the woman is above twenty, but I know a ſon of her's 'is but little under forty.* But this rather marred than 'mended the matter. One ſaid, *Majus peccatum ha'bet*, He hath therefore the greater ſin. Ano'ther told of three ſorts of marriage; of God's 'making, as when Adam and Eve, two young folks, 'were coupled; of man's making, when one is old 'and the other young, as Joſeph's marriage; and of 'the Devil's making, when two old folkes marry, 'not for comfort, but for covetouſneſs, and ſuch they 'ſaid was this. The concluſion to the premiſes was 'this, that to pacify his perſecutors, and to ſave Ban'well, he was fain to part with Wilſcombe for ninety'nine years, (I would it had been one hundred) 'and ſo purchaſed his peace. Thus the biſhopric, as 'well as the Biſhop, were puniſhed; who wiſhed in 'his heart he had never taken this preferment, to 'foile himſelf in his decrepid age with that ſtain that 'all his life he had abhorred; and to be made an in'ſtrument of another man's ſacrilege, and uſed like a 'leaden conduit-pipe to convey waters to others, and 'drink nothing but the dregs, and droſs, and ruſt it'ſelf. Wherefore right honeſtly and modeſtly, and 'no leſs learnedly, writes his own ſon of him, in the 'fore-named treatiſe. *O! illum fœlicem, ſi fœlix manere 'maluiſſet, quam regiminis eccleſiaſtici laboris, tum ſuſci'pere, cum laboribus impar, fractus ſenio, neceſſum illi 'fuerit aliorum uti auxilio*, &c. (6) *i. e.* O happy he, if he would rather have remained happy (where he then was) than to undergo the labours of eccleſiaſtical government, when he grew unable to travel, broken with age, conſtrained to uſe the help of others, who, though their duty required their care of ſo good natured an old man, yet they proving, as moſt do, negligent of others good, and too greedy of their own, overthrew both. For my part, though I loved him well, and ſome of his actions, yet in this caſe, I can make no other apology for him, nor uſe no other plea in his defence, but ſuch as unable debtors do, that when they are ſued upon juſt occaſions, plead per minas; or rather to liken him to an huſbandman, that dwelling near a Judge that was a great builder, and coming one day, among divers other neighbours, with carriages, ſome of ſtone, ſome tin: the ſteward, as the manner of the country was, provided two tables for their dinners; for thoſe that came upon requeſt, powdered beef, and perhaps veniſon; for thoſe that came for hire, poor-john and apple-pies; and having invited them to ſit down in his Lordſhip's name, telling them, one board was for them that came in love, the other for thoſe that came for money: this huſbandman and his hind ſat not down at either; the which the ſteward imputing to ſimplicity, repeated his former words again, praying them to ſit down accordingly; but he anſwered, for there is craft in the clouted ſhoe, he ſaw no table for him, for he came neither for love nor money, but for very fear: and even ſo I dare anſwer for this Biſhop; he neither gave Wilſcombe for love, nor ſold it for money, but lett it for fear. How ſtrangely he was intrapped in the unfit marriage: I know not if it may be called a marriage, *Non Hymenæus adeſt illi, non gratia lecto.* Himſelf proteſted to me, with tears in his eyes, he took her but for a guide to his houſe, and for the reſt (they were his own words) he lived with her as Joſeph did with our Lady. Setting this one diſgrace of his aſide, he was a man very well eſteemed in the country, beloved of all men for his great hoſpitality; of the better ſort, for his kind entertainment, and pleaſant diſcourſe, at his table; his reading had been much, his judgment and doctrine ſound, his government mild and not violent, his mind charitable; and therefore I *would* not, but when he loſt this life, he won Heaven; according to his word, win God, win all. This I ſay truly of him, which his ſon was not ſo fit to ſay, for fear perhaps of the fooliſh ſaying, yet wiſe enough if it be well underſtood, *Nemo laudat patrem, niſi improbus filius, i. e.* none ſo loud about a father's worth as a worthleſs ſon.'

(3) Fuller's Worthies, Berks, p. 92.

(4) Athenæ Oxonienſis, Vol. I. col. 709.

(5) Brief View of the ſtate of the Church of England, p. 3.

(6) See the Note [B] in the next Article.

by an ague, which became at laſt an obſtinate quartan, he was adviſed by his Phyſicians to try whether his native air in Windſor-Foreſt might not contribute to his recovery; and coming with this intention to Ockingham, he there breathed his laſt, November the ninth, 1590, in the ſeventy-third year of his age (y). His corps lies interred in the pariſh church (z), on the ſouth ſide of the chancel; and againſt the eaſt wall, on a black marble table, enchaſed in white, there is a modeſt and elegant inſcription for the preſervation of his memory, penned and erected by his ſon, of whom in the next article [C].

(y) Fuller's Worthies, Berks, p. 92. Godwini de Præſulibus Angliæ. Hiſt. & Antiquit. Oxonienſis.

(z) Rawlinſon's Additions to Aſhmole's Berkſhire, Vol. I. p. xxxi. Godwini de Præſulibus Angliæ, Lond. 1616. 4to p. 444. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 687.

[C] *Erected by his ſon, &c.*] Dr Francis Godwin ſpeaks very decently of this act of duty, which he ſays was performed, in a manner rather ſuited to the circumſtances of him who dedicated, than the merit of his memory to whom it was dedicated (7). The inſcription, which deſerves reading, is printed correctly only in one book of great price (8); and there, without a tranſlation, which we hope will render what follows acceptable here.

(7) Godwin's Catalogue of Engliſh Biſhops, p. 385.

(8) De Præſulibus Angliæ, Cantab. 1743. fol. p. 390.

M. S.
Parentis chariſſimi
Patris verè reverendi
Thomæ Godwyni,
Sacræ Theologiæ Doctoris,
Ædis Chriſti Oxon. primum,
ac deinde Cantuarien. Decani,
Bathon. demum ac Wellen. Epiſcopi,
qui hoc in oppido natus;
hic etiam (dum valetudinis recuperandæ gratia (9) &c.
medicorum ſententia huc ſecedit) quartana febre confectus.
Mortalitatem exuit Novemb. 19. 1590.
conſ. ſuæ anno ſeptimo,
& hic jacet expectans adventum magni Dei.
P.
F. Franc. Godwyn Exon Subdecanus.

Sacred to the Memory
Of the moſt beloved Parent,
The truly reverend Father,
Thomas Godwyn,
Doctor of Divinity,
Of Chriſt Church in Oxford firſt,
Of Canterbury afterwards, Dean,
Laſtly Biſhop of Bath and Wells,
Who born in this town.
Here alſo (whether in hopes of recovery,
And by direction of Phyſicians he retired) broken by a Quartan,
He quitted this mortal ſtate, Nov. 19. 1590.
From his conſecration the ſeventh year,
And lies here, expecting the coming of the great GOD.
This (monument) hath placed
His ſon Francis Godwyn, Subdean of Exeter.

(9) Ockingham is celebrated for it's excellent air and pleaſant ſituation.

E

GODWIN [FRANCIS], ſon to the former, an able Divine, an extenſive Scholar, a candid Hiſtorian, an elegant Writer in the Latin tongue, and ſucceſſively Biſhop of Landaff and Hereford, in the beginning of the XVIIth century. He was born at Havington, in Orlington hundred, in Northamptonſhire; he calls it Havington (a), when writing in Engliſh; but in his Latin book, the letter being reverſed, we read Hannington, which is copied by Wood (b) and all ſubſequent writers, though there is really no ſuch place in that county (c). His father had at this time, 1561, no proviſion made for him; but as his affairs quickly changed for the better, he cauſed this ſon of his to be very carefully educated; nor was this diligence employed in vain, ſince the admirable capacity of his ſon Francis, diſcovered itſelf ſo early, and with ſuch luſtre, that in his ſixteenth year he was ſent to the univerſity of Oxford (d), and in 1578 he was elected ſcholar of Chriſt-Church (e). He ſtudied there with great reputation, and took his degree of Bachelor of Arts, January the thirteenth 1580, being of the ſame ſtanding with the famous Henry Cuffe, already mentioned in this work (f). March 16th, 1583, he was admitted to the degree of Maſter of Arts (g), and was at that time accounted one of the moſt ingenious perſons, as well as aſſiduous ſtudents, in the univerſity. He gave a very ſignal inſtance of the elevation, as well as elegance of his genius, in a little treatiſe he wrote about this time, on a very curious and ſublime ſubject; and as he ſhewed the brilliancy of his wit, and the acuteneſs of his underſtanding, in the compoſition of this treatiſe, ſo he diſcovered a degree of prudence ſcarce to be expected in ſo young a man, in confiding this book only to a few particular friends, and not ſuffering it to go abroad into the world; which if he had done, it would, in all probability, rather have injured than raiſed his reputation (b) [A]. About this time alſo, he wrote another little work, in a manner no leſs

(a) Godwin's Catalogue of Engliſh Biſhops, Lond. 1615. 4to. p. 534.

(b) Wood's Athenæ Oxonienſis, Vol. I. col. 581.

(c) Villare Anglicanum collected by order of Sir Henry Spelman.

(d) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 581.

(e) Godwini, de Præſulibus Comment. p. 642.

(f) Faſti Oxonienſis, Vol. I. col. 120.

(g) Wood's Athenæ Oxonienſis, Vol. I. col. 581.

(b) Fuller's Worthies, North. 284.

[A] *Than raiſed his reputation.*] There are but few inſtances in the Hiſtory of Literature, where the imagination and judgment keep equal pace, and very few works in which a vigorous fancy appears, that the underſtanding is able to keep in exact diſcipline, ſo as never to be carried away by it. It is the extreme rarity of theſe works that gives them their high value. Don Quixote was a moral romance, in that reſpect eaſily comprehended, and univerſally applauded. Our author's was a philoſophical fiction; and the important truths he had in view ſo elevated, that very few had the leaſt conception of them; in ſo much, that thoſe who have admired the book were rather pleaſed with the vivacity of the fable, than ſenſible of the ſolidity of the ſubject; which is the true reaſon, that at this day it is ſo little regarded, and the moſt convincing mark of it's author's foreſight, and true apprehenſion of mankind, who hid this candle under a buſhel ſo long as he lived. It was printed about five years after his death by E. M. of Chriſt-Church (i), and appeared under this title:

The Man *in the* Moon; *or a* Diſcourſe *of a* Voyage *thither*. *By* Domingo Gonſales. Lond. 1638, and 1657. 8vo.

The editor in his preface tells us, 'That this piece is 'an eſſay of fancy, where invention is ſhewed with 'judgment, and it was not the author's intention, 'ſays he, to diſcourſe thee into a belief of each parti-'cular circumſtance. It is fit thou allow him a liberty 'of conceit, where thou takeſt to thyſelf a liberty of 'judgment.

(i) Wood's Athenæ Oxonienſis, Vol. I. col. 582.

leſs ingenious, and on a ſubject ſtill more obſcure; which he likewiſe ſuppreſſed at this juncture, though he ſuffered it to be publiſhed towards the cloſe of his life, as will be obſerved in it's proper place. We have no diſtinct account of the time when he received Holy Orders, but in all probability it was as early as might be, for, on the 11th of June, 1587, he was collated to the ſubdeanery of Exeter, being then a Canon in the cathedral church of Wells (*i*). In 1590, he went with his old friend, the learned Camden, into Wales, in ſearch of antiquities (*k*); and he was ſcarce returned from thence before his father died (*l*). It is impoſſible to affirm, at this diſtance of time, when he conceived the plan of that great work which gave riſe to his fortune, as well as his reputation; but there is nothing improbable in ſuppoſing that it was either at or before this time, and that this journey might have ſome relation to it; at leaſt it is certain, that within four years after, he executed a very conſiderable article of it (*m*); for which he had the beſt materials, and in a manner very

(*i*) Le Neve's Faſti Eccleſiæ Anglic. p. 100.

(*k*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 481.

(*l*) Godwini de Præſulibus Angliæ, p. 445.

(*m*) See this verified in Note [B].

'judgment. In ſubſtance thou haſt here a new diſco-
'very of a new world, which perchance may find little
'better entertainment in thy opinion than that of Co-
'lumbus, at firſt in the eſteem of all men. Yet his
'then but poor eſpial of America, betrayed unto know-
'ledge ſo much as hath ſince increaſed into a vaſt
'plantation, and the then unknown, to be now of as
'large extent as all the other known world. That
'there ſhould be antipodes, was once thought as great a
'paradox, as now that the moon ſhould be habitable.
'But the knowledge of this may ſeem more proper for
'this our diſcovering age, in which our Galilæus's can
'by advantage of their teleſcopes gaze the ſun into
'ſpots, and deſcry mountains in the moon. But this
'and more in the enſuing diſcourſe I leave to thy can-
'did cenſure, and the faithful relation of the little eye-
'witneſs, our great diſcoverer.' Whoever this E. M. was, and it is a wonder that Anthony Wood did not let us into the ſecret, he was certainly a perſon of quick penetration, or received the key of this little work from it's author. It was tranſlated into French, and publiſhed under the following title (2):

(2) P. Niceron Memoires pour l'Hiſtoire des Hommes illuſt. tom. xxii. p. 168.

L' Homme dans la Lune: *ou le Voyage Chimerique fait au Monde de la* Lune, *découvert, par* Dominique Gonzales, *Avanturier Eſpagnol. A La* Haye, 1651, *in* 12*mo.*

The ſhadow of this performance is, that Domingo Gonſales, a bold whimſical enterprizing Spaniard, after having run through a variety of adventures, being ſhipwrecked with a negro ſervant on an uninhabited iſland, diſcovered by the fertility of his invention, a variety of curious and uſeful ſecrets, which gradually led him to attempt a paſſage through the air in a machine ſupported by ganza's, or a kind of wild geeſe, and that after various experiments, he was at length borne away by theſe flying courſers from the top of the pike of Teneriff to the moon. The ſenſe is, that if ever diſcoveries ſhall be made of ſuch a paſſage, it is moſt likely that the profundity of the Spaniſh genius will reach it, and poſſibly their romantic ſpirit lead them to the attempt. But whatever becomes of the fable, which is ſo pleaſantly managed, and ſo well ſuſtained, that it has amuſed the bulk of readers without looking farther; the judicious peruſer will plainly perceive, that our author has hinted a multitude of philoſophic truths little underſtood in thoſe times, and perhaps no where more clearly, elegantly, or ſatisfactorily repreſented, than in this treatiſe. He not only gives his reader to underſtand, that this earth is a planet in reſpect to the ſun, and a moon to the moon, but he ſhews likewiſe the effects this would have on a ſpectator placed between our earth and the moon; he diſcourſes truly and correctly of gravity and attraction; ſhews the reaſon why the latter muſt be weaker in the moon, and what may very poſſibly be it's effects; deſcants upon the length of lunar days and nights, and from thence gives a plauſible account why the inhabitants of that world ſtand in need of a larger moon than we. He conjectures, that ſince we ſee but one ſide of the moon, becauſe her rotation on her own axis, and her revolution about the earth is performed exactly in the ſame time, that there is ſome extraordinary proviſion for light on the other ſide, with a multitude of ſingularities of the like nature. Mr Wood and ſeveral others have thought, that Biſhop Wilkins borrowed from our author; but much of this does not appear, though it is true he wrote two treatiſes on part of the ſubjects included in this, the one entitled, *A Diſcovery of a* New World: *or a Diſcourſe tending to prove that it is probable there may be another habitable* World *in the* Moon; and the other, *A Diſcourſe concerning a* New Planet, *which is our* Earth. At the cloſe of the firſt he gives us his thoughts of this performance (3), with which we ſhall conclude this long note. 'Having thus finiſhed (ſays Biſhop Wil-
'kins) this diſcourſe, I chanced upon a late fancy
'under the feigned name of Domingo Gonſales, written
'by a late reverend and learned Biſhop. In which
'there is delivered a pleaſant and well contrived fancy
'concerning a voyage to this other world. He ſup-
'poſeth that there is a natural and uſual paſſage for
'many creatures betwixt our earth and this planet.
'Thus he ſays, thoſe great multitudes of locuſts, where-
'with divers countries have been deſtroyed, do proceed
'from thence. And if we peruſe the authors who treat
'of them, we ſhall find that many times they fly in num-
'berleſs troops, or ſwarms; and for ſundry days toge-
'ther, before they fall, are ſeen over thoſe places in great
'high clouds, ſuch as coming nearer are of extenſion
'enough to obſcure the day, and hinder the light of
'the ſun. From which, together with divers other
'ſuch relations, he concludes, that it is not altogether
'improbable they ſhould proceed from the moon.
'Thus likewiſe he ſuppoſeth the ſwallows, cuckows,
'nightingales, with divers other fowl which are with
'us only half a year, to fly up thither when they go
'from us. Amongſt which kind there is a wild ſwan
'in the Eaſt Indies, which at certain ſeaſons of the
'year do conſtantly take their flight thither. Now
'this bird being of a great ſtrength, able to continue
'for a long flight, as alſo going uſually in flocks, like
'our wild geeſe, he ſuppoſeth that many of them to-
'gether might be taught to carry the weight of a
'man, eſpecially if an engine were ſo contrived, as he
'thinks it might, that each of them ſhould bear an
'equal ſhare in the burthen. So that by this means it
'is eaſily conceivable, how once every year a man
'might finiſh ſuch a voyage, going along with theſe
'birds at the beginning of winter, and again returning
'with them at the ſpring. And here, one that had a
'ſtrong fancy were better able to ſet forth the great
'benefit and pleaſure to be had by ſuch a journey. And
'that whether you conſider the ſtrangeneſs of the
'perſons, language, art, policy, religion of thoſe inha-
'bitants, together with the new traffick that might be
'brought thence. In brief, do but conſider the plea-
'ſure and profit of thoſe later diſcoveries in America,
'and we muſt needs conclude this to be inconceivably
'beyond it.' Biſhop Wilkins's two treatiſes are very ſeriouſly and ſolidly written, and with much labour and learning, diſcuſſing thoroughly ſome, but not all the points that had been illuſtrated by our prelate, whoſe tract excluſive of Don Gonſales's adventures, which are only the vehicle of his inſtructions, does not comprehend more lines than there are pages in the other two diſcourſes. It is not at all wonderful, that at the time he wrote this treatiſe he was unwilling to publiſh it, neither is it ſtrange that for half a century after his deceaſe, the whimſy of this work ſhould be more regarded than it's wiſdom; but that ſince the publication and univerſal reception of the new Philoſophy, this admirable piece ſhould remain ſtill neglected, is not eaſily to be explained; and for this reaſon we have taken ſome pains to revive the credit of this ſingular performance, *by ſetting it in a true point of light.*

(3) Diſcovery of a New World, p. 185, 186, 187.

very different from that in which his whole work was at firſt publiſhed, a circumſtance very little atttended to by thoſe who have hitherto given us his memoirs, and which therefore we look upon ourſelves obliged to explain and illuſtrate [B]. On the thirtieth of January, 1595, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity (n), being then Rector of Samford-Orcais in Somerſetſhire, Prebendary of St Decuman in the church of Wells, Reſidentiary there, Rector of Biſhop's Lidiard, by the reſignation of the vicarage of Weſton in Zoyland, all in the ſame county; and Subdean of Exeter. He was eſteemed by the beſt judges a very able Preacher, and is commended by a very judicious Critic for honeſty and boldneſs in this character, when a very young man; in which, upon ſifting the matter cloſely, he loſt nothing either in point of ſafety or reputation; on the contrary, he came to be conſidered at the Court, and elſewhere, as a man of ſenſe and ſpirit, and one who had a true notion of the importance of his function (o) [C]. He never publiſhed, however, but one Latin ſermon, on the third verſe of the fifth chapter of St Luke. After much meditation, he ſent abroad his Catalogue of the Biſhops of England, a work, though ſhort and imperfect in itſelf, and which no man knew better than he did, yet admirable, conſidering the time in which it was wrote, the age of it's author, who was then ſcarce forty, and the prodigious difficulties that attended the collecting materials in thoſe times (p), of which a ſtronger argument cannot well be offered, than the ſlender improvements that have

(n) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 581. Faſt. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 150.

(o) Sir John Harrington's Brief View of the ſtate of the Church of England.

(p) Hiſt. & Antiquitates Oxonienſis, p. 262.

[B] *To explain and illuſtrate.*] There is a very fair manuſcript preſerved in the library of Trinity College at Cambridge, of our author's own hand writing, conſiſting of 100 pages, with a very neat index at the end, which bears this title, *Hunc Catalogum, conſcripſit Francis Godwyn, Eccleſiæ Wellenſis Canonicus, Anno Domini* 1595. *Anno Reg. Eliz.* 38. A Duw, a digon. *that is*, Francis Godwyn, Canon of the Church of Wells, wrote this Catalogue, in the year 1595, and 38th of Q. Elizabeth. Win GOD, win all. This muſt be underſtood of the beginning of the year, ſince at the end we have this date, Dec. 15. 1594. It is larger, more elegant, and in ſome things more accurate, than the article of the Biſhops of this ſee of Bath and Wells, even in the laſt edition of his elaborate work. We owe the publication of it to the indefatigable Thomas Hearne (4), who ſtood himſelf indebted for it to his worthy friend and patron Beaupre Bell, Eſq; a great lover, as well as an excellent judge, of all things relating to Britiſh Antiquities. Some years before, Mr Hearne had publiſhed a part of it, and with it the following extract of a letter from the late learned Mr Thomas Baker, of St John's, in the ſame univerſity (5). 'This account of Gul. de Marchia being 'ſent me from Mr Bell, from a MS at Trin. Coll. of 'Francis Godwin, then Canon of Wells, ann. 1595, 'with an intimation of conveying it to you; I ſend it, 'but leave it entirely to you to make what uſe of it 'you pleaſe, if it be of any. The MS is a very fair 'one, and certainly wrote by Fr. Godwin, being his 'firſt eſſay. How he came to alter ſo much in this, 'and ſeveral other of the Biſhops of Bath and Wells, I 'cannot ſay. The catalogue contains only the Biſhops 'of Bath and Wells.' The plaineſt and moſt probable account of this matter ſeems to be this, that our author compoſed his whole work originally in Latin, but was prevailed upon by his friends to make an eſſay of the reception it would meet with by giving the ſubſtance of it in Engliſh. That he made no ſecret of this Hiſtory of Bath and Wells, and conſequently made no alterations from clandeſtine motives, appears from hence, that he actually communicated it to Sir John Harrington, who cites from it what he ſays of the father, Dr Thomas Godwin, which paſſage is not now to be found either in ſubſtance in the Engliſh, or in the ſame, or words to the like purpoſe, in his Latin work, as it now appears. But as Sir John has not cited the whole paſſage that is wanting in the printed work, and as it contains an apology for his not giving a longer character, and inſiſting more largely in commendation of ſo good a parent, becauſe he ſays, he had rather the world in general ſhould enquire, why he did not render him juſt praiſes, than that a few malevolent evil-ſpeaking perſons ſhould demand, why he did praiſe him, we will inſert the whole paſſage; whence the reader will ſee, that though extremely juſt, and natural within four years after his death, it became leſs ſo at the diſtance of fourteen, and was therefore entirely omitted (6). 'O! illum ſe-'liceſm, ſi felix maluiſſet manere, quam regimines ec-'cleſiaſtici labores, tum ſuſcipere, cum laboribus impar, 'fractus ſenio, invalidus corpore, neceſſum illi fuerit ali-'orum uti auxilio. Qui quanquam ii delecti fuerint, 'qui omnium maxime debuerint optimi ſenis famæ & 'ſaluti proſpicere: tamen (quod evinere ſolet) tanquam 'in re aliena negligentiores facti, de ſua tantum folli-'citi, utranque perdiderunt. Hic vero expectare quis 'jure poſſit, ut quantos olim labores extant laverit in 'propaganda veritate evangelica, quam ſtudioſe pie-'tatem ſociaſque virtutes coluerit, gregem denique, ſibi 'commiſſum, quam ſollicite cuſto dierit ſaltem paucis 'commemorarem. Sed cum præclara virtus præconem 'aut encomiaſtam nuſquam deſideret; & modeſtiæ meæ 'magis congruum, & ad gloriam illius propagandam 'commodius exiſtimo, ab aliis poſthac laudes ejus decan-'tari, quibus fidem derogare non poſſit ſanguinis propin-'quitas, ac interim, quæri potius a ceteris mortalibus, 'cur non laudaverim, quam à calumniatoribus paucis & 'malevolis, cur laudaverim.'

(4) At the end of Johan. de Wethamſtede Chronicon, p. 635.

(5) Joan. de Trokelowe, Annales Edward II. p. 381.

(6) Franciſci Godwini, Catalogus Epiſcoporum Bathon. & Wellenſium, p. 98, 99.

[C] *Of the importance of his function.*] In thoſe days, when the generality of people manifeſted a great zeal for religion, it ſometimes fell out, as in theſe, that their actions and ordinary courſe of life did not ſeem to expreſs any lively ſenſe of religion at all. In caſes of this ſort ſome of the Clergy, and amongſt theſe Mr Godwin, thought it his duty to reprehend ſuch vices as were moſt glaring and moſt common in the preſence of thoſe who were moſt addicted or expoſed to the ſtrongeſt temptations to them. Thus he ſuited his ſermon to his auditors, not to tickle their ears with the condemnation of thoſe vices from which they were moſt exempt, and the applauſe of thoſe virtues for which they were moſt diſtinguiſhed; but by an honeſt and free repreſentation of thoſe ill qualities, with which they either were or might be infected; neither made he any diſtinction in conditions, but made his court to the great, if he made it at all, by ſhewing them they were but men, and often ſinful men, of whoſe ſouls therefore the ſame care was to be taken as of the meaneſt of the people (7). 'Before 'his going to Exeter, ſays Sir John Harrington, I had 'ſome acquaintance with him, and have heard him 'preach more than once at our aſſizes, and elſe-'where; his manner was to be ſharp againſt the vices 'moſt abounding in that time, ſacrilege, ſimony, 'contempt of God in his miniſters, and want of 'charity. Amongſt other of his ſermons, preaching 'once of Dives and Lazarus, he ſaid, *that though the* 'Scriptures *had not expreſſed plainly who* Dives *was*, 'yet by his cloaths and face, he might be bold to affirm, 'he was at the leaſt a Juſtice *of* Peace, *and perhaps of* 'Oyer *and* Terminer *too*. This ſpeech was ſo ill 'taken by ſome guilty conſciences, that a great matter 'was inforced to be made of it, that it was a dan-'gerous and ſeditious ſpeech; and why, forſooth? 'Becauſe it was a dear year. But ſee how a man's 'enemies ſometimes do him as much good as his 'friends, their fond accuſation, and his diſcreet ju-'ſtification, made him both better known and more 'reſpected by them that were able to do him moſt 'good.' No perſonal or malevolent ſarcaſm, but a juſt intimation, that no ſuperiority of rank cancels the ties of humanity, or the obligations of charity.

(7) Brief View of the State of the Church of England, p. 166, 167.

[D] *To*

have been made since. This Catalogue, concise as it was, met with such general approbation, that Queen Elizabeth bestowed upon him immediately the bishopric of Landaff, which had not been above two months vacant (*q*), and to which he was consecrated, November the second, 1601: the reward was royal, but consisted rather in title than in substance; for this bishopric, now small, was then so small, that it did not produce more than one hundred and fifty pounds a year (*r*); and therefore, as well in regard to him, as for the sake of the service which he had lately rendered to the commonwealth of letters, and the Church [*D*], he had liberty to keep one of his dignities, which seems to

(*q*) Fuller's Church History, Cent. XVII. book x. p. 2.

(*r*) Godwin's catalogue of English Bishops, p. 534.

[*D*] *To the commonwealth of letters and the Church.*] The digesting into a regular chronological order the succession of prelates in the respective dioceses within this kingdom, as simple and plain a scheme as it may now appear, was never attempted before the time of Dr Godwin; no wonder therefore that his essays were faulty, or that he revised and corrected them so many times. His coming abroad at first was the greatest difficulty, and on this perhaps he had never ventured, if the rank and power of his patron and the Queen's favour had not encouraged him. The title is as follows:

A Catalogue *of the* Bishops *of* England *since the first planting of the* Christian Religion *in this Island; together with a brief* History *of their* Lives *and* memorable Actions, *so near as can be gathered out of* Antiquity. *By* F. G. *Sub-Dean of* Exeter. Lond. 1601. in 4to.

It is dedicated to the Right Honourable Sir Thomas *Sackvyll*, Baron of Buckhurst, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, Lord High Treasurer of England, and Chancellor of the university of Oxford, to whom he was chaplain. In his preface Dr Godwin tells us, 'that 'his delight in the study of *History* and Antiquities, 'had been somewhat greater than was needful for a 'man who had dedicated himself and his labours unto 'the service of God's Church in the Ministry, which 'fault he had long before in some sort reformed, by 'restraining himself within the compass of such anti-'quities as seemed to concern only ecclesiastical causes 'or persons. That his collections, with regard to mat-'ters ecclesiastical, could add nothing unto Mr Fox's 'large and painful work; but, that in the other kind, 'relating to ecclesiastical persons, what many years 'reading and observation could yield unto him, he had 'seven or eight years before comprized into a volume, 'which with some additions he was now induced to 'publish. The principal reason, says he, that moved 'me thereunto is in effect, that which Tacitus saith 'every Historiographer should propose unto himself, 'Ne virtutes sileantur, utque pravis dictis factisque ex 'posterate & infamiâ metus sit.' In the latter of these, the faults of those men of whom I am to write, I need not greatly to pain myself; for it is not to be denied, that the most part of the Chroniclers and Historiographers of our age have been hard enough, at least upon the Prelates and Clergy of former times, every where, like Cham's discovering the nakedness of these fathers, but seldom or never endeavouring with Sem to hide the same, much less affording unto them any honourable mention, never so well deserved. This kind of dealing, though happily intended to good purposes, might not expect that success and blessing at God's hand, that the plain and sincere truth is wont to find. These men impugning somewhat too furiously the superstition and errors which the Clergy of former times in a great measure through ignorance did teach and defend, whilst the rather to discredit their doctrine they depraved their persons, it hath pleased God that this uncharitable course should fort to some other effect than was intended, and that such as without his great mercy was like to have caused an inconvenience of little less importance, I will not say greater, than that which our late Reformation had redressed. For in the vulgar sort, which distinguish not so easily between persons and things, it bred a conceit not only that the men were wicked, and so their doctrine corrupt, although I know the consequence to be weak, but also their functions and callings to be utterly unlawful and anti-christian; which opinion once received in the minds of the multitude, gave occasion of divers plots, coloured with the plausible shew of reformation, but indeed principally aiming at the goods and revenues of the Church, the temporal rewards of learning, which being once taken away, what confusion is like to follow we may easily see by the effects it bringeth forth elsewhere. Those countries that heretofore have yielded great plenty of able work-folks for the Lord's vineyard, now that brood is spent which attained learning the rewards yet standing whole, they hardly can shew a man able to set pen to paper in defence of the truth. Yea even amongst us, although the godly and excellent care of her Majesty hath preserved the state of this our Church, in such sort as I think no other reformed Church of Christendom any thing near comparable unto it, yet the example of others, the known greediness of so many sacrilegious cormorants as await daily the destruction of the same, and the doubt least it will decay, for that we cannot hope for the like piety in all succeeding princes, it so far forth discourageth men from the study of Divinity, as the best wits daily refuse the universities, or Divinity at the least, which in some other countries is accounted the surest way to advancement, and rather betake themselves to any other kind of life. Hereof it cometh to pass, that every age bringeth forth less plenty of learned men than other amongst us. He also *remarks*, which is particularly worth the reader's attention, that he is not to expect any copious discourse of the lives and actions of the Bishops *of his* own time, or near it, since he had purposely avoided to set down any thing of them, but what either he found written by others, or else remaineth to be seen in public record. And that he hath taken this course because he judged it neither seemly to praise, nor safe to reprehend (how justly soever) those men, who either by themselves, their near friends, or posterity then living, might seem either to have allured him to flatter, or deterred him from disclosing that truth which otherwise he would have uttered. Neither did he think it needful to say much of them, who being either present in action, or fresh in memory, were sufficiently known. And whereas he has passed over in silence two sees, he was obliged to it by want of some necessary instructions, which by reason of the distance of his dwelling from them, he had not means to attain, although he had endeavoured it. He therefore desired all men who were able to yield him help for the supplying of whatsoever might seem wanting either in those sees, or any other.

It was by way of supplement to this edition, that Sir John Harrington wrote the short treatise that has been so often mentioned, for the use of Prince Henry, son to King James, with whom he was in great favour. It rises higher in many places than the close of our author's book, but goes no lower than the year 1608. It was not intended for public view, otherwise in all probability the author would not have expressed himself so freely; but of this more in it's proper place, that is, in the article of the author, who well deserves one; but it may not be amiss to present the reader here with his character of our author, and his books. 'Of this Bishop (says he) I may speak sparingly, or 'rather spare all speech, considering that every leaf of 'his worthy work is a sufficient testimony of his vir-'tuous mind, indefatigable industry, and infinite read-'ing; for even as we see commonly those gentlemen 'that are well descended, and better bred, are most 'careful to preserve the true memory and pedigree of 'their ancestors, which the base and ignorant, because 'they could not conserve, will seem to condemn. So 'this worthy Bishop, collecting so diligently, and re-'lating so faithfully, the succession and lives of so 'many of our Christian most reverend Bishops in for-'mer ages, doth prove himself more by spiritual than 'carnal birth, to come of those ancestors of whom it 'was long before prophesied by the princely Prophet, 'Instead of thy fathers, thou shalt have children 'whom thou shalt make Princes in all places.'

to have been his ſubdeanery of Exeter (*s*); and alſo to take the rectory of Kingſton-Seymour, in the dioceſe of Bath and Wells (*t*); which whatever favours they may be in appearance, yet without them the biſhopric had been none. He ſucceeded Dr William Morgan, who was tranſlated to St Aſaph, and to whoſe pious care he always profeſſed himſelf obliged, for having made the biſhopric what it was, and for having opened a path for him to make it better (*u*). While he continued in this ſee, which was ſixteen years, he employed his leiſure hours in the improvement of his Catalogue, and in making collections relative to our Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory (*w*). In 1615, he publiſhed another edition of his Catalogue, with conſiderable additions, and more conſiderable alterations, which he dedicated to King James. But by ſome very unlucky accident, this new Catalogue was moſt wretchedly and erroneouſly printed, through the author's being at a great diſtance from the preſs; and therefore, to gratify the deſire of the Public, and to comply with the advice of his learned friends, he reſolved to publiſh it the next year, as he originally intended, in Latin; which he accordingly did, with the King's Licence; and in this alſo he made conſiderable alterations, but with great propriety, as he was ſenſible, that though his two Engliſh Catalogues could only benefit his own countrymen, this would be read and examined throughout Europe (*x*). He alſo ſent abroad in the ſame year, and in the ſame language, from the collections before-mentioned, the annals of thoſe three Engliſh reigns preceding that in which he was born, digeſted into ſo clear and conciſe a method, as recommended it equally to the lovers of hiſtory (*y*), and to ſuch as had a true reliſh of the beauties of an elegant Latin ſtile (*z*), in which he certainly fell ſhort of none of his contemporaries; in which he has been imitated by few, and exceeded by none [*E*]. In conſideration of theſe learned labours, King James tranſlated him

(*s*) See Le Neve's Faſti Eccl. Anglic.

(*t*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 582.

(*u*) De Præſul. Angl. Comment. P. 443.

(*w*) Sir John Harrington's Brief View, p. 165.

(*x*) De Præſulibus Angliæ Comment. in Præfat.

(*y*) Hiſtor. & Antiquit. Oxonienſis, lib. ii. p. 262.

(*z*) Nicholſon's Hiſt. Library, p. 85.

The title of the ſecond edition of his book in Engliſh ran thus: *A* Catalogue *of the Biſhops of* England *ſince the firſt planting of* Chriſtian *Religion in this Iſland. Together with a brief* Hiſtory *of their* Lives *and memorable* Actions, *ſo near as can be gathered out of* Antiquity. *Whereunto is prefixed, A* Diſcourſe *concerning the firſt* Converſion *of our* Britain *unto* Chriſtian *Religion. By* Francis Godwin, *now Biſhop of* Llandaff. London: Printed for Thomas Adams. 1615.

In this the two biſhoprics formerly omitted were ſupplied, many things added in the courſe of the work, and at the end there is a diſcourſe concerning ſuch Engliſhmen, as had either been, or in our hiſtories were reputed Cardinals of the Church of Rome; and this for two reaſons, firſt, becauſe theſe perſons were in themſelves eminent and memorable in many reſpects; and next, becauſe Ciaconius had publiſhed a very florid but falſe account of them, which our author held it his duty to refute. The Latin work, incomparably more perfect in every reſpect, is thus entitled,

De Præſulibus Angliæ *Commentarius: Omnium Epiſcoporum, necnon & Cardinalium ejuſdem gentis, nomina, tempora, Seriem, atque actiones maximè memorabiles ab ultima antiquitate repetita complexus. Per Franciſcum Godwinum, Epiſcopum Landavenſem.* Londini *ex Officina* Nortoniana *apud Joannem Billium.* 1616. 4to.

This as well as the laſt Engliſh edition is dedicated to King James, and indeed except ſome ſmall alterations, the dedications are pretty much the ſame; the preface however is longer, and very different from that prefixed to the foregoing edition. In it he gives an account of the riſe and progreſs of his undertaking; he ſays, that more than twenty years before he began to make a Catalogue of Engliſh Biſhops, intending nothing more than that title expreſſed; but by degrees, according to the Latin proverb, his jug was become a Jar. The firſt edition he ſays his friends wrought or rather wrung from him in Engliſh; the latter he greatly enlarged, but that it was ſo ill printed he could ſcarce own it. This accident induced him to recollect and to reflect on the advice given him long before by many of his learned friends, which was to put his work into Latin, which he accordingly did. At the cloſe he promiſes, in caſe proper materials were furniſhed him by thoſe who had it in their power, to ſend abroad like Catalogues of the Biſhops in Scotland and Ireland. This edition is elegantly, though not very correctly printed.

[*E*] *In which he has been imitated by few, and exceeded by none.*] We will ſpeak of this work and of it's different editions in this place, that we may keep within bounds as much as poſſible. The title of it runs thus:

Rerum Anglicarum Henrico viii. *Edvardo* vi. *& Maria regnantibus Annales.* Lond. 1616. in fol. ib. 1628. and 1630. in 4to and fol.

The Biſhop in his preface obſerves, that he had undertaken this work when he was paſſed fifty years of age, with a view to excite others of greater abilities to write the Hiſtory of thoſe reigns, and to ſatisfy the deſires of foreigners; who not without cauſe complain, that thoſe times, than which for 1000 years there have not been any more memorable, with regard to remarkable revolutions, were not deſcribed by any perſon except in a ſlight manner, and as if the writer had not intended any ſuch thing. He in this excepts Polydor Virgil, who was not only ignorant of our language and conſtitution, but alſo wrote the firſt of theſe reigns, which was the only one he wrote, partially, in abuſe both of K. Henry and Cardinal Wolſey, that he might make his court to Queen Mary; notwithſtanding which the methodical elegance of his hiſtory gained it that credit which truth only deſerved, and was another juſt reaſon for his taking up the pen. He tells us therefore he had written in ſuch a way, that though many things proper to an Hiſtorian might be wanting in him, yet he is confident his endeavour would find acceptance with many. Other writers may have here (as it were) a ſtorehouſe, from whence they may ſupply themſelves with ſome materials which help to raiſe an everlaſting monument. Foreigners likewiſe, ignorant of the Engliſh tongue, may have ſome knowledge of thoſe times, 'till ſome other ſhould ariſe, who ſhall compile an Hiſtory of our nation, worthy the majeſty of the Britiſh name. He aſſures us, that he has in this work been ſo obſervant of impartiality, ſincerity, and truth, that he feared nothing ſo much as a domeſtic anger for not being pious enough, becauſe he would not be over pious. Many contend, that a good Prince ſhould be μὴ πονηρὸς, ἀλλ' ἡμιπονηρὸς.

This he thinks no man will affirm of an Hiſtorian, though ſome ſeem to be of that opinion; ſo that he will be thought to fail of his duty either to God or his country, who in writing Hiſtory will not be at leaſt ἡμιπονηρὸς, who by affirming uncertainties as known truths, ſhall not yield much to his affections, if they be but joined with the love of religion and his country. But how much do they injure truth, ſays our author, who from lies and falſhood deſire help to ſupport her? But we have no need of them; and if we had, yet it would not do us much ſervice to rely on ſuch weak advantages, ſince one pious lye detected, proves more hurtful than a thouſand others, although ſo artfully contrived as to eſcape diſcovery, can prove profitable. For an example of this we need ſeek no farther than the Papiſts, whoſe feigned miracles, impoſtures, and legends, have made

even

him from Landaff to Hereford (*a*), where he ſucceeded Dr Robert Bennet; and through the care of that reverend prelate, and his predeceſſor, Dr Herbert Weſtphaling, he found the houſes at Hereford and at Whitborne in excellent condition, which he gratefully acknowledged, and did juſtice to their memories, in that reſpect, to poſterity (*b*). He was conſecrated, November 28th, 1617, being then in his fifty-ſixth year (*c*). There, in as great a degree as the duties of his function and ſome bodily infirmities would permit, he proſecuted his ſtudies, but very prudently aimed rather at perfecting the works he had already publiſhed, than to inveſtigate new ſubjects. Accordingly, in 1621, he publiſhed an Appendix to his Latin Commentaries, on the ſucceſſion of Engliſh Biſhops, in that language, and in them ſpeaks very highly, of Archbiſhop Abbot, of Canterbury, and Dr Williams, Biſhop of Lincoln, and afterwards Archbiſhop of York (*d*). But his complements to them, though very well turned, are mighty conciſe. In reſpect to Dr King, Biſhop of London, then lately deceaſed, he vindicates, with great ſtrength of argument, and with becoming vehemence, the character of that good man, from the infamous calumny of dying a Papiſt; which defence takes up more room than he affords to three or four Prelates that were then living (*e*). By this he put his ſeal to that undertaking, and left it in the beſt condition it was in his power to leave it to ſucceeding times. Yet, however honeſt our author's intentions, whatever candour he expreſſed in the execution of them, they have been, as what has there been, ſo well deſigned, or ſo well put together, that has not been expoſed to cenſure [*F*]. It is a ſhade that always attends the light of Fame, more eſpecially

(*a*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 731.

(*b*) Godwini, Append. ad Comment. de Præſulibus Angliæ, p. 11.

(*c*) Regiſtr. Abbot, fol. 186.

(*d*) Append. ad Comment. de Præſulibus Angliæ, p. 1, 6.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 2, 3, 4.

even what is true ſuſpected. Wherefore I am well content, that truth, which in ſpite of all oppoſition will at length be every where victorious, ſhall prevail with me. I have done to my power. Politely, eloquently, politicly, I could not write. Truly, and *ſide Atticâ*, I could. If I have done amiſs in any point, it is not out of malice, but error. Degory Whear tells us, that theſe annals are written *non magis ſuccinctâ, quam laudabili brevitate* (8), which Dr Nicholſon obſerves to be our author's *juſt character, and that he was a perfect maſter of the Latin tongue* (9). We might cite in farther ſupport of this, ſeveral foreign teſtimonies, which we decline, becauſe theſe ought to weigh little either for or againſt an Engliſh Hiſtorian, who is entitled by the law of reaſon to what would be granted him by the law of the land, an equal trial in which his countrymen are to be his judges. A reverend prelate has taken his Life of Queen Mary into his collection of Engliſh Hiſtory, and certainly it would have been no diſcredit to it, if the annals of the other two reigns had been added alſo; for our Hiſtorians are in nothing ſo defective as in method, and even thoſe who are the moſt careful in reſpect to facts, are but too apt to be negligent in point of dates. Theſe annals, when publiſhed for the third time in Latin, were likewiſe rendered into Engliſh, and that in ſuch a manner as made them in ſome meaſure a new work; and this too, if not of our author's writing, yet in ſome degree of his dictating, and ſent into the world with his allowance. They came out under the following title,

(8) Relationes Hyemales, Oxon. 1637. p. 144.

(9) Hiſtorical Library, p. 85.

'Annales of England: containing the Reigns of 'Henry the VIIIth, Edward the VIth, and Queen 'Mary. Written in Latin by the Right Honourable 'and Right Reverend Father in God Francis Lord 'Biſhop of Hereford. Thus engliſhed, corrected, and 'enlarged, with the Author's Conſent, by Morgan 'Godwyn.' In the preface to the tranſlation his ſon tells us, that he hopes the reader will not object againſt the omiſſion of ſome things in them, the knowledge whereof is to our natives ſo innate, that now to inſert them, were as bad as to farce with tautologies, and make this little volume nauſeous. Yet hath it loſt nothing of it's bulk, whatſoever it hath of it's ſplendor, thoſe defalcations being here and there in the courſe of this Hiſtory ſupplied with not unneceſſary additions, whereto the author's approbation and conſent was not wanting. Theſe Engliſh Annals have alſo been deſervedly admired.

[*F*] *That has not been expoſed to cenſure.*] In his life time he was hariſhly treated in private by a perſon of great worth and learning, whom one could ſcarce have thought capable of uſing ſuch courſe language towards a prelate of our author's rank and learning, and this on the account only of a very ſmall hiſtorical miſtake It occurs indeed in a private letter, viz. from Sir Henry Savil, to Mr Camden, dated Feb. 26. 1617 (10); but inſtead of excuſing, this heightens the offence; becauſe it was attacking and leſſening the the character of a man of letters in ſuch a way, as he had it not in his power to defend himſelf. It runs thus: 'Sir, I find in the Biſhop of Hereford's book of 'Biſhops, a babble of one William Sever, Biſhop of 'Dureſme, ſon (as he faith) of a ſievemaker, Warden 'of Merton College, and Provoſt of Eton, made 'Biſhop of Carliſle 1496, and tranſlated to Durham '*(ut videtur)* 1502, and died anno 1505. True it is, 'that Henry Sever was firſt Provoſt, and ſo named in 'the Act of Parliament, of Eton Foundation; and the 'ſame man was afterwards Warden of Merton College, 'where he had his breeding, as kinſman to our foun'der, and as our Regiſter ſays, peaè alter fundator. 'He lies buried in that church, as Warden there, and 'never Biſhop, as I remember, though he had twelve 'or fourteen eccleſiaſtical promotions, as by a pardon 'in Edward the fourth's time, to the college, I find 'him ſtiled. Beſides, the times cannot agree: Eton 'College was founded in 1440, ſo that to 1505 he 'muſt live ſixty-five years afterwards, to the latter end 'of Henry the ſeventh; whereas, in Merton College, 'we had two or three wardens in the mean time, Gi'gur and Fitz-James. I pray you adviſe with Mr 'Linſey, the Biſhop of Durham's chaplain, with you, 'what he findeth in Hiſtoriâ Dunelmenſi, touching 'that man, and at your leiſure let me underſtand from 'you.'

(10) Camdeni Epiſtolæ. p. 219.

All that our Prelate had ſaid was this, that William Sever, according to common report, was a native of Shinkley, the ſon of a poor man, who made ſieves for his bread, and, in the Engliſh of thoſe times, was ſtiled *a Sieveyer*; and his ſon having no other, took the name of his father's trade for a ſurname (11). This, it ſeems, Sir Henry took for a great affront; but being fully ſatisfied, by Mr Camden's means, that there was no connection between William Sever, Biſhop of Durham, and his predeceſſor Henry Sever, Warden of Merton, and Provoſt of Eaton, he came into pretty good temper again, and could mention the Biſhop of Landaff (though he was then tranſlated to Hereford, and this as great a miſtake as that which he had cenſured) with ſome degree of patience (12). The Oxford Antiquary, according to his uſual cuſtom, ſpeaks of him what he thought, good and ill, in that blunt language which was peculiar to him (13). 'He was, 'ſays he, a good man, a grave Divine, ſkilful Mathe'matician, excellent Philoſopher, pure Latiniſt, and 'incomparable Hiſtorian, being no leſs critical in Hi'ſtories than the learned Selden. A perſon alſo he 'was, ſo celebrated by many in his time, whether at 'home or beyond the ſeas, that his memory cannot 'otherwiſe but be precious in ſucceeding ages, for his 'indefatigable pains and travel, in collecting the ſuc'ceſſion of all the Biſhops of England and Wales, ſince 'the firſt planting of the Goſpel among the Chriſtians; 'not pretermitting ſuch of the Britiſh Church, or any 'that have been remembered by the care and diligence 'of preceding writers, or had been kept in memory 'in

(11) Catalogue of Engliſh Biſhops, p. 666.

(12) Camdeni Epiſtolæ, p. 224.

(13) Athenæ Oxonienſis, Vol. I. col. 582.

especially in the literary world. Our Prelate knew it well; but, like a wise and great man, regarded it least; for, out of his zeal to truth, and public utility, he was ever ready to combat envy, and justify science, however misrepresented or misunderstood (f). This

(f) See his Prefaces in Latin and English.

' in any old monument or record. But as he hath, in ' those his infinite labours, endeavoured, out of a pu- ' ritannical pique, to bring a scandal on the antient Ca- ' tholic Bishops; and to advance the credit of those ' that were married since the Reformation, he being ' one of that number, for the credit of the Protestant ' cause: so comes one afterwards, by name William ' Prynne, a crop-eared and stigmatized Presbyterian, ' the most inveterate enemy to the Bishops that ever ' appeared in our horizon; who thence, from his la- ' bours, takes all advantages, whether truth or not ' truth, to raise arguments against, or bring a scandal ' upon, the prelatical function. Take heed therefore ' of being partial, lest others light candles from your ' torch, and thereby, in the end, you lend a helping ' hand for the cutting your own throat.' The full and proper answer to this is to be found in the Bishop's preface to the first edition of his Catalogue (14). Mr Prynne could find nothing there which was of the Bishop's invention; and as he was very well acquainted with the original authors, from whence our author took all his facts, he might, and no doubt he would, have had recourse to them, if this Prelate had never wrote at all. But we come now to a writer, who has saved us some trouble, by collecting and abridging the scandal thrown upon the Bishop and his work by other pens (15). ' Francis Godwin was most fortunate in ' his Commentary, as he calls it, on this subject, being ' himself advanced to the episcopal order, for the good ' services that Queen Elizabeth thought he had done ' the Church by that book. It was twice published in ' English, equally full of the author's and printer's mi- ' stakes. The faults of the latter edition, especially, ' were so very gross, that they put him upon the spee- ' dy dispatch of another in Latin, which came out the ' next year. The style of this is very neat and clean; ' and he seems to have taken more pains in polishing ' it, than in gathering together all the materials of his ' history. He quotes no authorities, expecting, be- ' like, that posterity should acquiesce in his, singly, ' without enquiring any farther. He is particularly ' ungrateful to the author of the *Antiquitates Britan- ' nicæ*, from whom he has borrowed (by the great) ' his account of the see of Canterbury, varying only ' the phrase, and sometimes for the worse. The like ' carriage he is guilty of, towards Bale, Camden, and ' others: but what is most especially notorious, is, his ' transcribing out of Joseline and Mason, what he pre- ' tends to have had immediately from the Archives and ' Registraries, from the year 1559 to his own time. ' He is also frequently guilty of chronological mistakes, ' a too confident reliance on the authorities of counter- ' feit Charters, in Ingulfus and others, an uncertain ' calculation of years, beginning some at Michaelmas, ' and others at Christmas, &c. as his authors blindly ' led him: And lastly, a contenting himself with false ' and imperfect catalogues of the Prelates, in almost ' every diocese. These are the failures wherewith he ' stands charged by Mr Wharton, who modestly assures ' us, that a better progress had been made in these ' matters, by himself, within the compass of eighteen ' months, than by this Bishop in twenty years. Our ' Oxford Antiquary further complains, that he puri- ' tannically vilified Popish Bishops, with a design there- ' by to advance the credit of those since the Reforma- ' tion: whereby he had given unlucky advantages to ' William Prynne, the professed enemy of episcopacy, ' who made ill use of his book. I will not say that ' either of these censurers are mistaken: but I must ' observe to the reader, that each of them intend- ' ed to have furnished us with a view of this part ' of our ecclesiastical history, of his own drawing; ' and therefore, like all new builders, they must be ' allowed to spy more faults in the old fabrick than ' others can.' Insidious praise is of all others the foul- est kind of railing, and yet in this some writers take great delight. Henry Wharton and Anthony Wood were not of this kind; they often censured wrong, but they always thought themselves in the right. Here three authors are introduced, two abusing the third; and he who introduces them, sneering at all three, and darting at them through each other's sides. Hereafter, it may be, Providence will indulge us an opportunity of saying something for the other two, at present it is our duty to defend Bishop Godwin, not because we have written his life, but because he is injured. As to the charge of his borrowing, and not citing, the fact is false, as the reader, upon consulting the Bishop's book, will see with his own eyes. A single and a short quotation, will, in a great measure, prove this, and demonstrate that our author was not either negligent in consulting the best authors, or disposed to conceal those helps he received from them. Speaking of the first Christian King in this island, he says (16), ' It is time for me ' now to say somewhat of a certain epistle, written, as ' we find delivered by Eleutherius, Bishop of Rome, ' unto King Lucius. The copy of which epistle was ' first found, for ought I can discern, in an old Chro- ' nicle, entituled Brutus, amongst certain laws or sta- ' tutes of the Saxons. The occasion thereof was, that ' Lucius, some time after his conversion, (but whether ' before or after his baptism appeareth not) made re- ' quest unto Eleutherius to send him some kind of ab- ' stract of the Roman Laws, whereby he might esta- ' blish a settled order of government in his dominions. ' Now whereas the Druids, they were the judges of ' all matters both spiritual and temporal, the abolishing ' of them made an alteration in politic matters, as well ' as ecclesiastical, or concerning religion. So that the ' cause of reformation in both kinds being one and the ' self same, I see no reason why we should not think that ' the remedy of both was likewise sought at once. ' And true it is, that the author of the book, called ' Antiquitates Britannicæ, affirmeth, how that Elvan ' and Medwin made the foresaid motion for the Ro- ' man laws, at their being with Eleutherius before ' the baptism of Lucius, and then received answer. ' So doth Mr Fox: and the reverend father, of happy ' memory, Bishop Jewell, seemeth to be of the same ' opinion. Yet, because the authors of our great ' Chronicle, Holinshed and the rest, deliver, not only ' that this motion was made after the baptism of Lu- ' cius; but also, setting down precisely the particular ' time, do say it was in the third year after his conversion. ' I will not take upon me to pronounce either one way ' or other, but leave it unto the reader's judgment ' and discretion to determine.' In his first Catalogue of the Bishops of Bath and Wells, he quotes plentiful- ly; perhaps, when he came to print, he was deterred, by heaps of mistakes, from loading his margins; how- ever, for such a work as he intended, he cites abun- dance of authorities, Bale, fifty times at least. At the head of the article of Norwich, it is said, *collected for the most part out of* Mr Alexander Nevill, *his* Norwi- cus, *by* R. T. At the head of that of Exeter, we read, *this Discourse following is taken for the most part* verbatim, *out of Master* John Hooker's *Catalogue of the Bishops of* Exeter. This has not much the air of arrogating the merit of other men's labours to himself. That he took from moderns what he would have under- stood to be transcribed from ancient authors, is a suspicion without proof, and, we are pretty sure, is without foun- dation; for his writings manifest, that he had read those ancient authors, and therefore he might use them as well at first as at second hand (17). That he did not cite Mr Camden is true, but that the modesty of this great man induced him to desire his friends not to cite him is as true; so that now the wonder ceases, with- out bringing any charge of ingratitude on the memory of Bishop Godwin (18). That he might be mistaken as to ancient charters shall be granted, as well as that he might not be infallible in respect to dates; but then it must be also granted, that some who were very learned men mistook before him, and that many who thought themselves so have been mistaken since. The new edition of this work, elegantly and accurate- ly printed, has removed these (with regard to him) unavoidable defects, entirely.

(14) See that passage in note [D].

(15) Nicholson's Historical Libra- ry, p. 123, 124.

(16) Catalogue of English Bi- shops, p. 29, 30.

(17) See a clear testimony of this in the letter to Camden in note [H].

(18) Camdeni Epistolæ, p. 219.

[G] *Has*

This induced him to communicate to King James that ſecret, of which he wrote a diſcourſe at the univerſity; and thereby ſatisfied the King, that it was a fact, and not a fiction (*g*). In 1628, he publiſhed the ſecond edition of his Annals, which was much more correctly printed than the former; and this, without any of the high-ſtown complements which were the vice of that age, from which, however, few writers were freer than himſelf, he dedicated to King Charles (*b*). The year following, he publiſhed that diſcourſe, written in his youth, on a very myſterious ſubject; and with deſign, in ſo obſcure a ſtyle, that though many have gueſſed at it, yet his riddle, to this day, has never met with a clear ſolution (*i*) [*G*]. In 1630, he publiſhed a third edition of his Annals, which ſhews how kind

(*g*) Hiſt. & Antiquitates Oxon. lib. ii. p. 272.

(*b*) Printed by the King's Printers.

(*i*) See Dr Thomas Smith's Letters.

[*G*] *Has never met with a clear ſolution*]. This ſmall piece, which conſiſted but of two ſheets, and which is now ſo extremely ſcarce, that it is to be found only in the cloſets of the curious, was publiſhed under the following ſuccinct title.

Nuncius Inanimatus. Utopia, 1629. 8vo. i. e. *The Inanimate Courier*. The deſign of it was to point out ſeveral methods of conveying intelligence, ſecretly, ſpeedily, and ſafely; a matter frequently of great importance to private men, and ſometimes of much more conſequence to perſons in public office. In the firſt place, he gives an account of ſuch inventions as were practiſed by the Ancients, the memory of which is come down to poſterity; and then he aſſerts, that one who is a proficient in the art which he profeſſes, may tell whatever he pleaſes to another perſon at a diſtance, who is alike ſkilful, if he be within a quarter of a mile, though beſieged, or lying hid, or, perchance, detained in any place which is not directly known to him that ſends the tidings, and, if known, yet not acceſſible. 'Let nobody come near him, ſays he (19), ſecure the 'body in a priſon, let the hands be bound, hood-wink 'the face, but be not troubleſome any other way, and 'he ſhall underſtand the words of his abſent friends, 'if this liberty be not taken away from him, that he 'may be able to do thoſe things which are wont ſometimes to be done by freemen, or may do them without fear or danger. I ſay, moreover, that if the 'place be known where a friend reſides, to whom our 'meſſage ſhould be brought, and if both enjoy a full 'liberty, the cauſes being before agreed upon which 'conduce to the diſpoſition of the means, any thing 'may be told ſuch a friend, without any meſſenger 'going between each, or any living creature, though 'he be a hundred, nay, perchance, a thouſand, miles 'off, and that in a ſhort ſpace of time, perchance an 'hour, or, it may be, ſomewhat leſs. Theſe things, 'ſome whiſperingly ſay, are ſtrange and wonderful, 'but they are not ſo ſoon to be believed. But what 'doth ſeem ſo wonderful and incredible? you have 'yet but this only in the genus and ſpecies; behold 'an individual is preſented to thy eyes which thou 'wilt leſs believe. Tell unto this my nuncio at London, in as few words as may be, what you deſire 'may be told to me dwelling at Briſtol, Wells, or, if 'you will, rather at Exeter, for I do not much regard 'the length of the way, ſo it is but paſſable; I ſay, 'tell him at London, and that juſt about noon, any 'one whole verſe of the ſacred Scriptures I will ſee 'that he ſhall perform our commands in the deſigned 'place (mark what I ſay) before the high noon of the 'ſame day. Do not raſhly pronounce this propoſal 'impoſſible, for the courſe of the ſun makes the noon 'later by ſome minutes at Briſtol than at London. 'This it is that you wonder at, that this meſſenger 'ſhould exceed the heavenly motion thereof in ſwiftneſs. This he will do, will do it, I ſay, if there be 'need, or elſe I am the vaineſt perſon of all that know 'how either to ſpeak or write. What, ſpeak I of 'towers or cities that are beſieged? Our inanimate 'nuncio, not fearing any thing, will paſs through 'whole troops of enemies. A trench digged almoſt as 'low as Hell, or a wall, though higher than thoſe of 'Babylon, ſhall not hinder his journey, but he will 'faithfully perform the meſſage, ſo it be in as conciſe 'terms as may be, of him that ſent him, though beſieged; or whether he would have it told to him 'that is beſieged, and that with ſuch incredible ſwiftneſs, if he be to be found within five or ſeven miles, 'though I doubt not but it may be done effectually 'within twenty miles.' It is evident from what our author ſays, that he had two, and thoſe very oppoſite, deſigns in writing this treatiſe; the firſt was, to extol the advantages reſulting from his ſecret; and the ſecond, to avoid, in the doing this, letting ſlip any ſuch expreſſion as ſhould abſolutely reveal it. It ſhould ſeem, that nothing by his art could be done but by agreement ſettled between the parties who enter into this correſpondence; in the firſt caſe, firing guns, ringing bells, ſounding a trumpet, &c might probably be intended; in the ſecond, diſpoſing of candles, torches, or beacons, which ſignals being repeated at proper diſtances, would certainly perform all he promiſes; and in the third, bombs, granadoes, or rockets, might do the buſineſs, or, in ſome caſes, ſmokes. Theſe explanations will, perhaps, appear more clearly, by reading the following paragraph from our author, wherein he ſeems willing to be a little more explicit. 'You have 'here three promiſes of this my nuncio preſented to 'your conſideration, perchance it will be worth our 'while to ſhew how they differ among themſelves, for 'perſpicuity's ſake. In the firſt, I ſet forth the ſubtlety of deceiving, in the ſecond, the ſwiftneſs of it's 'paſſage, in the third, it's unconquered power and 'ſtrength in penetrating all things. That in the firſt 'place will eaſily be performed without any coſt or labour of any one, ſave him that ſends; but it hath 'this inconvenience, that it's frequent uſe will not free 'us from ſuſpicion. That in the ſecond place is very 'often effected without any help from others, and in 'ſome places almoſt without any charge; but, for the 'moſt part, it will do little or nothing without preparation, and that ſuch, that for each mile it will 'coſt five pounds, more or leſs, if it be deſigned for 'perpetual uſe; and nothing can be done without the 'countenance and authority of the magiſtrate, who can 'eaſily, if he pleaſe, hinder our nuncio's journey. As 'concerning the third, truly it requireth no great 'charge, but it muſt be obſerved, that he that doth 'act be ſettled in a place without danger, where he 'may reſiſt his enemies force until he hath perfected 'his work; and here we muſt not deny, that the condition of him that ſends in, is worſe than that of him 'that ſends out.' It may be, the reader will be inclined to think a little contemptibly of the methods here inſinuated, from an apprehenſion that they are things obvious enough, and the knowledge perhaps that they are things frequently practiſed. To this it may be anſwered, that all things are obvious when they are once explained; but, 'till it was explained, Columbus's egg was as much a wonder as his voyage to the new world. That theſe things were not known then is certain; that they have been ſince brought into frequent uſe, proves nothing more than that our author's judgment was as ſtrong as his imagination was vigorous, which, we muſt repeat it, are circumſtances rarely united. But it may be ſaid, why promiſe new lights, and exhibit only dark clouds? Why ſpend ſo much time to ſhew the value of a ſecret without diſcloſing it? or why entertain the world with a long chain of riddles and hard ſayings? The anſwer to this is not difficult; our author did not intend his ſecrets for the uſe of the vulgar, he wrote to men of ſuperior underſtandings, knowing that by a compariſon of circumſtances they would certainly attain his true meaning; and he wrote for perſons of ſuperior rank, who were in a ſituation to apply his diſcoveries for public benefit. At the time he wrote he had many things to apprehend, of which modern writers ſtand not at all in fear, which was another motive to his being reſerved, and that his aim was not tinctured either with vanity or ſelf-intereſt is evident, from his puſhing this matter no farther than he did. His own words will convince the reader of the truth of what has been ſaid, 'He that ſhall rightly underſtand (and by exam-

(19) Nuncius inanimatus, §. xix.

kind a reception they met with; since, though penned in Latin, and no translation till at this time, they were thrice printed in fourteen years. At this juncture also appeared a Latin paper of his, respecting the value of Roman money, which shewed how perfect a master he was of classical learning, and how correct a taste he had in most kinds of literature (*k*) [*H*]. In the latter part of his life, he fell into a low and languishing disease, which

(*k*) Hakewell's Apology for Divine Providence, Lond. 1630. folio.

' ples they are more clear than the sun in it's meridian ' splendour) how sounds of this nature are reported to ' a place far distant, will never question the verity ' hereof. And here, lest any one should timorously ' suspect these things to be effected by unlawful and ' condemned arts, in the presence of that God, who is ' both the greatest and best, I protest and openly de- ' nounce, that this discipline contains in it nothing that ' is unlawful or contrary to the laws either of God or ' man; and that many things are done by the help of ' arithmetic, geometry, and music; the rest, if not by ' usual yet by lawful means, and that at a very small ' cost, I had almost said none at all, for certainly ma- ' ny things may be performed in this kind without the ' least expence or loss that can be imagined. And see- ' ing that it is so, I leave it to the judgment of those ' that are judicious, to consider how much and how far ' these our inventions may be profitable to the Com- ' monwealth for the future. If they are defective let ' them die, and, like an untimely birth, let them not ' see the light, or, if they chance to see the light, let ' them not enjoy it ever so little, but forthwith vanish ' into nothing. Yet I my self think the use of this art ' to be very great, as well in times of peace as war, ' and I thought it my duty to bestow some pains in the ' delivery thereof, which I will not do so willingly, ' lest that when it shall be made known to many, we ' cannot use or practise these things in their due time.'

About eighteen years after, this treatise was printed, and, about fourteen after our author's death, there came abroad an English translation which bore this title.

NUNCIUS INANIMATUS, or, *The Mysterious Messenger, unlocking the Secrets of Mens Hearts, by* F. G. B. *of* H. It was near fifty years a secret who made this translation, but at length it came out; for the learned Dr Thomas Smith, in a letter to Mr Hearne, dated August 16, 1705 (20), hath these words, ' Of what ' authority the little note you mention concerning Bi- ' shop Godwin's speaking brazen head is, I know not. ' I am satisfied, that his Nuncius Inanimatus, which I ' translated into English almost fifty years since, at the ' request of the bookseller who printed it, was designed ' only in the way of wit and fancy for an amusement.' In another letter, dated the thirteenth of September following, he carries the thing still farther. ' I have ' not had by me, says he, I believe these forty years, ' the English translation of Bishop Godwin's *Nuncius* ' *Inanimatus*, which I wholly neglected and threw by ' as a trivial and puerile sort of exercise; and I fear ' that both it and the Latin original are irretrievable.' It is plain the Bishop's secret remains still a secret, for the Doctor, who made a very good translation of a book he did not understand. A Divine, who was our author's contemporary, and second to none either in point of learning or sagacity, has given a very different account of this treatise (21); and these are his words. ' Among the rare inventions, says he, which this pre- ' sent age hath afforded, Nuncius Inanimatus may just- ' ly challenge a place; and it were to be wished, that ' being an experiment of so great consequence, greater ' notice were taken of it by the higher powers than hi- ' therto hath been.' Bishop Wilkins was somewhat indebted to our author for what he has delivered to the world on similar subjects (22); perhaps it will not be displeasing to see in plain terms a secret of this nature, known to neither of these Prelates, free from all disguise, and which never yet appeared in our language.

(20) Thom. Hearn. Præfat. ad Thom. Otterbourne, p. 83.

(21) Apology for Divine Providence, in the advertisement at the close.

(22) Natural Magic, &c.

The INKS of SECRECY.

' Take of good litharge half an ounce, pick it clean, and powder it very carefully, then dissolve it in two ounces of spring water; with this ink write your true meaning. Take two or three corks, burn them carefully as long as they will flame, then quench them with a little brandy. This being reduced to a fine powder, mix with gum water, and then you have a second ink, in which write over the former what you would have thought your meaning. Your friend, to whom this shall be addressed, must take one ounce of orpiment, finely powdered and sifted, with two ounces of quick lime, being put into a wine pint of water, and well shaken, let him apply this softly with a sponge, upon which the covering letters will vanish, and the secret sense of the epistle will appear. A little practice will make this easy.

[*H*] *In most kinds of literature.*] This Dissertation upon the Roman SESTERCE and TALENT, as our author penned it in Latin, is preserved at the end of his learned friend Dr Hakewell's very valuable work; he observes, that (23) *unus sestertius, five nummus*, in the masculine gender, signifies a piece of money worth about *two pence*, or, more exactly, *ten* of them made *nineteen pence*. A thousand sesterces made a *sestertium* in the neuter gender. In regard to the talent, he remarks, that the Ancients made use of many, such as, the Attic, Euboic, Æginian, Hebraic, and Babylonish, and that when the word occurs alone, it is always to be understood of the Attic talent, the worth of which he fixes at *one hundred and ninety pounds* sterling. This is one instance, and we will produce another of his willingness to oblige his friends, by communicating to them whatever he judged worthy of their notice, or useful to any particular branch of study in which they were engaged. The judicious Camden, at least seven years after the publishing his Latin History of English Bishops, in which he is supposed to have been wanting in respect to him, speaking of the great antiquity of Kaer Lheion, or Caerleon, in Monmouthshire, delivers himself, in regard to our Prelate, thus (24). ' In confirmation of ' this, I have taken care to add some antient inscrip- ' tions, lately dug up there, and communicated to me ' by the Right Reverend Father in God, Francis God- ' win, Lord Bishop of Landaff, a lover of venerable ' antiquity, and all other good literature.' In the year 1602, some labourers digging in a meadow adjoining, found, on a chequered pavement, a statue of a person, in a short trussed habit, with a quiver and arrows, the head, hands, and feet broken off; and also the fragment of an altar, with an inscription of fair large characters about three inches long, erected by Haterianus, lieutenant-general of Augustus, and Propætor of the province of Cilicia. These inscriptions, which are preserved in Camden, are in the garden walls of Moinscourt, then the house of the Bishop of Landaff, and which became afterwards the seat of Thomas Lister, Esq; (25). He also furnished such informations as he thought acceptable to Dr Holland, who translated the Britannia with the approbation of Camden, insomuch, that some have accounted the English to be almost as much his as the Latin; in the description of Monmouthshire (26), we find this testimony of gratitude to our Prelate. ' Adjoining to port Skeweth (says he) ' is Sudbroke, the church whereof, called Trinity ' Chapel, standeth so near the sea, that the vicinity of ' so tyrannous a neighbour hath spoiled it of half the ' church yard, as it hath done also of an old fortifica- ' tion lying thereby, which was compassed with a tri- ' ple ditch and three rampiers as high as an ordinary ' house, cast in form of a bow, the string whereof is ' the sea-cliff. That this was a Roman work, the ' Britain bricks and Roman coins there found are most ' certain arguments, among which, the Reverend Fa- ' ther in God, Francis, Bishop of Landaff, (by whose ' information I write this) imparted unto me, of his ' kindness, one of the greatest pieces that ever I saw, ' coined of Corinthian copper, by the city of Elaia, ' in the lesser Asia, to the honour of the Emperor Se- ' verus, with this Greek inscription, ΑΥΤ. Λ. CEIITI. ' CEBHROC. ΠΕΡ. that is, the Emperor Cæsar Lu- ' cius Septimius Severus Pertinax. And, on the re- ' verse, an horseman, with a trophee erected before ' him, but the letters not legible, save under him, ' ΕΛΑΙΩΝ, that is, of the Elaians, which kind of ' great pieces the Italians call Medaglioni, and were ex- ' traordinary

(23) Apology for Divine Providence, London 1630. fol.

(24) Britannia, Lond. 1607. fol. Tit. Silures.

(25) Additions to Camden as published in English by the late Bishop of London.

(26) Britannia, translated by Dr Philemon Holland.

which he bore with invincible patience, and which brought him gradually to his end, towards the close of the month of April, 1633, when he wanted about a year of his father's age (l). His corps was interred in the chancel of his church, at Whitborne, which, with the manor, belongs to the Bishops of Hereford, and lies about fourteen miles from that city (m). He was, as those who lived in his times, and nearest them, confess, and as his writings incontestably prove, an admirable writer, and a general scholar (n). His stile in Latin has been highly commended, and never censured. In English, he wrote with great perspicuity and elegance, always equal to his subject, without any of those high-flown metaphors, strained comparisons, or preposterous affectations of wit, which disfigure many of the books published in his time. His learning was solid, and so was his judgment; yet there was nothing affected in the one, or overbearing in the other; on the contrary, his modesty is every where conspicuous, and he is equally tender in censure and in panegyrick. Yet his zeal for the Protestant religion, as professed by the Church of England, appears every where with a decent warmth; which, as it procured him many enemies amongst the Puritans and Papists, ought to endear his memory to all who have a just sense of our religion, and a proper respect for that cause which he maintained (o). As to his private life, though it has received some severe strictures from a modern pen, on account of the preferments he bestowed on his children (p); yet one of those children has sufficiently vindicated his character, in the account of it which he gave to Anthony Wood, importing that 'he was esteemed a good preacher, and a strict liver; but so much employed in his studies, and matters of religion, that he was, as it were, a stranger to the world, and the things thereof (q).' Such a man, how honest, how upright soever, might be imposed upon, but not seduced. There is however no proof of the former, and it would be very uncharitable to take it for granted, against a prelate otherwise so eminent in every respect. If, in the vindication of this good Bishop's fame, we have expressed some degree of warmth, let not the reader be displeased. It would be surely unkind to refuse justice to his memory who has preserved the memories of many, or to see unmoved a Prelate, whose life was devoted to the rescuing other men's reputations from oblivion, now when death has rendered him incapable of defending it, unfairly injured in his own. He married, when a young man, the daughter of Dr John Woolton, Bishop of Exeter (r), by whom he had many children; but we can speak with any tolerable degree of certainty of four only, three sons and a daughter. Thomas Godwin, Vicar of Newland, Rector of Whitborne, Prebendary of Landaff, Prebendary of Bullingham in the cathedral church of Hereford, Chancellor of that diocese, and Doctor of Divinity. He died in 1644 (s). Morgan Godwin, Bachelor of Arts, of Christ-Church, Bachelor of the Civil Law, of Pembroke College, Master of the free school at Newland in Gloucestershire, Prebendary of Warham, in the cathedral church of Hereford, and Archdeacon of Salop, in the same diocese; to both which he was collated by his father in 1631 (t); and was also Doctor of Laws of the university of Dublin, as appears by a petition of his relict to the corporation, for the relief of Minister's Widows: he died in 1645, being turned out of every thing during the rebellion, and leaving a widow and five children in such distressed circumstaces, that she was constrained to apply for that charity, and received it (u). Charles Godwin, who was beneficed at Monmouth (w). The Bishop's daughter was married to Dr John Hughes (x), Rector of Kingsland, Prebendary of Landaff, Prebendary also of Junkabarrow, in the cathedral of Hereford, and archdeacon of Hereford; he died, and was buried in his church at Kingsland, in the year 1648, being then near seventy years of age (y). Dr Godwin was succeeded in his Bishoprick by Dr William Juxon, Dean of Worcester; who, before his consecration, was removed to London. The bishopric was then bestowed on Dr Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, but he being a scrupulous man, and unwilling to take a second bishopric, waved it; so that at length,

(l) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 583. Histor. & Antiquitates Oxon. lib. ii. p. 273.

(m) Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 525.

(n) See Camden, Weever, Fuller, Wood, Antiquities of Hereford.

(o) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 228, &c.

(p) Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 525.

(q) Athenæ Oxonienſis, Vol. I. col. 582.

(r) Catalogue of Engliſh Biſhops, p. 414.

(s) Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 445, 460.

(t) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 35. Wood's Athen. Oxonienſis, Vol. I. col. 582.

(u) Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 555.

(w) Wood's Athenæ Oxonienſis, Vol. I. col. 582.

(x) Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 552. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 583.

(y) Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 552.

'traordinary coins, not for common uſe, but coined 'by the emperors, either to be diſtributed by the way 'of largeſs in triumphs, or to be ſent for tokens to 'men well deſerving; or elſe by free cities, to the glo-'ry and memory of good princes.' We will conclude with a letter from our Prelate to the learned Camden, which will ſhew his candour, his diligence, his communicative diſpoſition, with that warmth of affection and flow of ſincerity which muſt have rendered him amiable while living, and ought to endear his memory to poſterity (27). 'I ſend you here encloſed the co-'py of an old charter, which myſelf long ſince writ 'out of the autographum, remaining in the archives of 'the church of Wells. It ſeemeth to me that you have 'not hitherto lighted upon it, and I perſwade myſelf 'that Leland's conceit of naming Wells Theodorodu-'num had his grounds here. For as Theodoric, by 'corruption of ſpeech, became Tidder, ſo he might 'happily think Tiddington to be derived of Theodo-'rici dunum. This name of Theodoricus putteth me 'in mind of Theodoricus, rex and martyr, that lieth 'entombed here in our church of Marthern, and gave 'unto the place the name of Merthir Tendric, that is, 'the martyrdom of Tendric. His tomb, partly ru-'nated, I have repaired, and added a memorial or 'epitaph, the copy whereof I ſend you alſo encloſed. 'My author for what I have there ſet down, is our book 'of Landaff, called St Taylor's Book, which I per-'ceive you have not ſeen. It is a very venerable an-'tiquity, and, if ever I come to London again, I will 'bring it with me, that you may peruſe it if you pleaſe. 'The church of Exeter hath divers charters of Saxon 'kings, which methinks it were good you did ſee. 'If ever you travel that way you ſhall do well to make 'means for a ſight of them; otherwiſe, I do not think but 'by the means of my friends, I could in time get them 'copied for you. If you adviſe me ſo to do I will do 'my endeavour. You ſee how eaſily I take any oc-'caſion to talk with you, nay rather to you I ſhould 'ſay. For how often I provoke you to talk to me in 'that

(27) Camdeni Epiſtolæ, p. 109.

length, Dr Auguſtine Lindſell, Biſhop of Peterborough, was tranſlated thither, and confirmed March the 24th, 1633, who was found dead in his ſtudy, November 6, 1634, being a perſon of diſtinguiſhed character for learning and piety (z).

(z) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 583, Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 525, 526.

' that your incomparable work no man knoweth that ' ſeeth not how much time I ſpend in reading again ' and again of the ſame. For it and many other un- ' deſerved kindneſſes I reſt much beholden unto you, ' which I wiſh I may one day have means but in part ' to requite. In the mean time, with my heartieſt ſa- ' lutation, I make an end, committing you to God. ' Marthern, May 27, 1608.'

In all old evidences, not above 300 years, I find it called Marthern, but before that Marthir Tenderic.

Your very aſſured, Fr. Landavens.

E

GOWER [JOHN], or as ſome think with probability enough Sir John, an eminent Engliſh poet, in the XIVth Century, and contemporary with the famous Chaucer. We are told, by the indefatigable Leland, that according to the information he had received, he was of the ancient family of the Gowers of Stitenham, in Yorkſhire (a), which Bale repeating (b), and after him Pits (c), and Fuller (d), make him poſitively aſſert, tho' in his own opinion doubtful, and perhaps all circumſtances conſidered, notwithſtanding its being now generally received falſe, or at leaſt improbable [A]. But it is very certain that of whatever family he was, he came into the world with great advantages, and had a liberal and extenſive education, tho' we are in the dark as to the places in which he received it. The only thing that can be affirmed of him with certainty, is, that he applied his great abilities both natural and acquired, to the ſtudy of the municipal laws of this kingdom, according to the laudable cuſtom of thoſe times, when gentlemen finiſhed their education in the Inns of Court (e). He was a member of the honourable Society of the Inner Temple, and there it was Chaucer found him very eminent and much conſidered in his profeſſion (f), and there that ſtrict friendſhip grew between them, which has been ſo much celebrated by other writers, and of which they left ſuch ample teſtimonies themſelves [B].

(a) Leland. Commentar. de Script. Britan. cap. 493, p. 414.

(b) Bal. Scriptor. Bryt. Cent. VII. n. 23. p. 524.

(c) Pitſ. de illuſtr. Angliæ Scriptoribus, n. 731, p. 575.

(d) Fuller's Worthies, Yorkſhire, p. 207.

(e) Leland's Commentar. de Scrip. Britan. cap. 493. p. 415.

(f) Leland. Bal. Pits.

He

[A] *Falſe, or at leaſt improbable.* The words of Leland are, ' deſcended originally, as I have been told, ' from the family ſeated at Stitenham in the county of ' York ;' ex Stitenhamo villa Eboracenſis provinciæ, ut ego accepi originem ducens (1). Fuller gives this paſſage in theſe words, John Gower was born, ſaith Leland, at Stitenham, (in the North Riding in Bulmore Wapentake) of a knightly family (2). Leland does indeed ſay, that he was himſelf a Knight, but nothing of the family; yet Fuller is not to blame, ſince he wrote not from Leland's work, but from Bale's tranſcript. But we have more concerning our author in another work of Leland. In one place he ſays (3), ' The houſe of Gower the Poëte, ſum tyme chief Juge ' of the commune place, yet remaynith at Stitenham ' yn Yorkſhir, and diverſe of them ſyns have beene ' Knightes. There be other of the Gowers thereabout, men of veri meane landes. There be alſo of ' the Gowers men of meane landes in Richemontſhire. ' There is alſo a gentilman of landes cawllid Gower ' in Wiceſtreſhire.' According to this account, we ought to entitle him, Sir John Gower, Knight, Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas: yet in another place Leland has this memorandum (4). ' Mr Ferrares told ' me, that Gower the Juge could not be the man that ' write the bookes yn Engliſch. For he ſaid that ' Gower the Juge was about Edward the ſecundes ' tyme.' We have fought with ſome care for this Judge Gower, but have not been able to meet with any thing relating to him, either in the reign beforementioned, or any other. It is however highly probable there was a Judge of this name, and not at all improbable that our Poet was the ſame man. That he was not of the family of Stitenham, which is that of the preſent Earl Gower, may be inferred from the wide difference between their arms: thoſe of the Gowers of Stitenham are (5) barry of eight argent and gules over all a croſs flory ſable. Creſt, on a wreath a wolf paſſant argent, collar'd and chained or. But the arms of our poet were (6), argent, a cheveron, azure, the leopard's heads thereon, or, their tongues, gules, two angels ſupporters, and on the creſt a talbot. Weever, a moſt indefatigable man, and perfectly well acquainted with our author's works, aſſerts that he was of a Kentiſh family (7). Yet, in the title-page of the firſt printed edition of the only work of his extant, he is ſaid to be a native (8) of Wales. Leland alſo mentions branches of this family ſettled in many other places (9).

(1) Leland Commentar. de Scriptoribus Britannicis, cap. 493, p. 414.

(2) Fuller's Worthies of England, Yorkſhire, p. 207.

(3) Leland's Itinerary, Vol. VI. fol. 15.

(4) Id. ibid. fol. 61.

(5) Collin's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 244.

(6) Aſhmole's Theatrum Chemicum, p. 486.

(7) Weever's Ancient Funeral Monuments. p. 270.

(8) T. Barthelette's Edition of the Confeſſio Amantis, A. D. 1532. Fol. ſee alſo the Article CAXTON, Note [O].

(9) Leland's Itinerary, Vol. VI. fol. 15.

[B] *And of which they left ſuch ample teſtimonies themſelves.*] There was a great likeneſs in their tempers, and though Gower was the elder man, yet probably there was not any conſiderable difference between their ages. There is another circumſtance not mentioned by any author, that might very likely contribute to endear them to each other, and that was, their being of the ſame party. Chaucer had addicted himſelf to John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter, one of the uncles of King Richard; and our author, Gower, adhered as ſteadily to Thomas of Woodſtock, Duke of Glouceſter, another of his uncles; and ſo warm he was in his attachment, that he not only celebrates him often in his poem, hiſtorically and allegorically, but likewiſe directed that his badge, or cognizance of the ſwan, to be annexed to that collar which was the enſign of his dignity, whatever it was, which appeared on the ſtatue placed on his tomb, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter (10). Beſides, John Gower was as much offended with, and cenſured as freely, the vices of the clergy, as Chaucer had done; and therefore no wonder that they were ſo very intimate, that they conferred together about their works, and that ſometimes they argued warmly with each other without anger, and rallied without pique, of which Leland ſpeaks with ſo much pleaſure, and obſerves, that the only real diſpute between them was, which ſhould honour the other moſt. At the cloſe of his admirable poem of Troilus and Creſſide, Chaucer has theſe words (11),

(10) Anſtis's Regiſter of the Order of the Garter, Vol. I. p. 116.

(11) Chaucer's Works, by Urry, p. 333.

O moral Gower, this boke I directe
To the, and to the philoſophicall Strode,
To vouchſafe there nede is for to correcte
Of your benignities and zelis gode.

In the language of our days, thus,

O moral Gower! this little book I ſend
To thee, and to the philoſophic Stroud,
Perfect what's right, what's wrong in it amend,
As friends to me, and furtherers of good.

Gower, on the other hand, in the laſt work he publiſhed, introduces Venus ſpeaking to him, thus (12).

(12) T. Barthelette's edition of the Confeſſio Amantis, A. D. 1532. fol. 190.

—— Grete well Chaucer, whan ye mete,
As my diſciple and my poete,
For in the flours of his youth,
In ſondrie wiſe, as he well couth

Of

He was ſingularly learned, whether we reſpect words or things, and had a great genius for poetry, in which he ſought to accommodate the ſevereſt ſentiments to the ſweeteſt language. He tried this (according to the notions of thoſe times) with ſucceſs, in the French tongue. This led him to attempt imitating Ovid with more pains than profit (*g*), (ſays Leland) which has been excuſed at the expence of the age in which he lived, as being at leaſt half barbarous in the ſentiments of the critics; but perhaps it would be more juſt to conſider, how little the matter ſuited with the manner, and that thoſe works of Ovid, in which he ſhews himſelf moſt learned and wiſe, are not the moſt eſteemed. This however had a good effect, for it induced him to try what could be done in his own language, in which he acquitted himſelf harmoniouſly and happily. All theſe three pieces which make the bulk of his works have a connection with, and a dependance on, each other, ſo as to appear manifeſtly efforts of the ſame genius. But theſe writings did not at all interrupt, much leſs take from the reputation of his graver ſtudies (*b*). On the contrary they heightened his character extremely, and with good reaſon, as they not only ſhewed he had eſcaped the infection of thoſe luxurious times, but had alſo the courage and virtue to attempt ſtemming the tide of corruption, by taking the only method left, of inſtilling principles of morality and good ſenſe, in the garb of pleaſant tales. This accounts likewiſe for his perſiſting in this ſtile of writing, as knowing this alone in that wild and wanton age could procure him a hearing, which it did, and he was eſteemed for his knowledge and integrity, even by thoſe who had no great inclination to imitate either, which however has been the cauſe, that all theſe pieces, either in print or manuſcript, have been preſerved to our days (*i*) [*C*]. He was known to and admired by King

(*g*) Commentar. de Script. Britan. cap. 493, p. 41.

(*b*) Leland, Bale, Pits, Holinſhed, Stowe, &c.

(*i*) Chiefly in the Cotton and Bodleian Libraries.

Of detees, and of ſonges glade,
The which he for my ſake made,
The londe fulfilled is over all;
Whereof to him in ſpeciall
Above all other I am moſt holde.
For thy nowe in his daies olde
Thou ſhalt hym tell this meſſage,
That he upon his later age,
To ſette an ende of all his werke,
As he whiche is myn owne clerke,
Do make his *teſtament of Love*,
As thou haſt done thy ſhrifte above,
So that my courte it may recorde.

The ſenſe in modern Engliſh.

Greet Chaucer when you him next ſee,
My pupil and my poet he,
Who in his youth fit age for ſong,
Of tales and ditties ſweet a throng,
Made for my ſake, and with his lays
Through all this iſland ſpread my praiſe.
For which, as merit ſtill ſhould riſe,
Him beyond other bards I prize.
But now his ſilver locks appear,
To him from me this meſſage bear;
That as my own eſpecial clerk,
Of Genius th' expiring ſpark,
Shall breathe his *teſtament of love*;
As thou haſt done thy † ſhrift above.

† The Engliſh of *Confeſſio Amantis*. See the Article CHAUCER.

[*C*] *Have been preſerved to our days.*] The firſt of theſe works, intitled *Speculum Meditantis*, of which there are two copies in the Bodleian Library, is written in French, in ten books (13). The title at large runs thus,

(13) NE. F. 8, 9. Fairfax, 3.

I. 'Un traitteé, ſelonc les auctours, pour enſampler 'les amants marietz, au fin qils la foy de lour ſeints 'eſpouſailles, pourront per fine loyalte guarder, & al 'honeur de Dieu ſalvement tener.' Pr. *Le creature de tout creature*. Which has been rendered, A treatiſe, exhorting, by examples drawn from many authors, married perſons joined through love, to keep the faith of their holy eſpouſals with ſteady loyalty, and to the honour of God to hold themſelves chaſte. Beginning, *The creature of all creatures*. It does not appear that either Bale or Pits had ever ſeen this piece, and John Stowe, who had a fair manuſcript of that treatiſe of which we are next to ſpeak, had never ſeen this (14).

(14) Annals, p. 326.

II. *Vox Clamantis*, in Latin verſe, compriſed in ſeven books. There is a copy likewiſe of this in the Bodleian Library, and more than one in that of All Souls College (15); it is alſo much more frequent in private hands. This is a kind of chronicle or hiſtory of the inſurrection of the commons, in the reign of Richard II. The reader perhaps will be pleaſed to ſee a ſpecimen of this work, but he muſt excuſe us from a tranſlation, which would be very difficult if not impoſſible. It is the poet's viſion, in the eleventh chapter of the firſt book.

(15) MS. Bodl. Laud. F. 24. Digby. vii. 138. in Coll. Omn. Animarum, 26.

Watte vocat, cui Thomæ venit neque Symme retardat,
Betteque Gibbe ſimul Hykke venire jubent.
Colle furit, quem Gibbe juvat nocumenta parantes,
Cum quibus ad dampnum Wille coire vovet.
Grigge rapit, dum Dawe ſtrepit, comes eſt quibus Hobbe
Lorkin & in medio non minor eſſe putat.
Hudde ferit quos Judde terit, dum Tebbe juvatur
Jakke domos que viros vellit & enſe necat,
Hogge ſuam pompam vibrat, dum ſe putat omni
Majorem Rege nobilitatem fore.
Balle propheta docet quem ſpiritus ante malignus
Edocuitque ſua tunc fuit alta ſchola.
Talia, que plures furias per nomina novi,
Que fuerant alia pauca recordor ego.
Sepius exclamant monſtrorum vocibus altis,
Atque modis variis dant variare tonos.
Quidam ſternutant Aſynorum more ferino;
Mugitus quidam perſonuere boum.
Quidam porcorum grunnitus horridiores
Emittuntque, ſuo murmure terra tremit.
Frendet aper ſpumans magnos facit atque tumultus,
Et queritat verres auget & ipſe ſonos.
Latratuſque ferus urbis compreſſerat auras
Dum Canum diſcors vox furibunda volat.
Vulpis egens ululat, lupus & verſutus in altum
Conclamat, que ſuos convocat ipſe pares.
Nec minus in ſonitu concuſſit garrulus anſer
Aures, que ſubito foſſa dolore pavent.
Rombuant vaſpe ſonus eſt horrendus eorum,
Nullus et examen dinumerare poteſt.
Conclamant pariter hirſuti more leonis,
Omne que ſit peius quod fuit ante malum.
Ecce rudis clangor, ſonus altus ſedaque rixa,
Vox ita terribilis non fuit ulla prius.
Murmure ſaxa ſonant, ſonitumque reverberat aër,
Reſponſumque ſoni vendicat Ecclo ſibi.
Inde fragore gravis ſtrepitus loca propria terret,
Quo timet eventum quiſquis adire malum.

King Richard, at whoſe requeſt he wrote the laſt of his principal works, this appears from the prologue, wherein he relates the occaſion, but in the firſt printed copies it was altered, and inſcribed to Henry of Lancaſter. One would imagine this was done by ſome other hand, and to accommodate things to the times, when the houſe of Lancaſter was in quiet poſſeſſion of the Throne; but however, it is at leaſt as probable, that he might alter his own book, after the coming in of Henry IV. to whom beyond queſtion he was very highly devoted. The author of the life of Chaucer (*k*), and the plain ſpoken Thomas Hearne (*l*), blame him exceedingly for his conduct in this reſpect, and for his attacking the character of his old maſter Richard, very ſeverely, on purpoſe to court the party of the houſe of Lancaſter, when they became triumphant [*D*]. But it may be, and indeed is, more

(*k*) Prefixed to the worthy Mr Urry's excellent edition of his Work.

(*l*) Hiſtoria vitæ & regni Ric. II. in Præfat. p. xiv, xv.

Terruerat magnas nimio pre turbine gentes
Graculus a cuius nomine terra tremit.
Rumor it, & proceres ſermonibus occupat omnes
Conſilium ſapiens nec ſapientis erat.
Caſus inauditus ſtupefactas ponderat aures
Et venit ad ſenſus dures ab aure pavor:
Attemptant medicare ſed immedicabile dampnum
Abſque manu medici curaque ceſſit ibi.

In the Cotton Library there is a very correct manuſcript of this work, with the title at large (16), viz. *Johannis Gouer Chronica, quæ Vox* Clamantis *dicitur, ſive Poema de* Inſurrectione Ruſticorum *contra ingenuos & nobiles, tempore Regis* Richardi II. *& de Cauſis ex quibus talia contingunt Enormia: libris ſeptem.* That is, 'The Chronicle of John Gower, commonly called '*Vox Clamantis*, the voice of one crying in the wil-'derneſs; or, a Poem on the inſurrection of the clowns 'againſt the gentry and nobility, in the time of King 'Richard II. and of the cauſes that gave riſe to thoſe 'enormous actions.' But there is yet a fairer and more beautiful manuſcript at Oxford, with an epiſtle in Latin verſe prefixed, which is thus addreſſed (17), 'Hanc 'epiſtolam ſubſcriptam corde devoto, miſit ſenex & cae-'cus *Johannes Gower*, reverendiſſimo in Chriſto patri 'ac domino ſuo principio *D. Thomæ Arundell* Cantuar. 'Archiepiſcopo, &c. Pr. *Succeſſor* Thomæ, Thomas '*humilem tibi do me.*' It clearly appears from hence, that this was no dedication of the original work, but of a kind of ſecond edition, when he joined to it ſome other hiſtorical pieces, and being written, as himſelf ſays, when he was old and blind, might very probably be one of the laſt things he ever penned, or rather dictated.

(16) Tiberius, A. iv. 1.

(17) MS. Oxon. in Coll. Omn. Animarum, 25.

III. Confessio Amantis, in eight books in Engliſh verſe. This was printed at Weſtminſter by Caxton, 1493 *. The ſecond edition bears the following title, *Jo. Gower de* Confeſſione Amantis. *Imprinted at* London *in Fleet Street, by* Thomas Barthelette, *Printer to the King's Grace*, Ann. 1532, *cum privilegio.* Again, Anno Domini 1544. and a third time, Anno Domini 1554. It is in the title page of the firſt edition printed by Barthelette, that Gower is ſaid to be a native of Wales. There is likewiſe a dedication prefixed to Henry VIII. in which are many things ſaid to the honour of Gower; but we have no room to repeat them here, though a paragraph or two will appear in another place (18). This performance is a kind of poetical ſyſtem of Morality, interſperſed with weighty ſentences, excellent maxims, and ſhrewd ſayings; but far the greateſt part compoſed of pleaſant ſtories happily introduced, as inſtances or examples in ſupport of the virtuous doctrine delivered. The ſeventh book contains an abridgment of Ariſtotle's Philoſophy, from whence he takes occaſion to give the King a great deal of good advice, and that upon very delicate ſubjects, with much dignity and freedom.

* See a curious account of this edition in the Article CAXTON [William] Note [O].

(18) See Note [K].

[*D*] *When they became triumphant.*] The firſt who fell upon our author was a reverend Prelate, whoſe inclination to a coarſe kind of raillery, might have been ſhewn almoſt any where with greater propriety than in the work (19) from which the following quotation is taken. 'Richard the ſecond's good ſucceſs in Ireland 'was ſo far outbalanced by the other (more unlucky) 'adventures of his reign, that I have not heard of any 'who have thought it worth their while to write his 'life, except only a poor Knight of John Pits crea-'tion. That author ſays, that one Sir John Gower, a 'Yorkſhire Knight, and contemporary with the famous 'Chaucer, died in the year 1402, leaving behind him 'a deal of monuments of his learning, and, amongſt 'the reſt, a Latin chronicle of King Richard II. 'There was indeed one Mr John Gower, a noted Po-'et, who lived about the time he mentions. This 'witty perſon took the liberty that has always been 'allowed to men of his profeſſion, to make free with 'his prince; and Mr Stowe, or his continuer Howes, 'has done him the honour to tranſlate the elegy he 'made on this king's untimely death.' It is not eaſy to diſcover what is this great critic's meaning, but aſſuredly no great fame will reſult to him from theſe remarks. He might have been informed, that, in the Cotton Library, there were two manuſcripts of another hiſtory of this reign, written by a monk of Eveſham; and, indeed, notwithſtanding what he aſſerts here, he mentions them tho' but very ſlightly in the ſame article. But, as this hiſtory is very ſhort, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of it preſently, and it will then appear to be a conſiderable work. That our author was a *poor Knight* of Pits creation is not true, ſince Leland expreſsly affirms, and ſome other writers alſo, that he was a Knight; and his rebuilding part of the church of St Mary Overs, ſhews that he was not poor. His cenſure, as to the liberties taken by poets, might have been well enough applied, if Gower had been famous for ſatire and invective; but when it is known that he was a great and grave lawyer as well as a poet, and that in the latter character he had eſtabliſhed it as his ſurname, the *moral Gower*, it becomes abſurd and ridiculous. As to his verſes on the death of King Richard, the reader ſhall have them before we part, and judge for himſelf. The author of the life of Chaucer, ſpeaking of Gower, ſays, 'that he was a man of ſingular learning and great 'piety, but much given to change with the turns of 'ſtate.' This had been liable to no exception; but afterwards, commending Chaucer for not trampling upon his maſter's memory, and baſely flattering the new king, he adds (20), 'As moſt of his contemporaries did, and 'particularly Gower, who, notwithſtanding the obliga-'tions he had to Richard II. yet when old, blind, and 'paſt any hopes of honour or advantage, unleſs the view 'of keeping what he enjoyed, baſely inſulted the me-'mory of his murthered maſter, and as ignominiouſly 'flattered his murtherer.' He has a note to explain this, in which one would have thought theſe obligations had been brought to light; but they amount to no more than the King's calling him into his barge, and requeſting him to write a book, which he accordingly performed, and therein laid before him very honeſtly the luxury that prevailed in his court, the irreligious lives of his clergy, the danger of liſtening to flatterers, the wickedneſs of corrupt judges, and the uncertainty of human glory and happineſs, even in the moſt exalted ſtates. Mr Hearne, in his preface to the life of King Richard by the monk of Eveſham, acquaints the reader, that the reaſon why he did not annex what our author, Gower, had written concerning this king, was owing to the account he had received of his having treated this monarch's memory ill, and having ſpoke with equal freedom of the clergy*; and for theſe cauſes he is for leaving his writings in laſting obſcurity, as not deſerving a better fate. But, at the ſame time, he does all imaginable juſtice to his character as a polite writer, allows him to have been, after Chaucer, the beſt poet of his time, and applauds the noble ſentiments that diſtinguiſh his writings. But it may be, he would have altered his ſentiments with reſpect to ſtifling his writings, if he had either come to London to peruſe them, or had cauſed them to be tranſcribed

(19) Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, p. 81.

(20) Life of Chaucer prefix'd to Urry's edition of that Poet's Works.

more like to be the truth, that our author was ever averſe to King Richard's adminiſtration, in conſequence of his ſteady attachment to Thomas of Woodſtock Duke of Glouceſter, whoſe cruel murder at Calais, he has lamented in a very affecting manner (*m*). It is undoubtedly a very atrocious breach of the laws of honour and charity, as well as of hiſtory, to inſult the memory of the vanquiſhed, or to give implicit credit to whatever has been charged upon them, to juſtify their ill-uſage. But, on the other hand, it is ridiculous to eſpouſe parties in ancient hiſtory, and to fancy we have a right to condemn to perpetual oblivion, the writings of ſuch hiſtorians, as have repreſented things in a light different from that, in which we would incline to place them. This humour is contrary to that zeal for truth, which is the characteriſtic of an honeſt hiſtorian, who thinks himſelf obliged to publiſh fairly what has come to his hands, on every ſide, without declaring for any. After the depoſition of Richard, and the acceſſion of Henry IV. our author added ſeveral hiſtorical peices to his Vox Clamantis, which are thoſe that have given offence, and drawn upon him heavy imputations, tho' it does not at all appear, he uſed the character of that unfortunate monarch, worſe than other writers have done (*n*) [*E*]. He compoſed alſo many other pieces, which are mentioned by Bale and Pits, and

(*m*) Vox Clamantis, & Chron. Tripartita, in Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius, A. 4.

(*n*) Vide Th. Walſingham, Th. Otterbourne, Johan. Roſs, &c.

tranſcribed for his uſe; he would then have ſeen that much perſonal hiſtory might be extracted from them, ſuch as of Simon Sudbury, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was murthered in the inſurrection of the clowns; Thomas Plantagenet, Duke of Glouceſter; Humfrey, Earl of Buckingham, and others. Yet in another place (21) we ſhall ſee he publiſhed pieces which juſtify what J. Gower has written.

(21) See the next Note.

[*E*] *Worſe than other writers have done.*] Theſe that are to be mentioned in this note are ſeveral ſmall hiſtorical pieces, of which copies are extant in ſeveral libraries (22). *Chronicon* Ricardi *ſecundi, lib* III. 'Opus humanum eſt inquirere.' This is in effect no more than marginal notes upon, or principal heads of, the enſuing piece (23). *Chronica tripartita de depoſitione R.* Richardi II. *& Coronatione R.* Henrici IV. *tribus partibus*; that is, a Chronicle of the depoſition of King Richard II. and the coronation of King Henry IV. in three parts. 'Ita tripartita ſequitur quæ 'mente petita.,' Pr. l. Tolle caput mundi C. ter & 'ſeq.' He aſſerts in this chronicle (24), that the king being informed that the noblemen who had taken up arms for his reſtoration had been ſubdued and put to death, took it ſo much to heart that he refuſed all nouriſhment, and died of voluntary famine in the caſtle of Pontefract, which is contrary to what is aſſerted by moſt of our hiſtorians, ſome of whom report that his table was ſerved in a royal manner, but that he was reſtrained from eating or drinking any part of what was ſet thereon. Others, that he was murthered by Sir Peter of Exeter, accompanied by eight ruffians, againſt whom he gallantly defended himſelf, and flew ſome of the aſſaſſins. We find our author's account of this unhappy monarch's death expreſsly confirmed by Thomas Otterbourne, a Franciſcan or grey friar (25), who flouriſhed in his time. 'Richard, the depoſed 'king of England, ſays he, being kept cloſe priſoner 'in the caſtle of Pontefract, when he heard of the 'misfortune of his brother John Holland, and the reſt 'of his friends, fell into ſo deep a melancholy that 'he reſolved to deſtroy himſelf by abſtinence; and 'in this he perſiſted ſo long, that the orifice of his ſto'mach cloſed in ſuch a manner, that when over'come by the intreaties of thoſe about him, he at 'length attempted to take nouriſhment, it proved too 'late; ſo that, being unable to eat, and nature gra'dually decaying, he breathed his laſt on St Valen'tine's day.' John Rous, the antiquary of Warwick, who flouriſhed in the next age, tells us (26), that the hapleſs King Richard was hurried about from one priſon to another, 'till at length, ſays he, it is reported, he died of hunger at Pontefract. Tunc rex Ricardus amotus eſt de carcere in carcerem. Tandem apud Pontem fractum in carcere pro fame obiit ut dicitur. This is a full juſtification of our author, and, at the ſame time, a proof that there is not ſuch a deficiency of materials for writing the ſtory of this reign, as ſome have repreſented. In this chronicle alſo thoſe verſes occur which Stowe has in part tranſlated. They are in truth but very poor ones, but this is principally owing to the vice of the age, which had ſtamped a credit upon theſe tinkling trifles, and our Gower was not the only ſenſible man, that for this reaſon was content to comply with the vulgar taſte.

(22) MSS. in Biblioth. Cotton. Otho. D. i. 4.

(23) MS. in Bib. Cotton. Tiberius, A. iv. Otho. D. i. 4.

(24) Lelandi Collectanea, Vol. iii. p. 367.

(25) Chronica Regum Angliæ, p. 228, 229.

(26) J. Roſſi, Hiſtoria Regum Angliæ, p. 206.

Cronica Richardi qui ſceptra tulit Leopardi
Ut patet eſt dicta, populo ſed non benedicta
Ut ſpeculum mundi quo lux nequit ulla refundi,
Sic vacuus tranſit, ſibi nil niſi culpa remanſit,
Unde ſuperbus erat, modo ſi preconia quærat.
Ejus honor ſordet, laus culpat, gloria mordet:
Hoc concernentes caveant que ſunt ſapientes;
Nam male viventes Deus odit in orbe regentes:
Eſt qui peccator non eſſe poteſt dominator,
Ricardo teſte finis probat hoc manifeſte:
Poſt ſua demerita periit ſua pompa ſapita
Qualis erat vita cronica ſtabit ita.

Which has been thus tranſlated.

The reign of Richard, who the ſceptre bore,
Of England's monarchs, not as heretofore
With ſpotleſs honour, for though crowds proclaim
His deeds, yet from thoſe deeds reſult no fame.
He's gone, and of his greatneſs all we find,
The mem'ry of his faults is left behind,
His honour ſoil'd, his praiſe to cenſure turn'd,
And all his claim to royal glory ſcorn'd.
Be this a warning unto thoſe who rule,
If wiſe, they 'll learn in Providence's ſchool,
Thoſe who live ill, Heav'n meant not to command,
Or ſpread their vile examples through the land.
The fate of Richard, hapleſs hopeleſs youth,
Proves, but too plainly, this important truth.
Like to his life a doom he juſtly ſhares,
And what that life this chronicle declares.

De Rege Henrico IV. *lib.* I. (27). 'Rex cœli Deus '& Dominus qui tempora ſolus.' *Ad eundem, lib.* I. 'O recolende bone pie rex Henrice patrone.' *Carmen de pacis commendatione in laudem Henr.* IV. (28). Nobilis ac digne rex Henrice. *In Engliſh*, O noble worthy King Henry the fearth. This is printed in Chaucer's works (29), and the three firſt ſtanza's are ſo clear in themſelves, the language with ſo little difficulty to be underſtood, the ſenſe ſo ſtrong and ſo ſignificative of his ſkill in both profeſſions of lawyer and of poet, that we may with reaſon intreat the reader's attention, in order to eſtabliſh from them the reputation of John Gower.

(27) Bibl. Cotton. Otho. D. i. 4.

(28) Ibid. Tiberius. A. iv. 4.

(29) In Urry's edition, p. 540.

I.

O noble worthie King Henrie the ferth,
In whom the gladde fortune is befall
The peple to governe here upon yerth,
God hath The choſen in comfort of us all,
The worſhip of this land which was doun fal,
Now ſtant upright through grace of thy godeneſſe,
Which every man is hold for to bleſſe.

II.

and ſome likewiſe, that neither of thoſe inquiſitive writers have ſeen, and which are ſtill remaining, ſome in publick, and ſome in private libraries. Theſe ſhew him to have been a perſon of great integrity and true piety. One who placed religion in actions not in ceremonies, and who laboured to convince mankind, that virtuous deeds were not more ſuitable to honour than to intereſt. It muſt be acknowledged, that his thoughts are now more to be valued than his expreſſion; but, as Leland well obſerves, even his expreſſion is equal, if not ſuperior, to any of thoſe who attempted Latin poeſy in his time (*o*), and it in ſucceeding ages he and they have been far excelled, yet this could ſcarce have happened if theſe writers had not preſerved a taſte, tho' a bad one, for Latin poetry. Yet in point of learning he had few equals, ſince if we conſider the authors quoted or alluded to by him, and the ſcience, which tho' ſometimes with impropriety lies ſcattered thro' his treatiſe, we ſhall be obliged to confeſs, the harſh epithets beſtowed on this age are rather rude than juſt. True it is, that in point of faſhion they are now uſeleſs, but this abates nothing of their intrinſick value, and tho' they may not be fit to ſtand with modern compoſitions, thro' their want of elegance, yet they deſerve to be ſtill kept and viſited, ſometimes as monuments of the progreſs of good ſenſe thro' former ages, and evidence that in ſeaſons of the moſt diſſolute luxury (as thoſe in which he flouriſhed undoubtedly were) there wanted not a remnant of honeſt and ſtout men, who durſt oppoſe a debauched nobility, a voluptuous clergy, complying judges, and a corrupted people. In this point of view perhaps they were not uſeleſs examples to ſucceeding times (*p*) [*F*].

(*o*) Commentar. de Script. Britan. cap. 493. Bal. & Pits, ubi ſupra.

(*p*) De Confeſſione Amantis.

He

II.

The moſt high God of his Juſtice alone
The right whiche longith to thy regalie
Declarid hath to ſtande in thy perſone,
And more then God maie no man juſtifie,
Thy title is knowe upon thyne anceſtrie,
The land'is folk hath eke thy right affirmed,
So ſtant thy reigne, of God and man confirmed.

III.

There is no man maie ſaie in othirwiſe,
That God hymſelf ne hath the right declared,
Whereof the lande is bounde to thy ſervice,
Whiche for defaute of helpe hath long yeared,
But now there is no mann'is herte ſpared,
To love and ſerve, and worchin thy pleſaunce,
And all this is through God'is purveiaunce.

At the cloſe of this poem, according to the cuſtom of Gower, who ſeldom wrote in Engliſh without recapitulating his thoughts in Latin, we find the following remarkable lines, in which he ſeems to take his leave of the Muſes and of the world.

Explicit carmen, de Pacis Commendatione, quod, ad laudem & memoriam ſereniſſimi principis domini regis Henrici quarti, ſuus humilis orator Johannes Gower compoſuit.

Electus Chriſti pie Rex Henrici fuiſti,
Qui bene veniſti, cum propria regna petiſti,
Tu mala viciſtique bonis bona reſtituiſti,
Et populo triſti nova gaudia contribuiſti.
Et mihi ſpes lata, quod adhuc per te renovata
Succedunt fata priſca probitate beata,
Eſt tibi nam grata gratia ſponte data.
Henrici quarti primus regni fuit annus,
Quo mihi defecit viſus ad acta mea.
Omnia tempus habent, finem natura miniſtrat,
Quem virtute ſua frangere nemo poteſt.
Ultra poſſe nihil, quamvis mihi velle remanſit,
Amplius ut ſcribam non mihi poſſe manet.
Dum potui ſcripſi, ſed nunc quia curva ſenectus
Turbavit ſenſus, ſcripta relinquo ſcholis.
Scribat, qui veniet poſt me, diſcretior alter,
Ammodo namque manus & mea penna ſilent,
Hoc tamen in finem verborum quæſo meorum
Proſpera quod ſtatuat regna futura Deus.
Explicit.

In Engliſh thus.

Here ends the Poem of the Commendation of Peace, which his humble Orator John Gower, compoſed; in honor and to preſerve the fame of his ſerene Soveraign Lord King Henry IV.

Choſen of Chriſt, thou pious King wer't known,
And wellcome met, when claiming of thy own;
The Bad ſubdued, the Good to rights reſtor'd,
To the ſad realm, you ſpringing joys afford.
To me, great prince, thy hand benign and kind,
Return'd whate'er my better day aſſign'd;
Let me record this act with chearful lay,
And the great good, with grateful thanks repay.

Henry the fourth's firſt year, I loſt my ſight,
Condemn'd to ſuffer life, devoid of light.

All things in time ſubmit, and nature draws
What force attempts in vain, beneath her laws.
More I cannot, what tho' my will ſupplies,
My ebbing ſtrength all future pow'r denies.
While that remain'd I wrote, now old and weak,
What wiſdom dictates let young ſcholars ſpeak.
Let him who follows, be ſublimer ſtill,
My works are finiſh'd, here I drop my quil.
My parting words, may heavenly goodneſs laſt,
And times enſuing much excel the paſt.

[*F*] *They were not uſeleſs examples to ſucceeding times.*] The moſt effectual way to demonſtrate the truth of what is aſſerted in the text, is to give the reader one of his tales, and to render it more legible, at leaſt if not more entertaining, to throw it into modern language. In order however to comprehend its full force, we muſt conſider to whom it was directed, and for whoſe uſe it was written. Richard the ſecond was a young prince, not more amiable in his perſon, which was the moſt handſome ever graced the Engliſh throne, than in the qualities of his mind. He was in himſelf gentle, generous, and good, and yet a worſe reign than his does not deform the Engliſh ſtory. This was owing to the pliancy of his nature, if he had ruled himſelf he had ruled well; but being ruled by others, or rather ſuffering them to rule in his name, he paid the forfeit of their faults, and loſt his crown and life for want of having fortitude enough to reſiſt his favourites. To this prince, in this ſituation, John Gower, amongſt many others of the like nature, addreſſes this ſtory (30).

(30) Confeſſio Amantis, libr. VII. fol. CXC.

In

He wrote alſo many other little diſcourſes on religious and moral ſubjects, which poſſibly, if drawn out of the duſt and cobwebs, with which they are oppreſſed, might pay us with ſome

In a Cronike it telleth thus,
The Kynge of Rome Lucius,
Within his chambre upon a night,
The ſtewarde of his hous a Knight,
Forthwith his Chamberleine alſo,
To councelle had both two,
And ſtoden by thy chymnee,
To gather ſpekende all thre.
And hapneth that the Kynges foole
Sat by the fire upon a ſtole,
As he that with his bable plaide,
But yet he herde all that thei ſaide,
And thereof toke thei no hede.
The Kynge hem axeth what to rede,
Of ſuche matere as cam to mouth
And thei him tolde, as thei couth, &c.

In modern language thus.

In Rome when LUCIUS bore the ſway,
It happ'd, ſo ancient ſtories ſay,
One evening 'ere he went to bed,
To eaſe of all his cares his head,
He call'd his ſteward, a doughty Knight,
That he might counſel what was right.
With 's Chamberlain, a lord of parts,
Deep ſkill'd in all the courtly arts;
And by the chimney as they ſtood,
They freely talk'd as they thought good.
Before the fire upon a ſtool,
Cloſe by them ſat the monarch's fool.
And as he with his bauble play'd,
He heard right well what 'ere they ſaid.
The King his various doubts propos'd,
And they at will their thoughts diſclos'd.

When many queſtions thus had paſt,
The King demanded at the laſt,
What with his people was his fame,
And if rever'd or ſcorn'd his name?
Bid them the truth to him declare,
And tell him all things as they were.
On their allegiance—without awe
Or dread that they might anger draw.
Since 'twas his will as tongues will walk,
To know the common peoples talk.

The ſteward in anſwer told the King,
(As palace nightingales ſtill ſing)
That far and wide, as he could hear,
His majeſty to all was dear.
That all his actions were admired,
And his long reign by all deſired;
In this that high and low agreed,
Hoping that Heaven had ſo decreed.
Thus ſpoke the ſteward, and all he ſpoke
Was flat'ry dreſs'd in falſehood's cloak.

Next turning to his Chamberlain,
The King required in language plain;
That he would tell him all he knew,
Nor heed th' event ſo it was true.

His Chamberlain a ſubtile man,
Who could both truth and int'reſt ſcan.
Perceiving by the monarch's brow,
He really meant the truth to know.
Firſt bowing low——My liege, ſaid he,
Your ſubjects high and low agree,
That if your Council were but true,
And you things fairly from them knew;
In ev'ry point thus underſtood,
You would be gracious, great, and good.
For well they know your princely nature,
Heav'n never form'd a better creature!

A gleam of truth he thus reveal'd,
Behind a cloud of words conceal'd.
Hinted at what he would not name,
And on the Council laid the blame.

The fool who heard what both had told,
And in the cauſe of Truth more bold.
Or elſe, which ſurely was the caſe,
Prompted thereto by heav'nly grace,
Firſt ſigh'd as he his lungs had torn,
Then laugh'd the courtiers both to ſcorn.

Sir King, ſaid he, if ſo it was,
As this wiſe lord has put the caſe,
Be ſure your Council have done right,
To pleaſe is always their delight.
From them if ill advice be had,
It is becauſe the King is bad.
Take not on truſt——if you would find,
The truth——go look it in your mind.

The monarch paus'd, amaz'd to hear
Language ſo foreign to his ear;
Began to weigh the golden rule,
And took the counſel of his fool.
Conſcience ſtood ready at his call,
And as he aſk'd——It anſwered all.
He quickly felt the good of this,
Diſcern'd what 'ere h'd done amiſs.
He ſaw nor ſtarted at the ſight,
Reſolving ſoon to ſet things right.
And thus by Providence inſpired,
The FOOL wrought what the KING deſired.

The weak, the wanton, and the wild,
Were from the monarch's court exil'd.
The grave, the gen'rous, and the good,
Before the King in office ſtood.
By them advis'd he thought no ill,
He did no wrong, yet did his will.

Bad laws were preſently amended,
Wiſely the public wealth expended.
All injuries were clean redreſſed,
The people were no more oppreſſed.
For where a King is good and wiſe,
None dare to give him bad advice.
His meaſures too ſo deeply plann'd,
Are executed out of hand.
His people bleſs their prince's name,
And foreign realms repeat his fame.

But if the common people cry,
And their proud monarch aſk not why?
Or told refuſes to redreſs,
And make unnumber'd burthens leſs.

ſome diſcoveries of an hiſtorical nature, for he knew the force of example, and commonly illuſtrated his precepts by having recourſe to antient or modern hiſtory. At all events they would add to thoſe wiſe, and weighty inſtructions, that abound in his other treatiſes, and gained him ſuch high reverence in his own, and in the age ſucceeding his own, and which has ſecured them, tho' unprinted, againſt the teeth of time, and thoſe viciſſitudes, to which letters, as well as every other thing in this country has been liable. But 'till they are enſured againſt oblivion by the preſs, let us do our duty to his memory, and to poſterity, by ſecuring their titles, and indicating where the pieces themſelves remain [*G*]. He was much reſpected, and a very conſiderable man in his profeſſion, but whether a Judge or no, is not now to be determined. He lived to a great age, and in the firſt year of Henry IV. loſt his eye-ſight, which, as the reader has already ſeen, he lamented very pathetically, which induced Leland to quote thoſe verſes in the ſhort memoirs he has left us of his life (*q*). His circumſtances were eaſy, or rather affluent, which enabled him, as his pious charity induced him to undertake, and Providence allowed him to finiſh, the rebuilding at his own expence, and with contributions which his influence procured, the church of the convent of St Mary Overie, which had lain for many years in ruins, to which with a great part of Southwark, *it was reduced by a fire, in the beginning of the* XIIIth Century (*r*). On this account when *full of years, and covered with glory he* breathed his laſt, A. D. 1402 (*s*), his remains were *enterred here under a ſumptuous tomb,* inriched with various ornaments, as we have *mentioned at the bottom of the page* [*H*].

(31) Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius, A. iv. 5. Bibl. Bodleian. MS. NE. F. 8. 9. Fairfax. 3. Bal. & Pits.

(32) Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius, A. iv. 6. MS. Coll. Omn. Anim. Biblioth. Bodleian. Fairfax. 3. Bal. & Pits, ubi ſupra.

(33) MS. in Coll. Omn. Animarum in French. Bal. & Pits, ubi ſupra.

(34) MS. in Coll. Omn. Animarum. Bal. & Pits, ubi ſupra.

(35) Bal. & Pits.

(36) MS. Bibl. Cotton. Tib. A. iv. Bibl. Bodl. NE. F. 8, 9. Laud. F. 24. Fairfax. 3. Bal. & Pits.

(37) Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius. A. iv. 14. Bal. & Pits.

(38) Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius. A. iv. 5. Bibl. Bodl. Fairfax. 3.

(39) Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius, A. iv. 6. Bibl. Bodl. NE. F. 8, 9. Laud. F. 24.

(40) Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius, A. iv. 8. Bibl. Bodl. Fairfax. 3.

(41) Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius A. iv. 3. Bibl. Bodl. Fairfax. 3.

(42) Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius, A. iv. 9. Bibl. Bodl. NE. F. 8, 9. Laud. F. 24.

(43) Tanner, Bibliotheca, p. 336.

(44) Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum, p. 368.

(*q*) Lelandi Commentarii, p. 415.

(*r*) Matth. Paris Hiſt. Angl. p. 233.

(*s*) Leland. Bal. Pitſeus.

Married

Or careleſs ſeeks in ſports and play,
To paſs the jocund hours away.
Tho' hunger, penury, and toil,
Afflict his ſubjects all the while,
Their fate at length becomes his own,
As from examples may be ſhewn.

[*G*] *And indicating where the pieces themſelves remain.*] Theſe pieces of our author are of different ſizes, ſome very ſhort, none of any conſiderable length; ſo that if any votary to learning in that univerſity, where moſt of them are to be found, would cauſe them to be tranſcribed, collated, and printed, the lovers of Engliſh hiſtory, and Engliſh literature, would be under great obligations to him. In the mean time their titles are theſe.

De peſte vitiorum, lib. I. (31). 'Non excuſatur qui verum non fateatur.'

Tractatus de lucis ſcrutinio quam vitiorum tenebræ ſuffocarunt, lib. I. (32). 'Heu quia per crebras humus eſt vitiata tenebras.'

De Conjugii dignitate, lib. I. (33). 'Qualiter creator omnium rerum Deus.'

De Regimine principum, lib. I. (34). 'O Deus immenſe ſub quo dominatur.'

Epigrammata quædam, lib. I. (35). 'Alta petens aquila volat alitque.'

De amoris varietate, lib. I. (36). 'Eſt amor in gloria pax bellica his pretioſæ.'

Carmina diverſa, lib. I. (37).

De Remediis contra vitia ſui temporis (38). A. 20. Ric. II.

Contra dæmonis aſtutiam in cauſa Lollardiæ (39). 'Quod patet limen inſtanti tempore crimen.'

Contra mentis ſævitiam in cauſa ſuperbiæ (40). 'Deficit in verbo ſenſus.'

Contra carnis laſciviam in cauſa concupiſcentiæ (41). 'O ſexus fragilis ex quo.'

Contra mundi fallaciam in cauſa perjurii & avaritiæ (42). 'Sunt duo cognati.'

A balade morale of gode counſeyle (43). 'Paſſe forthe thou pilgryme, and bridel wele thy beeſte.'

Some ſhort poems of his are printed amongſt thoſe of Chaucer, and there were many more annexed to the firſt edition of his book De Confeſſione Amantis. Some have added to theſe treatiſes, one upon the philoſophers ſtone, which however, is not a diſtinct work, but is taken out of the fourth book of his printed volume, and transferred by Mr Aſhmole into his collection (44), under the title of 'John Gower '*concerning the philoſophers ſtone*,' and with great propriety, for of all the old poets, that have handled this ſingular ſubject, he has expreſſed *himſelf* with the greateſt perſpicuity. He diſcourſes largely and learnedly on the Hermetic Science, ſhews what its principles are, how much they have been miſtaken, to what vile abuſes they have given riſe; and in the end concludes, that, notwithſtanding all theſe frauds, the art is in itſelf true. In his fifth book he treats the expedition of the Argonauts, in ſearch of the golden fleece, in the ſtile of the Hermetic Philoſophy; and indeed it is wonderful, how he could reduce ſuch a multitude of various ſubjects into a work of that nature, and in ſo narrow a compaſs; we pretend not to juſtify the method he has uſed, and yet that method ſhews ſingular ingenuity; but we muſt take the liberty to aſſert, that after the famous Friar Bacon, Chaucer and Gower were men of the moſt extenſive learning of any, whoſe writings have eſcaped the wreck of time, and have come down ſafe to our hands.

[*H*] *At the bottom of the page*]. We have ſeveral accounts of this monument. Stowe (45) in deſcribing it ſays, that the image of ſtone lying upon it, repreſents him with long auborne hair, reaching to his ſhoulders, and curling up, a ſmall forked beard, and on his head a chaplet of roſes red, four in number, an habit of purple (Mr Speght an older writer ſays greeniſh) damaſk, reaching down to his feet, a collar of SS gold about his neck, under his head the likeneſs of three books which he compiled, *Speculum Meditantis* in French, *Vox Clamantis* in Latin; the third, *Confeſſio Amantis* in Engliſh. Stowe is perſwaded he was no Knight, from the circumſtance of the collar, which convinced Leland, that he was one. Fuller is very angry with thoſe who have conſidered him as the firſt of our crowned poets; 'Bale, ſays he, makes him '*equitem auratum, & poetam laureatum*, proving both 'from his ornaments, on his monumental ſtatue in 'St Mary Overies Southwark. Yet he appeareth 'there neither laureated, neither hederated poet; except 'the leaves of the Bayes and Ivey be withered to no-'thing, ſince the erection of the tomb; but only 'roſated, having a chaplet of four roſes about his 'head.' But it will appear that this is really the caſe, and that the bays have been withered. We will preſent the reader with two accounts of this monument when freſher than it is at preſent, the firſt from the preface to his printed book, 'John Gower prepared 'for his bones a reſting place in the monaſterie of 'St Marie Overes, where ſomewhat after the olde 'facion he lieth right ſumptuouſely buried, with a gar-'lande on his head, in token, that he in his life daies 'flouriſhed freſhely in literature and ſcience. And 'the ſame monumente in remembrance of hym erected, 'is on the north ſide of *the foreſaide churche*, in the 'chapell of St John, where he hath of his owne foun-'dacion a maſſe daily ſonge. And moreover he hath 'an obite yearly done for hym, within the ſame 'churche on fridaie, after the feaſte of the bleſſed Pope 'Saynte Gregorie. Beſide on the wall where he lieth, 'there be painted three virgins with crownes on their 'heades, one of the which is written Charitie, and 'ſhe holdeth this diviſe in hir honde.

(45) Annals. p. 326.

Married he certainly was, ſince his wife's body lies there *likewiſe*, under a monument much lower than his (*t*); but what poſterity he had, or whether he was, as a very ingenious and indefatigable writer reports, the grandfather of John Gower, Sword-Bearer to the unfortunate Edward Prince of Wales, ſon to the yet more unfortunate Henry VI. and who with his maſter loſt his life after the deciſive battle of Tewkſbury (*u*) cannot be clearly aſcertained. But if in a matter ſo doubtful as this, and about which the greateſt maſters in our Antiquities have differed, it be free to aim at obtaining ſome new light, we could alſo offer ſome conjectures [*I*]. His great merit was introducing the Muſes into this

(*t*) Lelandi Collectanea, Tom. I. p. 505.

(*u*) See the Authors cited in the Note [K.]

En toy qui es fitz de Dieu le pere
Saune ſoit que giſt ſouz ceſt piere.

Thro' thee, of God the only Son,
Be ſaved, who reſts beneath this ſtone.

The ſeconde is written Mercie, which holdeth in hir hande this diviſe.

O bone Jeſu fait ta mercie!
Al alme dont le corps giſt icy.

O Jeſus kind thy mercy ſhew!
To the ſoul of him, who reſts below.

The third of them is written Pitee, whiche holdeth in hir hande this diviſe followynge.

Pur ta pite Jeſu regarde!
Et met ceſt alme in ſaune garde.

For pities ſake ſweet Jeſus keep!
The ſoul of him, who here doth ſleep.

'And thereby hongeth a table, wherein appereth, 'that whoſoever praith for the ſoule of John Gower, 'he ſhall ſo oft, as he ſo doth, have a M. and D. 'daies of pardon.' The other authority is that of Leland, who expreſsly affirms, that his head was crowned with a wreath of ivy interſperſed with roſes, and with a chain about his neck, as a mark of the honour of Knighthood. But the reader will doubtleſs be pleaſed to ſee Leland's own words (46). 'Joannes 'Gower ſepultos eſt apud canonicos marianos in ripa 'Tameſis, in cujus effigiei capite corona eſt ex hedera 'roſis diſtincta, in collo cateno equeſtris ordinis inditium. 'Sub capite tres libri inſtar pulvinariorum cum his in'ſcriptionibus' 'Speculum meditantis. Vox cla'mantis: Confeſſio amantis,' 'Vixit tempore Ricardi 2, '& Henrici quarti, cui libros ſuos dedicavit. Tem'pore Joannis cœnobium S. Mariæ conflagravit, quod 'poſt multos annos cura & induſtria, partim etiam 'ſumptibus ſuis reſtauravit. Nam ante illius tempora 'quamvis canonici veteres ſedes retinebant, ſquallebat 'tamen ſemiruta eccleſia.

'Uxor Goueri ibidem ſepulta.'

(46) Lelandi Collectanea, Vol. III. p. 43.

His Epitaph (47).

Armigeri ſcutum nihil a modo fert ſibi tutum,
Reddidit immolutum morti generale tributum,
Spiritus exutum ſe gaudeat eſſe ſolutum,
Et ubi virtutum regnum ſine labe ſtatutum.

(47) Aſhmole's Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum, p. 486.

Which has been thus tranſlated.

His ſhield henceforth is uſeleſs grown,
To pay death's tribute ſlain;
His ſoul's with joyous freedom flown,
Where ſpotleſs ſpirits reign.

In the time of John Stowe the inſcriptions were waſhed out and illegible, the image alſo defaced by cutting off the noſe, and ſtriking off it's hands; but in later times it has been repaired, and a new inſcription placed, of which we take notice, that it may not miſlead poſterity, which is very often the caſe in ſuch monuments, that inſcription runs thus (48):

(48) Maitland's Hiſtory of London, &c. Edit. 1739. p. 797.

Hic jacet Joannes Gower armiger, Anglorum poeta celeberrimus ac
Huic ſacro Edificio Benefactor inſignis temporibus Ed. 3, & Rich. 2.

[*I*] *We could alſo offer ſome conjectures.*] We have already ſhewn, from the compariſon of the arms of the two families, that it is very improbable he ſhould be deſcended from the Gowers of Stitenham (49), and we have alſo mentioned an authority as old, and Caxton is yet older than that of Leland, that he was a native of Wales (50), we are inclined to think this is the truth. If proof be demanded we cannot pretend to alledge any, but we propoſe it only as a conjecture, and we can ſay ſomething to render it probable. There is a part of Glamorganſhire called Gower or Gowerland, of ſo great extent, that it is divided into eaſt Gowerland and weſt Gowerland; from whence the noble family of Herbert, when Earls of Huntingdon, derived the title of Barons Gower; and this title by the marriage of Elizabeth the ſole daughter of William Earl of Huntingdon, and Lord Herbert of Gower, came to Sir Charles Somerſet Knight of the Garter (51), and is borne at this day by his moſt noble deſcendant Noel Duke of Beaufort, who is Lord of Ragland, Chepſtow, and Gower (52). But the critics will ſay what is this to the purpoſe? how does this prove that there was a family of Gower in Wales, or that it flouriſhed there in the time of our poet? I will undertake the proof of both. Henry Gower Archdeacon of St David's, was advanced to that Biſhoprick in 1326 (53). He was in great credit with King Edward the third, Leland ſays that he was Chancellor of England, but that was a miſtake, it was his ſucceſſor Dr John Thoriſby (54). But however Biſhop Gower was a man of a great ſpirit and great family, he built the epiſcopal palace of St Davids, for his ſucceſſors (55), he beautified the caſtle of Swanzy, which is the chief town in eaſt Gowerland, for the ſake of his family, this being his paternal eſtate (56). This reverend prelate died in 1347, being the twenty-firſt of Edward the third, at which time our author muſt have been twenty-five years of age or more. We may from hence alſo gueſs, that our poet was bred at Oxford, and poſſibly at Merton-College, of which this prelate was a fellow; and ſo was the famous Ralph or Nicholas Strode, who was equally intimate with Chaucer and Gower. In regard to his rank and condition, it is moſt likely that he was in ſome ſignal manner attached to the ſervice of Thomas of Woodſtock, firſt Earl of Buckingham, and then Duke of Glouceſter (57), for the reaſon very judiciouſly aſſigned by the late learned Garter King at Arms, his wearing the badge of the Swan appendant to his collar (58). Gower himſelf affords the ſtrongeſt evidence, as to the modes of thoſe times, in diſtinguiſhing perſons of rank, and their followers, by theſe kind of cognizances; having in one part of his poem mentioned thoſe of moſt of the great Lords in his time (59). But either his rank muſt have been very conſiderable, to have juſtified his aſſuming ſuch a diſtinction; or he muſt have belonged to that great prince in the way of his profeſſion, which is the moſt probable. In reſpect to this it appears clearly, that not only the King and the Prince of Wales, when there was one, but alſo the princes of the blood, had their ſtanding counſel learned in the law, who were heard in parliament in caſe any bill was read there that might be detrimental to their intereſts (60). In the reign of Henry the ſixth, the Duke of York's counſel propoſed in parliament, his claim to the Crown, againſt the King then upon the Throne. We may therefore preſume that John Gower, who we know

(49) See Note [A].

(50) Gower, de Confeſſione Amantis; in the title page of that edition printed by T. B. in A. D. 1532. Lond. fol. and in the firſt edition printed by W. Caxton.

(51) Brook's Catalogue. p. 112.

(52) Collin's Peerage, Vol. V. p. 14.

(53) Godwin de Præſul. p. 610.

(54) Leland. Collectan. Tom. i. p. 415.

(55) Godwin de Præſul. p. 611.

(56) Leland. Collectan. T. iii. p. 54.

(57) Bib. Cotton. Tiberius. A. 4. p. 153.

(58) Anſtis's Regiſter of the Garter, Vol. I. p. 116.

(59) Bibl. Cotton. Tiber. A. 4. p. 151.

(60) Cotton's Records. p. 149, 150, 177, 310, 665, 666.

was

this kingdom, for in order of time he was before Chaucer, though he alſo ſurvived him. It was from their joint endeavours, that there came to be ſuch a thing as Engliſh poetry; for notwithſtanding the diſtance of time, and the uncouthneſs of their language, the wit and genius of either ſufficiently vindicates his title as a poet (*w*). Indeed their ſucceſſors, Lidgate, Occleve, and the reſt, very fairly own it, and treat their memories with all due reſpect. Some have blamed them for introducing ſo many words from other languages, as if by this they had injured their own (*x*). But it may be this is not ſo certain as is commonly imagined. The long wars with France, in the days of Edward III. and the reſidence of ſome of the principal nobility in that kingdom, with their families for many years; the French King John's keeping his court here, with the number of Princes, and great Lords of his realm, who were either priſoners with, or reſorted hither to wait on him; the expedition of Edward the black Prince into Spain, the marriage of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaſter, and his brother the Duke of York, to the daughters of Don Pedro King of Caſtile (*y*), muſt have had a great effect on the court language; ſo that it appears at leaſt as reaſonable to ſuppoſe they complied with what was already become common, (for poets always write to be underſtood) as to believe that they brought in an inundation of new words, which muſt have rendered their writings dark and unintelligible, of which none that lived near their own times ever complained (*z*). It would be no difficult taſk to bring a crowd of witneſſes to eſtabliſh, by their teſtimonies, his right to the high reputation he poſſeſſes, but a few ſhall ſuffice [*K*]. It was a point of duty to render ſo

(*w*) See Camden, Blount, Winſtanly, &c.

(*x*) Skinner, Peacham.

(*y*) See all our Hiſtories of the Reign of Ed. III.

(*z*) See the Life of Chaucer prefix'd to Urry's edition.

was an eminent lawyer, and we alſo know was ſteadily attached to this prince, might be of his counſel; or, as we find that word ſometimes uſed, his chancellor, that is, the chief of his lawyers, and he who directed how juſtice was to be adminiſtred, and his prerogative maintained, in his honours lordſhips and manors. Weever (61) alſo has ſhewn us, that there was an ancient family of the Gowers in Kent, of which he thought our author to be; and whether that family ſprang from the Gowers of Wales, or from the Gowers of Yorkſhire, or from neither, is a queſtion we are not able to reſolve. All we pretend in this note is, to furniſh the inquiſitive and judicious reader with ſome hints for his farther reſearches, ſo that gradually theſe memoirs may be rendered compleat, which poſſibly they might have been before this time, if one writer had not been content to tranſcribe another, without looking into the author's own works, or the hiſtories of thoſe times. In reſpect to the gold collar of SS about his neck, John Stowe, though a very intelligent man (62), was too haſty in pronouncing him no knight; for though it be true, that men were raiſed to the rank of Eſquires, by the impoſition of collars of SS, yet theſe were of ſilver. The great Selden (63) is indeed of Stowe's opinion, but he gives a much better reaſon for it, alledging the two firſt words of his epitaph *armigeri ſcutum*. It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that the true cauſe of this perplexity, is the want of proper diſtinctions, which did not become a faſhion 'till after the inſurrection of the clowns, when perſons of family and fortune began to add their titles to their ſirnames. By the way, the collar of SS, which became afterwards a mark of dignity, was originally the cognizance or badge of the houſe of Lancaſter; and was worn by ſuch as were deſirous of ſhewing their attachment to that houſe (64). Yet being in conjunction with a robe, it ſeems to imply that our author had ſome office under Henry the fourth, it may be in the nature of his attorney or ſollicitor, or it may be, as many have conjectured, that he was a Judge. As for John or James Gower, for he is called by both names, he was taken priſoner at the battle of Tewkſbury, which was fought May 4th 1471 (65). And there was this remarkable in his caſe, that with the Duke of Somerſet, and ſeveral other perſons of great diſtinction, he had taken ſhelter in a church, into which, when King Edward IV. would have entered with his ſword drawn, a prieſt met him with the ſacrament, who would not let him proceed, till he had promiſed them their lives, notwithſtanding which, after remaining there from Saturday to Monday, they were taken out and beheaded. This ſeems to have been done in revenge of what had paſſed about ten years before, ſince in the charge (66), upon which Henry VI. his Queen, Edward Prince of Wales, &c. were attainted, one article, viz. the eighteenth, is, that they cauſed William Lord Bonville, and Sir Thomas Kuriell, Knights of the Garter, and William Gower, ſtandard-bearer to Richard Duke of York, to be beheaded againſt law, and conſequently murthered. We ſee from hence that there were ſeveral families of the Gowers, and that they took different ſides in theſe miſerable times. It is however clear, that John or James Gower, ſlain at Tewkſbury, was of the Stitenham family, and from him there is a clear deſcent; but of what family William Gower was, does not appear.

(61) Funeral Monuments, p. 270.

(62) Stowe's Annals, p. 326.

(63) Titles of Honour, p. 692.

(64) Anſtis's Regiſter of Garter, Vol. I. p. 218.

(65) Stowe's Annals, p. 424. Speed's Hiſtory, p. 684.

(66) Cotton's Records, p. 670.

[*K*] *But a few ſhall ſuffice.*] As we reſerved this note for the commendations beſtowed upon our author, by ſeveral perſons of ſkill in our language and learning, we have purpoſely omitted ſome points, which the reader will find cleared up here. We will begin with Thomas Barthelette, a man of parts and learning, who upon reprinting our author's works, and dedicating them to King Henry VIII. addreſſes him thus, 'Plutarch writeth, when Alexander had diſcomfite Darius the kynge of Perſe, amonge other jewels of the 'ſaide kynges, there was found a curious littel cheſte 'of great value, which the noble King Alexander be-'holding ſaide, this ſame ſhall ſerve for Homere, 'whiche is noted for the greate love and favour that 'Alexander had unto lernyng: but this I think verily 'that his love and favour thereto, was not ſo great as 'your gracis, whiche cauſed me, moſte victorious, and 'moſte redoubted ſoveraigne Lorde, after I had print-'ed this warke to deuiſe with myſelf, whether I might 'be ſo bolde to preſente your Highneſſe with one of 'them, and ſo in your graces name put them forth. 'Your moſte high and moſte princely majeſtee abaſh-'ed and cleane diſcouraged me ſo to do, both becauſe 'the preſent (as concernynge the value) was farr to 'ſimple (as me thought), and becauſe it was none 'otherwiſe my acte, but as I toke ſome payne to print 'it more correctly than it was before. And though 'I ſhulde ſaie it was not muche greatter peine to that 'excellent clerke, the moral Johan Gower, to compile 'the ſame noble warke, than it was to me to print it, 'no man will believe it without conferringe both the 'printes, the olde and myn together. I very well knowe that both the nobles and commons 'of this your noble royaſme, ſhall the ſooner accepte 'this boke, the gladlier rede it, and be the more dili-'gent to marke and beare away the morall doctrines 'of the ſame, when they ſhall ſee it come forthe un-'der your graces name, whom thei with all their very 'hertes ſo truly love and drede; whom they knowe 'ſo excellently well lerned, whom they ever ſynde ſo 'good, ſo juſte, and ſo gracious a prince. And who 'ſo ever in redynge of this warke doth conſider it well, 'ſhall fynde, that it is plentifully ſtuffed, and four-'niſhed with manifolde eloquent reaſons, ſharpe and 'quicke argumentes, and examples of great auctoritie, 'perſwadynge unto vertue, not only taken out of the 'poets, oratours, hiſtorie writers, and philoſophers, but 'alſo out of the holy ſcripture. There is to my dome 'no man, but that he maie by readinge of this warke 'get righte great knowledge, as well for the under-

'ſtandynge

ſo much juſtice to John Gower, whoſe memory has been too much neglected by ſome, and too haſtily injured by others, on whoſe credit more ſtreſs has been ſometimes laid, than upon a calm and cloſe review they will be found to deſerve. And it is from a conſciouſneſs of this, that we have not ſpared either induſtry or labour, to ſet, as we hope we have done, this article in a proper light.

Art of Engliſh Poeſie, p. 48.

' ſtandynge of many and divers auctours, whoſe reaſons, ſayenges, and hiſtories, are tranſlated in to this warke, as for the pleintie of Engliſhe words and vulgars, beſide the furtherance of the life to vertue.' The ingenious (67) Mr Puttenham writes thus of the parents of our Engliſh poetry. ' I will not reach above the time of King Edward the third and Richard the ſecond, for any that wrote in Engliſh metre, becauſe, before their times by reaſon of the late Norman Conqueſt, which had brought into this realm, much alteration, both of our langage and lawes, and therewithall a certain martial barbaroufnes, whereby the ſtudy of all good learning was ſo much decayed, as long time after, no man or very few intended to write in any laudable ſcience; ſo as beyond that time, there is little or nothing worth commendation to be founde written in this arte. And thoſe of the firſt age were Chaucer and Gower, both of them as I ſuppoſe, Knightes. After whom followed John Lidgate, the Monke of Bury, and that nameleſs, who wrote the Satyre, called Piers Plowman.' The learned and judicious Sir Philip Sydney (68) concurs alſo in theſe ſentiments. ' In the Italian language, ſays he, the firſt that made it to aſpire to be a Treaſure Houſe of Science, were the poets Dante, Boccace, and Petrarch. So in our Engliſh, were Gower and Chaucer, after whom, encouraged and delighted with their excellent foregoing, others have followed to beautifie our mother tongue, as well in the ſame kind, as other arts.' We ſhall next quote Mr Henry Peacham a very ingenious gentleman, and in whoſe works there are many things entertaining, and ſome inſtructive; but for what he ſays of our author the reader finds it here only to ſhew him how eaſily he might be miſled. ' Gower (69) being very gracious with King Henrie the fourth in his time, carried the name of the only poet; but his verſes to ſay truth were poor and plaine, yet full of good and grave moralitie, but while he affected altogether the French phraſe and words, made himſelf too obſcure to his reader, beſide his invention cometh far ſhort of the promiſe of his titles. He publiſhed only that I know of three books, which at St Mary Overies in Southwark, upon his monument lately repaired by ſome good benefactor, lie under his head; which are, Vox Clamantis, Speculum Meditantis, and Confeſſio Amantis. He was a Knight, as alſo was Chaucer.' There is ſtill preſerved in the Cotton Library, a catalogue of our ancient Hiſtorians, made by the inquiſitive and very judicious Mr John Joceſyn (70): whoſe critical ſkill and wonderful exactneſs in matters of that nature are generally known; he mentions his two hiſtories of King Richard, and calls him expreſsly a Knight; which ſhews that he was not biaſſed, either by the aſſertion of Caxton or the notions of others, who contend eagerly that he was but an Eſquire. In all the diſcourſes that regard our legal, our hiſtorical, and our literary antiquities, we are ſure to find ſome mention more or leſs of this eminent perſon; and therefore it would have been a diſcredit to an undertaking like this, to have given the reader a tranſcript only of thoſe meagre accounts, which Bale, Pits, and Fuller, have borrowed from Leland, who if he had been ſo happy as to have enjoyed his ſenſes, would undoubtedly have publiſhed his Commentaries in a much more ample and accurate manner than we have them at preſent; though even as they now ſtand, they are an invaluable treaſure, and with his other pieces eternal monuments of their author's fine genius, indefatigable labour, and true public ſpirit; ſo that any little ſlips in him, like ſpots in the ſun, are viſible only to the curious, and are no ſenſible diminution of his ſplendour. E

(68) Defence of Poeſie, p. 492.

(69) The Compleat Gentleman, p. 94, 95.

(70) Nero, C. III. 47. fol. 191. 6.

GRANT or GRAUNT, the ſurname of a very antient and potent family in Scotland. It is commonly believed, that the original name was Groot, and that they came from Denmark or Norway; and it is ſaid, that an old manuſcript hiſtory of that country, by Vanbaſſan, ſtill extant in the Advocates library, gives countenance to this opinion (*a*); which is farther ſupported from a point of fact, that this name has long flouriſhed in that kingdom; as a proof of which it is urged, that there are two antient churches, at a ſmall diſtance from Chriſtiana, bearing the name of Grant ſoyn, *i. e.* the pariſhes of Grant (*b*). If ſo, it is moſt probable that theſe were erected by ſuch of the family as remained in that kingdom, ſince the Grants are ſuppoſed to have come over into Scotland in the very beginning of the fifth century, upon the following occaſion. The Romans, under the command of Maximus, having defeated the Scots, and killed their King Eugenius, or Ewen, and compelled the princes of the blood and nobility to take ſhelter where they could, in the weſtern iſlands, Ireland, and in Denmark, began ſoon after to oppreſs the Picts, in whoſe behalf they engaged in this war, and by whoſe aſſiſtance they had almoſt extirpated the Scots (*c*). This ſo provoked the Picts, who now found they had been fighting to eſtabliſh a power capable of depriving them of liberty, that they reſolved to be reconciled to their old foes, to preſerve themſelves from being enſlaved by their falſe friends (*d*). With this view they encouraged the broken remains of the Scots to invite Fergus, the lineal deſcendant of their old monarchs, who had gained a great reputation by his military exploits abroad, to vindicate the rights of his native country againſt the Romans, in which they promiſed to aſſiſt him. On this invitation, Fergus having collected as many of the exiled Scots as he could, and ſome Iriſh, carried over with him alſo ſome Daniſh and Norweigian gentlemen, who, out of affection to his perſon, were content to follow his fortunes (*e*). He was ſeated on the throne anno Domini 404, and with him it is ſaid came over the anceſtor of the Grants, whoſe poſterity have ever ſince flouriſhed in the North of Scotland (*f*). It is a very difficult, or, to ſpeak the truth, an impracticable taſk, to trace things of this kind ſo high, with any tolerable degree of certainty; but it is a thing out of diſpute, that a very antient family they are, and have all the authentic marks of being old Chiefs. The head of this houſe bears in a field, Gules, three antique crowns, Or, alluding, as is ſuppoſed, to thoſe of the nation from whom they ſprung (*g*). His creſt a burning hill proper, with two ſavages for ſupporters, with this motto, STAND SURE. Another mark of their antiquity, is their having what the old

(*a*) Niſbet's Heraldry, Vol. I. p. 427.

(*b*) M.S. Memoirs of the family of Grant.

(*c*) Zoſim. lib. IV. p. 74. Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. IV.

(*d*) Gild. de Excid. Britan. Bed. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. I. Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. V.

(*e*) Memoirs of the family of Grant.

(*f*) Leſl. in Vit. Fergus. ii.

(*g*) Niſbet's Heraldry, Vol. I. p. 427.

French writers call *Cri de guerre*, or Cry of war, which was *Graig ellachie*. Theſe cries, in this country at leaſt, were taken from the places at which the clan aſſembled in time of war; for which purpoſe, perſons were appointed by the Chief, who carried a wooden croſs burnt at the ends, called from thence *a fiery croſs*, through all the diſtrict, inhabited by their dependants, who immediately, upon ſeeing that croſs and hearing that cry, repaired to the poſt aſſigned. The antient record, ſo famous under the title of Ragman-roll, which contains the ſubmiſſions of the nobility and gentry of the beſt families in Scotland to King Edward the Firſt, in 1292 (*b*), as it was then and long after glorious to England, contributes now in ſome meaſure to the honour of Scotland, as it affords the cleareſt and moſt authentic proofs of the antiquity of their families; inſomuch, that it has been deſervedly explained by a long and learned commentary of one of their moſt able Antiquaries (*i*). Amongſt thoſe of whom the ſubſcriptions are preſerved in that roll, we find Robert de Grant, who was probably the chief of his clan at this time. When King Edward thought fit, in order to eſtabliſh his power more effectually in that kingdom, to impriſon a multitude of the moſt conſiderable men, whom in 1297 he ſet at liberty upon bail, we find one John Grant among theſe, which are evidences more than ſufficient to ſhew, that there was more than one conſiderable family of this name (*k*) in theſe early times, for ſo in reſpect to ours they may well be called; which at the ſame time adds to the probability of the foregoing accounts, ſince, in thoſe days, families did not ſtart up ſuddenly into wealth and power, but acquired both property and reſpect by very ſlow degrees. In one of our antient hiſtorians, we find two of this family, John Graunt and Alan Graunt, mentioned as knights, and leaders of renown in that army, which the Scots raiſed for the relief of Berwick, beſieged by King Edward the Third, and Edward Baliol, anno Domini 1333 (*l*). In much later times, we find ſuch confirmations of charters, as very clearly prove the rank and power of the family, to which it muſt have arrived gradually, and by a progreſſive accumulation of land, in a long courſe of years; ſince, though we find them often in the field, and intruſted with public offices, yet we meet with none of them mentioned as royal favourites, as great officers of State, or deriving large gifts from the Crown. Amongſt the Earl of Haddington's collections (*m*), there is a confirmation of his barony to John Grant of Freuchie, by King James the Fourth, the reddendum of which ſhews, that he was then a powerful chief, ſince he is required to furniſh a well-ſupported lance, which is explained to be three ſufficient horſemen for every diſtrict of a certain ſize, within his ſaid barony, when the King ſhould make war without his realm, and to aſſemble all the defenſible perſons inhabiting within the bounds of his barony, when ſo required to do, by the royal mandate of that prince, or his ſucceſſors, for the convocation of their lieges within the realm. Their marriages is another and perhaps a ſtronger proof, than any yet offered, both of their antiquity and rank; for, about the year 1095, Urſula Grant was married to Duncan the Second, king of Scotland (*n*). In 1165, Izabella Grant was married to Bancho Stuart of Lochabar. In 1335 (*o*), Patrick Grant, of Grant, married Bigla Cummine, ſole daughter of Lord Glencherruick, the only remaining nobleman of that great name, in which there had flouriſhed no fewer than fourteen diſtinct noble families but two generations before (*p*). In 1555, Sir John Grant married the lady Margery Stuart, daughter to the Earl of Athol (*q*). In 1587, Sir John Grant of Grant was married to the Lady Lilias Murray, daughter of the Earl of Tullibarden (*r*), from whom his Grace, the preſent Duke of Athol, now Lord Privy-Seal of the kingdom of Scotland, is deſcended. Theſe are at once the moſt concluſive evidences that can be had of the antiquity of any family, becauſe, in thoſe early times, unequal marriages were very uncommon, and taken in conjunction with other evidences, ſtrengthens them extremely; to which we may add the very ſituation of the country where this clan is ſeated, which correſponds ſo well with the facts before laid down, that one can ſee no juſt reaſon to ſuſpect them; and in all enquiries of this ſort, the beſt judges will allow, that evidences drawn from records and charters are infinitely preferable to private memoirs, ſubſiſting only in the hands of the families to which they belong, ſince ſuch, unleſs ſupported by teſtimonies of this kind, are frequently uncertain and always ſuſpected. But where poſſeſſions from time immemorial, honourable offices, charters of confirmation, marriage-ſettlements, and ſtate-records, concur, with an uninterrupted claim to a deſcent of a more antient date than moſt of our hiſtories, they add, if not certainty, at leaſt probability, to tradition. It is very certain, that a family of this ſurname, Grant or Graunt, was alſo ſeated very early in England; and therefore Sir George Mackenzie (*s*), who was an indefatigable enquirer into, and a very competent judge of, theſe matters, was inclined to think the family in Scotland came from them, which, however, we cannot hold probable, for reaſons that will appear hereafter. In 1229, we find Richard de Wetherſhed, the ſucceſſor of the famous Stephen Langton, in the archiepiſcopal ſee of Canterbury (*t*); but it is very certain that his true name was Grant, and, as there are ſome particulars very ſingular in his hiſtory, we ſhall take notice of them at the bottom of the page [*A*]. In all probability this Archbiſhop

(*b*) Prynne's Hiſtory, p. 649.

(*i*) Printed at the cloſe of Nisbet's Heraldry.

(*k*) Rymeri Fœder. Angl. Tom. II. p. 769, &c.

(*l*) Walteri Hemingford Chronicon. Edward. III. p. 276.

(*m*) See theſe Collections, p. 581.

(*n*) M.S. Hiſtory of the family of Grant.

(*o*) Ibid.

(*p*) Ibid.

(*q*) Charta penes Grant. Regiſters of Parliament, 1565.

(*r*) Charta in publicis Archivis.

(*s*) As we find him cited in Niſbet's Heraldry, Vol. I. p. 427.

(*t*) Godwin de Præſulibus, p. 89, Cambridge 1743, folio.

[*A*] *At the bottom of the page.*] In the Lives of the Archbiſhops of Canterbury, publiſhed by the learned Henry Wharton, we find nothing more ſaid of this prelate than what follows(1): 'Richardus cognomento magnus;

(1) Stephani Birchingtoni Vitæ Archiepiſcoporum Cantuar. p. 10.

Archbiſhop was a North-country and it is likely a Yorkſhire man, if not a native of the city of York, of which one of his name was Bailiff or Sheriff the ſucceeding year; nor was he the firſt of that family who had born that office (u). We likewiſe find them benefactors to the abbey of St Mary (w), but how long this family continued, or when it extinguiſhed, in thoſe parts, we cannot determine. In the fifteenth century, there flouriſhed one Thomas Grant, an eminent divine, who was Rector of St Margaret Lothbury, in the city of London, and one of the Prebendaries of St Paul's (x). In the ſucceeding century, we find the learned Dr Edward Grant maſter of Weſtminſter-School (y), whom we have had occaſion to mention already, but of whom it is but juſt that we ſhould ſay ſomething more in this place. He was eſteemed one of the beſt claſſic ſcholars of his time,

(u) Drake's Hiſtory and Antiquities of the city of York, p. 183, 359.

(w) See the Charters relating to that abbey in the Appendix to Dodſworth's Hiſtory cited, p. 61y.

(x) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 100, 401.

(y) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 310.

'nus, qui prius fuit Cancellarius Lincolnienſis, ſucceſ-
'fit & ſedit annis II. Vacavit eccleſia annis II, paſto-
're deſolata.' Archbiſhop Parker (z) alſo has preſerved the ſame name, and ſtiles him *Richardus Magnus*, though he enters at large into the hiſtory of his primacy. Ralph Higden (3) calls him Richard de Wetherſhed, the great Dean of London, who from thence received the ſurname of *Richardus Magnus*; but, in our antient Chronicles, his name appears plainly to be *Richardus de Graunt* (4). Archbiſhop Langton died July 9, 1228, at his manor of Slindon in Suſſex (5). Within a few days after, the Monks of Canterbury, with the King's licence, proceeded to the election of a ſucceſſor, when they made choice of Walter de Hempſham (6), or rather de Eveſham (7), one of their own body, whom the King however, upon the ſuggeſtion of ſeveral prelates, did by no means approve. Walter, however, ſet out immediately for Rome, in hopes of obliging his maſter, by the papal authority, to admit him to the poſſeſſion of the temporalities of the ſee (8). King Henry the Third thereupon ſent the Biſhops of Coventry and Rocheſter (not of Cheſter, as in Godwin), to repreſent to Pope Gregory the Ninth, that this man was altogether unfit for the office, being a perſon of little learning, and ſcandalous in point of morals, having had ſeveral baſtards by a nun, being the ſon of a man hanged for theft, and who had deſerved that puniſhment himſelf for his adherence to the rebels. All this, however, had ſignified little, if the two prelates had not availed themſelves of an argument much more concluſive in the court of Rome. Pope Gregory was then embarked in an open war againſt the Emperor Frederick; and the Embaſſadors promiſed him a tenth, not on the benefices of the clergy only, but on the eſtates of the laity alſo, to be levied in all the King their maſter's dominions (9). This had it's effect; the election at Canterbury was examined by a congregation of Cardinals, declared to be upon full proof utterly null, and the right of naming to the ſtill vacant ſee devolved upon the Pope. In conſequence of this, at the ſuggeſtion of the King, his Holineſs appointed Richard de Graunt, Chancellor of Lincoln, who, as our hiſtorians tell us, was a perſon of great gravity, learning, prudence, eloquence, and probity, a ſtout maintainer of the rights of his ſee, and in his perſon tall, and of a very graceful preſence (10). He was conſecrated by Henry Biſhop of Rocheſter at Canterbury, in the preſence of the King and many of the nobility, June 10, 1229, being Trinity-Sunday (11). He did not govern the ſee long or in much quiet, for the raiſing the tenth beforementioned occaſioned great diſturbances. He held, however, a ſynod at Weſtminſter, in which ſome excellent canons were made; the wiſdom and equity of which, as his ſucceſſor, Archbiſhop Parker, tells us, ſhewed the mild diſpoſition of the man (12). Yet, upon ſome wrong done, as he conceived, to the ſee of Canterbury, by Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent, he complained to the King, and finding no redreſs at his hands, he had recourſe, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, to eccleſiaſtical cenſures; and having excommunicated all who had any hand in this affair, the King excepted, he withdrew out of the kingdom and went to Rome. He was preſently followed thither by Roger de Cantelupe, or, as Matthew Paris writes, de Cantilu, the King's embaſſador. The complaints ſuggeſted by the prelate to his Holineſs were, that the whole buſineſs of his kingdom Henry tranſacted by the advice of Hubert Earl of Kent, and other noblemen of like inclinations. That this Earl Hubert had married a ſecond wife, who was very nearly related to his firſt, and had deſpoiled the ſee of Canterbury of it's lands, of which he was ſtill in poſſeſſion. That many of the Biſhops, his ſuffragans, neglecting their paſtoral duty, ſat in the King's Exchequer, hearing lay cauſes, and giving judgment in matters of blood; that many of the inferior clergy held more than one living, with a cure of ſouls annexed; and being miſled by the behaviour of their prelates, intermeddled, like them, with things foreign to their profeſſion, and applied a great part of their time to the management of ſecular affairs. He therefore deſired that the Pope would interpoſe his authority, in ſupport of the diſcipline of the Church, the general amendment of manners, and the removal of thoſe grievances. The King's embaſſador, according to his inſtructions, ſuggeſted much in mitigation, and ſome things in juſtification, of the King's meaſures, and of his miniſter, Earl Hubert, which he inforced in the beſt manner he was able. But the eloquence of the Archbiſhop, his ſagacity and prudent behaviour, made ſuch an impreſſion on the Pope and the Cardinals, that he obtained all he deſired; upon which he ſet out on his return home (13). But the joy of this victory was of very ſhort continuance; he fell ſick on the third day of his journey, at a place called St Gemma, and taking up his lodging in a houſe of Minor Canons, deceaſed there Auguſt 3, 1231, and was interred in the church belonging to the monaſtery (14). It is reported by a grave author, but the reader is not obliged on that account to believe it, that ſoon after he was interred, ſome thieves broke into the vault where his body was laid, and took it up, with an intent to deſpoil him of his ring, his mitre, and other pontifical ornaments; but they ſtuck ſo faſt to his body, that finding all their endeavours in vain, they in a great fright abandoned their ſacrilegious intent (15). We have an article of this prelate, under the name of *Richardus Magnus*, alſo in Pits, who tells us, that he was a very learned writer, and gives us the titles of his Canons in the Council of Weſtminſter (16): but we meet with nothing relating to him either in Leland or Bale; and when, in the poſthumous work of the learned and accurate Biſhop Tanner, we have a reference to the Canons made in his Council of Weſtminſter (17), there ſeems to be a miſtake; for thoſe Canons were not made by him, but by his predeceſſor Richard the Firſt, in the year 1131, and in the reign of Henry the Second (18). The books written by our author, and remembered by Pits, are theſe,

De Fide & Legibus, Lib. I. *Of Faith and Laws.* One book.

De Sacramentis, Lib. I. *Of Sacraments.* One book.

De Univerſo Corporali & Spirituali, Lib. I. *Of the Corporal and Spiritual World.* One book.

After having ſaid ſo much of this great prelate, it may not be amiſs to caution the reader, that this *Richardus Magnus*, or *de Wetherſhed*, is not to be confounded with *Richard Wetherſett*, alias *Grantebrigenſis*, who is mentioned by Leland, Bale, and Pits (19), and who flouriſhed about twenty years later than our Archbiſhop. We have taken this opportunity of reſtoring this prelate to his own name, and of giving a ſuccinct abridgment of his life from original writers, all of whom we have carefully conſulted and collated; and perhaps it would be no unacceptable preſent to the learned world, if any laborious and accurate writer would give us in Engliſh a compleat hiſtory of the lives and acts of the Archbiſhops of Canterbury, from thoſe antient and original authors already extant, which would throw new lights on ſeveral parts of our civil as well as eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, which ſeem at preſent very dark and deficient.

(z) De antiquitate Britanniæ Eccleſiæ, p. 246.

(3) Polychron. A. D. 1230.

(4) Chronica de Mailroſs int. rerum Anglican. ſcriptor. veter. Tom. I. p. 200. Chronicon Thomæ Wikes, int. Hiſtoriæ Anglican. Scriptor. Thom. Gale, Tom. II. p. 40. Annales Waverleienſes, ibid. p. 193.

(5) Parkeri de Antiquitate Britannicæ Eccleſiæ, p. 245.

(6) Matth. Paris Hiſt. Angl. p. 350.

(7) Chron. T. Wikes, p. 40.

(8) Matth. Paris Hiſt. Angl. p. 350.

(9) Parker. Godwin, &c.

(10) Matth Paris Hiſt. Angl. p. 355.

(11) Chron. T. Wikes & Nic. Triveti Annales, p. 183.

(12) De Antiquitate Britannicæ Eccleſiæ, p. 246.

(13) Matth. Paris Hiſt. Angl. p. 368.

(14) Chron. T. Wikes, p. 41. Annales Waverlienſes, p. 193. Dies Obituales Archiepiſcorum Cantuarienſium, apud Wharton, Tom. I. p. 57.

(15) Matth. Paris Hiſt. Angl. p. 370.

(16) De Illuſtribus Angliæ Scriptoribus, p. 307.

(17) Bibliotheca Britannico-Hiberaica, p. 626.

(18) Concil. M. Britan. & Hib. Vol. I. p. 474, & ſeq.

(19) Jo. Lelandi Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis, p. 272. Balæus de Scriptoribus, p. 436. Pits de illuſtribus Angliæ Scriptoribus, p. 307.

time, which, if we conſider how many great men flouriſhed in them, will appear no very ordinary character. He was a good Latin Poet, and excellently ſkilled in Greek; to facilitate the learning of which moſt uſeful language, he compoſed a very copious Grammar, which was afterwards contracted by his ſucceſſor, the famous Mr William Camden (z). This Dr Grant was not only diſtinguiſhed by his perfect knowledge of the learned languages, and by the happineſs of his method in teaching them, but alſo by his generous and diſintereſted diſpoſition, which diſcovered itſelf clearly, in his zeal for preſerving the fame, and providing for the orphan family, of the celebrated Roger Aſcham, whoſe letters he publiſhed; and, in his pathetic dedication to Queen Elizabeth, ſo effectually recommended his pupil, Giles Aſcham, to her protection, by letting the world know how much, though a Queen, ſhe ſtood obliged to his father, that he procured for him, if not a happy eſtabliſhment, at leaſt a comfortable ſubſiſtence, which, without this gentleman's help, neither his father's merits or his own would have obtained (a). The poems of Dr Grant, for ſo he wrote his own name, prefixed to ſeveral excellent pieces publiſhed in thoſe times, ſhew how much more ready he was to beſtow than to acquire praiſe, and, in truth, his modeſty in this particular was very commendable. He made way, by his reſignation in 1592, for Camden's ſucceſſion to his chair in Weſtminſter-School (b); and having been long a Canon, became at length Subdean of that collegiate church. He deceaſed Auguſt 4, 1601 (c), and not in September or October, as Anthony Wood has placed it (d), and was interred in that church: we find alſo another of the ſame name interred in the cloiſters of this abbey, in 1587, a child of five years old, and it is not improbable, the ſon of this Dr Edward Grant: the monumental inſcription being long ago worn out, the reader perhaps will not be diſpleaſed, as it is very elegant, to find it recovered and preſerved in the notes (e) [B]. We have not been able to diſcover in what part of England the family was ſettled from which theſe Grants deſcended; but we know that there was a family of this name in Hampſhire (f), from whom ſprung that famous citizen of London, John Grant, who, as we have ſhewn, has immortalized his memory by his excellent diſcourſe on the Bills of Mortality. But for all this, it ſeems to us more probable, that the Engliſh family derived it's origin from that in Scotland, unleſs we ſhould ſuppoſe, that the Engliſh as well as the Scots Grants came from Denmark or Norway, and with others of their countrymen ſettled in Cumberland, Northumberland, Yorkſhire, and other northern counties, and from thence ſpread into the heart of the kingdom. At all events, however, we cannot help rejecting Sir George Mackenzie's notion, that the Grants of Scotland derive themſelves from thoſe of England. If this had been ſo, we ſhould certainly have found them in the ſouthern or weſtern counties of Scotland, and not in the north. Beſides, they appear to have been a very potent clan before the time of the Conqueſt, when, according to ſome, the family of le Graunt came over to England (g), and moſt evidently before they flouriſhed at York. All circumſtances concur, in ſhewing, that from the time they came into that part of the iſland, they continued, like other great families, ſeated for the moſt part in the ſame country, and branching out into different houſes, bearing however all the ſame arms, with proper marks of diſtinction, and all acknowledging the Grants of Freuchie, or, as they are now ſtyled, the Grants of Grant, for their chief (h). On the other hand, we do not find any of the Engliſh Grants, though a very numerous name, who formed a permanent eſtabliſhment any where; nor are we able to trace them in ſuch a manner as to decide the queſtion, whether they deſcended from that old family, originally ſettled in the North of England, or from ſome branch of the Grants of Scotland, who removed occaſionally into the South after the Union of the two Crowns.

(z) Lond. 1597 8vo. reprinted about 100 times ſince.

(a) See the article of ASCHAM [Roger] in this Dictionary. See alſo Camden's Verſes to the memory of Aſcham.

(b) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 311.

(c) Reges, Reginæ, Nobiles, & alii, in eccleſia collegiata B. Petri Weſtmonaſterii ſepulti, p. 77.

(d) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 311.

(e) See the Hiſtories of Weſtminſter-Abbey.

(f) Wood's Athen. Oxon, Vol. I. col. 311.

(g) See the Catalogues of thoſe who came with the Conqueror, in Stowe and Holinſhed.

(h) Niſbet's Heraldry, Vol. I. p. 427.

[B] *In the notes.*] We know not where this monument was placed, farther than that it was in the cloiſters; and the inſcription, as copied by Camden, ran thus:

Hic jacet Edwardus Grantus, belliſſimus infans,
Dulce decus matris, deliciæque patris.
Quem mors ætheream citiùs tranſcripſit in vrbem
Eſſet vt Angelicus, deliciæque Deo.
Ille quidem fælix: nam paucos vixit vt annos
Sollicitæ vitæ, ſic mala pauca tulit.

In *Engliſh* thus.

Here, reader, lies interr'd a lovely boy,
His mother's deareſt pride, his father's joy.
Whom early ſnatch'd to the æthereal quire,
With kindred Angels now he tunes his lyre.
Happy in this, as little life he knew;
Of life's inherent ills he felt but few.

Beneath were theſe lines.

Thy ſweet deſire to praiſe thy God,
Thy tender love to parents *dear;*
Thy nature mild to every one,
Remains alive, though corpſe lie here.

VIVIT POST FUNERA VIRTUS.

Virtue unhurt by Death ſurvives the grave.

Obiit Januarii 2, 1587, ætatis ſuæ 5.

He died January 2, 1587, *at* five *years of age.*

That we may not appear to have beſtowed this ſon upon Dr Edward Grant without any foundation, it may not be amiſs to cloſe this note, with obſerving, that he had a ſon, Gabriel Grant, who in the year 1602, was preſented by Peter Tuke, Eſq; to the rectory of Layer Marney, in the archdeaconry of Colcheſter, in the dioceſe of London and county of Eſſex (20). He became afterwards, by the preſentation of the Dean and Chapter of Weſtminſter, Rector of St Leonard's Foſter lane (21), in 1604; and January 20, 1612, was ſeated in the tenth ſtall, as Prebendary of the Collegiate Church of Weſtminſter (22). We might have mentioned many more of this name, of whom ſome memorials are preſerved, more eſpecially in the work (23) from which theſe are taken; but that we look upon what we have done already as ſufficient for our purpoſe.

(20) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. II. p. 379.

(21) Ibid. Vol. I. p. 394.

(22) Ibid. p. 928.

(23) Ibid. Vol. I. p. 676, 401, 806. Vol. p. 48, 389, 591, 609.

GRANT [Sir FRANCIS], an eminent Lawyer and Judge in North-Britain, ſtiled, according to the cuſtom of that country, from the name of his eſtate, Lord Cullen. He was of a yõunger branch of the Grants, though a lineal deſcendant from Sir John Grant of Grant, by the Lady Margery, or Margaret Stuart, daughter to the Earl of Athol, which family of Grant have very conſpicuouſly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in ſupport of the Proteſtant Religion, and the principles of the Revolution [*A*]. This Francis, who is to be the ſubject of the preſent article, was born about the year 1660, and laid the foundation of his literary accompliſhments in the univerſity of Aberdeen; but being intended for the profeſſion of the Law, he was ſent to perfect his ſtudies at Leyden, under the celebrated Profeſſor Voet, who taught there with great reputation. Under him he made ſo great a proficiency, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſo ſingular and ſteady an application, that many years after his return to his native country, the Profeſſor mentioned him to his pupils as one who had done honour to the univerſity, and whoſe example, in point of attention and diligence, it would become them to follow. On his coming back to Scotland, he paſſed through the tryals requiſite to his being admitted Advocate, with ſuch ſingular ſucceſs, as to attract the particular notice of Sir George Mackenzie, the then King's Advocate, one of the moſt knowing and ingenious men, as well as one of the ableſt and moſt eminent Lawyers of that age. This is the more remarkable, ſince Mr Grant's principles, which he never diſſembled, did not correſpond at all with the maxims and meaſures of the Court at that time; but as his merit was very conſpicuous, Sir George, who was a man of the greateſt candour, gave him upon all occaſions diſtinguiſhed marks of kindneſs and eſteem. At the time of the Revolution, being twenty-eight years of age, and having made the conſtitutional points of law his peculiar ſtudy, he made a very great figure when the Convention of Eſtates met, in order to canvaſs matters of the higheſt importance; ſuch as, whether the throne was full or vacant, and if vacant, how it was to be filled. Some of the old Lawyers, in purſuance of the principles they had long eſpouſed, argued warmly againſt thoſe upon which the Revolution had taken place in England, and particularly inſiſted on the inability of the Convention of Eſtates to make any diſpoſition of the Crown. Mr Francis Grant oppoſed theſe notions with great ſtrength and ſpirit, and publiſhed about that time a treatiſe, in which he undertook, from the principles of law, to prove, that a King might forfeit his Crown for himſelf and his deſcendants; and that in ſuch a caſe, the States had a power to diſpoſe of it, and to eſtabliſh and limit a legal ſucceſſion, concluding with the warmeſt recommendations of William Prince of Orange to the regal dignity. This work was generally read, and was believed to have had a conſiderable influence on the public reſolutions. It was certainly a very bold ſtep, and one that clearly manifeſted Mr Grant's integrity and zeal for the conſtitution, in ſupport of which, it was plain, he was determined to riſk every thing; for after ſuch an explicit declaration of his ſentiments, there was no poſſibility for him to retreat. It muſt appear not a little extraordinary, but ſo the fact really was, that this conduct recommended him to both parties in the way of his profeſſion. Thoſe who differed from him in opinion admired his courage, and were deſirous of making uſe of his abilities; as, on the other hand, thoſe who were friends to the Revolution were alſo ſo to him, which brought him into great buſineſs, and procured him, by ſpecial commiſſions, frequent employment from the Crown. His character was firmly

[*A*] *And the principles of the Revolution.*] At the the time of that great event, Lodovic Grant, of Grant, Eſq; was the chief of the family. He was entirely for that meaſure, he levied a regiment of foot, which was raiſed, cloathed, and maintained at his expence, 'till put upon the eſtabliſhment by King William in 1689, who by his commiſſion appointed Colonel Lodovic Grant to command it. According to the reſolutions of the Scotch Parliament, the great expences which this gentleman had been at, were to have been repaid him; but except the honour of this reſolution, which ſhewed the ſenſe the legiſlature had of his ſervice, he never received any indemnification. His ſon Alexander Grant, Eſq; who inherited his father's principles as well as his eſtate, commanded a regiment of foot at the time of the Union, and ſerved with great reputation in Flanders, under the command of the glorious Duke of Marlborough; and in conſequence of thoſe ſervices, was promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General and Governor of Sheerneſs. Upon the breaking out of the rebellion in 1715, he accompanied his Grace John Duke of Argyle as a volunteer, who, as a proof of his high regard for, and great confidence in the Brigadier, appointed him to command in the caſtle of Edinburgh, upon the the preſervation of which ſo much at that juncture depended. Brigadier Grant, while thus employed, diſpatched his brother, then Captain, now Major Grant, northward, with orders to raiſe his clan; which, though the attempt as things were then circumſtanced was equally difficult and dangerous, he very effectually performed; and having with eight hundred men inveſted the town of Inverneſs, he was quickly joined by the Earl of Sutherland, and the late worthy Lord Preſident, then Mr Duncan Forbes of Culloden; by which eminent ſervice at ſo critical a conjuncture, a great body of highlanders were hindered from continuing their march to Perth, and the counties of Bamff, Nairn, Murray, and part of the ſhire of Inverneſs protected from all levies of men and impoſitions of money. The Brigadier however did not long ſurvive, to reap the fruits of his ſingular zeal for the government, otherwiſe in all probability he might have riſen to the higheſt ranks in the Britiſh army. He was member in the Scots Parliament for the ſhire of Elgin, when the Union took place, and was one of the forty-five members deputed from them to ſit in the firſt Parliament of Great-Britain. In the ſecond Parliament in 1708, he was choſen for the Shire of Inverneſs; in the third, fourth and fifth Parliaments for the ſhire of Elgin; and at the time of his deceaſe, was Lord-Lieutenant of the counties of Bamff and Inverneſs He was ſucceeded by his brother Sir James Grant, who in the ſixth and ſeventh Parliaments of Great-Britain, ſerved for the ſhire of Inverneſs. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Sir Lodovic, who is the preſent head of the family, who eſpouſed the Lady Margaret Ogilvy, daughter to the right honourable the Earl of Finlater and Seafield, and was very active in ſuppreſſing the rebellion of 1745, and is at preſent member for the county of Elgin.

firmly eſtabliſhed on the pillars of application and integrity. He was indefatigable in the management of buſineſs; but at the ſame time that he ſpared no pains, he would uſe no craft. He had ſo high an idea of the dignity of his profeſſion, that he held it equally criminal to neglect any honeſt means of coming at juſtice, or to make uſe of any arts to elude it. It might have been expected, that circumſtances which brought him early into full buſineſs, ſhould either have promoted him quickly to the firſt offices in the law, or at leaſt have enabled him to make a large eſtate; but they did neither. His temper was naturally calm and ſedate; he hated buſtle and intrigue; and beſides, Sir James Stuart was Lord-Advocate all the time he was at the bar; and Sir Hugh Dalrymple, ſon to the famous Viſcount Stair, Lord Preſident, while he was on the bench; and their merit and ſervices too great for him to entertain ſo much as a thought of ſupplanting either. In reſpect to fortune, though he was modeſt and frugal, and had a large practice, yet he was far from being avaricious. His private charities were very conſiderable, and grew in the ſame proportion with his profits. He was beſides very ſcrupulous in many points; he would not ſuffer a juſt cauſe to be loſt through a client's want of money. He was ſuch an enemy to oppreſſion, that he never denied his aſſiſtance to ſuch as laboured under it; and with reſpect to clergymen of all profeſſions, his conſcience obliged him to ſerve them without a fee. He ſaw their wrongs required aſſiſtance, and he knew their circumſtances would not admit of expence. His additions therefore to his paternal eſtate were much inferior to what might have been expected, and a large acceſſion of character, was the principal produce of that activity and diligence, by which he was diſtinguiſhed at the bar. This was ſo clear and beyond exception, that her late Majeſty Queen Anne, unexpectedly, as well as without application, created him in 1705 a Baronet, her ſenſe of his ſervices being ſufficiently expreſſed in the preamble to his patent. About a year after, her Majeſty was pleaſed to appoint him one of the Judges, or, as they are ſtiled in Scotland, one of the Senators of the College of Juſtice [*B*]. His juſt title to this preferment was known to every body but himſelf, yet his high notions of the virtues and abilities requiſite in that ſtation made him

[*B*] *One of the ſenators of the College of Juſtice.*] Our intention in this note, is to give as clear and ſuccinct an account of this ſupreme Court of Juſtice in North-Britain, and the Judges who ſit therein, as the nature of this article requires, and the bounds preſcribed will allow. Anciently, cauſes were heard in the laſt reſort, by a committee of Parliament compoſed of an incertain number, who were ſtiled Lords of Seſſion; afterwards this power devolved to the council, but Anno Dom. 1537, King James the Fifth, inſtituted a College of Juſtice, after the model of the Parliament of Paris, which was compoſed of a preſident and fourteen ordinary members, but the Chancellor might preſide there if he pleaſed, and then the preſident ſat with the reſt. This ſupreme court has been ſince commonly called the Court of Seſſion, the members inſtead of Senators of the College of Juſtice, are ſtiled, after their predeceſſors, Lords of Council and Seſſion, and their Preſident, Lord Preſident; nine Lords make a quorum, but the King by the original erection might name three or four Peers of Parliament, who are ſtiled extraordinary Lords of Seſſion, but they make no part of the quorum, are not bound to attend, receive no ſalary; but when they are preſent, ſit and hear cauſes, and vote with the other Lords. By an act paſſed in the tenth of the late King, the crown departed from this prerogative, and after the demiſe of the extraordinary Lords then living, their places were not to be filled up. The juriſdiction and privileges of this court, were ſecured by the articles of Union, ſubject to an appeal from their deciſions to the Houſe of Peers. The Lords of Seſſion hold their office for life, or quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint. On a vacancy in the College of Juſtice, the King is to preſent a perſon duly qualified, that is one who has ſerved five years as Advocate or Clerk of Seſſion, or ten years as a writer to the Signet. Upon this, he is allowed to ſit with the Lord-ordinary while cauſes are heard before him, and he reports two or three points to the Lords in the Inner houſe; he muſt alſo report a cauſe upon a hearing in their preſence in the Inner-houſe, and give his opinion on every point. If the Lords are ſatisfied, they admit him to the office upon his taking the oaths. But if the Lords are of opinion that the perſon ſo named is not duly qualified, they are to tranſmit an account of the whole matter to his Majeſty; and if under his ſign manual, the King ſhall ſignify that it is his pleaſure the perſon ſhall notwithſtanding be received, they admit and receive him accordingly; but if the King nominates another perſon, they are to proceed to examine him as before. One of the Lords ſits in the outer Parliament-houſe, to hear all cauſes in the order they are ſet down in the books of inrollment. If the parties ſubmit to his deciſion, his decree is *final*, if not it is interlocutory, and either of the parties may appeal to the Lords who ſit together in the Inner-houſe, and who upon hearing the cauſe, affirm, reverſe, or alter the decree made in the Outer-houſe. Each Lord ſits in his turn a week at a time in the Outer-houſe, and is during that week ſtiled the Lord Ordinary; if the cauſes cannot be finiſhed in the week, the ſame Lord continues to ſit from nine to ten in the Outer-houſe every day, till the cauſes begun in his week are ended. The Lord Preſident and all the other Lords, ſit in the Inner houſe every day in the week, except Sunday and Monday, during the time of Seſſions, which for the winter begin the firſt of November, and end the laſt of February, with an intermiſſion not exceeding ten days in time of Chriſtmas; and begin the firſt of June, and end the laſt of July for the ſummer ſeſſions. As to the extent of the juriſdiction of the court, all cauſes *civil*, that are not peculiar to other courts, may be brought before them in the firſt inſtance, provided the ſum in queſtion be above twelve pounds ſterling, and cauſes commenced in other courts, may in certain caſes be removed to and reviewed in the court of ſeſſion; and in ſome caſes, the Lords may review upon freſh matter ariſing even their own decrees. This court is both of law and equity, and may, where the Lords ſee juſt cauſe, exerciſe the ſame powers in a great meaſure that are exerciſed in England by the court of Chancery. Beſides this mixt juriſdiction, which they ſtile Officium ordinarium, this court hath alſo an extraordinary coercive power, which they call Officium nobile, which is exerted occaſionally and diſcretionally. An inſtance will explain this to every reader's capacity. When it was reſolved to levy the malt tax effectually, all the brewers in Edinburgh took a ſudden reſolution in one day to deſiſt from the exerciſe of their trade; upon this the Court of Seſſion interpoſed, and made an order, that every brewer ſhould give ſecurity to continue his buſineſs, to prevent any inconvenience happening to the public, on pain of impriſonment. This had it's effect, and the Lords received the thanks of the government. This ſhews clearly how great a truſt is repoſed in a Lord of Seſſion; what extenſive abilities, and what great attention are requiſite to the due diſcharge of the office; and therefore we need not at all wonder, that men of exact probity are ſometimes ſcrupulous of taking ſo great a burthen upon their ſhoulders.

[*C*] *That*

him endeavour to decline it, and he accepted it at laſt with great reluctance. He was from this time ſtiled Sir Francis Grant, Lord Cullen, and the ſame good qualities that recommended him to this employment were very conſpicuous in the diſcharge of it. He thought himſelf accountable to God and man for his conduct in that high office; and his deep ſenſe of his duty, at the ſame time that it kept him ſtrictly to it, encouraged and ſupported him in the performance. The pleadings in Scotland are carried on chiefly in writing, which renders them ſometimes very prolix, ſo as to take up much of a Judge's time, and to exerciſe alike his parts and his patience in going through and making himſelf maſter of them. In this the diligence and the dexterity of Lord Cullen were equally conſpicuous, he went through every thing that came into his hands carefully, and ſifted it thoroughly, ſo that the Lawyers at the bar never found themſelves too ſtrong for the bench, but on the contrary, were told many things by his Lordſhip, which either had eſcaped their notice, or which the intereſt of their client had engaged them to conceal. As his attention to the pleadings guided him to the real merits of the cauſe, ſo when he was once maſter of theſe, his ſecond care was diſpatch. He knew that in judicature the next fault to denying was delaying juſtice, by which families are always injured, and too often ruined; whenever therefore he had provided againſt being miſtaken, he was deſirous of bringing the matter to a ſhort deciſion; and as he was very ſollicitous about the former, ſo the parties themſelves helped him not a little as to the latter. Whenever he ſat as Lord Ordinary, the paper of Cauſes was remarkably full; for his reputation being equally eſtabliſhed for knowledge and integrity, there were none who had a good opinion of their own pretenſions but were deſirous of bringing them before him, and not many who did not ſit down ſatisfied with his deciſion. This prevailed more eſpecially, after it was found that few of his ſentences were reverſed, and when they were, it was commonly owing to himſelf; for if upon mature reflection, or upon new reaſons offered at the rehearing, he ſaw any juſt ground for altering his judgment, he made no ſcruple of declaring it, being perſwaded that it was more manly as well as more juſt to follow truth than to ſupport opinion; and his conduct in this reſpect had a right effect, for inſtead of leſſening it raiſed his reputation. His experience, though it quickened his penetration, did not leſſen his diligence in the leaſt. How certain ſoever he might be of the truth of his own ſentiments, he took great care to have all the aſſiſtance that was to be received from books, and never failed to fortify his arguments and to ſupport his reaſonings by the beſt authorities. His collegues were ſo well aware and ſo much approved of this, that they very ſeldom decided any knotty caſe that came before them in his abſence, but rather choſe to adjourn it. We ſhall hear, ſaid they, not only our brother Cullen's own opinion, but that of all the great Lawyers upon this point. His labours in this reſpect, though he propoſed no other end in them than the promoting of juſtice, were attended with univerſal applauſe, and procured him a character, to which he had the faireſt title, of being one of the ableſt and deepeſt Lawyers of his time. He would not however, with all this great ſtock of knowledge, experience, and probity, truſt himſelf in matters of blood, or venture to decide in criminal caſes on the lives of his fellow-creatures, which was the reaſon, that, though often ſollicited, he could never be prevailed upon to accept of a ſeat in the Juſticiary Court; for though in this part of the iſland, the ſame Judges hear civil and criminal cauſes in virtue of different commiſſions, yet it is otherwiſe in North-Britain, where criminal cauſes are heard in a different court by a certain number of Lords, ſelected for that purpoſe out of the body of the Judges, and who have an additional ſalary for that purpoſe. He was ſo true a lover of learning, and was ſo much addicted to his ſtudies, that notwithſtanding the multiplicity of his buſineſs while at the bar, and his great attention to his charge when a Judge, he nevertheleſs found time to write various treatiſes on very different and important ſubjects. Some political, which were remarkably well timed, and highly ſerviceable to the government; others of a more extenſive nature, ſuch as his eſſays on Law, Religion, and Education, which were dedicated to his preſent Majeſty when Prince of Wales, by whoſe command his then Secretary, Mr Molyneux, wrote him a letter of thanks, in which were many gracious expreſſions, as well in relation to the piece as to it's author. He compoſed, beſides theſe, many diſcourſes on literary ſubjects, for the exerciſe of his own thoughts, and for the better diſcovery of truth, which went no farther than his own cloſet, and from a principle of modeſty were not communicated even to his moſt intimate friends. He had a very high opinion of Lord Viſcount Stair's Inſtitutionof the Law Scotland, and often importuned that noble perſon's ſon, the Lord Preſident Dalrymple, to publiſh a new edition of this valuable work, which that great man declined, and preſſed the ſame taſk upon him, towards which however he made no farther advances, than ſome notes in his own copy of the book, and a few occaſional collections. This deſign has been ſince executed by a gentleman who married one of Lord Cullen's daughters, in a manner that does honour to himſelf and to his country [C]. In his private character he was

[C] *That does honour to himſelf and to his country.*] The Viſcount of Stair's Inſtitute of the Law of Scotland was publiſhed in 1693, and was received as it deſerved with general approbation. But ſince that time, the law has undergone many alterations, and received great improvements, and therefore another ſyſtem of a like kind was very much wanted. This great work was undertaken by Andrew M'Douall, Eſq; a gentleman perfectly acquainted with the principles of the Scotch law, and who had practiſed many years at the

was as amiable as reſpectable in his public. There were certain circumſtances that determined him to part with an eſtate that was left him by his father; and it being foreſeen that he would employ the produce of it and the money he had acquired by his profeſſion in a new purchaſe, there were many decayed families who ſollicited him to take their lands upon his own terms, relying entirely on that equity which they conceived to be the rule of his actions. It appeared that their opinion of him was perfectly well grounded; for being at length prevailed upon to lay out his money on the eſtate of an unfortunate family, who had a debt upon it of more than it was worth, he firſt put their affairs into order, and by claſſing the different demands, and compromiſing a variety of claims, ſecured ſome thouſand pounds to the heirs without prejudice to any, and of which they had never been poſſeſſed but from his interpoſition and vigilance on their behalf; ſo far was he from making any advantage either of their neceſſities, or his own ſkill in his profeſſion. A circumſtance juſtly mentioned to his honour, and which is an equal proof of his candour, generoſity, and compaſſion. His piety was ſincere and unaffected, and his love for the Church of Scotland was ſhewn, in his recommending moderation and charity to the clergy as well as laity, and engaging the former to inſiſt upon moral duties as the cleareſt and moſt convincing proof of mens acting from religious principles, and his practice through his whole life was the ſtrongeſt argument of his being thoroughly perſwaded of thoſe truths, which from his love to mankind he laboured to inculcate. He was charitable without oſtentation, diſintereſted in his friendſhips, and beneficent to all who had any thing to do with him. He was not only ſtrictly juſt, but ſo free from any ſpecies of avarice, that his lady, who was a woman of great prudence and diſcretion, finding him more intent on the buſineſs committed to him by others than on his own, took the care of placing out his money upon herſelf; and to prevent his poſtponing, as he was apt to do, ſuch kind of affairs when ſecurities offered, ſhe cauſed the circumſtances of them to be ſtated in the form of caſes, and ſo procured his opinion upon his own concerns as if they had been thoſe of a client. Theſe little circumſtances are mentioned as more expreſſive of his temper, than actions of another kind could be; becauſe in matters of importance, men either act from habit, or from motives that the world cannot penetrate; but in things of a trivial nature are leſs upon their guard, ſhew their true diſpoſition, and ſtand confeſſed for what they are. He paſſed a long life in eaſe and honour. His ſincerity and ſteady attachment to his principles recommended him to all parties, even to thoſe who differed from him moſt; and his charity and moderation converted this reſpect into affection, ſo that not many of his rank had more friends, and perhaps none could boaſt of having fewer enemies. His death was as calm and placid as his life. His laſt illneſs continued but three days, without any violent or painful ſymptoms; notwithſtanding which, the learned Phyſicians who attended him clearly diſcerned and timely admoniſhed him that his diſſolution was at hand. He received this meſſage not only calmly but chearfully. He declared that he had followed the dictates of his conſcience, and that he was not afraid of death. He took a tender farewel of his children and friends, recommended to them earneſtly a ſteady and conſtant attachment to the faith and duty of Chriſtians, and aſſured them that true religion was the only thing that could bring a man peace at the laſt. He expired ſoon after, quietly and without any agony, March 16, 1726, in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age. He left behind him three ſons and five daughters; his eldeſt ſon, Archibald Grant, Eſq; ſerved in his father's life-time for the ſhire of Aberdeen, and becoming by his demiſe Sir Archibald Grant, Baronet, ſerved again for the ſame county in 1727; his ſecond ſon, William Grant, Eſq; followed his father's profeſſion, was for ſeveral years Lord-Advocate for Scotland, and is at preſent one of the Lords of Seſſion, by the title of Lord Preſton Grange; Mr Francis Grant, the third ſon, is a Merchant; three of the daughters are married to gentlemen of fortune, and the two youngeſt are ſtill unmarried. Mr Alexander Niſbet gives us the following account of the arms born by this honourable perſon, in his Syſtem of Heraldry. Sir Francis Grant of Cullen, Bart. one of the Senators of the College of Juſtice, carries Gules, three antique crowns, Or, as deſcended from Grant of That-Ilk, within a border, ermine, in quality of a Judge, ſupported with two Angels proper: creſt, a book expanded. Motto, on an eſcroll above, *Suum cuique*, and on a compartment below, *Jehovah-jireh*, as by a ſpecial warrant under his Majeſty's hand, the 17th day of May, 1720.

the bar as an advocate, with great reputation; when he undertook this neceſſary and laborious taſk, he had no intention of giving it to the public in his life-time, but was at length prevailed upon by William Grant, Eſq; then Lord Advocate of Scotland, to alter his intention, and accordingly the firſt volume was publiſhed in 1751, and is dedicated to his Grace the Duke of Argyle, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Lord Juſtice-General, and one of the extraordinary Lords of Seſſion, but without the author's name, which however could not be long concealed, and is therefore prefixed to the ſecond volume, which was publiſhed the year following, and dedicated to the Earl of Hardwicke, Lord High-Chancellor of Great-Britain; the third and laſt volume was publiſhed in 1753, and is dedicated to William Grant, Eſq; his Majeſty's Advocate for Scotland, to whoſe friendly advice, it is therein ſaid, if the public ſhall be profited by this work, they are indebted for the publication of it in the life-time of the author. The title of this work at large, runs thus:

An Inſtitute of the Laws of Scotland in Civil Rights; with Obſervations upon the Agreement or Diverſity between them and the Laws of England, in four books, after the general method of the Viſcount of Stair's Inſtitutions. With an Appendix, Table of Contents, and two Indexes.

This great performance, ſo much wanted in and ſo very uſeful to the whole united kingdom, has been ſo generally well received, and found to be ſo accurately and ſo judiciouſly performed, that the learned author has been very deſervedly promoted to be one of the Senators of the College of Juſtice.

From Memoirs ſupplied by the Family.

*

GRANVILLE (*a*), or GREENVIL [DENIS] Dean of Durham in the laſt century, was a younger ſon of the loyal and valiant Sir Bevil Granville, of Kilkhampton in Cornwall, Kt. [*A*] and brother to John the firſt Earl of Bath of that family. He was born in the year 1639 (*b*), and, after a ſuitable education, admitted, September 22, 1657. a Fellow-commoner of Exeter-college in Oxford (*c*). On the 28th of September 1660. he was created Maſter of Arts (*d*); and, ſoon after, marrying Anne youngeſt daughter of Dr John Coſin Biſhop of Durham (*e*), he was collated by his Lordſhip, September 16, 1662. to the Archdeaconry of Durham; and to the firſt Prebend in the cathedral church of Durham, which he exchanged for the ſecond, April 16, 1668 (*f*). He had alſo, of his gift, the Rectories of Eaſington (*g*), and Elwick, in the foreſaid dioceſe (*b*); and in the room of the latter, the great living of Sedgefield, one of the moſt conſiderable country-pariſhes in England (*i*). But he took a very regular and exemplary care of them, in the due diſcharge of all miniſterial functions, as appears by the directions he gave to his Curates, printed among his works (*k*). On the 20th of December 1670, he was created, at Oxford, Doctor in Divinity; being then Chaplain in ordinary to his Majeſty, as he had been for ſeveral years before (*l*). And, December the 14th 1684, was inſtalled Dean of Durham, in the room of Dr John Sudbury, deceaſed (*m*). Thus poſſeſſed of theſe great preferments, he might have long enjoy'd them with much profit and honour to himſelf and friends; and have continued to be an ornament to his function, and a general benefit to the world. But ſome abſurd notions he had entertained, of the unlimited extent of the Prerogative, together with his ſtrict adherence to the doctrines of Paſſive Obedience and Non-reſiſtance [*B*], involved him into inextricable difficulties (*n*). For, poſſeſſed with the indiſpenſableneſs of their obligation, upon the Prince of Orange's coming to reſcue this nation from the dangerous attempts made upon our Religion and Liberties, the Dean oppoſed the meaſures taken for our common ſafety, to the utmoſt of his power: by preaching, delivering charges to the clergy, ſending up an Addreſs to King James, and ſubſcribing a ſum of money for his ſervice (*o*). And, when all his endeavours proved ineffectual, he was ſo entangled with the abſurd doctrines juſt now mentioned, that, rather than ſubmit to King William, he choſe to loſe his great preferments, and go into a voluntary exile [*C*]. For, quitting Durham the

(*a*) So he writ his name, and ſometimes *Grenville*. See his Works.

(*b*) As appears by the date, round a print of him, prefix'd to his works.

(*c*) Wood, Ath. ed. 1721. Vol. II. col. 959.

(*d*) Idem Faſti, col. 131.

(*e*) See above, the article COSIN [JOHN].

(*f*) Survey of the Cathedrals of York, Durham, &c. by Brown Willis, Eſq; Vol. I. p. 260, 264, 265.

(*g*) The Rectory of Eaſington is annex'd to the Archdeaconry of Durham.

(*b*) Wood, Ath. ubi ſupra.

(*i*) See his works.

(*k*) P. 45, &c.

(*l*) Wood, Faſti, ut ſupra, col. 185.

(*m*) Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 256.

(*n*) See his Letter to the Earl of Bath, p. 14, 15.

(*o*) See his works, as mentioned below.

[*A*] *Was a younger ſon of the loyal and valiant Sir Bevil Granville, of Kilkhampton in Cornwall, Kt.*] See an account of this family, under the article *Granville* (Sir Richard).

[*B*] *But ſome abſurd notions he had entertained, of the unlimited extent of the Prerogative, together with his ſtrict adherence to the doctrines of Paſſive Obedience and Non-reſiſtance, involved him*, &c.] Theſe notions and doctrines he moſt ſtrenuouſly avowed, not only in his conduct and actions, but alſo in his ſeveral writings. Thus, in the Preface to his Farewel viſitation ſpeech (1), he declares, that he 'never wanted reſolution, all 'along to oppoſe the *Subjects incroaching on the Prero-* 'gative of their King, as heartily as he had withſtood 'the Dutch their invading of the Land.' And, in his Letter to his brother the Earl of Bath (2), he lays it down, as 'the Eſſential Duties of ſubjection and alle-'giance to the Soveraign, That Subjects are upon noe 'conſideration whatſoever, neither of religion, liberty, 'nor life, to *reſiſt*, or *deſert*, their lawfull Soveraigne, 'though hee were no better than ſuch an one as St Paul 'lived under, when he writ the Epiſtle to the Romans, 'not only a heathen, but a cruell perſecutour, a Ne-'ro, a Caligula, or a Diocleſian.—Moreover (3), that 'we ought not, upon any pretence whatſoever, to 'take up arms againſt a lawful King, nor aſſiſt, aid, 'or abet thoſe who doe, no not ſo much as to wiſh ill 'to the Lord's Anointed in the very bottome of our 'hearts.—And to be as faithfull to a Roman-Catho-'lick, as a Proteſtant, Prince, and as true to him in 'adverſity, as in proſperity (4).' According to theſe miſtaken principles was his practice. For he not only adhered to K James II. in every inſtance, 'even in 'the moſt *unintelligible* of all his acts of mercy, (to 'uſe his own words) namely, the including the Fana-'ticks in his Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience (5); But alſo, 'having done, as he ſays himſelf (6) all that 'lay in his power, in all his capacities, by his moſt 'vigorous endeavours, towards the ſupport of the 'Crowne and the Church of England; and ſeeing 'himſelfe abſolutely uncapable to act further for his 'Majeſtie as he had done, and to diſcharge his 'conſcience,—he reſolved to preſerve his Innocency 'by flight, ſince he could not doe it by ſitting ſtill and 'ſtaying in Durham (if he ſhould eſcape the jaole 'which he had little reaſon to hope) after an honeſt 'loyal activity:—And therefore bethought himſelfe 'of flying away ſecretly to the King [James II] to 'owne his cauſe, when he could not otherwiſe ſerve 'him.'

(1) P. 1.

(2) P. 2.

(3) Sermons, p. 27.

(4) Preface to thoſe Sermons, p. 3.

(5) Farewel Viſitation ſpeech, p. 26.

(6) Letter to the Earl of Bath, p. 9.

[*C*] *He choſe to loſe his great preferments, and go into a voluntary exile.*] As there does not appear in his conduct and actions, (as far as recorded) any ſufficient cauſe for this his *ſudden and private departure*, we muſt endeavour, if poſſible, to find out a ſatisfactory reaſon for it, in thoſe ſeveral pieces he publiſhed afterwards in France, during his exile. In one place (7), he calls it his '*Eſcape*:' and ſays, he was '*driven* from his 'ſtation by the impetuoſity of that dreadful ſtorm, 'which fell on and overthrew our Church and State.' —He 'maintained his poſte (as he goes on to relate) 'notwithſtanding mighty diſcouragements, 'till it was 'not poſſible for him any longer to ſtrive againſt that 'torrent, which had hurried all matters, in the Na-'tion, into great diſorder and confuſion. When I 'ſaw, adds he, there was no poſſible means left for 'me, but to ſink, by endeavouring to oppoſe what 'was irreſiſtable; or ſwimme down the ſtream (which 'no argument nor example of the age could, I thank 'God, prevaile with me to do) I was under a neceſſity 'to turne aſide, and withdraw my ſelfe, beholding mat-'ters a while at a diſtance, rather than in my own 'ſtation and place of acting; ſince I carried about 'with me an unalterable loyall heart, which would 'not ſuffer me to runn (as moſt did) with the multitude; 'and on the other ſide wanted both ſtrength of mine 'own, and the aſſiſtance of others, effectually to op-'poſe that unruly and many-headed monſter. But 'did not reſolve to leave the kingdome,——till I had 'a powerfull example, which a dutifull ſubject ought 'to be proud to follow, and a Precedent which may 'ſet me above the cenſures of any perſon in the three 'kingdomes. When my Soveraine was forc'd from 'his own pallace, nay driven out of the Realme, it 'was time for thoſe who were firmly reſolv'd to ad-'here to, and ſuffer with Him, to yeild to that force 'and neceſſity, which a mighty Potentate, by com-'plying with, proclaim'd to be invincible. Having 'then the honour to be one of that number (and glo-'rying that I am ſo) it would have been a prepoſterous 'courſe

(7) Letter to the Biſhop of Durham, p. 1.

the 11th of December 1688, he arrived, the 19th of March following, at Honfleur in France [*D*]. His reſidence for ſome time was at Rouen in Normandy (*p*), and then at Corbeil in the iſle of France, from whence the Granville-family originally ſprang (*q*). In February 1689-90, he took a hazardous journey into England, whereby he got a ſmall ſupply of money, to ſubſiſt a while abroad; though with much trouble and danger, occaſioned by an impertinent poſt-maſter, who diſcovered him at Canterbury (*r*). His brother the Earl of Bath endeavoured for ſome time to ſecure his revenues (*s*); but as no conſiderations whatever could induce him to ſwear allegiance to King William and Queen Mary, he was at length deprived of all his preferments February 1, 1690 91 (*t*). He not only refuſed to ſwear himſelf, but likewiſe did all that lay in his power to deter, or rather to terrify, others from taking the oaths to their Majeſties [*E*]. Having no proſpect,

(*p*) Till about the year 1693. See his print.

(*q*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 479. and Britiſh Compendium, Part II. of Vol. I. ed. 1735. p. 213, &c.

(*r*) Obſervations, at the end of his Directions to his Curates, p. 52.

(*s*) P. S. to his Letter to the Earl of Bath, p. 26, 27.

(*t*) Journ. Faſti, ed. 17 p. 351.

' courſe for me (who never play'd my game ſo as to ' ſave my ſtake) to have ſtay'd at home, or in England, ' when I was no longer capable to ſerve Him, in thoſe ' offices wherein I was plac'd; and while I had no ' other proſpect, but that of a *priſon*, without doing ' what was impoſſible for me to do, I mean bow down ' to Baal, or in plain Engliſh, ſubmit to an Uſurper.'

(8) Ibid. p. 14. ——Elſewhere, he ſays (8), ' that he did not *runn* ' *away*, ——when he ſaw the Wolfe *coming*, but ' after he ſaw him *come*, and with open mouth ready ' to devoure, and had Himſelfe in ſome ſort *taſted his* ' *Fierceneſs* (9).'

(9) Letter to the Vice-Dean, &c. p. 14.

[*D*] *For quitting Durham*, &c.] The particular account of his adventures, in this eſcape, may not be unacceptable to the reader in his own words; which is thus. ' —On the 11th of Dec. at midnight, by ' the helpe of two faithfull ſervants, which I did dare ' truſt, I got my horſes prepared, and was conducted ' by one of them that night to Hexham, where I pro- ' cured an honeſt guide to Carliſle the neareſt of the ' King's garriſons, and the moſt conſiderable place ' which then held out for the King.——I had no ' ſooner got to Carliſle (where I was very kindly re- ' ceived by Mr Howard the governor, &c.) but the ' very day after, being Saturday, the poſt brought in ' the diſmall newes, of the defeat of ſome of his Ma- ' jeſties troopes at Reading, and others deſerting in ' ſuch ſort, that hee was forced to withdraw out of ' the Kingdome, together with ſome intimations to ' the Governour, that it was to no purpoſe for him to ' hold out the place, but that hee being a Roman Ca- ' tholick, it would be moſt prudent, and not diſ- ' pleaſing to his Majeſty, for *him* to retire, and leave ' the governmenr to the old governour, Sir Chriſtopher ' Muſgrave, — [which he immediately did]. This ' direfull cataſtrophe, which did both aſtoniſh and ' afflict mee, to ſee our Soveraigne,—treated with ſo ' much brutality, betrayed by thoſe hee thought his ' beſt freinds, deſerted by his neareſt relations, for- ' bidden his own palace, and forced out of his king- ' dome, did immediately, without much conſideration ' incline mee to leave it alſo, to maneſeſt my juſt in- ' dignation againſt rebellion and treachery:——and ' I did reſolve accordingly to haſten into France to ' ſhare with my Soveraigne in his misfertunes. In or- ' der whereunto (after I had viſited the Biſhop of Car- ' liſle at Roſe-caſtle,—and depoſited with his Lordſhip ' ſome ſolemn aſſurances of living and dying in the ' right Church-of-England-Religion) I departed from ' Carliſle Dec. the 19 towards Scotland, with a ſingle ' ſervant, a Scotch man, whom I had newly entertained, ' to conduct me to Edinburgh, hoping at Leith, or ' ſome other ſeaport on that coaſt to procure ſhipping ' for France. But reſting a day or two at Alliſon Banke, ' on the borders, to confer with an honeſt loyall Gen- ' tleman, who had ingaged there to meet mee, I fell ' into the hands of the rabble, who then with fury ra- ' ged up and downe. on the firing of the beacons ' thereabouts very raſhly and indiſcreetly, by ſome ' credulous and temporiſing Juſtices, who gave credit ' to the falſe and malitious reports, of the landing of ' Iriſh Papiſts, burning of towns, and maſſacring of ' people wherever they came Theſe villaines headed ' by one Palmer a notorious rogue and murderer, who ' had but lately eſcaped the gallowes, ſeized on mee ' for a Popiſh Preiſt and Jeſuite on Dec 21. about ' eleven at night, and pulled me out of my bed, rifling ' my pockets, and my chamber, carrying away my ' horſes, (two geldings worth 40 l.) and my portman- ' tue, and mounting mee on a little jade not worth 40 s. ' Thus diſgracefully conducting mee to a poor ale- ' houſe on the Engliſh ſide, three miles off, where they ' ſearch'd my portmantue, and plunder'd mee of a bag ' of money, and ſome ſmall pieces of plate, with other ' things; leaving mee afterwards in the hands of the ' watch, and a Conſtable to lead mee away on foot, ' in a ſevere cold frotty night, with a heavy riding ' coate, and great bootes (ill accoutrements for walking) ' to march to Carliſle, to bee examined before one ' Capt. Bub, and other officers then in the garriſon, ' and by whom they did hope to have been rewarded ' (as they afterwards declared) for their good ſervice ' to the country in ſecuring (as they ſtiled mee) a fu- ' gitive and dangerous perſon. But being well known ' in the city, and travelling with the Governour Sir ' Chriſtopher Muſgrave's paſſe, they miſſed of their ' expectation and received a rebuke, whiles I had my ' horſes, and the greateſt part of my money reſtored ' mee, and was ſet at liberty, either to ſtay, or depart ' the towne.——Tho' I was now, a ſecond time, ' at liberty to goe where I pleaſed, and promiſed a ' paſſe if I would goe home to Durham, I did thinke ' it moſt prudent, to continue a while in that city, to ' remove the ſuſpicion of my intended flight out of ' England, and accordingly lived unconcernedly there ' for 14 or 15 dayes, conſtantly attending God's publick ' ſervice, and preaching in the cathedrall on Chriſt- ' mas-day, whereby I convinced people, I hope, that ' I was no Popiſh preiſt nor Jeſuite. After this the ' countrey being more quiet, and no watches kept, ' ——I left Carliſle, and ventured back towards Dur- ' ham as far as Hexam, but with noe intention to goe ' home, deſigning, after I had ſhifted off a guide, and ' ſome ſervants who were ſent with letters to mee, to ' ſtrike out of the roade by Berwick towards Scotland; ' which I did, without any other conſiderable impedi- ' ment, and on the 26th of Jan. arrived ſafe at Edinburgh; ' endeavouring, as ſoon as I could, to get admittance ' into the caſtle, and wait on the Duke of Gordon; to ' whom I communicated my deſigne of going to the ' King, and by whom I was informed of a veſſel then ' in the roade ready to depart for France. Which op- ' portunity I made uſe of, and was, after many tem- ' peſts and a tedious voyage by reaſon of contrary ' winds, at laſt ſafely landed at Honfleur, on the 19th ' day of March N. S. the very day after his Majeſties ' (10) departure from Breſt for Ireland; which miſſing ' of the King was a great diſappointment and mortifi- ' cation to mee.'——He obſerves afterwards, that af- ter having reſted a whole week in that place, he de- parted on the 25th for Rouen; where he was very civilly entertained for ſome years by Mr Thomas Hacket, an Engliſh merchant (11).

(10) He meant K. James II.

(11) Letter to the Earl of Bath, p. 9—12.

[*E*] *But likewiſe did all that lay in his power to deter, or rather to terrify, others from taking the oaths to their Majeſties.*] Namely, by repreſenting the Revolution as a *Rebellion* and *Uſurpation*. ' Yea ſuch a ' Rebellion and Uſurpation (ſays he) that no good ' Chriſtian could (hee was ſatisfied in his conſcience) ' joyne in the firſt, or uphold the latter; and conſe- ' quently that no body could receive the communion, ' without injury to his ſoule, in the uſe of thoſe prayers, ' which pray'd for the maintaining of both; ſince hee ' that received the bleſſed Supper of the Lord, in the ' office of any Church, ſet his ſeale to all the corrup- ' tions that were crept into that Church, and did, in ' in a higher manner, profane God's ſacred name, by ' uſing that holy ordinance to ſo impious an end (as to

' beg

pect, after the late King James's defeat in Ireland, of recovering his benefices; he repaired to the abdicated monarch's Court at St Germain: where though he had reaſon to expect an uncommonly kind reception, yet, becauſe he was a Proteſtant, he was ſoon obliged to retire, not only from Court [F], but alſo from the town of St Germain (u). 'Tis ſaid, that upon the death of Dr Lamplugh, he had the empty title of Archbiſhop of York, conferred upon him by King James (w): though others deny it, for *many very ſtrong reaſons* which they do not mention (x). In 1695, he came *incognito* to England, where he found no encouragement to make any ſtay (y). Having, for ſome years, enjoyed but an indifferent ſtate of health (z), he died at his lodgings in Paris [G] April the 8th 1703, aged 64; and was buried at the lower end of the church-yard of the Holy Innocents, in that city (a). While he reſided in England, he publiſhed a few ſmall pieces [H], as he did a collection of Tracts, after his exile in France [I]. We ſhall reflect, in the note, upon ſome unreaſonable Doctrines [K], which he earneſtly inculcates in that collection. His nephew George Granville, Lord Lanſdown, draws his character to great advantage,

(u) A View of the Court of St Germain, from the year 1690 to 1695, Lond. 1696, 4to, p. 5.

(w) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(x) See his article in the *General Dictionary*.

(y) Wood, ut ſupra.

(z) See his Letter to the Earl of Bath, p. 12.

(a) See his article in the General Dictionary; and Br. Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 256.

' beg of God, by virtue of his Saviour's body and ' blood, the deſtruction of his lawful Prince) than hee ' that barely ſwears allegiance to an Uſurper. Which ' yet, by the way, [adds he] whoever does, (let him ' underſtand) doth, in a manner, abjure his lawfull ' Sovereign.' And this he lays down as a caſe of conſcience, that he then ventured publickly to decide. ——A few lines after, ' hee makes no doubt, ' but that the *Churches* in England muſt become *empty*, ' and the Altars thin:——for people can never heartily ' pray for their lawfull Prince, ſo long as they can re' concile themſelves to the Devotions, which are ſo' lemnly in God's houſe, even at the very Communion' table, and in reception of the holy myſteries, offered ' up to heaven for the proſperity of his enemies, and ' depoſer. Whereto all ſay Amen, in the very act of ' communicating.——Which, to be done by peo' ple, that pretend to retaine in their hearts love for ' their baniſht King, he conceived no better than a ' mere gally-moffry of Religion. And that if this be ' not halting betwixt God and Baal, he knew not ' what was (12).'——In all which ſtrong expreſſions, his deſign was, to raiſe doubts and ſcruples in the conſciences of moſt perſons that had taken the oaths to King James, and deter them from ſwearing allegiance to King William; or, at leaſt, to keep them from Church, and the Communion.

(12) Obſervations on the Directions to his Curates, P. 55, 56.

[F] *Becauſe he was a Proteſtant, he was ſoon obliged to retire from Court.*] The author of *A View of the Court of St Germain*, informs us of this particular (13), in the following words. ' The firſt conſiderable ' ſtep they [the Proteſtant party at that court] made, ' was to deſire a Chappel from King James, for the ' exerciſe of their worſhip according to the Church of ' England, and propos'd Dr Granville, as a fit perſon ' to be their Chaplain; they urged the great incour' agement, ſuch a Toleration would give to his adhe' rents in England, and what ſatisfaction it would be ' to ſuch Proteſtants as followed him: but tho' com' mon policy, and his circumſtances, made every body ' believe that this requeſt would be eaſily granted, yet ' it was poſitively denied, and Dr *Granville* obliged ' not only to retire from Court, but alſo from the ' town of St Germain, to avoid the daily inſults of the ' Prieſts, *and* the dreaded conſequences of the jealouſies ' with which they poſſeſs't King James's Court againſt ' him.'

(13) P. 5. as above.

[G] *He died at his lodgings in Paris.*] He was taken ill of a fever at Corbeil the 2d of April 1703; came to his lodgings at Paris upon the *foſſes* St Victor, on the 4th; and died there the 8th at ſix in the morning (14).

(14) See General Dictionary, as above.

[H] *While he reſided in England, he publiſhed a few ſmall pieces.*] Namely, two Sermons, 1. ' The com' pleat Conformiſt: or, ſeaſonable Advice concerning ' ſtrict Conformity, and frequent celebration of the ' holy Communion.' Preached Jan. 7, 1682, in the Cathedral Church of Durham. Lond. 1684. 4to. 2. ' Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of ' Durham, upon the revival of the ancient laudable ' practice of that and ſome other cathedrals, in having ' Sermons on Wedneſdays and Fridays during Advent ' and Lent' Preached Dec. 2, 1685. Lond. 1686. 4to. 3. He alſo publiſhed, ' Counſel and Directions ' divine and moral: In plain and familiar Letters of ' Advice to a young Gentleman his nephew, ſoon af' ter his admiſſion into a College in Oxon' Lond. 1685, 8vo. That nephew of his, was, Thomas a younger ſon of Sir Thomas Higgons Knt. by Bridget his ſecond wife, ſiſter of Dean Granville; and a Student in Magdalen-College, Oxon (15).

(15) Wood Ath. ut ſupra.

[I] *As he did a Collection of Tracts, after his exile in France.*] They were printed at Rouen, partly in 1689, and partly in 1691, 4to under this title, ' The ' reſigned, and reſolved Chriſtian; and faithfull, and ' undaunted Loyaliſt: In two plaine farewell ſermons, ' and a loyal farewell-viſitation-ſpeech. Both deliver' ed amidſt the lamentable confuſions occaſioned by the ' late Foreign Invaſion and Home-Defection of his ' Majeſties ſubjects in England. Whereunto are added ' certaine Letters to his Relations and Friends in Eng' land, ſhewing the reaſons and manner of his with' drawing out o. the kingdom. 1. A letter to his bro' ther the Earl of Bathe. 2. A letter to his Biſhop ' the Biſhop of Durham. 3. A letter to his brethren ' the Prebendaries. 4. A letter to the Clergy of his ' Archdeaconry. 5. A letter to his Curates at Eaſing' ton and Sedgefield.' With Directions to them, &c. This Book is very incorrect, as being compoſed by a Printer who did not underſtand Engliſh; and is now grown *very ſcarce*. At the beginning, there is a curious print of the Doctor, engraved by the famous Edelink.

[K] *We ſhall reflect——upon ſome unreaſonable Doctrines, which he earneſtly inculcates in that collection.*] Such is, in particular, his over-ſtrain'd notion of unlimited Obedience to Princes. For he lays it down as a plain and poſitive Duty, That ' ſubjects are ' bound to obey lawfull Princes whatever bee their ' Opinion or *Practices*,——and that no Power upon ' earth could abſolve him from his ſworn Obedience ' (16). In conſequence of which, he profeſſes an im' moveable adherence to the cauſe and intereſt of the ' Father of his country, [as he called the King] and ' an innate abhorrence of diſputing, conteſting, or ' rudely capitulating with his Prince, even then when ' he commanded things very contrary to his own ſenti' ments, which he did judge not only *inexpedient*, but ' *prejudiciall* to the flouriſhing condition of our Church ' (17).' Nay, he further declares, that ' no feares, ' or jealouſies of *Religion*, *Liberties*, or *Lawes*, did ' ever tempt him (he bleſſed God) to any undue courſes ' of Reſiſtance, Oppoſition, or ſo much as unſeemly ' capitulation, with God's Vicegerent to preſerve ' them. Tho' he loved them all ſoe well and dearely, ' that he could be contented to die for them in any ' place, or manner, unleſſe it were with a ſword in his ' hand lifted up againſt his Prince (18).'——In one place, he ſpeaks in the harſheſt terms of the Dutch. ' Our incens'd God, ſays he, may deſigne to teach us ' ſubmiſſion and ſubjection by ſo ſevere a method, as ' to make us, (who have been yet one of the freeſt ' and moſt happy Nations of Europe) *Truckle* to an ' upſtart Commonwealth, to an Antimonarchical ge' neration, who by their continual ſhelt'ring, en' couraging, and aſſiſting of Traytors, proclame their ' enmity to the very name of King; and that they ' would not leave (if they could have their will) one ' crown'd head in Chriſtendom (19).'

(16) Letter to the Earl of Bath, p. 18, 19.

(17) Ibid. p. 15.

(18) Ibid. p. 17.

(19) Viſitation ſpeech, p. 23.

[L] *The*

advantage, in the following words (*b*); 'Sanctity ſate ſo eaſy, ſo unaffected, and ſo 'graceful upon him, that in him we beheld the very beauty of holineſs. He was as 'chearful, as familiar, as condeſcending in his converſation, as he was ſtrict, regular, 'and exemplary in his piety; as well-bred and accompliſhed as a courtier, and as reverend 'and venerable as an Apoſtle. He was indeed Apoſtolical in every thing, for he aban-'doned all to follow his Lord and Maſter.' This latter part of his conduct, *The loſing all*; which, in ſome mens opinion, was neither an argument of his wiſdom nor prudence, ſhall be conſidered in the Note [*L*]. And from this great Man's example, (to conclude his article), we may learn the great danger and miſchief of propagating abſurd and unreaſonable Doctrines. Since there will always be found ſome perſons or other, that will embrace and ſtiffly defend them, though never ſo much to their own, or others, prejudice: all not being equally endowed with the ſame penetrating genius, or not having a yielding conſcience alike.

(*b*) Letter to a nephew of his, who was going into holy orders.

[*L*] *The loſing all; which, in ſome mens opinion, was neither an argument of his wiſdom nor prudence, ſhall be conſidered in the Note.*] His conduct in this point, appears, of courſe, an act not only of deplorable Folly (to uſe his own words) (20) but alſo of extreme Madneſs; namely, to loſe 'ſome of the beſt 'preferments in their kind (21), even the beſt Deanery, 'the beſt Archdeaconry, and one of beſt livings in 'England (22). But what extenuates his fault or error, is his ſolemn declaration, That what he did, he perform'd in the integrity of his heart, and innocency of his hands (23). That he choſe to leave and ſacrifice all his revenues to the mercy of his cenſurers, rather than betray his Conſcience; and ſubmit to what he thought an Uſurpation (24); his Conſcience not permitting him to ſwallow any new diſpenſatory oaths, or diſtinctions (25). And that the doctrine of Non-reſiſtance, which many had always, till of late, been fond of, ſet forth at large in our Church Homilies, did juſtify his behaviour (26). Therefore he was fully ſatisfied, that the following of his maſter, to whom he had ſworn allegiance, even with the loſs of his whole revenues; was the moſt honeſt, the beſt, and wiſeſt action of his whole life. And he exulted in it, as a felicity, which did not only wonderfully ſupport, but ſometimes almoſt tranſported him (27).

(20) Preface to his Viſitation-ſpeech.

(21) Letter to his Curates, p. 40.

(22) Letter to the Vice-Dean, &c. p. 17.

(23) PS. to letter to the Earl of Bath, p. 26.

(24) Dedication letter to his Curates, p. 40. and to the Vice-Dean, &c. p. 13.

(25) Letter to the Biſhop, p. 5.

(26) Letter to the Vice-Dean, p. 15. and to his Curates, p. 37.

(27) Letter to the Earl of Bath, p. 23.

C

GRAUNT [JOHN], a Citizen of London, a perſon of great ſagacity and penetration, and a very ſenſible and ingenious writer. He was the ſon of Mr Henry Graunt, who kept the Seven Stars in Birchin Lane, in the Pariſh of St Michael Cornhill, where he was born April 24, 1620 (*a*). He was bred up in all the ſtrictneſs of thoſe times, and when he arrived at a proper age was put apprentice to a Haberdaſher of ſmall wares, which trade he afterwards followed though he was free of the Drapers Company (*b*). He came early into buſineſs, and acquired by his candid behaviour, ſingular integrity, and uncommon moderation, ſo great a character and ſo extenſive an intereſt, that though he was but thirty years of age he was able to procure for his friend Dr Petty the chair of Muſick Profeſſor in Greſham College; which was then vacant by the reſignation of Dr Richard Knight (*c*). His remarkable abilities, and his no leſs remarkable probity, recommended him ſo much to the eſteem of his fellow-citizens, that after paſſing through the ward offices he came to be elected a Common-Council-Man, and as he was of a very mild and friendly diſpoſition, he was often choſen an arbitrator for compoſing differences amongſt neighbours and preventing law-ſuits; in which, by the ſtrength of his natural good ſenſe, and that diſtinguiſhing faculty, which enabled him to diſcern truth wherever he ſought it, and furniſhed him alſo with a facility of making it clear to others, he did great ſervice and acquired an univerſal reputation (*d*). It is not certain at what time he began to collect and conſider the bills of mortality, but it is very clear from his own account of the matter, that he employed ſeveral years, and was at great pains and ſome expence in drawing together his materials, before he had any thoughts of publiſhing the diſcoveries he made by the help of thoſe papers, which he very judiciouſly conceived were capable of giving great lights into many and thoſe very important ſubjects (*e*). What he chiefly aimed at in theſe ſpeculations, was to introduce not only a new manner, but new principles of reaſoning; which being eſtabliſhed upon matters of fact, might have a more certain baſis, and being ſubjected to the rules of calculation carry with them the light of evidence in reſpect to matters, as to which the opinion of mankind had hitherto been guided entirely by conjecture. This was a new as well as noble deſign, and executed with as much ſpirit as there appeared ſagacity in forming it. His obſervations were firſt publiſhed in the ſpring of the year 1662, and were preceded by a very modeſt dedication to John Lord Roberts of Truro then Lord Privy-Seal. They were received as they deſerved with equal admiration and applauſe, and went through five editions in leſs than fifteen years [*A*]. The points

(*a*) Wood's Athenæ Oxonienſes, Vol. I. col. 311. See his own preface to his obſervations, &c.

(*b*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 311.

(*c*) Ward's Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham College, p. 219.

(*d*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 311.

(*e*) See his Preface to his Obſervations on the Bills.

[*A*] *And went through five editions in leſs than fifteen years.*] We ſhould not have troubled the reader with the diſtinct detail of theſe five editions in this note, if we did not apprehend that the conſideration of their titles, and of ſome other circumſtances, would not a little contribute, to clear the hiſtory of this eminent and worthy perſon. The title therefore of this work, at it's original publication, was, *Natural and Political Obſervations made upon the Bills of Mortality*, &c. Lond. 1661, 4to. The Dedication to Lord Roberts is dated January 25. The title of the ſecond edition ran thus, *Natural and Political Obſervations mentioned in the following Index, and made upon the Bills of Mortality, by* John Graunt, *Citizen of London. With reference to the Government, Religion, Trade, Growth, Air, Diſeaſes, and the ſeveral Changes of the ſaid City.* The Second Edition. To which his Dedication to Sir Robert Moray was prefixed; this was alſo in quarto, and printed in 1662. The third edition was in 1665, in virtue of an order of the Council of the Royal Society,

points handled in this work were treated in ſo perſpicuous and ſatisfactory a manner, and had ſo viſible a tendency to eſtabliſh ſome of the great truths of Revealed Religion, upon the teſtimonies of ſenſe and reaſon, that thoſe who thought freely, and were deſirous that men might have their enquiries anſwered rather than checked, were extremely well pleaſed. His obſervations upon Polygamy were judged to be particularly ſtrong and concluſive, and indeed the more what he has advanced on that head is conſidered, the more the acuteneſs of his wit, and the ſolidity of his judgment, muſt be acknowledged by every ingenuous reader (f) [B]. In the concluſion of his work, he has very clearly and concifely pointed out

(f) Nieuwentyt's Religious Philoſopher, Vol. I. p. 317. Happy Future State of England, p. 249.

ciety, dated June 20 the ſame year. This was in octavo, and the author is ſtiled in the title page Captain John Graunt, and Fellow of the Royal Society. This was publiſhed in the plague year; and, in the Appendix, the author ſays, that unleſs the weekly bills roſe to above eight thouſand four hundred in one week, the mortality would not be greater than in the plague of 1625 (1); but the weekly bill did never riſe to that number, though it came very near it; for, September 19, it amounted to eight thouſand two hundred ninety ſeven, and continued to ſink gradually ever after (2). The fourth edition was likewiſe in octavo, and the author is therein ſtiled Major John Graunt. The fifth edition, in octavo likewiſe, was in 1676, after the author's death, and publiſhed by the care of Sir William Petty; and it is from his ſpeaking of this edition as his own (3), that ſome have raſhly concluded the book to be ſo; but as the reader will ſee, in a ſubſequent note, Sir William had no ſuch meaning.

(1) See Mr Oldenburg's letter to R. Boyle, Eſq; Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 613.

(2) See the Bill for the Plague year in our author's book.

(3) An Eſſay concerning the multiplication of mankind, by Sir W. P. p. 13.

[B] *Muſt be acknowledged by every ingenuous reader.*] After having eſtabliſhed the matter of fact, that there are actually more males born than females, in a certain proportion, he proceeds thus (4). It may be concluded from hence, that the Chriſtian Religion, prohibiting polygamy, is more agreeable to the law of nature, that is, the law of God, than the Mahometan, and others that allow it; for one man, his having many women, or wives by law, ſignifies nothing, unleſs there were many women to one man in nature alſo.

(4) Major Graunt's Obſervations, fifth edition, p. 65—71.

The obvious objection hereunto is, that one horſe, bull, or ram, having each of them many females, do promote increaſe. To which I anſwer, that although perhaps there be naturally, even of theſe ſpecies, more males than females, yet artificially, that is, by making geldings, oxen, and weathers, there are fewer. From whence it will follow, that when by experience it is found how many ewes (ſuppoſe twenty) one ram will ſerve, we may know what proportion of male lambs to caſtrate or geld, viz. nineteen, or thereabouts; for if you emaſculate fewer, viz. but ten, you ſhall, by promiſcuous copulation of each of theſe ten with two females, hinder the increaſe ſo far as the admittance of two males will do it; but if you caſtrate none at all, it is highly probable that every of the twenty males copulating with every of the twenty females, there will be little or no conception in any of them all.

And this I take to be the trueſt reaſon why foxes, wolves, and other vermin, animals that are not gelt, increaſe not faſter than ſheep; when as ſo many thouſand of theſe are daily butchered, and very few of the other die otherwiſe than of themſelves.

We have hitherto ſaid, That there are more males than females; we ſay next, that the one exceed the other by about a thirteenth part. So that, although more men die violent deaths than women, that is, more are ſlain in wars, killed by miſchance, drowned at ſea, and die by the hand of juſtice; moreover, more men go to colonies and travel into foreign parts than women; and laſtly, more remain unmarried than of women, as fellows of colleges and apprentices above eighteen; yet the ſaid thirteenth part difference bringeth the buſineſs but to ſuch a paſs, that every woman may have a huſband without the allowance of polygamy.

Moreover, although a man be prolific full forty years, and a woman but five and twenty, which makes the males to be as five hundred and ſixty, to three hundred twenty five females, yet the cauſes above named, and the later marriage of the men, reduce all to an equality.

It appearing that there were fourteen men to thirteen women, and that they die in the ſame proportion alſo, yet I have heard Phyſicians ſay that they have two women patients to one man; which aſſertion ſeems very likely, for that women are ſick of breedings, &c.

Now from this it ſhould follow, that more women ſhould die than men, if the number of burials anſwered in proportion to that of ſickneſſes; but this muſt be ſalved, either by alledging that the Phyſicians cure thoſe ſickneſſes, ſo as few more die than if none were ſick, or elſe that men being more intemperate than women, die as much by reaſon of their vices, as women do by the infirmity of their ſex, and conſequently more males being born than females, more alſo die.

In the year 1642 many males went out of London into the wars then beginning, inſomuch, as I expected in the ſucceeding year 1643 to have found the burials of females to have exceeded thoſe of males, but no alteration appeared; foraſmuch, as I ſuppoſe, trading continuing the ſame in London, all thoſe who loſt their apprentices had others out of the country; and if any left their trades and ſhops, that others forthwith ſucceeded them; for if employment for hands remained the ſame, no doubt but the number of them could not long continue in diſproportion.

Another pregnant argument to the ſame purpoſe, which hath already been touched on, is, That although in the very year of the plague, the chriſtenings decreaſed, by the dying and flying of teeming women; yet the very next year after they increaſed ſomewhat, but the ſecond after to as full a number as in the ſecond year before the ſaid plague; for I ſay again, if there be encouragement for an hundred in London, that is, a way how an hundred may live better than in the country, and if there be void houſing there to receive them, the evacuating a fourth or third part of them muſt ſoon be ſupplied out of the country; ſo as the great plague doth not leſſen the inhabitants of the city but of the country, who in a ſhort time remove themſelves from thence hither, ſo long, until the city, for want of receipt and encouragement, regurgitates and ſends them back.

From the difference between males and females, we ſee the reaſon of making eunuchs in thoſe places where polygamy is allowed, the latter being uſeleſs as to multiplication without the former, as was ſaid before in caſe of ſheep and other animals, uſually gelt in theſe countries.

By conſequence, this practice of caſtration ſerves as well to promote increaſe, as to meliorate the fleſh of thoſe beaſts that ſuffer it. For that operation is equally practiſed upon horſes, which are creatures not uſed for food, as upon thoſe that are.

In Popiſh countries, where polygamy is forbidden, if a greater number of males oblige themſelves to cælibacy than the natural overplus or difference between them and females amounts unto, then multiplication is hindred; for if there be eight men to ten women, all of which eight men are married to eight of the ten women, then the other two bear no children, as either admitting no man at all, or elſe admitting men, as whores, that is, more than one, which commonly procreates no more than if none at all had been uſed: or elſe ſuch unlawful copulations beget conceptions, but to fruſtrate them by procured abortions or ſecret murthers, all which returns to the ſame reckoning. Now if the ſame proportion of women oblige themſelves to a ſingle life likewiſe, then ſuch obligation makes no change in this matter of increaſe.

From what hath been ſaid, appears the reaſon why the law is, and ought to be, ſo ſtrict againſt fornications and adulteries; for if there were univerſal liberty, the increaſe of mankind would be but like that of foxes at beſt.

Now, foraſmuch as princes are not only powerful but rich, according to the number of their people (hands being

out the principal heads; which in the courſe of his obſervation are inveſtigated, and he farther ſhews to what great and weighty ſubjects they may be applied, ſo as to raiſe a new and accurate theory of policy, which in the hands of able and judicious ſtateſmen, that is, ſuch as are not only capable of making right deductions, but are alſo from a juſt and generous principle of public ſpirit, inclined to carry them into execution, may turn to very great account, and enable them to render the government they adminiſter powerful, and the people who live under it happy. But he modeſtly declined proſecuting ſuch enquiries in their full extent, as ſeeming to be above the reach and out of the road of a private man (g) [C]. It is very probable he might have another reaſon, which was leaving theſe things

(g) Obſervations on the Bills of Mortality, p. 96.

being the father, as lands are the mother and womb of wealth) it is no wonder why ſtates, by encouraging marriage, and hindering licentiouſneſs, advance their own intereſt, as well as preſerve the laws of God from contempt and violation.

It is a bleſſing to mankind, that by this overplus of males there is this natural bar to polygamy, for, in ſuch a ſtate, women could not live in that parity and equality of expence with their huſbands, as now and here they do.

The reaſon whereof is not that the huſband cannot maintain as ſplendidly three as one, for he might, having three wives, live himſelf upon a quarter of his income, that is, in a parity with all three, as well as having but one, live in the ſame parity at half with her alone: but rather, becauſe that to keep them all quiet with each other and himſelf, he muſt keep them all in greater awe and leſs ſplendour, which power he having, he will probably uſe it to keep them all as low as he pleaſes, and at no more coſt than makes for his own pleaſure, the pooreſt ſubjects (ſuch as this plurality of wives muſt be) being moſt eaſily governed.

We ſhould not have given the reader this long ſpecimen of our author's method of reaſoning, had it not been that we have ſome obſervations on what he has delivered, that having never been publiſhed, may perhaps afford him ſome inſtruction, or, at leaſt, entertainment. 'There never was any apprehenſion more 'groundleſs, than that Experimental Philoſophy ſhould 'prove detrimental to Revealed Religion. Experi-'ments are enquiries made by human reaſon into the 'works of God; and the knowledge collected from 'thence, is in reality a kind of Revelation. To ſup-'poſe therefore that any diſcoveries of this kind ſhould 'contradict what has been delivered by inſpired writers, 'is to ſuppoſe a repugnance between the words and 'works of God, which is impoſſible. Take Mr Graunt's 'demonſtration as to the proportion between males and 'females, and compare it with the following paſſage 'from the Goſpel.' *And the* Phariſees *came to* Jeſus *and aſked him, Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife? tempting him. And he anſwered and ſaid unto them, What did* Moſes *command you? And they ſaid,* Moſes *ſuffered to write a bill of divorcement, and put her away. And* Jeſus *anſwered and ſaid unto them, For the hardneſs of your heart he wrote you this precept. But from the* beginning *of the* creation God *made them* male *and* female. *For this cauſe ſhall a man leave his father and mother, and cleave to his wife; and they twain ſhall be one fleſh, ſo then they are no more twain but one fleſh. What therefore* God *hath joined together, let not man put aſunder* (5). The bleſſed author of this diſcourſe aſſumes a law of nature for the ground of his doctrine, Mr Graunt's obſervations have demonſtrated that this law ſubſiſts in nature. We may ſay the ſame thing with regard to Chriſt's doctrine of a particular Providence, becauſe, from the ſame obſervations it clearly appears, that thoſe events which are vulgarly conſidered as the moſt in the power of chance, are governed by certain rules, yet not ſtrictly and invariably, but within the limits properly aſſigned, ſo as to prove at once the infinite wiſdom and freedom of will in the Divine Being. The ingenious Dr Arbuthnot has puſhed this thought of Mr Graunt's to the utmoſt, and demonſtrated a particular Providence to every man who knows that two and two makes four. He has given an accurate table of the number of males and females chriſtened yearly in London from 1629 to 1710, that is, for eighty-two years (6). Upon this he makes theſe four obſervations. 1. That at London, in theſe eighty-two following years, the number of males has exceeded that of females every year. 2. That the difference thereof has always lain between two terms not far from one another. So that, 3. There were always more males born than one half of the children amounted to in one year. And 4. That the number of the males never exceeded that of the females ſo far, that almoſt all the children ſhould be males. He then computes what the chance is that ſuch a proportion ſhould be preſerved eighty-two times together, and that it makes a number of twenty-five figures following each other, the five firſt of which are 48357, to one, that it ſhould not happen, and conſequently this is the odds that this world is governed by Providence and not by chance. Now in caſe it is ſo many againſt one that this ſhould not happen in London eighty two years together, let any one experienced in calculations conſider how great a number there will be againſt one, that the ſame thing don't happen throughout the whole world, and ſo often in eighty-two years following, and then let him judge whether it can be believed that chance has any place here: for that this has really happened many ages together, and in all places of the world, may be maintained with great probability, becauſe that, in all times and in all places, the men are expoſed to more dangers than the women, and nevertheleſs there will be found in all countries men for women and women for men, of equal age and condition (7).

(5) Mark. cap. x. 2—9. Matth. cap. v. 32, and xix. 9.

(6) Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 328, p. 136.

(7) Nieuwentyt's Religious Philoſopher, Vol. I. p. 317.

[C] *As ſeeming to be above the reach and out of the road of a private man.*] In this concluſion, our author draws together in a few lines the ſubſtance of his whole book, by which he ſhews what a prodigious ſtructure he has raiſed upon materials common to the obſervation of all men, but upon which none had ever attempted to build before; and, not content with this, he points out to his reader, to how many and how different great works theſe materials may ſtill be applied (8). 'It may be now aſked, ſays he, To what pur-'poſe tends all this laborious buſtling and groping? 'To know, 1. The number of people? 2. How ma-'ny males and females? 3. How many married and 'ſingle? 4. How many teeming women? 5. How ma-'ny of every ſeptenary or decad of years in age? '6. How many fighting men? 7. How much London 'is, and by what ſteps it hath, increaſed? 8. In what 'time the houſing is repleniſhed after a plague? '9. What proportion die of each general and particu-'lar caſualties? 10. What years are fruitful and mor-'tal, and in what ſpaces and intervals they follow each 'other? 11. In what proportion men neglect the or-'ders of the Church, and ſects have increaſed? 12. The 'diſproportion of pariſhes? 13. Why the burials in 'London exceed the chriſtenings, when the contrary 'is viſible in the country? To this I might anſwer in 'general, by ſaying, that thoſe who cannot apprehend 'the reaſon of theſe enquiries, are unfit to trouble 'themſelves to aſk them. I might anſwer, by aſking, 'Why ſo many have ſpent their times and eſtates about 'the art of making gold? which, if it were much 'known, would only exalt ſilver into the place which 'gold now poſſeſſeth; and if it were known but to 'ſome one perſon, the ſame ſingle adeptus could not, 'nay durſt not, enjoy it, but muſt be either a priſoner 'to ſome prince, and ſlave to ſome voluptuary, or elſe 'ſkulk obſcurely up and down for his privacy and con-'cealment. I might anſwer, That there is much plea-'ſure in deducing ſo many abſtruſe and unexpected in-'ferences out of theſe poor deſpiſed bills of mortality, 'and in building upon that ground which hath lain 'waſte theſe eighty years. And there is pleaſure in 'doing ſomething new, though never ſo little, with-'out peſtering the world with voluminous tranſcrip-'tions. But I anſwer more ſeriouſly, by complaining, 'that whereas the art of governing, and the true poli-'tics,

(8) Graunt's Obſervations, p. 95.

things to the care and induſtry of a friend, whom he thought every way equal to ſo great a taſk. In ſhort, there is nothing plainer, than that our author's obſervations on the bills of mortality were the elements of the famous Sir William Petty's Political Arithmetic (*b*). It is not unknown to us, that ſome writers have affirmed, he received ſome aſſiſtance from that ingenious perſon in compoſing thoſe obſervations, which poſſibly may be true (*i*). But, that he was ſo aſſiſted as not to have been able to proceed without his help, we hold to be a great miſtake, and a very unkind reflection upon his memory; which may be proved by many arguments [*D*]. At the time of publiſhing this work, he was

(*b*) See the paragraphs cited from that author's Diſcourſe on the Dublin Bills in the notes.

(*i*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 810. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 231.

'tics, is how to preſerve the ſubject in peace and plen-
'ty; that men ſtudy only that part of it which teach-
'eth how to ſupplant and over-reach one another, and
'how, not by fair out running, but by tripping up
'each other's heels, to win the prize. Now the foun-
'dation or elements of this honeſt harmleſs policy, is
'to underſtand the land, and the hands of the territory
'to be governed, according to all their intrinſic and
'accidental differences: as for example; It were good
'to know the true geometrical content, figure, and ſi-
'tuation, of all the lands of a kingdom, eſpecially ac-
'cording to it's moſt natural, permanent, and conſpi-
'cuous bounds. It were good to know how much hay
'an acre of every ſort of meadow will bear, how many
'cattle the ſame weight of each ſort of hay will feed
'and fatten, what quantity of grain and other commo-
'dities the ſame acre will bear, in one, three, or ſeven
'years, communibus annis, unto what uſe each ſoil is
'moſt proper. All which particulars I call the intrin-
'ſic value: for there is alſo another value merely ac-
'cidental, or extrinſic, conſiſting of the cauſes why a
'parcel of land lying near a good market may be
'worth double to another parcel, though both of the
'ſame intrinſic goodneſs, which anſwers the queries,
'why lands in the North of England are worth but
'ſixteen years purchaſe, and thoſe of the Weſt above
'eight and twenty. It is no leſs neceſſary to know
'how many people there be of each ſex, ſtate, age,
'religion, trade, rank, or degree, &c. by the know-
'ledge whereof, trade and government may be made
'more certain and regular, for if men knew the peo-
'ple as aforeſaid, they might know the conſumption
'they would make, ſo as trade might not be hoped
'for where it is impoſſible. As for inſtance, I have
'heard much complaint, that trade is not ſet in ſome
'of the ſouth weſtern and north weſtern parts of Ire
'land, there being ſo many excellent harbours for that
'purpoſe; whereas, in ſeveral of thoſe places, I have
'alſo heard, there are few other inhabitants but ſuch
'as live ex ſponte creatis, and are unfit ſubjects for
'trade, as neither employing others, nor working
'themſelves. Moreover, if all theſe things were
'clearly and truly known, which I have but gueſſed at,
'it would appear how ſmall a part of the people work
'upon neceſſary labours and callings: viz. how many
'women and children do juſt nothing, only learning
'to ſpend what others get; how many are mere volup-
'tuaries, and, as it were, mere gameſters by trade;
'how many live by puzzling poor people with unintel-
'ligible notions in Divinity and Philoſophy; how ma-
'ny, by perſwading credulous, delicate, and litigious
'perſons, that their bodies or eſtates are out of tune,
'and in danger; how many by fighting as ſoldiers,
'how many by miniſtries of vice and ſin, how many by
'trades of mere pleaſure or ornaments, and how many
'in ways of lazy attendance, &c. upon others: and,
'on the other ſide, how few are employed in raiſing
'and working neceſſary food and covering; and, of
'the ſpeculative men, how few do ſtudy nature and
'things! The more ingenious not advancing much
'further than to write and ſpeak wittily about theſe
'matters. I conclude, that a clear knowledge of all
'theſe particulars, and many more, whereat I have
'ſhot but at rovers, is neceſſary, in order to good,
'certain, and eaſy government, and even to balance
'parties and factions both in Church and State. But
'whether the knowledge thereof be neceſſary to many,
'or fit for others than the ſovereign and his miniſters,
'I leave to conſideration.'

[*D*] *Which may be proved by many arguments.*] In the attributing theſe obſervations on the bills of mortality to Sir William Petty, the authorities of two authors concur, which we have not been accuſtomed to cite together. The firſt is Mr Anthony Wood, who, ſpeaking of Mr Graunt's book, ſays (9), It was done upon certain hints and advice of Sir William Petty. Again, ſpeaking of Sir William Petty's Obſervations upon the Dublin bills, which were not publiſhed 'till 1683, adds, He had long before aſſiſted, or put into a way, John Graunt, in his writing of his Obſervations (10), &c Biſhop Burnet is more explicit; he ſays, there was one Graunt, a Papiſt, under whoſe name Sir William Petty publiſhed his obſervations on the bills of mortality (11) Neither of theſe writers tell us whence they had their informations, nor are they very conſiſtent. If we believe Wood, Sir William Petty aſſiſted Graunt, but if we yield any credit to the prelate, then Graunt did not ſo much as aſſiſt Sir William Petty, any farther than lending his name, and why Sir William ſhould borrow it does not appear. If we conſider this fact, there are various circumſtances that render it very improbable that Sir William Petty gave Mr Graunt any aſſiſtance, and much leſs that it was his book. In the firſt place, Mr Graunt was the elder man by about three years, which is of ſome weight, if we conſider that the collecting the materials for this work, reducing them into tables, and putting them together, required a great deal of time, and that all this was done when both were very young men. In the next place, Mr Graunt was a native and citizen of London, had lived there all his life, and therefore had reaſon, opportunity, and ſome kind of call, to undertake ſuch a kind of performance, which Dr Petty, for ſo he was called, being not knighted 'till after this book was publiſhed, never had. Thirdly, though the fame and credit of Sir William Petty came, in proceſs of time, greatly to ſurpaſs that of Graunt, yet this was not the caſe when the work in queſtion was compoſed, and therefore no ground for the ſuggeſtion, that Dr Petty ſhould take ſuch a liberty with Graunt. Fourthly, this is ſo much the more unlikely, as Sir William Petty owed his fame to his abilities, and his fortune to his fame; ſo that he could have no temptation to employ his great abilities, merely to transfer that fame to another man. Laſtly, whoever looks into the occurrences of Sir William Petty's life (12), will find, that at the juncture Mr Graunt compoſed this book, his friend was in the leaſt condition to help him, for he was employed in ſurveying Ireland, in raiſing a vaſt fortune, and in defending that fortune, when raiſed, againſt attacks of ſeveral kinds, as well in as out of the parliaments of both kingdoms. After ſhewing the inſinuation to be improbable, by argument, we will next ſhew that the fact is falſe, from authorities, and theſe authorities, ſuch as could ſcarce be expected, will not be denied, and cannot be refuted. In the firſt place we have Major Graunt's own teſtimony. In his dedication to Lord Roberts, he ſays, 'Having (I know not by what accident) engaged my 'thoughts upon the bills of mortality, and ſo far ſuc-
'ceeded therein, as to have reduced ſeveral great con-
'fuſed volumes into a few perſpicuous tables, and a-
'bridged ſuch obſervations as naturally flowed from
'them, into a few ſuccinct paragraphs; without any
'long ſeries of multiloquious deductions, I have pre-
'ſumed to ſacrifice theſe my ſmall, but firſt publiſhed,
'papers unto your Lordſhip, as unto whoſe benign ac-
'ceptance of ſome other of my papers, even the birth
'of theſe is due, hoping, if I may without vanity ſay
'it, they may be of as much uſe to perſons in your
'Lordſhip's place, as they are of little or none to me;
'which is no more than the faireſt diamonds are to
'the journeyman jeweller that works them, or the
'poor labourer that firſt digged them from the earth.'
In his dedication to Sir Robert Moray, there is much to the ſame purpoſe, in expreſſions as ſtrong as words could make them. In his preface, he tells us how he came

(9) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 311.

(10) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 810.

(11) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 231.

(12) See the Life of PETTY [Sir WILLIAM] in this work.

was a Captain of the Trained-Bands, which is the reaſon that we find them generally ſtiled Captain Graunt's Obſervations, and became afterwards a Major; which command it is probable he reſigned, when he quitted buſineſs. His book raiſed him ſo high in the eſteem of King Charles the ſecond, that he was pleaſed to recommend him particularly as a fit perſon to be choſen a member of the Royal Society at its firſt inſtitution; and the learned and eloquent author of the hiſtory of that Society informs us, that in his election it was ſo far from being a prejudice that he was a ſhopkeeper of London, that his Majeſty gave it in particular charge, if they found any more ſuch tradeſmen they ſhould be ſure to admit them all (*k*). After he left off buſineſs, he was admitted, as a truſtee for Sir William Backhouſe, into the management of the New River Company (*l*), which, with the unlucky circumſtance of his being perverted to Popery, gave occaſion to the groundleſs calumny, ſpread by more than one author, of his having ſome hand in the fire of London (*m*), which the reader will find fully refuted at the bottom of the page [*E*]. He continued his application

(*k*) Sprat's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, p. 67.

(*l*) Maitland's Hiſtory of London, p. 291.

(*m*) Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 833. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 231.

came to take up the deſign, the manner in which he proſecuted it, the difficulties he met with, the methods he uſed to overcome them, and the apprehenſions he had of ſubmitting to the view of the public what had been the buſineſs of his private meditations. After all this, to ſuppoſe he was not the author of his book, is to ſuppoſe him the greateſt liar, and the moſt diſingenuous man, upon earth, though his character was quite the contrary. The next authority is that of the King, who recommended him, as the author of this book, to be elected a member of the Royal Society. Then of the Society itſelf, who not only elected him, but ordered the treatiſe in queſtion to be printed as his book by their own printer (13). We may add that of the prelate, who reports theſe facts as the hiſtorian of the Society, and of their ſecretary, in a private letter to Mr Boyle (14). Laſtly, we have Sir William Petty's own teſtimony, in at leaſt forty places, that it was Graunt's book, and that it was not his. In 1681, Sir William Petty publiſhed his obſervations on the Dublin bills of mortality, and the very firſt words of this little piece are entirely ſufficient for our purpoſe (15). 'The 'obſervations upon the London bills of mortality have 'been a new light to the world, and the like obſerva-'tions upon thoſe of Dublin, may ſerve as ſnuffers, to 'make the ſame candle burn clearer. The London 'obſervations flowed from bills regularly kept for near 'one hundred years, but theſe are ſqueezed out of ſix 'ſtraggling London bills, out of fifteen Dublin bills, 'and from a note of the families and hearths in each 'pariſh in Dublin, which are all digeſted into the fol-'lowing tables, conſiſting of three parts, marked A. 'B. C. being indeed the A. B. C. of public œconomy, 'and even of that policy which tends to peace and 'plenty.' We may ſafely conclude, from what he ſays of both works, and the different circumſtances under which they were compoſed, that he who made the ſnuffers did not make the candle. In his five eſſays in political arithmetic, dedicated to the King, he uſes theſe expreſſions, *the London bills appear in* Graunt's *book to have been always ſince the year* 1636 *as they now are —As to the number of heads in each family I ſtick to* Graunt's *obſervations* —Graunt *affirmeth upon obſervation, that three died in eighty-eight per annum.*— Graunt *has ſhewn that but one in twenty die per annum of young children under ten years old.—It was proved by* Graunt *that one fifth part of the people died of the plague.* But becauſe he has ſometimes referred to the edition of Graunt's book in 1676 as his own, an opinion grew, that he was either the author of the book, or had much aſſiſted the author; and it is to prevent this opinion from being, upon very uncertain authorities, eſtabliſhed with poſterity as a fact, that we have moſt willingly taken ſo much pains, in juſtice to the memory of this worthy man, and to the public.

(13) See this order prefixed to Graunt's Obſervations.

(14) Sprat's Hiſt. of the Royal Society, p. 67. Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 335.

(15) Obſervations upon Dublin Bills, p. 1.

[*E*] *At the bottom of the page.*] The firſt time this ſtrange charge appeared, ſeems to have been in Mr Archdeacon Echard's Hiſtory (16), where it is thus related. 'As to the Papiſts contributing to this fire, I 'have been told by an eminent prelate, that Dr 'Graunt, one of that religion, was ſtrongly ſuſpected, 'who, having a ſhare in the water houſe by Iſlington, 'contrived, as is believed, to ſtop up the pipes the 'night before the fire broke out; ſo that it was many 'hours before that any water could be got after the 'uſual manner in the city. After all examinations, 'there was but one man tried for being the incendiary, 'who, confeſſing the fact, was executed for it. This 'was Robert Hubert a French Hugonot, of Rohan in 'Normandy, a perſon falſely ſaid to be a Papiſt, but 'really a ſort of a lunatic, who by mere accident was 'brought into England juſt before the breaking out of 'the fire, but not landed 'till two days after, as after-'wards appeared by the evidence of Laurence Peterſon, 'the maſter of the ſhip, who had him on board.' Biſhop Burnet explains and ſets this ſtory (17) in a much ſtronger light. 'The moſt extraordinary paſſage, ſays 'he, though it is but a preſumption, was told me by 'Dr Lloyd and the Counteſs of Clarendon. The lat-'ter had a great eſtate in the new river that is brought 'from Ware to London, which is brought together at 'Iſlington, where there is a great room full of pipes 'that convey it through all the ſtreets of London. 'The conſtant order of that matter was to ſet all the 'pipes a running on Saturday night, that ſo the ciſterns 'might be all full by Sunday morning, there being a 'more than ordinary conſumption of water on that 'day. There was one Graunt, a Papiſt, under whoſe 'name Sir William Petty publiſhed his obſervations on 'the bills of mortality. He had ſome time before ap-'plied himſelf to Lloyd, who had great credit with 'the Counteſs of Clarendon, and ſaid he could raiſe 'that eſtate conſiderably if ſhe would make him a tru-'ſtee for her. His ſchemes were probable: and he 'was made one of the board that governed that mat-'ter: and by that he had a right to come as oft as he 'pleaſed to view their works at Iſlington. He went 'thither the Saturday before the fire broke out, and 'called for the key of the place where the heads of the 'pipes were, and turned all the cocks that were then 'open, and ſtopt the water, and went away, and car-'ried the keys with him. So when the fire broke out 'next morning, they opened the pipes in the ſtreets to 'find water, but there was none. And ſome hours 'were loſt in ſending to Iſlington, where the door was 'to be broke open, and the cocks turned. And it 'was long before the water got to London. Graunt 'indeed denied that he had turned the cocks. But 'the officer of the works affirmed that he had, accord-'ing to order, ſet them all a running, and that no 'perſon had got the keys from him beſides Graunt, 'who confeſſed he had carried away the keys, but 'pretended he did it without deſign.' Almoſt as ſoon as this prelate's work appeared, it was aſſerted by a perſon who made ſome remarks upon it, that he was credibly informed, Graunt, at the time of the fire, was not in the management of the New River company (18). Bnt a very ingenious and inquiſitive writer, who to the indefatigable induſtry of Strype adds the honeſt impartiality of Stowe, has treated this matter largely and fairly, the reader, without doubt, will peruſe his account with pleaſure (19). 'In order to in-'form myſelf in reſpect to Biſhop Burnet's relation, 'regarding Dr Lloyd, the Counteſs of Clarendon, and 'Mr Graunt, I applied to the governor and compa-'ny of the New River, who generouſly ordered Mr Jaſ-'per Bull, their clerk, and Mr Henry Mill, their engi-'neer, to let me have ſuch accounts belonging to the 'company as were proper to be publiſhed. Whereupon I 'had recourſe to their minute book, wherein I found, 'that at a general court of the ſaid company, held at 'Mr Clifton's in Covent-Garden, (I ſuppoſe a tavern, be-'cauſe the company's courts were long before and after 'kept at ſuch houſes) on the 25th of September, anno '1666

(16) Hiſtory of England, p. 833.

(17) Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 231.

(18) Remarks upon Burnet, p. 50.

(19) Maitland's Hiſtory of London, p. 291.

cation to his ſtudies, and made ſome conſiderable additions to his obſervations but two years before his death, which happened on the 18th of April 1674 (*n*), when he was within a week of fifty-four years of age; on the 22d of the ſame month his body was interred in the pariſh church of St Dunſtan in Fleetſtreet, when ſome of the moſt eminent and ingenious perſons of that time, and amongſt them his old friend Sir William Petty, with tears paid their laſt devoirs to his memory (*o*). He is ſaid to have left behind him a diſcourſe upon the advance of exciſe, and ſome papers on religion, which have never been publiſhed (*p*). It is highly to his honour, and ought ever to be remembred, that immediately after the publication of his book, Lewis the Fourteenth, or his miniſters, provided by a law for the moſt exact regiſter of births and burials that is any where in Europe (*q*), and that not only Sir William Petty, but Sir Peter Pett, Mr Daniel King, Dr Davenant, and in a word all that tribe of writers, took his obſervations for their Accidence; and whatever their merit may be, derived it from him; to whom, as advocates for the dead, it is but juſt that we reſtore it.

(*n*) See his appendix to the fourth edition of his Obſervations.

(*o*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 321.

(*p*) Idem, ibid.

(*q*) Happy Future State of England, p. 249.

'1666, at which court John Graunt, Eſq; was firſt admitted a member of the ſaid New River company, in the room of Alexander Broom, deceaſed, in truſt for one of the ſhares belonging to Sir William Backhouſe, Knight, who dying in the year 1669, Dame Flower Backhouſe (I ſuppoſe his relict) became poſſeſſed of nine of his ſhares; and, on the twelfth of November in the ſame year, ſhe appointed the ſaid Mr Graunt as one of her truſtees in the ſaid company: whereby it is manifeſt, that the above recited relation which the Biſhop had of Dr Lloyd and the Counteſs of Clarendon, has not the leaſt foundation. For by what has been ſaid, it is evident that Mr Graunt was not admitted into the government of the New River company, 'till twenty-three days after the breaking out of the fire of London, and then put in truſt by the abovenamed Sir William Backhouſe, whoſe relict, daughter, relation, or nameſake, the abovementioned Dame Flower Backhouſe, was ſome time after married to Henry Lord Cornbury, eldeſt ſon to the Earl of Clarendon, and who by right of his ſaid lady was firſt admitted a member of the ſaid company, on the tenth of November, in the year 1670, and afterward as Earl of Clarendon, on the ninth of November 1676, being the firſt of that family that ever was concerned in the New River company.' There are ſome few points farther, worth remarking; firſt, it is not very certain that at the time of the fire Mr Graunt was a Papiſt, ſince the additions to his book in 1665 ſpeak him otherwiſe. The Parliament met on the 18th of September 1666, and on the very day that Mr Graunt was admitted a member of the New River company, they appointed a committee to enquire into the cauſes of the fire (20). The report made by Sir Robert Brook, chairman of that committee, contains abundance of extraordinary relations, but not one word of the cocks being ſtopped, or any ſuſpicions of Mr Graunt. Beſides, if he had thruſt himſelf into this affair, as the two Biſhops ſuggeſt, and had been queſtioned about it, it would have been highly imprudent in him, and much more ſo in the company, to admit him to their board. It is very plain from hence, that the ſtory was not invented 'till ſome conſiderable time after the fire, when Mr Graunt was known to be a Papiſt; and this accounts for ſeveral other miſtakes, ſuch as the Counteſs's ſaying he was her truſtee, which did not happen 'till three years after the fire. For this Dame Flower Backhouſe was the daughter and ſole heir of William Backhouſe, of Swallowfield, in the county of Berks, Eſq; firſt married to Sir William Backhouſe, Bart. and after his deceaſe to Henry Lord Cornbury. Theſe ſhares in the New River company deſcended to this lady from Sir John Backhouſe, Alderman of London, who was concerned with Sir Hugh Middleton in the original undertaking (21).

(20) A true and faithful account of the ſeveral informations exhibited to the Honourable Committee, appointed by the Parliament to enquire into the late dreadful burning of the city of London, printed 1667 without the publiſher's name.

(21) Dugdale's Baronage of England, Vol. II. p. 479. Aſhmole's Antiquities of Berkſhire, Vol. II. p. 375.

GREAVES [JOHN] an eminent Mathematician and Antiquary, was born in 1602, at Colemore near Alresford in Hampſhire; and educated there under his father John Greaves Rector of the place, and a celebrated ſchool-maſter (*a*). At the age of fifteen he removed to Baliol College (*b*) in Oxford, and applying cloſely to the academical ſtudies commenced A. B. July 6, 1621. Three years after which, ſtanding candidate for a fellowſhip of Merton College, he was the firſt of five who were elected. June 25 1628 proceeded A. M. (*c*). At which time the extraordinary proficiency he had made not only in the languages and critical learning but alſo in the Mathematicks, brought him into an intimate acquaintance with ſeveral of the moſt eminent ſcholars (*d*) in the univerſity, particularly with Mr Peter Turner then ſenior fellow of his college, and Geometry Profeſſor at Greſham, who reſigning this latter place was ſucceeded therein by our author [*A*] Feb. 22,

(*a*) Wood's Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 156.

(*b*) Baliſiofergus; or a commentary upon the foundation, &c. of Baliol College, Oxford 1660.

(*c*) Wood ubi ſupra & faſti, Vol. I. col. 218, 240. The reaſon of his deferring this degree ſo long is not certainly known, perhaps it might be occaſioned by ſome private ſtatute of that College.

(*d*) As Dr Henry Briges, Dr John Bainbridge, and others. Smith in vita Joh. Græveſii inter vitas illuſtrium virorum, p. 5. edit. 1707, 4to.

[*A*] *He ſucceeded Mr Turner at Greſham.*] Dr Ward, who (1) intimates his opinion that Mr *Turner*'s friendſhip was particularly ſerviceable to our author in this election, gives us the following teſtimonial, recommending him from Oxford.

(1) Under the Article of GREAVES [JOHN] in his lives of the Greſham Profeſſors, p. 36.

'*Whereas Mr John Greaves, Maſter of Arts, and Fellow of Merton College in Oxford, hath deſired letters teſtimonial concerning his ſufficiency in the Mathematics: We whoſe names are underwritten, having knowledge of him, ſome by daily converſation, others by conference with him, or by the report of credible perſons and competent judges of his ſufficiency in theſe arts, do teſtify, that he is a man very ſufficiently qualified for the reading of a lecture in that faculty. In witneſs whereof we have put our hands to theſe preſents.*

Nat. Brent, Warden.
Pet. Turner.
Will. Boſwell.

'*Being deſirous that a worthy ſcholar may ſucceed my late learned colleague* Mr Henry Briggs *in the profeſſion of Geometry, I do moſt ſincerely give this teſtimony unto Mr* John Greaves, *Maſter of Arts, and Fellow of Merton College, that he hath for ſome years been a frequent and diligent auditor at the public lecture of myſelf and colleague; and hath by many private conferences given me occaſion to take notice of his ſingular ſkill in the Mathematics, eſpecially in the Geometry of Euclid and other antient authors; and that he is well furniſhed with all theſe qualities, which our honourable and judicious founder, Sir* Henry Savill, *doth require in his Profeſſor of that art.*

'Ita ex animo teſtor *Johannes Bainbridge*,
'Med. *Doctor, & Aſtronomiæ Profeſſor Savilianus.*

There being no date to either of theſe papers, Dr Ward tells us, that *the profeſſion of Geometry*, mentioned in this laſt, muſt refer to Greſham College, and not to Oxford;

22, 1630, with this he ſtill held his fellowſhip at Merton. But his ambition prompting him to excel, it was not long before he reſolved to travel abroad for further improvement. Upon that plan we find him viſiting Leyden, Paris, and Rome in *1635* [*B*]. During this tour he was invited upon very advantageous terms to live with the Earl of Arundel (*e*) then in Italy, and to go with his lordſhip into Greece; but being diſappointed in ſome of his principal views in theſe travels [*C*], he formed other deſigns which determined his choice to return to England. He arrived the year following, and immediately ſet himſelf to make all poſſible preparations for a journey to Egypt [*D*]. And acquainting Archbiſhop Laud (to whom he had ſome time before been recommended by Mr Turner) with his deſign of viſiting the eaſt countries, he was generouſly encouraged in it by his Grace, from whom he received a general diſcretionary commiſſion to purchaſe for him Arabic and other manuſcripts, and likewiſe ſuch coins and medals as he could procure. The Archbiſhop gave him alſo a letter of recommendation to Sir Peter Wyche, the Engliſh embaſſador at Conſtantinople (*f*). And in his way to that city he embarked in the river Thames for Leghorn about the beginning of June *1637*, being accompanied by his particular friend Mr Pococke, whom he had earneſtly ſollicited to this voyage [*E*]. After a ſhort

(*e*) Mr Petty, in his lordſhip's name, profered him 200 l. per Ann. beſides ſuch fortunes as that lord could heap upon him. Life of Dr Pococke prefixed to his Theological Works, p. 4. Lond. 1740. fol.

(*f*) Smith, ubi ſupra, p. 7. and Wood's Ath. Ox. col. 157.

(9) Ward's Life of our author, p. 137, 138.

(10) Smith, ubi ſupra, p. 7. Who intimates that the argument made uſe of, by our author to the magiſtrates of London, was, that he ſhould have a particular view to the honour and advantage of the city, in this undertaking. Among his inſtruments (of which what is obſerved in remark [K], ſhews he had a large ſtock) were a braſs quadrant of 7 foot radius, an azimuth compaſs to take the variation of the needle of one foot rad. and a croſs ſtaff of ten foot rad. accurately divided into 10,000 parts, which he made uſe of in meaſuring the pyramids. Pyramedogr. p. 96. and in the preface. Obſervations in his travels, p. 508, and 478. and letter to Mr Hardy, Miſcel. Works, p. 44, 45.

(2) He was alſo remarkably fond of this University, and had but little liking to the City, where the political principles were very different from his own.

(3) In Vita. J. Gravii inter vitas quorundum illuſtrium viror. &c. p. 5.

(4) The firſt fixes it in 1633. Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 157, and the other in 1636. Vita Grav. p. 7.

(5) It is printed in our author's Miſcellaneous Works, Vol. II. p. 446. Publiſhed by Dr Birch in two Vols 8vo. 1737. To this Dr Ward where laſt cited, p. 137. has added another and clearer proof from a Latin letter among the MSS. of Sir Rich. Ellis, Bart. which mentions our author's being at Venice in January 1635. And the words of a letter from himſelf to Dr Pococke, cited in remark [C], at the end, intimate his having been at Rome in this tour.

(6) This Profeſſor in the preface to his Arabic Lexicon, printed 1654. has theſe words relating to Mr Greaves, *Auditor quondam meus.*

(7) Our author in a letter wrote after his return from the Eaſt to Golius, calls it *vetus amicitia.*

(8) Mr Greaves begun his Elementa Linguæ Perſicæ, at Paris, at Mr Hardy's ſollicitation. See the preface to that book.

Oxford; where, ſays he, Mr Greaves never applied for the Geometry profeſſorſhip. In a matter of ſo little moment, this remark would have paſſed without any further examination, was not the whole tenor of Dr Bainbridge's teſtimonial ſo ſtrikingly incompatible, as it is, with any ſuppoſition of not referring to the Savilian profeſſorſhip. Indeed, as Mr Turner was then a candidate for this place, and eſpouſed by Archbiſhop Laud, it is not likely that he ſhould be oppoſed therein by Mr Greaves, who was not then known to the Archbiſhop; not friendſhip ſo much as common ſenſe muſt forbid an attempt which could promiſe no ſucceſs: but that he ſhould wiſh for the Oxford rather than the Greſham lecture, can hardly be doubted, when the difference in the value of each is conſidered (2). It is alſo as plain as words can make it, that Dr Bainbridge wiſhed the ſame thing, and gave him this teſtimonial to make the beſt uſe he could of it; and, as it contained a ſtrong atteſtation of Mr Greaves's merit, the reaſon of his applying it at Greſham is evident, without the help of Dr Ward's very forced conſtruction. With regard to his further merit in Mathematics, particularly in Aſtronomy, at this time, Dr Smith aſſures us (3), that he had then not only read over the writings of *Copernicus, Regiomontanus, Purbach, Tycho Brahe,* and *Kepler,* with other celebrated Aſtronomers of that and the preceding age, but that he had made the ancient Greek, Arabian, and Perſian authors in that ſcience familiar to him; having before, as he ſays, gained an accurate ſkill in the oriental languages, *accurata linguarum orientalium cognitione prius acquiſita.* How theſe words are to be underſtood will appear preſently.

[*B*] *We find him in Holland, &c. in* 1635.] Tho' it is not abſolutely certain what year he firſt went abroad, yet Mr Wood is probably, and Dr Smith is certainly, miſtaken in aſſigning the date of it (4). We have no traces of his being out of England 'till 1635, and that he was at Paris that year, appears from a letter of Monſieur Hardy to him, dated September 1, 1641 (5), where that gentleman mentions his acquaintance with Mr Greaves in that city ſix years before. Moreover, we find him at Leyden in Holland, attending the lectures of Golius the famous Arabic Profeſſor there (6), and contracting a friendſhip with him (7), which muſt have been in this tour, ſince his paſſage both to and from the Eaſt was performed by ſea, and he never went abroad afterwards.

[*C*] *Diſappointed in that tour.*] Notwithſtanding Dr Smith, as we have already obſerved, tells us, that our author *had before this time attained an accurate ſkill in the Perſian language*; yet it ſeems one of the views, wherein he failed in making this tour, was to get further inſtructions upon that article. Mr Hardy, in the letter already cited, writes thus to him, *Ante annos ſex cognovi te ſtudioſiſſimum linguæ Perſicæ. Eſt in hac civitate Perſa Spahani natus, egregie in ſua lingua eruditus: ſi tantiſper iſthuc proficiſci poſſes, facile expleres ardentem illam cupidinem diſcendæ linguæ Perſicæ, quam in te admirabar* (8). Another deſign, in which he met alſo with a diſappointment, was the procuring of certain books in ancient learning. Of this he complains in a letter to Dr Pococke, wrote upon the ſubject of their intended voyage into the Eaſt. 'I think, ſays 'he, this courſe ſhould be taken, to carry good ſtore 'of printed Greek and Arabic, &c. books to Con'ſtantinople and other places, which might be changed 'for other books. I had thought the Grecians had 'ſupplied themſelves out of Italy, but, ſince my being 'there, I have obſerved that they could find none to 'buy. So deſtitute is Italy of all good books. You 'can better inform me whether this courſe may be ad'vantageous or not, though the Maronites in Rome, 'when I mentioned it to them, did much approve of 'it (9).'

[*D*] *He made preparations for his journey to Egypt.*] His primary deſign in this journey being to meaſure the pyramids with all poſſible exactneſs, and withal to make ſuch other improvements in Aſtronomy and Geography, as opportunities offered, by taking the altitudes and diſtances of the ſtars, the latitudes of cities, obſerving eclipſes, &c. He furniſhed himſelf with inſtruments of all ſorts proper for thoſe purpoſes. This was done at his own expence, the city of London, to which he applied, refuſing to contribute towards the purchaſe (10). Afterwards, when his money fell ſhort, he was generouſly ſupplied by his brothers, *who,* as he obſerves (11), *had ſtrained their own occaſions, to enable him, in deſpite of the City, to go on with his deſigns.* Amongſt which, that of purchaſing curious books being, as is remarked in the text, a principal one, in this view he bought ſeveral books before his departure, in order to exchange them for others in the Eaſt, as he had intimated to Dr Pococke in the letter cited in the laſt remark. Beſides the aſſiſtance of his brothers, Dr Smith thought he had ſome help from Archbiſhop Laud (12), and Mr Wood ſeems to ſuggeſt the ſame thing, when he tells us, his Grace ſent our author to travel into the eaſtern parts of the world, to obtain books of the languages for him (13).

[*E*] *He had earneſtly ſollicited Mr Pococke's company.*] To this purpoſe he made the following kind and generous offer, in the letter cited in remark [*C*], where he writes thus to that friend. 'I ſhall deſire your favour 'in ſending up to me, by my brother Thomas, Ulug'beg's Aſtronomical Tables, of which I purpoſe to 'make this uſe. The next weeke I will ſhew them to 'my Lord's Grace, and highly commend your care in 'procuring of thoſe tables, being the moſt accurate that 'ever were extant; then will I diſcover my intention 'of having them printed, and dedicated to his Grace. 'But becauſe I preſume that there are many things 'which in theſe parts cannot perfectly be underſtood, 'I ſhall therefore acquaint my Lord with my deſires of 'taking a journey into thoſe countries, for the more 'emendate edition of them; afterwards by degrees 'fall downe upon the buſineſs of the conſulſhip (14); 'and how honourable a thing it would be, if you were 'ſent out a ſecond time, as Golius in the Low Countries 'was by the States, after he had beene once there be'fore. If my Lord ſhall be pleaſed to reſent and com'paſſe the buſineſſe, I ſhall like it well; if not, I ſhall 'procure three hundred pounds for you and myſelfe be'ſides getting a diſpenſation for the allowances of our 'places in our abſence; and, by God's bleſſing, in three 'years diſpatch the whole journey. It ſhall goe hard, 'but I will too get ſome citizen in as a benefactour to 'the

(11) In a letter from Conſtantinople dated Aug. 2, 1638. printed in Gen. Dict. under our author's article.

(12) In the place laſt cited.

(13) Ath. Ox. ubi ſupra.

(14) Mr Petty had adviſed our author to go, by the Archbiſhop's means, Conſul to Aleppo, and procure leave of the grand Signor, to have a conſular power at Alexandria, as often as he ſhould go thither. Life of Dr Pococke prefix'd to his Theolog. Works, by Dr Twells, p. 10. Lond. 1740. fol. where the whole letter is printed.

a ſhort ſtay in Italy [F], he arrived at Conſtantinople before Michaelmas. Here again the hopes our author had fed himſelf with, of learning the Arabic tongue more perfectly, were intirely fruſtrated for want of ſufficient maſters (g); but he ſucceeded much better in the buſineſs of procuring manuſcripts [G], which he purſued with indefatigable diligence, ſometimes even at the peril of his life [H]. In the farther ſearch after thoſe uſeful curioſities

(g) See his letter to Claud. Hardy, in the Miſcellaneous Works, of our author, by Dr Birch, Vol. II. p. 442. Lond. 1737, 8vo. 2 Vols.

' the deſigne; if not, three hundred pounds of mine, ' whereof I give you the halfe, together with the re- ' turne of our ſtipends, will in a plentyfull manner, if ' I be not deceived, in Turky manteine us.'

[F] *He made but a ſhort ſtay in Italy.*] Dr Smith, who fixes our author's arrival at Conſtantinople about April 1638, making him to ſtop in his way thither half a year in Italy; ſeeing upon that miſtake there was time enough for it, ſuppoſes him not only to have gone to Rome, but to have made a great part of his collections of the antiquities in and about that city at this time; and this miſtake is continued and confirmed, from the ſame authority, viz. that of our author's Note Book, by Dr Birch (15), ' which ſhews, ſays he, ' that Mr Greaves not only wrote down the inſcriptions, ' but likewiſe meaſured the pillars and other monuments ' there, and took a draught of them, particularly of ' Ceſtus's pyramid and the Pantheon.' It is likewiſe affirmed, that at this time he viewed the catacombs, and examined all the principal cabinets and muſæums in that city. That he now became acquainted with Lucas Holſtenius, keeper of the Vatican library, Athanaſius Kircher, and Gaſpar Bertius, a celebrated Aſtronomer, who informed him that he had found, by repeated obſervations, with a large inſtrument of Clavius, the altitude of the pole at Rome to be 41° 46'. That from Rome he went to Padua, where he was introduced to the acquaintance of Francis Urſati, John Rhodius, and Andrew Moretti, Profeſſors there. That going thence to Florence, he ſtaid there ſome weeks, after which he returned to Leghorn. So palpable an error did not eſcape the diligence of Dr Ward (16), who ſhews, that the time aſſigned by Dr Smith (17) for our author's ſtay at Conſtantinople, viz. from April to September, is contradicted by Mr Greaves himſelf (18) in a letter to Monſieur Hardy, after he came home, where he has this expreſſion, *primum annum Conſtantinopoli egi*. As to the viſits ſaid to be made by our author at this time to Rome, and the other cities of Italy, Dr Ward apprehends, that was done in his former travels; he even ſeems to doubt p. 142. our author's viſiting Rome at this time, but, in a letter to Dr Pococke, written before they ſet out, Mr Greaves mentions his deſign to ſtop in Italy and go to Rome, in order to diſcharge ſome employments left unperfected in his former tour. *Life of Pococke*, p. 15. He alſo very juſtly turns the evidence of the note book againſt the advocate who produces it; remarking, that all the obſervations in Italy, which are ſet down in that book with any dates to them, appear to be made after our author's return from the Eaſt. The firſt of theſe, as he remarks, being dated at Leghorn June 20. others at Florence and Siena in Auguſt; and others again at Rome in October following, where he likewiſe copied ſeveral ancient inſcriptions. To theſe proofs it may be added, that our author himſelf expreſsly affirms upon another occaſion, that he was at Conſtantinople in 1637 as well as in the ſubſequent year (19); and that in the year 1639, he went on purpoſe to Italy to view the other antiquities of the Romans, ſo eſpecially thoſe of weights and meaſures; and we find him accordingly meaſuring ſeveral of the moſt remarkable pillars and monuments at and about Rome, and particularly the Pantheon, at that time (20); ſuggeſting alſo, that he had not done thoſe things before, for want of proper inſtruments, of which he was now provided. Upon the whole, ſince there appears great confuſion in Dr Smith's account of the dates of the ſeveral removes in this eaſtern progreſs, which have not been hitherto well adjuſted; it will not be amiſs to take this opportunity of ſettling them as exactly as the data found in our author's writings will allow. Firſt then, in a letter to Monſieur Hardy, dated June 18, 1641, he ſays (21), it was then four years ſince he ſet out upon this journey that after a year's ſtay at Conſtantinople, he went thence to Alexandria, where he ſpent ſix months. He wrote a letter from Conſtantinople in December 1637; and in another of Auguſt 2, 1638, he writes, that he ſhould that month go for Egypt (22). In his way from Conſtantinople, he took the altitude of the pole at Rhodes, September 11. and ſtaying there ſix days, arrived in eight more at Alexandria (23). A remark made in his travels concerning the Jewiſh paſſover, ſhews he was at Alexandria April 9, 1639 (24). In a letter to Dr Pococke, dated June 14, he writes, that he had been two months in paſſing from Alexandria to Leghorn; and, in another letter, dated March 8. following, he acquaints that friend, that being then provided of a ſhip, he was ready to embark for England (25). Laſtly, He obſerved the variation of the needle at Leghorn, March 14. (26). By comparing theſe particulars, and what is mentioned in the preſent remark concerning his ſtay at Rome in his paſſage to the Eaſt, it may be collected, that he left England about the beginning of June, 1637. That he arrived at Conſtantinople the September following. That leaving that city in September the enſuing year, he came to Alexandria about the 22d of the ſame month 1638, and departing thence about the middle of April 1639, came to Leghorn about the middle of June. That after a ſtay of about nine months in Italy, he ſet ſail for England, where he landed in the end of May, or beginning of June 1640 (27). The diligence here ſhewn (which might otherwiſe be juſtly cenſured) will be found of uſe, not only in removing the perplexities of former accounts, but chiefly as our author's writings will, with the help of this clue, be read with leſſer heſitation.

(15) In our author's Life, prefixed to the Miſcellan. Works, p. 6.

(16) Ubi ſupra, in his Lives, &c.

(17) Vit. Grav. p. 10, 11.

(18) See his Miſcell. Works, Vol. II. p. 442.

(19) See his Obſervations on his Travels, Vol. II. p. 505, & ſeq.

(20) Diſcourſe of the Roman foot, p. 207. & ſeq. in Miſcellan. Vol. I.

(21) Miſcellan. &c. p. 442.

(22) Ibid. p. 437. and Life of Pococke, by Twells, p. 15.

(23) Philoſophic. Experiments and Obſervations, by W. Derham, p. 300, and Miſcellanies, &c. p. 443. edit. 1726. 8vo.

(24) Miſcell. &c. p. 509.

(25) Ward, ubi ſupra, p. 142.

(26) Derham's Exper. and Obſ. ubi ſupra.

(27) Dr Smith ſays ſedente anni 1640. Vita Grav. p. 14.

[G] *He ſucceeded better in procuring manuſcripts.*] In the letter of Auguſt 2, 1638, cited above, he writes thus. ' I preſume, in Arabic books, my Lord hath ' received a remonſtrance of my care by thoſe which ' the companies have ſent. It is true, many more ve- ' ry choice ones might be procured, with inquiring and ' watching after opportunities, if they would give the ' price. Some few of thoſe which they thought to be ' overvalued, I have purchaſed at exceſſive rates. You ' may expect to ſee moſt of the Greek Mathematicians, ' tranſlated into Arabic, brought home. Amongſt ' others, I have procured *Ptolemy's Almageſt*, the fair- ' eſt book that I have ever ſeen, ſtolen by a Spahy (as ' I am informed) out of the King's library in the Se- ' raglio. Whereby you ſee there is a poſſibility of hav- ' ing alſo thoſe Greek and Latin authors, (which I ' mentioned in my former letters to be buried in the ' Seraglio) (28) if the ** were handſomly followed by ' an Embaſſador.' Mr Greaves alſo, after his return home, tells his friend Monſieur Hardy, that, upon his diſappointment in learning the Arabic at Conſtantinople, he applied himſelf diligently to ſearch for manuſcripts, in which he had ſucceeded very well. For, ſays he, beſides ſeveral Arabic, Perſian, and Turkiſh books, in almoſt all the ſciences, and Lexicons of good note in thoſe three tongues, I bought almoſt all the ancient Greek Mathematicians, tranſlated into Arabic ſome ages ago, together with the works chiefly of the moſt famous modern Aſtronomers of India and Arabia (29).

(28) He had been aſſured by ſome of the Greeks, that the library, which belonged formerly to the Chriſtian Emperors, was ſtill preſerved in the Sultan's palace. Smith, Vita J. Græv. p. 10. where he queſtions the truth of Mr Greaves's information, charges the Greeks with being much given to lying; and obſerves that during his ſtay there, after the utmoſt diligence and inquiries, he could never diſcover the leaſt grounds for ſuch a belief.

[H] *To the danger of his life.*] Upon the death of the Patriarch (30), mentioned in the text, his ſucceſſor (named Bereas) had cited the Dutch Embaſſador before the Divan, and charged him with having received from the Church 200,000 crowns, in the time of former diſſentions, beſides ſtore of manuſcripts belonging to the Patriarch; upon which our author obſerves, that he might have fallen into the ſame danger himſelf, if he had not prevented the ſtorm by the mediation of ſome Greeks of his acquaintance. For, having procured, out of a blind and ignorant monaſtery, which depended upon the Patriarch, fourteen good manuſcripts of the Fathers, he was forced privately to reſtore the books and loſe his money, to avoid a worſe inconvenience (31).

(29) See Miſcel. &c. p. 443.

(30) Of which ſee a particular account in Dr Pococke's Article.

(31) See his letter of Aug. 2, 1638, ubi ſupra.

[I] *The*

ties he purpoſed to go to mount Athos in Macedonia, having obtained the aſſurance of a particular recommendation to the monks there from Cyril Lucar then patriarch of Conſtantinople; but all the great expectations he had raiſed from this undertaking [I], being ſuddenly quaſhed by the untimely death of that prelate, he took the opportunity which offered ſoon after [K] of paſſing in company with the annual Turkiſh fleet to Alexandria in Egypt, where (having firſt touched (b) at Rhodes) he arrived before the end of September 1638. This was the boundary of his intended progreſs, and as the country afforded a large field for his curious and inquiſitive genius, ſo he omitted no opportunity (as has been well obſerved (i)) of remarking whatever the heavens, earth, or ſubterraneous parts, offered him, that ſeemed any ways uſeful and worthy of obſervation. But the grand purpoſe of coming hither being to take an exact and accurate ſurvey of the Pyramids, (of which ſo much had been ſaid and ſo little ſettled by ancient or modern authors at that time) he went twice from Alexandria to Grand Cairo, and thence to the deſerts (k) where they ſtand, ſo that he amply gratified his curioſity upon that much deſired ſubject [L]. After which having found himſelf greatly deceived in his expectations of purchaſing

(b) He ſtaid here ſix days, and made ſome aſtronomical obſervations with a ſmall aſtrolabe, not daring to uſe a larger inſtrument for fear of raiſing a ſuſpicion in the Turks; from hence he arrived in eight days at Alexandria, Dr Ward by miſtake ſays in ſix. See our author's letter to Monſ. Hardy, ubi ſupra, and Ward's Lives, p. 141.

(i) By Dr Ward, ubi ſupra.

(k) Viz. ſome ſoon after his arrival, and ſome juſt before his departure. See his Obſervations in Egypt, printed in his Miſcellanies, Vol. II. p. 507. & ſeq.

[I] *The death of the Patriarch quaſhed the expectations he had raiſed from a viſit to mount Athos.*] Upon this mountain there are ſeveral monaſteries *, ſettled there long before the deſtruction of the Grecian empire by the Turks; and, having eſcaped the general ravage at that time, it continued in the poſſeſſion of the monks, who call it ἅγιον ὄρος, the ſacred mountain. Notwithſtanding what had been ſaid of the extreme ignorance of the monks, by Father Belon (32), who affirmed that they had indeed ſome Divinity books; but none of Poetry, Hiſtory, or Philoſophy. Yet it was well known to Archbiſhop Uſher (33), that there were ſeveral valuable Greek manuſcripts preſerved there; and the place being under the juriſdiction of the Patriarch of Conſtantinople, that prelate had promiſed to give Mr Greaves liberty of entering into all the libraries of that place, in order to collect a catalogue of ſuch books, as either were not printed, or elſe, by the help of ſome there, might have been more correctly ſet out. Theſe, by diſpenſing with the anathema's which former Patriarchs had laid upon all Greek libraries to preſerve the books from the Latins, were deſigned to be preſented by the Patriarch to Archbiſhop Laud, for the better proſecution of his Grace's honourable deſigns in the edition of Greek authors *. Dr Smith had a deſign afterwards to viſit this mountain, but was alſo prevented (34). However, about the beginning of the preſent century, Dr John Comnenus, a Phyſician of Walachia, was there a conſiderable time, and publiſhed a particular deſcription of the monaſteries in the vulgar Greek. A Latin tranſlation of this piece by Father Montfaucon was printed at the end of his *Paleographia Græca*, wherein it appears, that the monks then were not ſo ignorant as Father Belon had repreſented them to be in his times. For he tells us, ſome of them were employed in copying books, and others in binding them; and of their libraries, he ſays, 'there were a great number of ancient manuſcripts, full of all wiſdom, divine knowledge, and ſublime thoughts, books of Divinity, and many in every other ſcience, never yet publiſhed, and to many unknown.' The truth of this laſt remark is atteſted by Mr Montfaucon, who ſays he had then [in 1708] (35) never ſeen one book that was written at Mount Athos. But he did not continue long in that ignorance; for, in 1715, he met with no leſs than two hundred in the *Bibliotheca Coiſliniana* brought from this mount, conſiſting of various kinds of literature, Divinity, Philoſophy, Mathematics, Hiſtory, and Philology; ſome of them of a conſiderable age. He found likewiſe that many of them had been written there (36). About 26 years ago a parcel of Greek manuſcripts were brought from thence into England, and purchaſed by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury [Dr Wake], the Univerſity of Oxford, Dr Bentley, and Dr Mead; and another parcel ſome time after was bought by the Archbiſhop and Dr Mead. A perſon was alſo abroad in 1740, upon the ſame deſign of purchaſing more. Since which, the very learned Phyſician Dr Aſkew, about four years ago, brought ſeveral curious manuſcripts from thence, and other parts of Greece.

[K] *He ſet out ſoon after.*] Before his departure, he gave an inſtance of his attention to aſtronomical improvements. Having found that there would be a large viſible eclipſe of the moon in December following, he furniſhed proper perſons, with convenient inſtruments for obſerving it at Conſtantinople, Bagdad, Smyrna, and Alexandria; and he gave them inſtructions alſo how they ſhould obſerve it *. 'I preſume, ſays he, it will be punctually and carefully done at Bagdad, ſince the Phyſician to the King's favourite, a Chriſtian, hath undertaken the buſineſs, who hopes to get reputation, by doing it in the ſight of the Grand Signior, and of his army. I doubt not, continues he, it will be as carefully obſerved in England, and could wiſh, (as by my letters I earneſtly deſired) that at the ſame time obſervations might be made at the Azores (37).

[L] *He amply gratified his curioſity upon the Pyramids.*] Our author always expreſſes himſelf upon this ſubject, in terms which teſtify the greateſt ſatisfaction, particularly with reſpect to the chamber in the inſide of the firſt pyramid *, where ſtands as he calls it the monument of Cheops. Theſe proportions of the chamber, and thoſe of the hollow part of the tomb, were taken by him with as much exactneſs as it was poſſible to do; 'which, ſays he (38), I did ſo much the more diligently, as judging this to be the fitteſt place for the fixing of meaſures for poſterity; a thing which hath been much deſired by learned men, but the manner how it might be exactly done has been thought of by none. I am of opinion, that, as this pyramid has ſtood three thouſand years almoſt, and is no whit decayed within, ſo it may continue many thouſand years longer: and therefore, that after-times, meaſuring theſe places by me aſſigned, may hereby not only find out the juſt dimenſions of the Engliſh foot, but alſo the feet of ſeveral nations in theſe times, which in my travels abroad I have taken from the originals, and have compared them at home with the Engliſh ſtandard. Had ſome of the antient Mathematicians thought of this way, theſe times would not have been ſo much perplexed, in diſcovering the meaſures of the Hebrews, Babylonians, Egyptians, Greeks, and other nations.' In the ſame vein he writes to his friend Monſieur Hardy, in Latin, taking notice, that he had taken a more curious ſurvey of the pyramids, than had been then done by any, either antient or modern, traveller. He proceeds thus, '*Interiorem cameram & nonnulla ſecretiora adyta temporis injuria nondum corrupta, nec unquam, ſi recte judico, corrumpenda, menſuris Anglicis diligenter menſus ſum, adeo exacte ut e viginti mille partibus in quas viginti pedes lineis tranſverſis ſive potius diagoniis diviſi, ne unam quidem vel deeſſe vel ſupereſſe exiſtimem. Quod ideo tanto accuratius præſtiti, ut ex iſta comparatione omnium gentium menſuræ, quæ hodie ſunt aut olim fuerunt, e duraturo aliquo monumento poſteris ſignari poſſint, quod quidem ſi à Mathematicis olim præſtitum fuiſſet, ſelectis aliquibus idoneis locis temporum injuriæ non obnoxiis, minus hodie incerti eſſemus in antiquorum menſuris inveſtigandis* (39).' Theſe extracts are taken at length for the ſake of the following remarks. Firſt, Mr Wood (40) tells us, that while our author was in the largeſt pyramid, he made a meaſure of the foot obſerved by *all* nations, in one of the rooms, with his name, John Gravius, under it, which, ſays he, hath been noted by ſeveral travellers. But he gives us none of their

* In the gallery over the ſchools at Oxford, there are two ſurveys of the monaſtery, τῦ παντοκράτορος in this mountain, taken in 1726, and preſented in perſon to that Univerſity by Doſitheus, Archimandrite of that monaſtery.

(32) In his treatiſe intitled Les Obſervations de pluſieurs ſingularités & choſes memorables, trouvées en Grece &c. Liv. 2. c. 35, en Anvers 1555, 8vo. he ſays they could neither write nor read.

(33) See Dr Pococke's Article.

* See Greaves's letter laſt quoted.

(34) Vita J. Græv. p. 11.

(35) His Paleographia Græca, fol. was publiſhed that year.

(36) Vide præfat. ad Catalog. Librorum *in iſta Bibliotheca* ; a library containing upwards of 400 books, near half of them brought from Mount Athos.

* Dr Halley obſerves, that a greater ſervice could not be done to the ſcience of Aſtronomy than by taking the phaſes of the Moon's Eclipſes, at Bagdat, Aleppo, and Alexandria, whereby to determine their longitudes, ſince in and near thoſe places were made all the obſervations, whereby the middle motions of the ſun and moon are limited, Miſcel. Curioſ. &c. Vol. III. paper 6th edit. 1727.

(37) See his letter from Conſtantinople, ubi ſupra.

* There is no entrance into the other two.

(38) In a note to p. 126 of the of the Pyramidographia, edit. 1737, 8vo.

(39) Miſcellaneous Works, ubi ſupra, p. 444, 445.

(40) Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 157.

purchaſing books [*M*], he determined to return home. In that deſign he embarked at Alexandria in the middle of April 1639 for Leghorn, where he arrived in two months; intending to make the tour of Italy a ſecond time [*N*], in order to examine more accurately

their names, and the turn of the whole period manifeſtly betrays a fondneſs for the marvellous, more than a juſt concern for the truth, which becomes ſtill much more doubtful, when we ſee no mention made of it any where by Mr Greaves, and eſpecially in the places here cited, where (if it was fact) the ſubject would naturally and almoſt unavoidably have led him to take ſome notice of it. But if there be ſome room to ſuſpect that more is aſcribed to our author than was really performed by him, in this particular, we have at leaſt equal reaſon to think his character has been more injured, by aſcribing leſs merit to his performance than it actually deſerves, in another particular, and that of much greater importance. Every body knows the exactneſs of his meaſurements have been called in queſtion more than once by ſubſequent travellers (41). Monſieur Thevenot ſtands at the head, and is followed by ſeveral others, in aſſigning 682 French feet for the baſe of each ſide of the largeſt pyramid, which, being equal to 728 feet Engliſh, exceeds the account given by Mr Greaves, who makes the length of each baſe to amount only to 693 ſuch feet. So conſiderable a difference as this, of 35 feet, has been endeavoured to be reconciled from an obſervation of Mr Vanſleb (42), that the north ſide, or the ſide from north to ſouth, is longer than that which ſtretches from eaſt to weſt. But all other authors agree with Mr Greaves, in aſſerting the baſe of the pyramid to be an exact ſquare; and the length of each ſide found by him, is greatly confirmed by a curious remark of Sir Iſaac Newton, who, from the pyramids of Egypt accurately meaſured (they are his words) by Mr John Greaves, collects the length of the ancient cubit of Memphis in this manner. 'The ſide of the firſt pyramid was 693 Engliſh feet. It is very probable, that 'at firſt, the meaſure of it was determined by ſome 'round number of Egyptian cubits. Ibn Abd Alhokm, 'quoted by Mr Greaves (43), tells us, that the meaſure of each ſide was 100 royal cubits of the ancient 'times: but it is probable, that the Egyptians learned 'from the orgyiæ of the Greeks, their meaſure of four 'cubits of Memphis, and gave it the name of the royal cubit. Thus the ſide of the pyramid will be 400 'ſimple cubits, or 4 auroræ; and the cubit of Memphis will be equal to $1\frac{733}{1000}$ of the Engliſh foot. 'That the pyramid was built by the cubit of this magnitude, appears from ſeveral dimenſions of it. The 'ſquare paſſage leading into it, of poliſhed marble, 'was in breadth and height $3\frac{40}{100}$ of the Engliſh foot, 'that is, two of the abovementioned cubits of Memphis; and of the ſame breadth and height were the 'four other galleries. In the middle of the pyramid 'was a chamber, moſt exquiſitely formed, of poliſhed 'marble, containing the monument of the king. The 'length of this chamber was $34\frac{3}{10}$ Engliſh feet, and 'the breadth, $17\frac{19}{20}$; that is, it was 20 cubits long, 'and 10 cubits broad, the cubit being ſuppoſed to be $1\frac{719}{1000}$ of the Engliſh foot. The difference between 'this meaſure and the former, is $\frac{1}{1000}$, or one eighth of a foot, that is, about one ſeventh of an inch; 'an error of no importance, if we conſider the much 'greater irregularities obſerved by Mr Greaves, in the 'beſt buildings of the Romans. The roof of this 'chamber conſiſted of nine oblong and parallel ſtones; 'the ſeven middle ones of which were of the ſame 'breadth, but the two outermoſt were leſs by half in 'breadth than the reſt, and the breadth of them all 'together was equal to the length of the chamber, or 'to 20 cubits; ſo that the length of the middle ſtones 'was two cubits and a half. The marble gallery, 'which led into this chamber, was 6 feet and 87 of '100 parts of a foot, that is, 4 cubits of the chamber 'in breadth. In the middle of this gallery was a way 'of poliſhed marble, $3\frac{433}{1000}$ feet, that is, two cubits 'broad; and on both ſides the way were two banks, 'like benches, of poliſhed marble likewiſe $1\frac{733}{1000}$ feet 'broad, and $1\frac{733}{1000}$ feet deep, that is, in breadth and 'depth one cubit. Who will therefore imagine, that 'ſo many dimenſions, not at all depending upon each 'other, ſhould correſpond by mere chance with the 'length of the cubit aſſigned by us.' He proceeds to ſhew from other meaſurements of Mr Greaves, that the diviſion of the cubit into ſix palms, correſponds in like manner with this length of the cubit, that is, of it's being equal to $1\frac{733}{1000}$ * Engliſh feet, 400 of which cubits will be eaſily found by multiplication to be equal to 693 ſuch feet, the ſide of the firſt pyramid (as has been ſaid) according to Mr Greaves. Sir Iſaac continues to give other ſpecimens of this cubit from other dimenſions of our author in ſeveral parts of the pyramid, and upon the whole concludes, that in his opinion, the pyramid was built throughout after the meaſure of the ſame cubit (44). Dr Shaw, in his Travels into Barbary, &c. p. 414, obſerving the differences among authors concerning the dimenſions of the baſe of this pyramid, thinks they might be occaſioned, partly becauſe none of it's ſides are exactly upon a level, and particularly becauſe the weſt and north ſides have been encroached upon by ſuch drifts of ſand, as the Eteſian winds from time to time have brought with them †, which makes it difficult to find a true horizontal baſe. This may perhaps furniſh us with the reaſon why our Profeſſor took the length of the baſe on the north ſide, by obſervation, with his croſs ſtaff, and not with a line; which is one of the objections made to the *Pyramidographia*, by the anonymous author of the Reflections inſerted in the ſecond Volume of Greaves's Miſcellanies, by Dr Birch. However, it cannot be denied, that his account of the menſuration would have been more ſatisfactory, if, as that ingenious objector obſerves, it had been more fully expreſſed.

[*M*] *Deceived in the buſineſs of buying books.*] He complains of this to Dr Pococke (45), aſſuring him there were very few to be purchaſed either at Alexandria or Cairo, and thoſe too old and worm eaten. In other reſpects he expreſſed much pleaſure and ſatisfaction from his journey; except that in his firſt return from Cairo, with ſome other Engliſh and French men, they were robbed by the Arabs, but his loſs was not great. He held a conſtant correſpondence with this learned friend (46), who it ſeems had the ſame hopes of his meeting with books in Egypt as he had himſelf, before he left Conſtantinople. And in another letter from Leghorn to him, having mentioned how agreeably he had ſpent his time in Italy on that account, he writes thus. 'You 'expected, I perceive, that I ſhould have found the 'ſame advantages in Egypt; but I can aſſure you, that 'for books I ſaw few, and for learned men, none.' After which, he proceeds in theſe terms. 'Where'fore I muſt deſire you to ſupply that defect, by pro'curing ſuch books as I formerly mentioned, or ſuch 'others as you ſhall think moſt fitting. Thoſe which 'you name I like well, and I ſhall deſire you to make 'a further inquiry after the choiceſt in Perſian, as well 'as in Arabic (47).' This is not the firſt time we find our author expreſſing his fondneſs for the Perſian language, to which perhaps he was more inclined, as he could not hope to rival Mr Pococke in the Arabic.

[*N*] *To make the tour of Italy a ſecond time.*] After he had paſſed nine months there, he ſent his laſt mentioned friend word, that he did not repent much of his ſtay, having had an opportunity of peruſing moſt of the beſt libraries in Italy, and of being acquainted with their moſt learned men, having ſpent moſt of his time in Florence, Rome, and Naples (48); and Dr Smith (49) tells us, that from Leghorn he proceeded to Florence, where he was received with particular marks of eſteem by the Great Duke (50). Here he contracted an intimacy with Robert Dudley (51), who was generally ſtiled in Italy, Duke of Northumberland. This title was conferred upon him by Ferdinand II. Emperor of Germany, after he had failed of proving the legitimacy of his birth in England (52). Mr Greaves had frequent converſations with him upon learning, and was informed by him, that, after a careful obſervation performed according to Tycho Brahe's method, he found the elevation of the pole at Florence, to be 43° 46'. *From Florence*, ſays Dr Smith, *Mr Greaves went to Rome, in order to repeat the obſervations he had made*

(41) See an account of theſe meaſures in the Univerſal Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 186, 187, and 192. In the Memoires of the French Acad my for 1702, 1708. In LeBrun's voyages cap. 36. And Rollin's Hiſt. of the ancient Carthaginians, all cited by Dr Birch ubi ſupra.

(42) In *The Preſent State of Egypt*. But this author ſeems to delight in paradoxes; See an inſtance in Dr Shaw's Travels, p. 250.

(43) In Pyramidogr. p. 112, edit. 1737, 8vo.

* or accurately $1\frac{733}{1000}$.

(44) A Diſſertation upon the Sacred Cubit, &c. p. 408, & ſeq. in Mr Greaves's Miſcellanies, Vol. II.

† Mr Vanſleb who viſited them in 1672, tells us he carried a line proper for the purpoſe, but could not apply it for this reaſon. *Preſent State of Egypt*, p. 85. Engliſh edit. 1678, 8vo. This author is of opinion that the pyramids were hewn out of the rock, and only covered with ſtones, which probably gave occaſion to Mr Hooke's conjecture of the ſame kind in his diſcourſe of Earthquakes, and the opinion is partly confirmed by Dr Shaw.

(45) In a letter quoted by Dr Ward, ubi ſupra, p. 141, 142.

(46) See his article.

(47) Ward, ubi ſupra.

(48) Ibid.

(49) Vit. J. Gr. p. 13.

(50) Ferdinand II. He had inſcribed a Latin Poem to him written at Alexandria, and probably ſent from thence. It is printed in Miſcellan. Vol. II. p. 533. He had ſent it to Conſtantinople, to be reviſed by Dr Pococke, informing him that one of his views therein was to procure admiſſion into the Medicean library, which he had found, when he was at Florence before, to be denied to ſtrangers. Pococke's Life, ubi ſupra.

(51) There is ſome account of this perſon in Wood's Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 126, 127.

(52) In the time of K. James I. with whom on account of his ſon-in-law the Count Palatine, the Emperor was then at variance.

rately into the true ſtate of the ancient Roman weights and meaſures, now that he was furniſhed with proper inſtruments for that purpoſe made by the beſt hands *. And he happened to ſtay here much longer, than he firſt thought, in waiting for a ſhip to his mind, having put on a reſolution to make his paſſage to England by ſea. At length embarking in *the Golden Fleece* (*l*) about the end of March, he came to London before midſummer 1640 (*m*); with a rich cargo conſiſting of a curious collection of Arabic, Perſic, and Greek MSS, together with a great number of gems, coins, and other valuable antiquities (*n*). Upon his arrival he found ſuch a ſituation of public affairs as was very diſagreeable to him. His loyalty to the King, and his gratitude to Archbiſhop Laud, were duties which he eſteemed indiſpenſible, and in the enſuing troubles he choſe to ſuffer (as he did to the great detriment of his private affairs) rather than violate them. After a ſhort ſtay at Greſham College he went to Oxford, and immediately ſet about digeſting his papers, in order to make his travels uſeful to the world. In the purſuit of this deſign he was aſſiſted by Archbiſhop Uſher (*o*). He had received many favours of that learned prelate, and he now gladly embraced the opportunity of making ſome return by drawing a map of the leſſer Aſia (*p*), at the requeſt of his Grace, who was then writing his diſſertation of that country which was printed in 1641. Archbiſhop Laud having the ſame year preſented a ſecond collection * of medals to the Univerſity, Mr Greaves having the care of † the whole, undertook to place them in a proper order, and executed it intirely to the ſatisfaction of his patron [*O*]. Amidſt ſuch employments as theſe, he was much pleaſed with his ſituation, and being as much diſpleaſed with the City, he gave himſelf little or no concern about his Greſham lecture; and was removed from it November 15, 1643 [*P*], but he had the day before been choſen Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy, in the room of Dr Bainbridge (*q*), having obtained a royal diſpenſation to continue his fellowſhip at Merton College. Theſe changes produced no alteration in his fixt purpoſe with regard to his papers, and we find he had made a conſiderable progreſs in it the following year [*Q*]. In

* See his Diſcourſe of the Roman foot, p. 207, edit. 1737, 8vo. He copied alſo ſeveral inſcriptions at Rome, which with the reſt are depoſited in the Savilian library.

(*l*) That was the ſhip's name. See his letter to Dr Pococke in Ward, p. 142.

(*m*) See Remark [F].

(*n*) Smith, ubi ſupra, p. 9, 10. Among his coins was one of gold of Alexander the Great, highly valued by him. See Obſerv. on his Travels.

(*o*) Several of his works were undertaken by the direction of his Grace, as appears by the dedications and other parts of them.

(*p*) Smith, ubi ſupra, p. 32.

* The firſt collection was preſented by him in 1636. See his letter to the Univerſity, in Fiſher. Cancellar. Gul. Laud. Arch. Cantuar. edit. 1700, fol.

† Doctiſſimo Johanni Gravio nummophylacii cuſtodiam permiſit [Laud] are the words of Mr Wiſe in the preface, p. 8, to his treatiſe, intituled *Nummorum Antiquorum in Scrinio Bodleiano Catalogus*, Oxon. 1750, fol.

(*q*) The Doctor died Nov. 3, before. Wood Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 34.

made there before, and to make new ones, and deſigned to have ſtaid there ſeveral months; but the deſire of returning to his own country induced him to ſhorten his ſtay there, upon which he went to Leghorn, and took ſhip for England. This laſt paſſage is a clear inſtance of the truth of what is before advanced, concerning the confuſion of the Doctor's [Smith] account of this Eaſtern journey.

[*O*] *Executed it to the ſatisfaction of his patron.*] This appears from the following letter ſent by the Archbiſhop in anſwer to one from our author, acquainting his Grace with the method he propoſed, if it ſhould be approved of. 'Sir, Your kind letter of November '15 came not to my hands 'till the beginning of this 'week, elſe you had certainly received my anſwer, 'and thanks for your kindneſs, ſooner.

'I ſee you have taken a great deal of care about the 'coins I ſent to the Univerſity. And I hope as you 'have ſeen the laſt I ſent, with others, placed in the 'ſeveral cells reſpectively; ſo you have alſo ſeen their 'names written into the book *, that both may be 'perfect and agree together.

'For the placing of them, I leave that wholly to 'the Univerſity, whoſe they now are; yet I muſt needs 'approve of the way of placing them which you have 'thought on, nor can there be any objection againſt 'it, but that which you have made about the manu'ſcript. Commend my love to Dr Turner and Mr Po'cocke, and when you have weighed all circumſtances, 'whatſoever you ſhall pitch upon ſhall ſerve and pleaſe 'me. So to God's bleſſing I leave you,

Your unfortunate poor friend
Tower, June 13. 1641.
W. Cant. (53).

* This book he had ſent with the firſt collection; it contains his Grace's method of placing them, and is now in the Bodleian Library inter MSS. Laud. K. 97.

(53) See Curious Diſcourſes by Tho. Hearne, p. 298. Oxon. 1720. 8vo.

[*P*] *He was ejected from his Greſham lecture,*] On account of his long abſence, and neglecting to read; and Mr Ralph Button was choſen in his place. This was the beginning of our author's ſufferings as a royaliſt. Notwithſtanding the above pretence alledged for ejecting him, he ſaw too plainly it was a party affair, and calling it a ſequeſtration, fed himſelf for ſome time with the hopes of being reſtored. 'I ſhould be glad to ſee you '(ſays he to his friend Dr Scarborough) (54) in my place 'at Greſham College, if I could once get off my ſe'queſtration. He that is in the place doth no way 'deſerve it.' The character here given of Mr Button ſeems to be very juſt, no evidences of his merit in Geometry are produced by Dr Ward (55), in a caſe where the honour of his foundation was concerned, which is the more obſervable, as he ſuppreſſes a material circumſtance in this affair, whereby the honour of the King, as well as of Mr Greaves, is injured. Mr Greaves, ſays he *, *being removed from his Greſham profeſſorſhip, on account of his long abſence, and the neglect of his lecture, Mr Ralph Button was choſen in his place. But he procured a royal diſpenſation for continuing his fellowſhip at Merton College, which otherwiſe he muſt have quitted in ſix months, after he was choſen Savilian Profeſſor according to the ſtatutes of thoſe profeſſorſhips.* By this repreſentation the unwary reader is led into a belief, that this diſpenſation was had purely in reſentment to the Greſham electors, for removing him thence. But a much worthier reaſon, and that grounded upon a fact undeniably true (56), is given by Mr Wood, viz. becauſe the ſtipend belonging to his Savilian profeſſorſhip was extremely leſſened during the civil wars. In ſuppreſſing Dr Smith's [in vit. Grav. p. 15.] as well as Mr Wood's authority for this circumſtance, Dr Ward has given no expreſs authority at all for the diſpenſation itſelf, unmindful of the hiſtorian's rule againſt all party or private views. *Ut ne quid falſi dicere audeat, ſic ne quid veri non audeat.* Much more excuſable is the ſlip which is made by that gentleman, as alſo by Dr Birch, in following Mr Wood, when he tells us (*Ath. Ox. Vol.* II. *col.* 157,) that our author ſucceeded Dr Bainbridge in Linacre's ſuperiour Phyſic Lecture, notwithſtanding we are twice told in the ſame work, (Vol. I. col. 21, and Vol. II. col. 669) that the Doctor's ſucceſſor in that lecture, was Dr Edward Greaves our author's brother. But the regiſter of Merton College is deciſive, of which the following is an extract. Ad. an. 1643. *In ſuperiorem Linacrianam lecturam vacantem ob mortem —D. Bainbridge, M. D. & Acad. Oxon. Aſtron. Prof. qui paulo ante e vivis exceſſerat, electus eſt Doctor Greaves e collegio Omnium Animarum.* The extract whence this is copied may be ſeen in Dr Bainbridge's Life, p. 6. note (*a*), in the ſame Volume with that of our author by Dr Tho. Smith. However ſuch an overſight in a matter of no great importance, is remarked with all due reſpect for two gentlemen, to whom we are ſo much obliged for materials in this memoir.

* In the life of J. Greaves, p. 143.

(56) See Remark [Y].

[*Q*] *The next year he had made a ſuitable progreſs in it.*] Something of what he had then done is ſeen in a letter to Archbiſhop Uſher (57), wherein he writes that he ſhould be glad to hear his Grace had received either from the Vatican Library, or that of the Eſcurial in Spain, a tranſcript of Ptolemy, or rather Hipparchus περὶ τῆς μεγίθες ἐνιαυσίε. 'So much the rather, 'ſays he, becauſe in peruſing ſome of my Arabian and 'Perſian MSS. I have found ſome obſervations which 'may conduce to the clearing of that argument,' he proceeds

(54) Afterwards Sir Charles Scarborough, an eminent Mathematician, as well as Phyſician to K. Ch. II. Miſcell. p. 395.

(55) In his Life of Mr Button, ubi ſupra, p. 153, & ſeq.

(57) Dated Sep. 19, 1644. in Archbiſhop Uſher's Life by Parr, p. 509, 510. Lond. 1686. fol.

In 1645, at the inſtance of ſome perſons of figure and fortune, he drew up a method * of introducing by degrees the New or Gregorian Stile [R]; and his propoſal would probably have been put into execution, being approved by the King and council, had the ſtate of the times permitted it*. In 1646 he publiſhed his *Pyramidographia* (r), or *A Deſcription of the pyramids in Egypt* [S], which was followed the next year by his *Diſcourſe of the Roman foot*

* Greaves's Miſcellanies, Vol. II.

(r) It was printed in French, in Thevenet's *Relations de diverſes voyages*, and Dr Smith had a deſign of turning it into Latin, and the Roman foot, with his life. Vit. Gravii, p. 22. This laſt was publiſhed, but neither of the two former.

proceeds to acquaint his Grace, that he had not then leiſure to ſend him thoſe, which were made by the Indians at Kôbah, and Kandahar, or thoſe others which were made by the Perſians before Yezdegerd's time, and by Yezdegerd, and long after him in Almamon's time, as he found them mentioned by Alhaſhamy an Arabian author. But thoſe of the Chateans, and of Naſſir Eddin, and of Aly Kôſgy, being, as later, ſo exacter, than the former, he ſent them, as follows. The true ſolary year according to the Chateans is $365\frac{2416}{10000}$ days, according to Naſſir Eddin 365 days $14^{I}\ 32^{II}\ 30^{III}$.* According to Haly Kôſgy, who obſerved in the 841ſt year of the Hegira, almoſt 200 years after Naſſir Eddin, 365 days $14^{I}\ 33^{II}\ 32^{III}$, whereas Ptolemy, ſays he, is much more, 365 days $14^{I}\ 48^{II}$. He goes on thus. 'I have finiſhed thoſe lemmata of Archimedes (58), which the Arabians call *nachawdân*. If I be not deceived ſuch as wiſh well to the Mathematics, will think my pains well beſtowed; as indeed it was no ſmall labour to correct the diagrams, and the letters (which were too often perverted in the manuſcript), and ſometimes to ſupply what was defective in the demonſtration itſelf.' He then informs his Grace, that according to his advice he had made a Perſian Lexicon, out of ſuch words as he could meet with in the Evangeliſts, and in the Pſalms, and in two or three Arabian and Perſian Nomenclators. So that he had a ſtock of above 600 words in that language, which he ſuppoſed to be as many as were in the Arabic dictionary of Raphelengius *. Upon that occaſion he expreſſes a greater deſire than ever to go to Leyden, and peruſe their oriental manuſcripts, procured by the expence of the States, to which long ago he had been prompted by his Grace. 'But yet, ſays he, conſidering my lecture in Oxford (though as yet it cannot be read (59)) it will not be fit for me to go without ſpecial leave from our honourable Chancellor, and two or three more of the lords of his Majeſty's privy council. I ſhall therefore deſire your Grace to procure this favour for me in writing, with this caution, that my abſence for a while may be no prejudice to me at home, eſpecially ſince my journey is for the improvement of learning, and *for the publiſhing of ſome of thoſe books, which I long ſince have finiſhed*.' He takes notice then, that he ſhould there have an opportunity of printing his Grace's Map, and of perfecting and publiſhing that diſcourſe of Dr Bainbrigg's concerning the Periodus Sothiaca *; 'And I hope, concludes he, your Grace will think of ſomething elſe, in which I may be ſerviceable to you, and uſeful to the commonwealth of letters. Your Grace cannot ſufficiently command him, whom by your many favours, you have ever made your Grace's moſt obliged ſervant (60).'

(58) They were publiſhed by Samuel Foſter in his Miſcellanies, or Mathematical Lucubrations, Lond. 1659. fol. See an account of the contents of theſe lemmata in Mr Maclaurin's Article.

* Recommended by Erpenius tho' very defective. Vid. *Conſilium Erpenii de Stud. Arab. feliciter inſtituendo*. Pariſ. 1620. 8vo, prope finem.

(59) By reaſon of the civil wars.

* This is a period of 1460 years, and took its beginning from the time that Sirius roſe heliacally, the firſt day of the Egyptian month Thoth. This Star being obſerved to riſe ſix hours later every year, or one day in 4 years, that is, one year in 1460.

(60) He never performed this deſign of going to Leyden, tho' he had it long in his mind, as appears by a letter to Dr Pococke, cited by Ward, p. 145. from the MS. letters of our author, 42 of which are in the Savilian library.

[R] *A method of introducing the New or Gregorian Stile of the year.*] His propoſal was to omit the intercalary day of the leap year for forty years. The ſame method had been propoſed to Pope Gregory, and rejected by him, out of ambition, as Mr Greaves obſerves, to have the honour of doing it at once, and thereby of calling that year 1582 *Annus Gregorianus*; which our author did not doubt might be juſtly ſtiled *Annus Confuſionis*; as the Ancients called that year in which Julius Cæſar corrected the kalendar by a ſubtraction of days after the ſame manner. But we have lately ſeen this method happily carried into execution without any ill conſequence at all; concerning which more will be ſeen in the article of Dr John Wallis.

[S] *Pyramidographia.*] Preſently after it came out ſome animadverſions were written upon it, as appears by a very good mathematician, who, among other overſights, takes notice of a very material one in the meaſure of the height of the firſt pyramid; which was given to be 481 feet. This was corrected afterwards by our author, and the true number $499\frac{262}{1000}$ feet aſſigned, in the letter above cited to Sir Charles Scarborough. But this animadverter, who took the pains to make the calculation juſtly and candidly, obſerves that the overſight in the book, was not in the calculation, (as the paper enough ſhewed) but in the tranſcription (61). However a late animadverter not being able (as appears) to make the calculation himſelf, and knowing nothing of what had paſſed upon it, proves very mathematically the number 481 to be juſt (62).

(61) Miſcellan. Works of our author, ubi ſupra, p. 402.

The ingenious gentleman firſt mentioned, likewiſe obſerves, that the aſpect of the ſides of this pyramid, with regard to the four cardinal points, had been paſſed over too haſtily by our author, and the ſame remark was afterwards made by Dr Hooke (63), who in regard to the inquiry, whether the axis of the earth varies its poſition, writes thus, that it had been very deſirable, if from ſome monuments or records in antiquity ſomewhat could have been diſcovered of certainty and exactneſs (concerning their poſition), that by comparing that or them, with accurate obſervations now made, or to be made, ſomewhat of certainty of information could have been procured. 'Upon this account, continues he, I peruſed Mr Greaves's deſcription of the great pyramid in Egypt, *that being fabled to have been built for* an aſtronomical obſervation, as Mr Greaves alſo takes notice. I peruſed his book, I ſay, hoping I ſhould have found, among many other curious obſervations he there gives us concerning them, ſome obſervations perfectly made, to find whether it ſtands eaſt, weſt, north, and ſouth, or whether it varies from that reſpect of its ſides, to any other part, or quarter of the world; as likewiſe how much and which way they now ſtand. But to my wonder, he being Aſtronomical Profeſſor, I do not find that he had any regard at all to the ſame, but ſeems to be wholly taken up with one inquiry, which was about the meaſure or bigneſs of the whole, and its parts; and the other matters mentioned are only by the bye and accidental. I find indeed that he mentions the ſouth and north ſides thereof, but not as if he had taken any notice, whether they were exactly facing the ſouth or north, which he might eaſily have done.' This being probably ſeen and conſidered by Mr de Chazelles he, to ſatisfy the inquiry, took accurate obſervations in 1694, and found that the four ſides were expoſed exactly to the four quarters of the world. Now ſays Mr Fontanelle (64), as this accurate ſituation was in all probability deſignedly choſen by thoſe, who raiſed that maſs of ſtones above three thouſand years ago, it follows that during this long ſpace of time, there has been no alteration in the heavens in that reſpect, or, what amounts to the ſame, in the poles of the earth, or in the meridians.

(62) See Miſcellaneous Obſervations upon authors, &c. Vol. i. p. 120. Lond. 1731. 8vo.

(63) In his Diſcourſe of Earthquakes, printed in his Poſthumous Works, p. 355. Lond. 1705. fol.

(64) In the Eloge of Mr de Chazelles in his Hiſtoire de renouvellement de l'Academie royale des Sciences, en 1699. &c. Tom. II. p. 57, 58. Amſterd. 1720.

After all, our author's words upon this ſubject clearly ſhew that he had obſerved this matter very accurately, for in deſcribing the external face of the pyramid, having as Mr Hooke remarks, mentioned the north ſide and its eaſt angle, as alſo the ſouth ſide, p. 92, and 102, in the groſs. He proceeds to the inſide, in the deſcription of which he was very accurate in every particular, and not leſs ſo in this. For inſtance, in deſcribing the monument of Cheops, his words are, the poſition of it is thus: *It ſtands exactly in the meridian north and ſouth*, and ſtands as it were equidiſtant from all ſides of the chamber except the eaſt, from whence it is doubly remoter than from the weſt, p. 132. Thus we ſee the words are very expreſs, with regard to the exact poſition of the tomb on the inſide, and the exactneſs expreſſed there, neceſſarily implies that the poſition of the outſide was obſerved with the like accuracy, whence the great aſtronomical queſtion might have been fully anſwered thereby. Inſomuch that it may be well aſked at this time of day, what could occaſion theſe complaints of our author's culpable negligence in this matter, when at leaſt to an attentive reader there ſeems to have been no ſufficient grounds for them. To account for this conduct, it muſt be obſerved that in 1632, Galileo publiſhing his *Dialogues of the ſyſtem of the world* relates, that one Signr Cæſar, an Italian, had lately

foot and Denarius [*T*]. By ſuch works as theſe was our author ſpreading his own fame, and with it that alſo of his country in the republic of letters, when ſeveral accuſations were brought againſt him [*U*] in order to deprive him of his preferments. And tho' he

• weathered

lately obſerved a conſtant though ſlow mutation in the meridians of the earth. This piece of Galilæo being ſeen by Mr Gellibrand, that gentleman took particular notice of the remark therein, concerning the change of the meridians, in a treatiſe intitled *A Diſcourſe mathematical on the variation of the magnetic needle*, publiſhed in 1635, when he was our author's colleague as Aſtronomy Profeſſor at Greſham. So extraordinary a phænomenon muſt needs raiſe the curioſity of the aſtronomers, and as Mr Greaves was particularly well ſkilled in that ſcience, and declares alſo that one deſign in this voyage to the Eaſt undertaken in 1637, was to make improvements in Aſtronomy, it muſt be owned, that his animadverters had ſome room for their cenſure. Indeed otherwiſe it might have been imputed to the known peeviſh temper of Mr Hooke, and to the reſentment of the anonymous author firſt mentioned, as with regard to him is done by Dr Smith, who informs us, in our author's life, p. 13, that Mr Greaves had refuſed him his intereſt for procuring a place, which he ſolli cited in vain. However his remarks in general ſhew him to be a perſon both of good learning and judgment in theſe matters. Which was alſo tacitly at leaſt acknowledged by our author, who upon ſight of his objections applied himſelf with the utmoſt care to the reviſal of his book. Yet we do not find him thereby convinced that there was ſufficient reaſon for making any alteration in the particular now under conſideration. Mr Hooke has remarked what he ſuppoſes another defect in the Pyramidographia, which is that the exact latitude of the pyramids is omitted. But he does not tell us what uſe might be made thereof, and probably Mr Greaves might upon that account not think of it, and the rather as he intirely condemns the opinion that theſe ſtructures were raiſed with any view to Aſtronomy. Indeed what was the firſt deſign of their founders is not yet agreed. Nay Dr Shaw juſtly obſerves, there is hardly any ſubject about which both ancient and modern authors have differed more in their accounts than in this of the pyramids. That gentleman, who is the laſt writer that has given us obſervations upon them, differs from the common opinion of their being deſigned for ſepulchres of the Egyptian kings, as Mr Greaves thought; and imagines they were rather ſacred edifices built for religious worſhip, and dedicated to the ſun, the form of them being emblematical of fire (65). As to which, Mr Greaves alſo from the ſame emblematical form infers, that they were intended by the builders to repreſent ſome of their gods, p. 86. and that they were uſed for religious purpoſes; and particularly ſuppoſes the cells, which are cut in the rock on the north and weſt ſide of the ſecond pyramid, to be deſigned for the lodgings of the prieſts, p. 141, 142. Indeed the Doctor imagines, the ſquare cheſt of granate marble in the center of the great pyramid, to be intended for keeping the images of their deites, or for the ſacred veſtments or utenſils, or for a ciſtern to hold holy water, and not for the tomb of Cheops, as our author maintains. However the Doctor allows, that Cheops and other kings might be buried in the precincts of the pyramids, this being no more than what was practiſed in other temples; and only contends that their principal uſe and deſign was to be objects of worſhip and devotion (66). So that upon the whole he agrees with our author as to their double uſe, differing only in the nicety, which of the two was principally in the founders intention.

(65) Travels and Obſervations, &c. p. 411.

(66) Ibid. p. 418, 419, 420.

[*T*] *His diſcourſe of the Roman foot and Denarius.*] The diſtinguiſhed merit of this performance has been felt by all ſubſequent writers upon the ſubject. Dr Edw. Bernard, treating *De menſuris & ponderibus Antiquorum*, highly extols it, and ſays in his MS. lectures (67) it is *Aureus, imo ſupra aurum omne & metallorum lucem pretioſus, luculentus.* Bp Cumberland in his *Eſſay towards the recovery of the Jewiſh meaſures and weights, comprehending their monies*, obſerves (68), that our author, in his book of the Roman foot, hath given us the Egyptian derah, or cubit, accurately adjuſted to the 1000th part of our Engliſh ſtandard, tho' he did not ſee indeed what uſe Mr Greaves intended to make of it. He proceeds to take notice that the Jewiſh cubit had not been ſtated by our author, only that in the dedication he intimates it to be inveſtigable by the help of the Roman foot, how he thence could have deduced it, ſays the Biſhop, I know not, but heartily wiſh that Mr Greaves had lived to finiſh the work he intended, about the meaſures and weights of the Ancients. Dr George Hooper, Biſhop of Bath and Wells, in his *Inquiry into the ſtate of the ancient meaſures*, &c. ſtiles him an accurate author, and ſpeaks of the known ſkill and accuracy of that obſerver, and taking notice of an intention of Mr Greaves to proſecute the ſubject of the Dirhems and Deinars of the Arabians, beſides what he had done in his diſcourſe of the Roman foot, he concludes thus, '*it is great pity, for many reaſons, that* '*the accurate judgment and exquiſite learning, with* '*which he was furniſhed, met with thoſe unhappy times,* '*in which an honeſt man was not only diſcouraged, but* '*diſabled from the proſecution of ſuch ſtudies* (69).' Dr John Arbuthnot (70) reckons Mr Greaves a claſſical author on the ſubject of the Roman weights and meaſures. And Dr Ward frequently mentioned in theſe notes, in a ſmall piece intitled *De Aſſe & partibus ejus commentarius* (71), ſpeaks very highly in praiſe of the Diſcourſe of our author. Laſtly, Sir Iſaac Newton having referred to Mr Greaves, as eſpecially to be conſulted on the Roman and Greek cubits (72), makes the following uſe of the Egyptian derah as ſettled by Mr Greaves, which deſerves the more attention, ſince Biſhop Cumberland could not ſee what uſe Mr Greaves intended to make of it. That incomparable author having found the ancient cubit of Memphis (as is already mentioned) to be 1 $\frac{7}{1000}$ of the Engliſh foot, and ſeeing the Egyptian cubit uſed in the time of Mr Greaves to be 1 $\frac{824}{1000}$, proceeds thus: 'This cubit approaches nearer to the ancient cubit of Memphis, than to the leſſer cubits of the Greeks, Romans, and Arabians, who reigned in Egypt, and therefore it ſeems to be derived from that of Memphis: but it is greater than that And what wonder is it, that a meaſure ſhould be ſomewhat increaſed in the ſpace of above 3000 years. The meaſures of feet and cubits now, far exceed the proportion of human members, and yet Mr Greaves ſhews, from the Egyptian monuments, that the human ſtature was the ſame above 3000 years ago, as it is now. The meaſures therefore are increaſed, the reaſons of which may be aſſigned. The inſtruments which uſed to be preſerved as ſtandards of meaſures, by contracting ruſt are increaſed. Iron beaten by the hammer may inſenſibly relax in a long ſpace of time. Artificers likewiſe, in making inſtruments chuſe to err in the exceſs of the materials, and when by filing they attain any meaſure, which they think ſufficient, they ſtop, knowing that they can ſoon correct that little exceſs by filing, if their maſters ſhould complain of it, but that they cannot remedy a defect. Let us ſuppoſe therefore, that all meaſures have increaſed by degrees, eſpecially in the firſt ages, when leſs care was taken of them; and the cubit of Memphis about the time of the Roman empire will be a mean between the ancient and the modern cubit, but will approach nearer to the modern. The ancient cubit was 1 $\frac{7}{1000}$ of the Engliſh foot, and the modern is 1 $\frac{824}{1000}$ of the Engliſh foot. The mean therefore between them will be about 1 $\frac{787}{1000}$ or 1 $\frac{79}{100}$ of a foot. Now 10000 of ſuch mean or middle cubits make, as they ought, about 30 Attic ſtadia (73).' To conclude; this peice of our author is dedicated to Mr Selden in the following addreſs, 'To his 'truly noble and learned friend John Selden, Eſq; Burgeſs of the Univerſity of Oxford, in the honourable 'Houſe of Commons.' This gentleman was very ſerviceable to Mr Greaves in the proſecution againſt him by that houſe, at whoſe bar his cauſe was heard this year, as is ſeen in the next remark.

(67) Smith, Vita J. Gr. p. 37.

(68) P. 7. Lond. 1686, 8vo.

(69) Part i. p. 24, and part ii. p. 45, edit. 1721, 8vo. and part iii. p. 90. and 115.

(70) Tables of ancient coins, weights, and meaſures, &c. p. 15. Lond. 1727, 4to.

(71) Publiſhed in Ainſworth's *Monumenta vetuſtatis Kemptiana*, &c.

(72) In a note to p. 1. of his Diſſertation, &c. ubi ſupra.

(73) Ibid. p. 417, 418.

[*U*] *Several accuſations were brought againſt him.*] We have already related the beginning of his troubles, occaſioned by the unhappy ſtate of the times, in being ejected from his lecture at Greſham, upon ſucceeding

weathered this firſt ſtorm, yet his reſpite was but ſhort; however he made uſe of that time in publiſhing the following peice, *Johannis Bainbrigii Canicularia* [*W*], to which he added *Demonſtratio ortus Syrii heliaci pro parallelo Inferioris Ægypti*, and alſo *Inſigniorum aliquot ſtellarum longitudines & latitudines ex aſtronomicis obſervationibus Ulug Beigi Tamerlanis magni nepotis. Oxoniæ* 1648, 8vo. A freſh charge was dreſſed up againſt him that year by the parliamentary viſitors [*X*], to which he thought proper to put in no anſwer, and thereby incurred the loſs of his profeſſorſhip, being ejected (*t*) the 9th of October; and he was obliged to quit both his fellowſhip in Merton College, and likewiſe the univerſity on the 9th of November following (*u*). The King's death was a great ſhock to him (*w*); but as he had the happineſs of being endued with an excellent firmneſs of mind, he bore up againſt his own injuries with admirable fortitude, and having provided a very worthy perſon to ſucceed him [*Y*] in the profeſſorſhip, he retired to London, where he married, and

(t) At this time his cheſt was broke open by the ſoldiers, and his papers and MSS. taken away, part of which were loſt, and the reſt recovered by the intereſt of Mr Selden. Smith, pp 33.

(u) Wood's Hiſt. and Antiq. of Oxford, lib. ii. p. 42.

(w) He laments it to Dr Pococke in the moſt mournful terms. O my good friend, ſays he, my good friend, never was there ſorrow like our ſorrow.—Excuſe me now, if I am not able to write to you, and to anſwer your queſtions. O Lord God, avert this great ſin, and thy judgments from this nation. See more of this letter in Pococke's Life, by Twells, who obſerves, that the many blots and blurs in it, plainly ſhew it to be written in tears.

ceeding Dr Bainbridge in the Savilian profeſſorſhip at Oxford. His executorſhip to that Doctor, or his widow, ſoon brought him into freſh troubles, and he was ſo much involved in law-ſuits on that account, as to be hindered thereby from going to Leyden a ſecond time as he deſigned (74); to this effect writing to Dr Pococke, October 28, 1646. 'My journey, ſays he, ſtill holds, tho' re-'tarded by my loſſes, and by Sir N. (75), who hath 'put me to play an after-game with the three brothers 'by giving them the adminiſtration. And why; be-'cauſe Mrs Bainbridge died inteſtate, ſo that I have 'ſaved the eſtate to very good purpoſe (76);' how much he ſuffered by this law-ſuit further appears in part, from the following atteſtation, though made on another occaſion *, of his brother Mr Thomas Greaves. 'I Thomas Greaves do likewiſe teſtify, and will be 'ready to depoſe, that the ſaid Mr John Greaves left 'Oxford, and lived privately in the country, of pur-'poſe to avoid the delivering up of ſuch bonds, and 'other things of Mrs Bainbridge, deceaſed, which 'were in his cuſtody as executor, unto the commiſſio-'ners at Oxford (77);' theſe commiſſioners of the parliament, it ſeems, ſent ſeveral charges againſt him to the committee of the Houſe of Commons, by whom our author however, probably by the intereſt of Mr Selden, who was one of that committee, was cleared. As appears from a letter to his friend, and fellow-ſufferer Mr Pococke, dated March the 25th 1647, 'I thank 'God I am thus far proceeded in my troubles, that 'by the committee of Lords and Commons, I am pro-'nounced innocent, to the ſhame of my accuſers if 'they had any. And now I am attending upon the 'court of Aldermen, and the committee at Cambden 'houſe for reſtitution;' and in another letter to the ſame gentleman, dated May 17, 1648, he expreſſes himſelf in theſe terms. 'I am now going into Kent 'to my good friend Mr Marſham, not far from Ro-'cheſter, who hath been very importunate, admitting 'of no excuſe, that I muſt make his houſe and library, 'who hath a fair one, mine own. It will be this 'fortnight e'er I return, and it may be ſhall after-'wards live with him, if I ſee at my coming to Ox-'ford the ſame confuſion which I hear, and which is 'likely in probability to continue (78).

(74) See Remark [Q].

(75) Sir Nathaniel Brent.

(76) See the MSS. letters of our author to Mr Pococke, *ubi ſupra*.

* Mentioned in remark [X].

(77) Ibid.

(78) Ibid.

[*W*] *Bainbridge's Canicularia*, &c.] The Canicularia is a treatiſe concerning the natural year of the Egyptians, ſo called becauſe it commenced from the heliacal riſing of Sirius, or the Dog-ſtar, firſt diſcovered according to Proclus, *(in his commentaries upon Timæus*, lib. i.) from the flat top of the great pyramid, or near that place; and from this year was alſo derived their *Periodus Sothiaca*, called therefore *annus magnus κυνικὸς*, conſiſting of 1460 ſidereal years; in which period their *Thoth vagum & fixum*, came to have the ſame beginning. Dr Bainbridge had began to make ſome collections from the Greek and Latin authors, with remarks upon the ſuppoſed unhealthineſs and unluckineſs of the Dog-days; to theſe many more were added by Mr Greaves, who alſo gave a demonſtration of the heliacal riſing of Sirius, for the parallel of Lower Egypt, which was left untouched by the author, notwithſtanding the whole piece was built upon that phænomenon; the work was firſt undertaken by Dr Bainbridge, at the requeſt of Archbiſhop Uſher, and completed alſo at his inſtance by Mr Greaves, and he dedicated it to Dr (afterwards Sir George) Ent, and Preſident alſo of the College of Phyſicians, with whom (as is here intimated) he commenced an acquaintance at Padua; and this Gentleman gave many proofs of his ſincere friendſhip both to our author and Dr Pococke in theſe times, when they ſtood moſt in need of it.

[*X*] *Ejected by the parliamentary viſitors.*] The articles exhibited againſt him were, 1. *That he betrayed the College, in diſcovering to the King's agents four hundred pounds in the treaſury, which thereupon was taken away for the King's uſe.* 2. *That contrary to his oath he conveyed away a conſiderable part of the College goods without the conſent of the company, and thereby gratified courtiers with them in other houſes.* 3. *That he feaſted the Queen's confeſſors, and ſent diverſe preſents to them, among which was a holy throne; and that he was more familiar with them than any true Proteſtants uſed to be.* 4. *That he was the occaſion of ejecting Sir Nathaniel Brent from his Wardenſhip, for adhering to the Parliament, and bringing in Dr Harvey* (79) *into his place.* 5. *That he was the occaſion why Mr Edward Corbet and Mr Ralph Button were turned out of their reſpective offices and chambers in the College, becauſe they abode in the Parliament's quarters.* 6. *That he gave leave to Father Phillips, the Queen's Confeſſor, and Wyat* (80), *one of her Chaplains, to come into the College library to ſtudy there; and that he put Mr John French, a Fellow, out of his chamber in Merton College, and put them into it*, &c. Our author refuſed to anſwer theſe articles, which occaſioned his ejectment (81). There is ſtill extant the following atteſtation of his brother, above-mentioned, relating to this affair. 'I Thomas 'Greaves do teſtify, and it will be depoſed, that Mr 'John Greaves, Fellow of Merton College, when the 'plate of the ſaid College was demanded by the 'King, kept himſelf private in his chamber for many 'days, that he might not be preſent, nor give his 'conſent; neither did hee go abroad, till hee had 'heard that the plate was already delivered.' Mr John Greaves, in a note upon this obſerves, that he had kept his chamber three weeks together at that time, under pretence of taking phyſic (82). However, it will be hardly doubted, that he tacitly gave his conſent thereto; and the article relating to Dr Harvey ſeems not to be groundleſs, for that he had a quarrel with Sir N. Brent, appears from what is ſaid in remark [*U*], and his friendſhip for Dr Harvey * is ſeen in the poſtſcript of a letter above cited to Archbiſhop Uſher, which is dated September 19, 1644; where he writes thus: 'If I may ſerve Dr Hervey, I 'ſhall be moſt ready, either here or at Leyden to do 'it.' Sir Nathaniel Brent was ejected in 1645, and Dr Hervey appointed to ſucceed him, but the former was reſtored the year following.

(79) The Phyſician who diſcovered the circulation of the blood.

(80) Veat a Frenchman.

(81) Wood's Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 157.

(82) MS. papers of our author in the Savilian Library.

* Dr Birch has given a remarkable conference upon a phyſical ſubject between our author and this eminent Phyſician. See a note at the end of Pyramidogr. in Miſcell. Vol. I.

[*Y*] *Having provided a proper perſon to ſucceed him.*] Dr Walter Pope informs us, that conſidering the violent carriage of the Viſitors, Mr Greaves ſaw it would be of no ſervice to him to make any defence; and that finding it was impoſſible for him to keep his ground †, he made it his buſineſs to procure an able and worthy perſon to ſucceed him. For which purpoſe he went to London, and among others adviſed with Dr Scarborough about it, *who had then very great practice and lived magnificently, his table being always acceſſible to all learned men, and particularly to the diſtreſſed Royaliſts, and above all to ſcholars ejected out of either of the Univerſities for adhering to the King's cauſe.* After mature conſultation it was agreed upon, by a general conſent, that no perſon was ſo proper and fit for that employment as Mr Seth Ward. Mr Greaves, who had heard much of Mr Ward,

† After the decree of the Viſitors, he ſeems to have tried his intereſt in the Committee, where it hung in ſuſpence for ſome months. For in a letter to Dr Pococke, dated Aug. 1649, he complains, as of a freſh grievance, that the Committee had voted him out of his Lecture. Life of Dr Pococke, p. 21.

and living upon his patrimony, went on as before in employing the preſs. In this reſolution he publiſhed *Binæ tabulæ geographicæ, una Naſſir Eddini Perſæ, altera Ulug Beigi Tatari, commentariis ex Abulfeda aliiſque Arabum Geographis illuſtratæ*, Lond. 1648. 4to (*x*). As alſo *Elementa Linguæ Perſicæ*, Lond. 1649 4to, to which he ſubjoined *Anonymus Perſa de ſiglis Arabum & Perſarum aſtronomicis*, Lond. 1648, 4to [*Z*]. At the ſame time he was engaged in preparing a Turkiſh dictionary (*y*). In 1650 came out in 4to his *Epochæ celebriores, aſtronomicis, hiſtoricis, chronologis, Chataiorum, Syrogræcorum, Arabum, Perſarum, Choraſmiorum uſitatæ, ex traditione Ulug Beigi, Arabice & Latine, cum commentariis* * [*AA*]. As alſo the ſame year

(*x*) Theſe he reprinted in 1652. See an account of them in Remark [C C.]

* This is dedicated to the Rep. of Venice, to whom he addreſſed a compliment in elegant Latin verſe.

(*y*) Birch's Life of our author, p. 34, was in concert with Mr Will. Seaman, author of a Turkiſh grammar; but this dictionary was never finiſhed. See more of it in Dr Pococke's Article.

Ward, though he had no acquaintance with him, readily agreed, and undertook to find out Mr Ward, and make him the profer. In that deſign he returned to Oxford, whither Mr Ward knowing nothing of what had been concerted in his behalf, happened to come ſoon after, either to conſult ſome books in the public library, or to viſit his friends and acquaintance, as he frequently uſed to do (83). Entring the Bear Inn, he luckily meets Mr Greaves coming out, who, finding this was the man he wanted, immediately ſaluted him expreſſing his great joy at this fortunate rencounter, after which, taking him aſide, he imparted his buſineſs in the deſign of having him for his ſucceſſor, urging him with great importunity thereto: 'I remember, continues this author, I heard the Biſhop ſay, that among other arguments Mr Greaves told him, if you refuſe it, they will give it to ſome cobler of their party, who never heard of the name of Euclid, or the mathematicks, and yet will greedily ſnap at it for the ſalary's ſake.' This unexpected addreſs threw Mr Ward's modeſty into ſome confuſion at firſt. But after a while, returning many thanks for ſo extraordinary a favour, he objected the difficulty of effecting it, alledging that he had no room to expect he ſhould be ſuffered to enjoy a public Profeſſor's place quietly in Oxford, when it was notoriouſly known, that he was turned out of Cambridge for refuſing the Covenant; Mr Greaves replied, that he and his friends had conſidered that obſtacle, and found out a way to remove it; and it was effectually removed a little while after by means of Sir John Trevor, who though of the Parliament party, was a great lover of learning, and very obliging to ſeveral ſcholars, who had been turned out of the two Univerſities; and by his intereſt Mr Ward obtained the Profeſſor's chair, and kept his ſeat therein without taking the Covenant or Engagement. Being thus ſettled in the Profeſſor's chair, *he procured for Mr Greaves the full arrears of his ſalary, amounting to five hundred pounds; for part, if not all the land allotted to pay the Savilian Profeſſors lies in Kent, which county was in the power of the Parliament, who withheld the money* (84).

(83) He reſided at Tame Park in that county, the Seat of Lord Wenman, who had invited him to his houſe. See his article.

(84) Dr Pope's Life of Seth Ward Biſhop of Saliſbury, p. 18, 19, 20, 21. Lond. 1697, 8vo.

[*Z*] *Elementa Linguæ Perſicæ*, &c.] The firſt of theſe pieces is dedicated to Mr Selden, being firſt drawn up at his requeſt, and approved by him; Dr Smith tells us, [p. 16.] it was written before our author's travels (into the Eaſt), and the ſame is intimated in the dedication, but could not then be printed for want of types. The tract ſubjoined is addreſſed to his friend Monſieur Hardy, to whom he gives his motive for publiſhing it, viz. that though many perſons had written of the Siglæ of the Jews, which occur every where among the Rabbins, yet no account had been publiſhed by any author of thoſe uſed by the Perſians and Arabians, eſpecially in their aſtronomical tables; that having met at Conſtantinople with this anonymous Perſian writer, who explains that ſubject with great clearneſs and accuracy, he thought it not unfit to be joined to his *Elementa Linguæ Perſicæ*, which he had begun at Paris at the inſtance of Monſieur Hardy.

* Having taken notice of the *embolifmus*, or Leap year, of the Arabians, and how it differs from the Chriſtian, both which he had marked with a *lineola*, he concludes thus: *De embolifmo Perſuo & Gelalæo vide ſis commentarios noſtros in Ulug Beigium.*

(85) Ubi ſupra, p. 30. Yet he thought it was probible they were written.

[*AA*] *Epochæ celebriores*, &c.] Theſe epochæ are of ſingular ſervice in correcting a vaſt number of errors in our books of chronology, and for the better underſtanding of them they are reduced by our author to the Julian period, and the vulgar Dionyſian æra of Chriſt; he has likewiſe added a praxis of the tables, with proper lemmata and examples. But the commentaries mentioned in the title were not printed with the book, though they are again referred to at the end of it *. Yet Dr Smith after a very diligent enquiry was never able to find them (85). With regard to the piece annexed *Choraſmiæ,—deſcriptio ex tabulis Abulfedæ*. In the preface having taken notice how much the tables of Abulfeda had been [illegible] by the learned, and mentioned Ramuſius as the firſt who cited them, and ſhewed the uſe of them; he proceeds in obſerving, that many paſſages in them relating to Aſia had been corrected by Caſtaldus an eminent Geographer, who had undertaken the deſcription of that part of the world, and upon whoſe authority the tables are frequently mentioned by Ortelius in his *Theſaurus Geographicus* Speaking of the method of theſe tables he writes, that the firſt meridian was drawn through the Fortunate Iſlands by Ptolomy and his followers, the Greeks and Latins, and that the ancient Arabians followed the Greeks in that point: But that Abulfeda, with ſome others, computed the longitude from the meridian paſſing the extreme promontory which runs out into the Atlantic Ocean. Hence, continues he, the reaſon is plain why in ſome of the aſtronomical tables, and geographical charts of the Arabians, Alexandria in Egypt is placed in 51° longitude, in others in 61°; the former computing from the ſhore of the Atlantic Ocean, the latter from the Fortunate Iſlands. But the Indian Geographers and Aſtronomers have a quite different method of computing the longitude, drawing the firſt meridian in the Eaſt through Concador, whereas the Greeks and Latins, as alſo the Perſians, Arabians, and others, fix it in the Weſt, which appears from an inſtitution of aſtronomy wrote by Ali Koſhgi, an eminent Perſian aſtronomer. In fixing the climates, Abulfeda takes a very different method from the common one; beſides the ſeven climates of the ancient Greeks, followed herein by the Arabians and Perſians as being real, and κατὰ θεσιν, depending on the length of the days, he aſſigns twenty eight others καθ' ὑποθεσιν, diſtinguiſhing in his tables between *clima verum* and *clima cognitum*; by this latter he means any country or kingdom, which contains ſeveral provinces or tracts of land, as Syria, al Erak, and other countries: ſometimes *clima cognitum* is part of one true climate, ſometimes of two; as Syria is partly in the third, and partly in the fourth climate; ſometimes *clima cognitum* contains part of ſeven climates, as it is reported of China, the longitude of which is ſaid to exceed the latitude. The reaſon why Abulfeda reckons Arabia, or as he calls it, the peninſula of Arabia, the firſt climate was, on account of the temple of God, and Mahomet's ſepulchre ſeated there. In proceeding, Mr Greaves explains Abulfeda's method in meaſuring the diſtances of places in theſe maps. He tells us, that he had collated theſe tables with five MSS. one of which belonged to Erpenius, and was tranſcribed from a MS. in the library of the Elector of Palatine; another, which was the very MS. from which Erpenius's copy was taken, and removed to the Vatican library; two others, in Mr Edward Pococke's library, and the fifth bought by himſelf at Conſtantinople; by the help of theſe a great number of errors in each of the tables are corrected, but not the leaſt alteration made without the authority of the major part of the MSS. except the caſe evidently required it. Mr Greaves calls this work *Majoris operis ſpecimen*, and then taking notice of the ſeveral attempts formerly made for preparing an intire edition of that author (86), he ſays, *Quod itaque à tantis viris ſuſceptum & à doctis hodie fere omnibus efflagitatum tandem, favente Deo optimo maximo, in hoc nunquam ſatis deploranda patriæ meæ calamitate, in maximo fortunarum naufragio, ſummaque animi inquietudine conſummatum eſt.* From this paſſage Dr Smith concludes, that our author had wrote and prepared for the preſs, what he calls *Verſio integra tabularum geographicarum Abulfedæ*, though he

(86) Viz. by Erpenius and Schickard. After Mr Greaves the ſame was attempted by S. Clerk, and W. Guiſe at Oxford, and as is ſaid by Mr Thevenot in France, and again at Oxford by Mr Gagnier in 1723; but they were all prevented by death or ſome other accident from executing their deſign. Smith. p. 31. Renaudot's Præf. to his Accounts of India and China, p. 12, 13, and Gagnier's Præf. ad Abulfed. de vit. &c. Mohammed, p. x.

year the following peice. *Chorasmiæ & Mawaralnahræ hoc est regionum extra fluvium Oxum descriptio ex tabulis Abulfædæ Ismaelis principis Hamah*, 4to. And another in English intituled *A description of the grand Seignior's Seraglio or Turkish Emperour's court*, 8vo*. In 1652 he published a piece with this title, *Astronomica quædam ex traditione Shah Cholgii Persæ, una cum hypothesibus Planetarum: item excerpta quædam ex Alfergani elementis astronomicis, & Ali Kushigii de terræ magnitudine & sphærarum cælestium a terra distantiis cum interpretatione Latina* [*B B*] 4to. To this he added the *Binæ Tabulæ geographicæ, &c.* [*C C*] above mentioned.

* Our author did not know that this piece of Mr R. Withers had been printed before in Purchas's Pilgrims, part ii. lib. 9. c. 15.

he had neither seen it nor knew where it was. But that Mr Greaves had some years before collated several copies of Abulfeda with that view, appears from a letter to Mr Pococke, dated October 28, 1646, which begins thus, 'I humbly thank you for these 'happy solutions, and conjectures of your's, concern- 'ing my doubts in Abulfeda, most of which I find to 'agree with Erpenius's copy, and therefore I have 'since taken so much pains as to compare your's and 'Erpenius's manuscripts, and have writ the variæ 'lectiones into your's, with black lead:' and having told the manner in which he had done it, so as not to hurt but improve the manuscript, he proceeds thus, 'I desire you, with your own, to take my Abulfeda, 'as a small gift, if these times should hinder me from 'perfecting what I have designed. Though to speak 'the truth, those maps which shall be made out of 'Abulfeda, will not be so exact as I did expect, as I 'have found by comparing some of them with our 'modern and best charts In his description of the 'Red Sea, which was not far from him, he is most 'grossly mistaken; What may we then think of 'places remoter? however, there may be good use of 'the book for the Arabian writers*. I have also 'compared Ptolemy's Geography, of Bertius's edi- 'tion, with a fair Greek manuscript of your friend's, 'whereby I speak it confidently, two thousand errors 'may be corrected in the Greek edition; and I now 'find that to be true, which Holstenius long since told 'me, that Bertius had done nothing worthy of com- 'mendations in that fair and costly edition of Pto- 'lemy; whereas I find Mercator's conjectures often 'very happily to agree with the manuscript.' In this preface Mr Greaves confounds Abulfeda, the author of the Geography, with another person of the same name, concerning which mistake see Dr Pococke's article.

* Mr Renaudot observes, that Abulfeda's geography is of little or no use, in settling the geography of the eastern countries, by reason of the uncertainty, he leaves position of places in a midst a great number of different accounts. But Mr Gagnier remarks, that, by comparing these various accounts with modern observations, the true situation of places would be better adjusted. See the last cited pieces of these two authors.

[*BB*] *Astronomica quædam ex traditione Shah Cholgii Persæ, &c.*] In the preface our author gives a short history of the rise and progress of Astronomy among the Arabians, by which we find, that very near 400 years before the publication of this book, Gerardus Cremonensis, a person excellently skilled in the Arabic language, though not so well versed in astronomy, published theories of the planets. His errors, which had been universally received and adopted by the ignorant professors of the Sciences, were refuted first by Regiomontanus (87); whose master, George Purback (88), an eminent Astronomer, having a little before wrote his book *de Theoriis Planetarum*, had therein facilitated the reading of Ptolemy, and the ancient Astronomers (*a*). And he is the first, after the restoration of learning in Europe, who wrote a short introduction into the more abstruse parts of the Science. After him there appeared several Elements of the Science, and Commentaries upon Ptolemy; of whom the most eminent are Erasmus Rheinbold, and Michael Mæstlin; this last being frequently recommended by Tycho Brahe. These authors having made use of a great number of barbarous terms, unknown to the Latin language, which had grown into the writings of Astronomers from the publication of the Castilian tables, Mr Greaves thought it would be no unacceptable present to the Republic of Letters to trace these exotic words to their original; in that design he fixed upon this short tract taken from the Commentaries of Mahmud Shah Cholgi. The words here explained are Juzahar, Zenith, Nadir, Buth, with a prodigious variety of others, either taken from the Arabians, or formed in imitation of them (89). And as all the books of Science, especially Physic and Mathematics, came to Europe out of the Arabian schools, from the time of Al Mammon, by whose direction the Greek writers were first translated into Arabic at Babylon; so by this piece of Shah Cholgi, the reader will find, that the celestial hypotheses of the Persians and Arabians are exactly conformable to those of Ptolemy, and have them succinctly and clearly explained and adapted to the motions of the planets, from the accurate observations of Nassir Eddin in the city of Maraga. Besides, the studious in the Oriental tongues must be pleased to see a book published in the genuine Persian language; since what had been before published in that tongue were full of barbarisms and improprieties (90). This Shah Cholgi flourished in the year 866 of the Hegira, and 1461 of the Christian æra, when he composed his Commentaries, (of which the present tract is a part) dedicated by Nassir Eddin to Ilechan Tatar: and though it is not known whether he wrote any thing else, yet Mr Greaves observes, that these alone are sufficient to correct a great many errors in astronomy; and to confute diverse assertions in chronology received upon the authority of Joseph Scaliger; and to explain a variety of things in the Arabian writers, especially the Mathematicians. In the dedication to John Marsham, Esq; (afterwards Sir John Marsham) Mr Greaves remarks, that it was at his sollicitations that Mr Marsham was prevailed with to publish his Diatriba Chronologica, printed at London, 1649, 4to.

(90) Particularly the Pentateuch by Tawush the Jew, and Xavier's Historia Christi & Petri, published by Ludovicus de Dieu, at Leyden in 1639.

[*CC*] *Binæ tabulæ, &c.*] Nassir Eddin, the author of the first of these tables, flourished about the 660 year of the Hegira, and was an eminent Persian Mathematician and Astronomer, greatly commended by Gregory Abu'l Faragius. Historians relate, that presenting a book he had wrote to Mostaasem, the last Kalif of Babylon, who treated it with contempt, he was so exasperated, that he went to Holac Chân, prince of the Tartars, and perswaded him to make war upon Mostaasem, whose army was defeated and himself with his four sons slain by Holac Chân after the taking of Babylon. By this event, the empire and name of the Abbassidæ, which had flourished about 500 years in Asia, were entirely extinguished. It is probable, that Nassir Eddin was advanced to great honours by Holac, and had a considerable share in his friendship; and under his patronage formed the Astronomical tables which he stiled the Ilechan Tables, from Ilechan king of the Tartars [or Tatars], by the assistance of the best mathematicians in the city of Maraga. Mahmud Shah Cholgi prefers these tables to all others, and Mr Greaves remarks, that if they had been known to the Europeans in the preceding ages, those monstrous hypotheses of an eighth heaven, long before introduced by Thebet Ebn Corah, would have been exploded. Mr Greaves therefore extracted this table out of his collection, which he thought would be of great use in illustrating the Geography of the remotest parts of Asia, most of which Nassir Eddin had seen, and travelled over, and given an accurate account of the rest from the writings of the Indians and Arabians*. Ulug Beig, king of Parthia and India, and grandson of Timurlan the Great, was the author of the other tables. Residing at Samarkand his metropolis, he exercised himself in the study of Mathematics and Astronomy; and having sent from all parts for Astronomers, (the principal of whom were Giyath Eddin Iamshud, and Ali Kushgi, author of a celebrated book in the elements of Arithmetic and Astronomy) and furnished them with instruments, he observed,

* Mr Greaves mentions several eminent Arabian Geographers besides Abulfeda, and the authors (which are about 30) cited by him. See the Article PRIDEAUX [HUMPHRY]

(87) He was born June 6, 1436, and died July 6, 1476, Gassend. in ejus vita, p. 67, 92. Paris. 1654, 4to.

(88) He was born May 30, 1423, and died April 7, 1461. Ibid. in ejus vita, p. 58, 74.

(89) This was afterwards made use of by Dr Wallis in his history of Algebra.

(*a*) This was done long before by Ptolemy himself in his old age (not to mention a great number of Arabian and Persian writers after him, as Albattani, Alfergan, Costa Ebn Luka, Nassir Eddin, and Kushgi). For Ptolemy having finished his Μεγάλη Σύνταξις, subjoined to it his treatise, περὶ ὑποθέσεων πλανωμένων, of the hypothesis of the planets, with a view either to refresh his own memory, or to assist youth. But this piece continued in obscurity, scarce known to the Greeks, much less to the Latins, till Dr John Bainbridge published it with *Proclus's Sphæra*, at London, 1620, 4to.

mentioned. He had prepared ſeveral other works for the preſs[*D D*], and was meditating more [*E E*] at this time. But theſe and many other valuable pieces, which might have been expected from him, the public has loſt by his death, which happened October 8, (*z*) 1652. His body was interred in the church of St Bennet Sherehog in London (*a a*). He had made his will the year before, wherein, bequeathing his eſtate to his wife for her life (*b b*), he left his cabinet of coins to Sir John Marſham (*c c*) author of the Canon Chronicus, and appointed the eldeſt of his three younger brothers Dr Nicolas Greaves [*F F*] his executor, who

(*z*) Smith's Obituary in Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. lib. xiv. p. 25.

(*a a*) Wood's Ath. Ox. col. 58.

(*b b*) Smith Vita Grav. p. 34.

(*c c*) See our author's life prefixed to Miſcellanies, p. 58.

ſerved, in company with them, the phænomena of the heavens with the utmoſt accuracy, and from thence formed his tables (which are famed over the whole Eaſt) in the year 841 of the Hegira, and 1437 of the Chriſtian æra. Among theſe, according to the cuſtom of Aſtronomers, is ranked the Geographical Table here publiſhed by Mr Greaves; who tells us, that he was informed by ſome Turkiſh Aſtronomers of no mean parts and ſkill at Conſtantinople, upon remarking the agreement between the obſervations of Tycho Brahe and thoſe of Ulug Beig, that the latter, beſides his other moſt exact inſtruments, had procured a quadrant, the radius of which in length equalled the height of the dome of St Sophia: this account the Turks had from Perſians of credit. Mr Greaves leaves the reader to believe as much of this ſtory as he pleaſes; but obſerves, that very large inſtruments were abſolutely neceſſary to take the height of the Pole, ſo accurately as he had done at Samarkand, (where Ulug Beig reigned, according to Emir Cond, above forty years) for he makes it to be 39°. 37′. 23″. from whence we may conclude his great accuracy in the reſt of his obſervations. Notwithſtanding this, a manuſcript of our author, entitled Chorographical Maps, from the Tables of Naſſir Eddin, Abulfeda, and Ulug Beig, coming after his death into the hands of Dr Smith (91), that gentleman did not think proper to print it, by reaſon he found the maps not ſo correct as ſome which had been made in later times. The Commentaries mentioned in the title of Binæ Tabulæ, &c. were never printed, and Dr Ward thinks they were never written, from a paſſage in one of our author's letters to Mr Pococke, where he ſays, 'The book I ſend you ſhould 'have been with you long ſince, but by reaſon of my 'many diverſions and law-ſuits, I have not as yet di-'ſtributed the copies, nor added the Commentary I 'intended.' Though there is no date to this letter, yet, by the mention of his law-ſuits, Dr Ward ſuppoſes theſe two Geographical Tables muſt be meant, which were firſt printed at the time he was in theſe troubles (92).

(91) Vita John. Grav. p. 31.

(92) Lives of the Greſham Profeſſors, p. 147.

[*D D*] *Prepared ſeveral other works for the preſs.*] Several of theſe have been ſince printed. As (1) In the Philoſophical Tranſactions. *The manner of hatching chickens at Cairo.* No 137. *An Account of ſome experiments for trying the force of great guns made at Woolwich.* March 18, 1651. No 173. *An Account of the latitude of Conſtantinople and Rhodes.* No 178. Afterwards reprinted in Mr Ray's Collection of Travels, 1693. Fol. (2) *Binarum Tabularum Verſio à Georgio Chryſococca ex manuſcriptis Perſicis græce facta, quarum altera longitudines & latitudines ſtellarum inſignium 25, altera inſignium oppidorum, continebat.* Theſe tables were publiſhed by Iſmael Bullialdus, in an Appendix to his *Aſtronomia Philolaica*, which Mr Greaves had collated with his copy, and the latter of them has been reprinted in Dr Hudſon's third Volume of Collections, intitled *Geographiæ veteris Scriptores Græci minores.* Oxon. 1712. 8vo. (3) *Deſcriptio Peninſulæ Arabiæ ex Abulfeda* (93), *cum deſcriptione maris Perſici & Rubri; Arabice & Latine* (4) *Ptolemæi Arabia.* Theſe two laſt were likewiſe publiſhed by Dr Hudſon in the ſame Volume with the *Tabulæ Chryſococcæ* (94).

(93) Taken from Texeira the Spaniard, who borrowed many things from Emir Cond, the Perſian. From this edition Mr la Roque made his French tranſlation of the ſame deſcription of Arabia ſubjoined to D'Arvieux's Journey to Paleſtine, printed at Paris 1717, 8vo.

The following are not yet printed. (1) *Tabulæ integræ longitudinis & latitudinis ſtellarum fixarum juxta Ulug Beigi obſervationes.* Mr Greaves carefully collated five Perſian MSS. of theſe tables, after which he tranſlated them into Latin, and depoſited the copy with Archbiſhop Uſher. But this not being known to Mr Thomas Hyde, of Queen's College in Oxford, he made a new verſion, and publiſhed it with the original and a learned Commentary at Oxford, 1665, in 4to. (2) *A geographical account of the mountains in the country near the Arabians, from Abulfeda.* Engliſh. (3) Of the Tatars, or inhabitants of Mogol. (95), with a ſhort deſcription of the chief regions in Perſia. (4) *Elementa omnium ſcientiarum præſertim mathematicarum.* This book, written with his own hand, was given to Dr Dudley Loftus of Ireland, by Dr Nicholas Greaves, our author's brother, and afterwards came into the hands of Dr Thomas Smith (96), by whom it was left among his other manuſcripts to Mr Hearne, and is now in the Bodleian library at Oxford. It is a ſmall piece, about the ſize of an ordinary pamphlet, in 8vo. It was bound by order of Mr Hearne, being before a collection of looſe papers which our author carried about in his pocket, by way of Adverſaria. It conſiſts of 41 heads, which are as follow. *Obſervations relating to Chronology and Aſtronomy, particularly an account of the epochæ uſed by ſeveral nations. Ars gnomonica Ars militaris. Agriculture*, a blank page with only the title. *Ars navigationis. Juriſprudentia. Concerning law. Medicina. Chymica. Curious extracts out of oriental authors, relating chiefly to mathematical ſubjects, as particularly chronological tables out of Naſſir Eddin. An Account of ſome of the moſt eminent Philoſophers, from Ebn Chalicân and other Manuſcripts. Eclipſes of the ſun and moon at Oxford, Rome, Marana in the Weſt Indies, Conſtantinople, and many other places. Collections out of the Geographia Nubienſis; de magnitudine terræ, the opinion of ſeveral oriental writers on that ſubject; Tabulæ aſtronomicæ Perſicæ; de calculo aſtronomico. Algebra. De philoſophia, ſive de artibus & ſcientiis in genere. Grammatica. Rhetorica. Hiſtoria. Logica. Phyſica. Metaphyſica. Arithmetica. Geometria. Aſtronomia. Optica. Aſtrologia. Trigonometria. Chronological and Aſtronomical Obſervations, collected out of oriental and other authors. Tables of the longitude and latitude of places ex Ulug Bego & Keplero. Geographia*, a blank page with only the title. *Muſica*, a blank page. *Metrica. Geodæſia. Altimetrica. Mechanica*, a blank page. *Trigonometrical caſes. Tables of ſigns and tangents. De militia Romana. Architectura militaris. Architectura. Pictura*, a blank page. *Sculptura*, a blank page. *De Divinatione. Theologia. Philoſophia moralis. Chronological and Aſtronomical Collections.* (5) *Quæſtiones Abdallæ Ebn Salan Judæi cum Mohammedis reſponſis, à Johanne Gravio ex Arabica lingua in Latinam traductæ & notis illuſtratæ.* Dr Ward tells us (97) this is a curious manuſcript in Arabic and Latin, then [1740] in the poſſeſſion of Sir Richard Ellys, Bart. and that it contains certain queſtions taken out of the Jewiſh Law by Ebn Salan, and propoſed to Mohammed, which being anſwered by him, this Rabbi is there ſaid to have become one of his principal followers.

(96) Dr Smith calls this book Synopſis & Compendium ἐγκυκλοπαιδείας. Vita. J. G. p. 31.

(97) Ubi ſupra, p. 150.

[*E E*] *Was meditating others.*] Among theſe was an account of the magnitude of the earth according to the Arabians, as alſo their weights and meaſures; and a deſcription of the Egyptian ſepulchres, with an account of their hieroglyphics and other antiquities, of which he had a large quantity of various ſorts. There is likewiſe in the Savilian Muſæum a ſmall MS. book containing aſtronomical, geographical, and other miſcellaneous obſervations made at Conſtantinople, Rhodes, Alexandria, and other places in the Eaſt, chiefly in 1638, and a printed Almanack for 1637 filled with MS. obſervations in aſtronomy, and other remarks of various kinds made in Italy after his return from the Eaſt in 1639. Several extracts from theſe have been printed by Dr Ward, and more by Dr Birch in the Miſcellaneous Works, &c. In the 1ſt Vol. of which he has given us the Pyramidographia, with a great many additions and alterations from a copy corrected by the author, and the diſcourſe of the Roman foot and denarius.

(94) To theſe are to be added *Lemmata Archimedea* mentioned in remark [Q] which were firſt inſerted in an edition of Archimedes's Works in 1675, 4to. by Dr Barrow. In 1706 there came out a piece intituled, The Origin and Antiquity of our Engliſh weights and meaſures, &c. By Mr John Greaves, Aſtronomy Profeſſor at Oxford; and a ſecond edition was publiſhed in 1745, 12mo. But this tract was not wrote by our author, as preſently appears upon looking into it.

(95) He deſigned to have printed it, but was prevented by his death.

[*F F*] *His brother Dr Nicolas Greaves.*] This gentleman was firſt a Commoner at St Mary's Hall in Oxford, and being choſen Fellow of All Souls College in 1627, became Senior Proctor of the Univerſity in 1640.

He

who by will bequeathed our author's aſtronomical inſtruments to the Savilian library at Oxford, where they are repoſited (*d d*) together with ſeveral of his papers (*e e*). His loſs was much lamented by his friends [*G G*], he ſeems to be a man of great reſolution, and the whole tenor of his life ſhews him a zealous Royaliſt, and ſteady in his friendſhips, tho' as he declares of [*H H*] himſelf not at all inclined to contention; he was highly eſteemed by ſeveral learned men abroad, with whom he correſponded, as William Schickard, James Golius, Cladius Hardy, Francis Junius, Peter Scavenius, and Chriſtian Ravius; and at home, beſides Archbiſhop Laud, he had an intimate friendſhip with Archbiſhop Uſher, Mr Selden, Dr Gerard Langbaine, Dr William Harvey, Sir John Marſham, Dr Edward Pococke, Dr Charles Scarborough, Dr George Ent, and other great men (*f f*).

(*d d*) Catalogus librorum manuſcriptorum Angliæ & Hiberniæ in unum collect. part i. p. 302. Oxon. 1697, fol.

(*e e*) A great many of theſe papers were ſold by his executor's widow to a bookſeller, and loſt or diſperſed. Smith, p. 34.

(*f f*) See his letter, and other parts of his works, paſſim.

He proceeded, B. D. Nov. 1, 1642, and being created Doctor on the 6th of June the year following, was afterwards preferred to the Deanery of Dromore in Ireland (98). The two other brothers were men of conſiderable learning. Of theſe, Thomas the elder was born at Colmore, and having his firſt education at Charter-Houſe School, was admitted March 27, 1627, ſcholar of Corpus Chriſti College in Oxford, and taking his degrees in Arts, became fellow of the college in 1636. He proceeded, B D. in 1641, and had the rectory of Dunſby in Lincolnſhire, beſides a living near London before the Reſtoration: after which he was created D. D. in 1661, and became rector of Bennyfield, in Northamptonſhire, and in 1666 a Prebendary of Peterborough, but this laſt was the only preferment he was poſſeſſed of at his death, which happened in 1676, at an eſtate he had purchaſed at Weldon in Northamptonſhire, having retired thither upon his reſignation of Bennyfield ſome time before (99); upon his grave ſtone in the chancel of Weldon church (where he was interred) is the following inſcription: *Thomas Gravius, S. Th. D. Eccleſiæ Petroburg. Prebend. Vir ſummæ pietatis & eruditionis; In Philoſophicis paucis ſecundus; In Philologicis peritiſſimis par; In linguis orientalibus pleriſque major, quarum Perſicam notis in appendice ad Biblia Polyglotta doctiſſimè illuſtravit* (100). *Arabicam publice in Academia Oxon. profeſſus eſt* (101), *digniſſimus etiam qui & Theologiam in eodem loco profiteretur; Poeta inſuper & Orator inſignis; atque in Mathematicis profunde doctus. Reipublicæ Literariæ & Eccleſiæ Chriſtianæ flebilis obiit Maij 22, ann. 1676. æt. ſuæ 65.* Beſides the pieces mentioned in the margin, he had once ſome thoughts of publiſhing a treatiſe againſt Mahometiſm, as appears from a letter he wrote to his friend Mr Baxter (102), whoſe zeal and piety he therein greatly commends.

Edward the youngeſt of the four brothers was born at Croydon in Surrey. Elected Fellow of All Souls College in 1634, proceeded Doctor of Phyſic July 8, 1641, became ſuperiour reader (as obſerved in remark [P]) of Lynacre's lecture in that faculty at Merton College, Nov. 14, 1643, in the room of Dr Bainbridge; and together with Dr Walter Charleton, was appointed travelling phyſician to King Charles I. (103). Upon the decline of his Majeſty's affairs, he went to London and practiſed there, going occaſionally in the ſeaſons to Bath, to the library of which Abbey church he was a benefactor (104). Octob. 11, 1657, he was choſen Fellow of the College of Phyſicians (105), and after the Reſtoration became Phyſician in Ordinary to K. Charles II. who created him a Baronet (106). He ſpoke the Harveyan ſpeech on the 25th of July 1661 (107). He died at his houſe in Covent-Garden Nov. 11, 1680, and was buried in that pariſh church (108).

[*G G*] *He was much lamented by his friends.*] Dr Gerard Langbaine in a letter to Mr Selden, Oct. 22, 1652, writes thus: 'for Mr John Greaves, I was ſeized of the ſad news of his death. I have in him loſt a friend, and learning a great ſupport. What he had of his own as author, I hope his brothers or ſome knowing friend will be careful to preſerve. You know he was owner of ſome Arabic books, which I believe are not to be found in Europe again. Unleſs you think fit to buy them yourſelf, I would willingly put in for this Univerſity. We ſhall be able to compaſs ſome of them, and I hope in time, by means of Mr Pococke and ſuch of his ſcholars here as are ingenious and ſtudious, to make uſe of them. And methinks 'tis a diſgrace to our nation that ſuch commodities ſhould paſs from hence to France, or Sweden, or the Low Countries (109).'

[*H H*] *He declares of himſelf.*] In a letter to Mr Pococke dated March 6, 1650. 'There is no man, ſays he, deſires more to be quiet than myſelf, and to promote learning and honeſt purpoſes. But I know not how it is my fortune to find enemies where I have leaſt deſerved, and friends where I could no way have merited (110).'

(98) Smith, and Wood's Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 669.

(99) This was occaſioned by ſome uneaſineſs among his pariſhioners, on account of his bad utterance in the pulpit, owing to an impediment in his ſpeech. Wood, Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 556.

(100) Theſe are (1) *Obſervationes quædam in Perſicam Pentateuchi verſionem. Bib. Polyglot.* Vol. VI. p. 48. (2) *Annotationes quædam in Perſicam interpretationem Evangeliorum*, ibid. p. 56. theſe laſt are tranſlated into Latin, by Mr Samuel Clarke.

(101) In 1637 he was appointed Deputy Arabic Profeſſor to Dr Pococke. [See his article.] He printed his ſpeech on this occaſion with the following title. De linguæ Arabicæ utilitate & præſtantia. Oratio Oxoniæ habita Julii 19 1637. Ox. 1639, 4to. See a letter from Abr. Wheelocke Arabic Profeſſor at Cambridge to him, in the life of John Greaves, by Birch, ubi ſupra.

(102) Ibid.

(103) Hearne's pref. to Langtoft's Chron. p. 86. At this time he publiſhed Morbus Epidemicus, or the new diſeaſe, Oxon. 1643, 4to. This was the camp diſeaſe, which then raged in that city.

(104) See Hiſtory and Antiquities of the Abby church of Bath, p. 200. Lond. 1723, 8vo.

(105) Birch. From that College-regiſter.

(106) See Guillim's Heraldry, p. 210. edit. 1724.

(107) It was printed Londini 1667, 4to. Dr Smith calls it *elegantiſſima oratio.*

(108) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(109) Birch, ibid. p. 50, 51.

(110) Ward, p. 146, from the MS. letters of our author.

GREENVIL, GRENVIL, GRENEVILL, GREINVIL, GROYNVILLE, GREENFIELD, GRENEFELDT, GRAINVILLE, GRAYNVILLE, GRANEVIL, or, as now commonly written, Granville or Greenville, in Latin Grandiſvilla, one of the moſt ancient and noble families in this iſland (*a*). It is a point ſettled on the higheſt authorities, that this is a branch of the ancient ducal houſe of Normandy, and enjoyed very high titles before they came over hither with the Conqueror, to whom Richard de Greenville, the founder of this illuſtrious line, was nearly related (*b*) [*A*]. This Richard de Greenvil attended his brother Robert Fitzhamon,

(*a*) Carew's Survey of Cornwall, p. 62. Riſdon's Survey of Devon. p. 90, 91. Camden. Britan. Tit. Danmonii.

(*b*) Bill. ſig. Car. ii. A. 22.

(1) Camdeni Britan. Tit. Danmonii. Riſdon's Survey of Devon. p. 90, 91. Winning of Glamorgan, by Sir Edw. Stradling. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 321. Fuller's Worthies in Cornwall.

(2) Ex Tranſcript. evident. D. Barn. Granville.

(3) Guliel. Gemmeticenſis de Ducibus Norman. lib. ii. cap. xvii. Thom. Walſingham Ypodigma Neuſtriæ [illegible] 17.

[*A*] *Was nearly related.*] There is nothing of this kind more certain, or more clearly ſupported by authorities of hiſtory and of record, than that this family came in with William, ſurnamed the Conqueror, and received from him large eſtates in the county of Devon (1). As to the deſcent of Richardus de Grana Villa, or Ricardus de Grenvile (2), for thus the name is written in the oldeſt pieces we have met with from the Norman houſe, it ſtands thus. Rollo, the Norman, was inveſted with the Duchy of Normandy by Charles the Simple, who then wore the Crown of France, from whom, at the ſame time, he received his daughter Giſela, or, as our hiſtorians commonly call her, Giletta, as his conſort (3). She was, however, properly ſpeaking, no more than a wife of honour; and whereas the current of hiſtorians ſay, that Rollo had no iſſue by her, but that after her deceaſe he married a ſecond wife; the true ſtate of the matter is this, that he never conſummated the marriage with the king of France's daughter, who ſurvived him, but by another lady, Popa, daughter to the count de Baieux, whom he had taken many years before in a predatory expedition, he had a ſon Guillaume Longue-epé, that is, William with the long ſword, his ſucceſſor, and a daughter Girlotta, who eſpouſed the duke of Guyenne, or Acquitaine (4). William ſucceeded his father, anno dom. 912. He was in all reſpects one of the moſt accompliſhed and virtuous princes of his time, which, however, did not hinder his being moſt infamouſly aſſaſſinated by the count of Flanders, anno dom. 943 (5). He eſpouſed the daughter of Herbert, count of Vermandois, and by her had Richard, ſurnamed the Hardy, who though he ſucceeded to the Duchy a child, yet he governed long, and with great

(4) Dud. Hiſt. Norman. Oder. Vital. Norm. Hiſt. Ypodig. Neuſtriæ, p. 416. Gulielm. Gemiticenſ. lib. ii.

(5) Dud. Hiſtor. Norman. Gulielm. Gemiticenſ. lib. iii. cap. xii. Ypodig. Neuſtriæ.

Fitzhamon, earl of Glouceſter, in his famous expedition into Wales (*c*), which makes ſo ſhining a figure in the hiſtories of thoſe times (*d*), and by which he entitled himſelf to a very honourable reward amongſt the reſt of the gallant knights, who were embarked in that enterprize (*e*) [*B*]. But it does not appear that himſelf or his deſcendants ever ſettled in theſe parts.

(*c*) Powell's Hiſt. of Cambria, p. 125, 131. Camd. Britan. Tit. Silures. ex Regiſtr. Abbat. de Nethe.

(*d*) MS. intitul. The Wynyng of Glammorgan. Camden. Brit. Tit. Silures. Powell's Hiſt. of Cambria, p. 124.

(*e*) Regiſtr. Abbat. de Nethe penes Dom. R. Stradling. Monaſt. Angl. Tom. i. p. 161. Camden. Brit. Tit. Silures.

reputation. He married firſt Emma, daughter to Hugh le Grand, count of Paris, and father to Hugh Capet, by whom he had no iſſue; but by a Daniſh lady of great quality, whoſe name was Gunnora, whom he firſt kept as a concubine, and afterwards *married*, he had three ſons, Richard, who ſucceeded him; Robert Archbiſhop of Roan, and Maliger, or, as *it is* commonly pronounced, Mauger, count of Corboile (6). He had alſo three daughters, of whom the youngeſt was Emma, ſurnamed the Flower of Normandy, married to Ethelred, and Canute, both Kings of England, mother, by the latter, to Harold, ſurnamed Harefoot; and by the former, of Edward the Confeſſor, who were alſo both kings of England (7). This Mauger, earl of Corboile, had a ſon, whoſe name was Hamon, who was ſlain in battle in the reign of his couſin Robert II. duke of Normandy. His ſon was alſo called Hamon, ſurnamed le Dentu, in Latin Dentatus, who married the ſiſter of the emperor Otho, and by her had three ſons, Robert, Richard, and Hamon, who all attended the Conqueror in his expedition into England, were preſent with him at the battle of Haſtings (8); and marching with him afterwards into the Weſt, to the ſiege of Exeter, Richard had beſtowed upon him lands of conſiderable value, particularly the lordſhips of Biddeford in Devonſhire, and of Kilkhampton in Cornwall (9). Thus far all is as clear as in a matter of this antiquity can poſſibly be expected. But as to what is reported of Hamon Dentatus being lord of Granville, in Normandy, it is, with me at leaſt, of no ſuch eaſy digeſtion; that there is ſuch a town in Normandy is, indeed, very certain, but that it belonged to Hamon le Dentu, and that from thence his ſecond ſon was ſtiled Richard de Granville; I ſhall readily acknowledge, when it can be proved that there was ſuch a place in thoſe times, or for two or three hundred years after; but till that can be done, I ſhall look upon this French ſurname as a piece of affectation, that might have endangered the credit of this genealogy, if it had not been otherwiſe ſo well ſupported both by hiſtory and record. If he had really brought the ſurname of Granville out of Normandy, we ſhould without queſtion, have found his name in the old chronicles, where there is a very long liſt (10); or in the roll of Battle-Abbey (11), or in that other ancient roll, purporting the names of thoſe who came over with duke William (12); but as *we do* not find it there, it is much more reaſonable to believe, that he aſſumed that ſurname in England, *more eſpecially* if for this any probable account can be given. As to it's occurring in the liſt publiſhed by Holinſhed (13), it proves little, ſince it is plainly interpolated, and ſeveral names added that were not, or could be, in the roll of Battle-Abbey, and this amongſt the reſt.

(6) Dud. Guliel. Gemiticenſ. Thom. Walſingham.

(7) Wil. Malmeſbar. de geſt. Reg. Anglorum, lib. ii.

(8) Fragment. Hiſtor. Gulielm. Conqueſt. Gulielm. Malmeſbar. lib. iii. Monaſt. Anglic. Vol. I. p. 161.

(9) See the Charter to Bydeſordu, note [C].

(10) Lelandi Collectanea, Vol. I. p. 213, 221, —224. Les Chroniques de Normandie.

(11) See the Roll in Stowe's Annals, p. 105.

(12) Cognomina Conquiſitorum Angliæ, &c.

(13) Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 3.

[*B*] *Who were embarked in that enterprize*] The hiſtory of the conqueſt of Glamorgan is a *piece of* hiſtory extremely well preſerved by the care of Sir Edward Stradling, as *ſome* ſay, or as others affirm, Sir Edward Maunſel, who collected it from very authentic evidences; and therefore though the language be ſomewhat obſolete, we preſume to give it in the author's words (14). 'In the year of our Lord 1091, 'and in the 4th yeare of the reign of King William 'Rufus, one Jeſtyn, the ſon of Gungant, being lord 'of the ſaid lordſhip of Glamorgan, Rees ap Theodoc Prince of South Wales, that is, of Caermarthyneſhire and Caerdiganſhire, made war upon him. 'Whereupon the ſaid Jeſtyn underſtanding himſelf unable to withſtand the ſaid Rees, without ſome aid 'otherwiſe, ſent one Eneon, a gentleman of his to 'England, to one Robertus Fitzhamon, a worthy 'man, and Knight of the Privy Chamber with the 'ſaid King, to retain him for his ſuccour. The 'which Robert being deſirous to exerciſe himſelf in 'the feats of war, agreed ſoon with him thereto, for 'a ſalary to him granted for the ſame. Whereupon 'the ſaid Robert Fitzhamon retained to his ſervice, 'for the ſaid journey, twelve knights, and a competent number of ſoldiers, and went into Wales, and 'joining there with the power of the ſaid Jeſtyn, 'fought with the ſaid Rees ap Tewdor, and killed 'him, and one Conan his ſon. After which victory 'the ſaid Robert Fitzhamon minding to return home 'again with his company, demanded his ſalary to 'him due of the ſaid Jeſtyn, according to the covenants and promiſes agreed upon between him and the 'aforeſaid Eneon, on the behalf of the ſaid Jeſtyn 'his maſter. The which to perform in all points, 'the ſaid Jeſtyn denied, and thereupon they fell out, 'ſo that it came to be tried by battle. And for ſo 'much as the ſaid Eneon ſaw his maſter go from diverſ articles and promiſes, that he had willed him to 'conclude with the ſaid Robert Fitzhamon on his behalf, he forſook his maſter, and took part, he and 'his friends, with the ſaid Robert Fitzhamon. In 'the which conflict the ſaid Jeſtyn, with a great number of his men were ſlain, whereby the ſaid Robert 'Fitzhamon wan the peaceable poſſeſſion of the whole 'lordſhip of Glamorgan, with the members of the 'which he gave certain caſtles and manors in reward 'of ſervice to the ſaid twelve knights, and to other 'his gentlemen. (1) William de Londres, alias London. (2) Richardus de Grana Villa, alias Greenfeeld. (3) Paganus de Turbervile. (4) Robertus de S Quintino, alias S. Quintine. (5) Richardus de Syward. (6) Gilbertus de Humfrevile. (7) Rogerus de Berkrolles. (8) Reginaldus de Sully. (9) Peter le Soore. (10) Johannes le Fleming. (11) Oliverus de S. John, a younger brother of the Lord S. John of Baſing. (12) William le Eſterling, whoſe 'anceſtors came out of Dantzic to England with the 'Danes, and is now by ſhortneſs of ſpeech called 'Stradling.' Thus far the old hiſtory. In this diviſion the caſtle and lordſhip of Neth was given to this Sir Richard, ſtiled from this time Sir Richard de Greneville, and never, as I can from any good authority find, ſo ſtiled before. In order to account for this we muſt obſerve, that in the Britiſh times this town was called Nedh, as the river likewiſe was, upon which it ſtands, implying muddy, turbid, or diſturbed, which is a true deſcription of the water (15). Under the Romans it became ſo conſiderable a place, that it is mentioned by Antoninus, who calls it Nidum (16). It is now called Neath, approaching nearly to it's old Britiſh name. At the time of this conqueſt, though not what it had been, it was ſtill very conſiderable, and the village of Lantwit, or St Iltuts, which joins to it, ſhews foundations of many buildings, and the viſible remains of ſeveral ſtreets (17). Hence it was denominated in the Latin of thoſe times Grandiſvilla, as we gather from Leland, which is not Great Town, but Old Town, and what corroborates this is, that in the neighbourhood of it there is Nova Villa, or New Town (18). Neath, though it has not recovered it's ancient ſplendor, is, however a place of note at this day, has a good bridge, a flouriſhing trade, a good market, and is governed by a Portreve (19). Now that this is the true ſtate of the matter, and that we need not take a fruitleſs journey to Normandy to look for Granville, before the little town of that name, that is ſtill *ſtanding*, was *built*, which *the* beſt French writers ſay was in 1440 (20), will appear from hence, there was really ſuch a name as this, and at this time, but it belonged to another family, thus Leland, citing Henry Huntingdon, relates the death of the earl of Eſſex thus (21), 'Gaufredus de Magna 'Villa, Conſul Eſſexe, à quodam pedite veliſſus 'vulneratus eſt ſagitta, unde non longe poſt obiit.' In another place, ſpeaking of the very ſame perſon, he ſays (22), 'King Stephane's men toke Geffray Grauntville, that had many caſtelles in keping to the uſe of 'Mawde Emperes.' Yet the common name of this family was Mandeville; but before ſurnames were thoroughly

(14) The Winning of Glamorgan communicated to Dr Powell and printed in his Hiſt. of Cambria.

(15) Baxteri Gloſſar. Antiquit. Britan. p. 183.

(16) Iter. XII.

(17) Camden. Britan. Tit. Silures.

(18) Spelman's Villare Anglicanum. Broome's Travels, p. 27.

(19) Martin's Dictionary under the word *Neath*.

(20) Du Moutier, Neuſtria Pia.

(21) Leland. Collectan. Vol. I. p. 205. Roger Hoveden, fol. 280, a.

(22) Lelandi Collectanea, Vol. I. p. 764.

parts. On the contrary, it ſeems highly probable, that, by the advice of his wife Conſtance, he gave a great part of the lands which he had purchaſed with his ſword to the founding of a religious houſe, which remained one of the faireſt in Wales to the time of the diſſolution (*f*) [C]. He continued to reſide in the weſt of England, where he had large poſſeſſions in the counties of Cornwall and Devon, 'till, according to the turn of military devotion, which prevailed in thoſe times, he took the croſs when he was very old, but expired before he could carry into execution his deſign of going to Jeruſalem, in the year 1147 (*g*). It is not abſolutely certain, whether Conſtance, beforementioned, or Iſabel, the ſecond wife of Richard de Greenvil, was the daughter of Walter Gifford, earl of Longueville in Normandy, and of Buckingham in England; but by which ever of thoſe ladies was the daughter of that great peer, who, from a grant of the Conqueror, held no leſs then forty-eight manors: he had a younger ſon, Gerard de Greenvil (*b*), and perhaps another,

(*f*) Leland's Itenerary, Vol. V. fol. 12. Tanner's Notitia Monaſtica, p. 714. Dugdale's Warwickſhire, p. 379. Stevens's Supplement to Dugdale's Monaſt. Angl. Vol. I. p. 38. Dugdale's and Speed's Catalogue.

(*g*) Monaſt. Anglican. Vol. I. p. 477.

(*b*) Stemmat. antiq. prehon. Famil. de Greenvil.

thoroughly ſettled, we find them often mentioned by the name of Grauntville, over which, in ſome of Leland's manuſcripts, we find Mandeville written (23); but from this circumſtance, perſons but indifferently acquainted with our antiquities might very eaſily confound both perſons and names. Indeed, Mr Camden in this inſtance may be ſuppoſed to have led others aſtray, for he mentions Greenfeld as a corruption of Grenevile, and alſo ſpeaks of it as derived from ſome place in Normandy (24); and yet when he reckons the places in that duchy which gave ſurnames, he takes no notice of Granville.

(23) Id. ibid. p. 766.

(24) Remains, Lond. 1605. 4to. p. 95, 96.

[C] *To the time of the diſſolution.*] The deſign of Sir Richard de Grenevile was to grant to the abbot and convent of Savigny, near Lyons in France, tho' I rather think in Normandy, the means of erecting an abbey here, of a certain order, which ſubſiſted before the Conqueſt, ſtiled Featres Giſei, who became not long after white Monks of the Ciſtercian Order (25). He began to build this abbey, which was on the weſt ſide of the river, a little below the town, and dedicated it to the Holy Trinity, in 1129, and the next year placed twelve monks therein, and then compleated his intended grant, as the original charter ſheweth. In the ancient manuſcript, which we have mentioned more than once, theſe particulars are very conciſely recorded, in terms very worthy of notice, as well for the matter they contain, as for the manner of ſpelling the proper names; which is a clear proof that they had no notion it was of French original (26). 'Sir Richard Greenefeeld before, and to whom the 'lordſhip of Neth was given in reward, was lord 'of the caſtel and manour of Bydyford in Devon'ſhire, at the time he came into Wales with the ſaid 'Robert Fitzhamon, and founded an abbaie of white 'monkes in Neth, and gave the whole lordſhip to 'the maintenance of the ſame, and then return'ed backe againe to Bydyford; whereas the iſſue 'male of his body doth yet remaine, and enjoyeth 'the ſame.' Robert Fitzhamon, after the conqueſt of Glamorganſhire, was advanced to the earldom of Glouceſter by William Rufus, and dying without iſſue male, Henry gave his daughter Mabel to Robert, his natural ſon, who had the earldom of Glouceſter in her right, and by her he had William, who ſucceeded him in the title (27). This counteſs Mabel, with William earl of Glouceſter her ſon, confirmed to the church of the Holy Trinity and Virgin Mary of Nethe, whatever Richard de Granville and Conſtance his wife had granted (28), in wood and ſoil, between the four waters of Nethe, Tawy, Clend and Pulcannan; and the land between Clend and the brook, which runs near the croſs of Conſtance, the wife of the ſaid Richard de Granville, to the head of the ſaid brook, caſtle and chapel of Nethe, with the tenths of procuration, and of all perſons belonging to the ſaid caſtle, viz. of French, Engliſh, and Welſhmen, and half of the fiſh of Nethe Caſtle. Likewiſe Clend Mill, with all the meadow from the mill to New Town ditch, and thence to Nethe water. Alſo whatever Richard the Conſtable, viz. Richard de Granvil had in Eiſe Town. Saving the cuſtoms of the Earl i. e. of Glouceſter out of the foreſt, and a knight's fee in Eiſe, which Richard the Conſtable held in Devonſhire, and Bideford, Killerton, and the town of Litcham. This charter of confirmation is a ſtrong preſumptive proof of the affinity between the families, and to this we may add further, that the arms borne by William earl of Glouceſter, in right of his mother, the daughter of Robert Fitzhamon, are the ſame with thoſe borne by Richard de Grenevile, the grandſon of Sir Richard, as we find them affixed to a very remarkable charter, with which we ſhall conclude this note (29). 'Know, &c. That I Richard, ſon of 'Richard de Grenevile, have granted to all thoſe who 'hold, or ſhall hold a burgage in the town of Byde'ford, to the eaſt and weſt of Torith water, all the 'liberties of Briſtol, ſo far as are in my power, to 'them, their heirs, and aſſigns for ever, viz That 'each perſon holding a meſſuage, garden, and ſix 'acres out of my demeſnes, ſhall pay for the ſame 'twelve pence. But whoſoever ſhall hold a meſſuage 'and garden only, ſhall pay ſix-pence on Michaelmas 'day to me, or my bailiff, at Bydeford Save only 'the tax on the land. And if any one fall under the 'cenſure of my court, he ſhall be acquitted for ſix'pence, if it be the third time. Moreover he grants 'to the ſaid burgeſſes common of paſture for their 'cattle, throughout his whole lordſhip, on the weſt 'ſide of Torith water, where they had commoning in 'the time of Richard his father. And whoſoever 'ſhall diſpoſe of, or ſell his burgeſs, ſhall pay as a re'lief, twelve pence and no more. Alſo further grants 'to the ſaid burgeſſes ſuit to his court, on Tueſday 'every month, where attachments and pleas ſhall be 'tried, as by cuſtom belonging to the Lord. And 'that every one be free of toll in all markets, and 'fairs, and all dues for ſtallage throughout all his 'lands, towns, and waters. And that every one of 'the ſaid burgeſſes ſhall be obliged to come to the 'court on Tueſday, unleſs truly proved, that he be 'beyond the ſeas, or on a pilgrimage, or employed 'in buying of goods out of the country. That the 'burgeſſes ſhall have liberty to chooſe a town Provoſt 'out of themſelves, who ſhall receive yearly the fines 'and tolls of the town, paying yearly to the Lord 'ten ſhillings, and the toll of the market on Mon'day. In conſideration of which grant, the bur'geſſes paid four marks, witneſſes Sir Richard Coffin, 'and Sir Richard Speckott, knights; Peter de Haleſ'hyri, Richard Sanſard, Walrand Dune, Orbert de 'Lucy, Richard de Rokemator, and others. To 'which is appendant a round ſeal, containing theſe 'arms, in an oblong ſhield, viz. three Organ Reſts.' The authority of this charter might be ſupported from one of our moſt reſpectable records (30); and it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that in proportion as this family grew in affluence and honour, this their lordſhip enjoyed the fruits of it. The old Saxon name, as they commonly do, points out the ſituation of the town, for anciently it was wrote By-the-Ford, becauſe there the river was fordable, though the tide riſes at leaſt two miles higher; but experience ſhewing this ford to be both precarious and dangerous, ſeveral attempts were made to build a bridge, which failed either for want of ſufficient ſkill, or a ſuitable ſupport (31): at length under the auſpice of Sir Theobald Grenevile it was undertaken and perfected, and a good land-eſtate ſettled to keep it in repair. This is in all reſpects one of the fineſt and moſt beautiful bridges in the kingdom, and of inexpreſſible benefit to the town (32); for which the influence of this family likewiſe procured a weekly market, and three annual fairs, circumſtances that ſufficiently account for that high and general reſpect paid them in all the old collections, relating either to the counties of Cornwall, or

(25) Monaſt. Anglican. Vol. I. p. 919. Lelandi Collectanea, p. 46. Tanner's Notitia Monaſtica, p. 714.

(26) Winning of Glamorgan, by Sir Edward Stradling.

(27) Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle, p. 431.

(28) Ex Regiſtro Abbatiæ de Nethe.

(29) Ex Tranſcript. Evidenc. D. Barnard. Granville.

(30) Lib. rub. in Scacar. Devon.

(31) Ridon's Survey of Devon. p. 90, 91.

(32) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 388.

another, Robert de Greenvil, who ſettled in that county, and enjoyed plentiful fortunes from the benevolence of their grandfather (*i*). It is a circumſtance very uncommon, that both families ſhould flouriſh, for upwards of ſix hundred years, in great affluence and honour, allying themſelves to the beſt houſes in the weſt, and in the middle of England; arriving at thoſe dignities which are the reward of conſpicuous merit rather than of favour, ſuch as being intruſted with the cuſtody of their reſpective counties in quality of Sheriff, or being returned to ſerve in parliament (*k*). In the beginning of the thirteenth century, indeed, William de Greenfield, who was of the Devonſhire family, was Archbiſhop of York, and High Chancellor of England, a man diſtinguiſhed for eloquence, probity, and learning, and in great credit with King Edward I. (*l*). He was plundered by Pope Clement V. of between nine and ten thouſand marks, before he could get his election confirmed (*m*); and, to his immortal honour, being preſent in the council of Vienne, he vigorouſly and ſteadily oppoſed the oppreſſion of the knights templars, which had been concerted between the Pope and the French King (*n*). This generous ſpirit, together with an indefatigable zeal for the ſervice of the public, without any mixture of ſelf intereſted views, appeared very conſpicuouſly in many excellent perſons of this diſtinguiſhed line, and at length, for as high an evidence as was ever given of loyalty or patriotiſm, advanced them to the peerage (*o*). It is true the elder line is ſince extinguiſhed, and yet without prejudice to the honour of this illuſtrious name, which for this reaſon his late majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to raiſe into a title of honour, in favour of Grace lady Carteret, ſurviving daughter of John Earl of Bath, whom he created counteſs of Granville (*p*); which title derives additional luſtre from its preſent poſſeſſor, at this time Preſident of his Majeſty's moſt honourable privy-council (*q*). The other branch of the family has been likewiſe in the preſent reign, raiſed to the like degree of honour, in the perſon of the right honourable Heſter Greenville counteſs Temple (*r*).

(*i*) Seager's Baronag. Anglican. Monaſt. Angl. Vol. III. p. 3. Inquiſitiones Temp. Henr. III. Edward. I.

(*k*) Fuller's Worthies, Cornwall, Bucks, Devonſhire. Willis's Notit. Parl. Vol. II. p. 65, 85, 87. Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 321.

(*l*) Roberti de Grayſtanes, Hiſtoria Dunelmenſis, cap. xxi. P. 33. E. i. p. 1. Godwin. de Præſulib. Angl. p. 685.

(*m*) P. 34. E. 1. Leland. Collect. Vol. I. p. 326. Godwin. de Præſulibus Angliæ, p. 685.

(*n*) Monaſt. Angl. Vol. II. p. 564. Hiſtor. de Templ. ordin. deſtructione, p. 195. Godwin. de Præſul. Angl. ubi ſupra.

(*o*) See the Preamble to the Patent of John, firſt Earl of Bath.

(*p*) Pat. 1. Georg. 1.

(*q*) June 17, 1751.

(*r*) October 13, 23 Geo. II.

(33) Worthies of England, Cornwall, p. 210.

or Devon; both, as Fuller (33) expreſſes it, contending for the honour of having produced a family ſo fruitful of worthy examples in private life, and which in the moſt critical ſeaſons, never wanted a member capable of rendering the public ſervice. E

GREENVILE, or GREENVILL [Sir RICHARD], a gallant officer a fortunate diſcoverer, and Vice-Admiral of the Engliſh fleet in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was the ſon of Sir Roger Greenvile, knight, one of the Eſquires of the body to King Henry the eighth; by Thomaſine, daughter of Thomas Cole, of Shute, Eſquire (*a*); and it is probable was born in the weſt of England about the year 1540, though according to ſome writers he was born four years later (*b*); which, for reaſons, we ſhall ſubmit to the reader's conſideration, ſeems to be a miſtake [*A*]. He had the misfortune to loſe his father by a ſudden and untimely death while a child (*c*) [*B*]. His mother being

(*a*) Froma Genealogical Remembrance of the noble family of Greneuil Earls of Bath.

(*b*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. VI. p. 77.

(*c*) Stowe's Annals, p. 589.

[*A*] *Seems to be a miſtake.*] We are told that at the demiſe of old Sir Richard Greenvile, his grandſon Richard was but five years old; and the death of Sir Richard Greenvile is fixed to March the 18th, in the fourth year of Edward the VIth, that is, 1549 (1), which will place the birth of our Sir Richard Greenvile in 1544. We ſhall however ſee in the next note, that his father, Sir Roger Greenvile, died July the 20th, 1545 (2), when, according to this computation, his ſon might be ſomewhat more than a year old, ſo that no exception would ariſe if he had been his only ſon; but beſides Sir Richard Greenvile, Sir Roger had by Thomaſine his wife, two younger ſons, Sir Charles Greenvile, and John Greenvile, Eſquire; though we are told that both of them died without iſſue (3). But if the eldeſt ſon was only a year and ſome few months old when his father loſt his life, when were the other two ſons born? ſuch difficulties as theſe are common enough in tracing deſcents in ancient families, and cannot often be ſo eaſily removed as in the preſent caſe; when if we ſuppoſe that he was five years old, not at the time of his grand-father but of his father's death, it will bring all right, and make the whole of Sir Richard Greenvile's hiſtory very conſiſtent, which otherwiſe will ſcarce be found practicable.

(1) Collins's Supplement to the Peerage, Vol. I. p. 77.

(2) Carew's Survey of Cornwall, fol. 62.

(3) Collins's Supplement to the Peerage, Vol. I. p. 77.

[*B*] *And untimely death while a child.*] In the ſummer of 1545, which was the thirty-ſeventh of the reign of King Henry VIIIth, that monarch was in perſon at Portſmouth, in order to ſee his fleet put to ſea, which was immediately to engage that of France, then hovering upon the coaſt (4). On the twentieth of July he dined on board the Mary Roſe, which was one of the faireſt, and fineſt ſhips in the navy. In the afternoon, after the King was gone aſhore, the wind coming fair they weighed anchor, but through negligence their lower tier of heavy canon being left unbreached, and the ports open, the water entered ſo faſt as the ſhip heaved when they tacked about that ſhe ſunk at once, and though it was a fine clear ſummer's day, yet Sir George Carew, who commanded her, Sir Roger Greenvile, many other perſons of diſtinction, in all to the number of four hundred, were miſerably drowned in the port; and though all imaginable pains was taken to aſſiſt them, not above forty perſons of the whole crew eſcaped (5). On the eighth of March following, old Sir Richard Greenvile made his laſt will and teſtament, by which he bequeaths to Dame Maud his wife, who was the ſecond daughter of John Bevil, of Gwarnock in the county of Cornwall, Eſq; during the term of ſeventy years, if ſhe ſo long live, his manſion and lands called Bucklond, otherwiſe Bucklond Greynfield, in as ample manner as he had by letters-patents dated the 26th of May, in the thirty-third of Henry VIIIth, and after her deceaſe to Richard Greenvile, ſon of Roger Greenvile, his ſon and heir apparent, deceaſed, and his heirs male, remainder to Degory Greenvile, Eſq; his brother, remainder to John Greenvile his other brother (6). His other manors, &c. viz. his manſion place in the town of Bedyford, and all the reſidue of his town and borough of Bedyford, &c. in the county of Devon; his manſion place of Stow, together with all gardens, orchards, and ponds there, with Stow park in the county of Cornwall, his town and borough of Kylkhampton, and his manſion of Woodford in the ſame county, together with all his other lands, &c. in Devonſhire and Cornwall, he leaves to Richard his grandſon, and his heirs male; remainder to his brother John Greenfield, Eſq; and his heirs male; remainder

(4) Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 325. Stowe's Annals, p. 589. Holinſhed's Chronicle, p. 969.

(5) Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 325. b. Hawkins's Obſervations in his voyage to the South-Sea, p. 5, 6. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 221.

(6) E. Regiſt. vocat. COODE, qu. 26. in Cur. Prærogat. Cantuar.

being a widow, married Thomas Arundel, of Leigh, Eſq; *(d)*; ſo that in all probability the education of him and his brothers, was under the inſpection of their grandfather Sir Richard Greenvile, Knight, an old gentleman of great honour and high reputation, but who ended his days likewiſe in an unfortunate manner March 15, 1549, leaving the greateſt part of his large eſtate to his grandſon Richard *(e)* [C]. We have no diſtinct account after this, of the place or manner of his breeding, which, however, we have not the leaſt cauſe to doubt, was in every reſpect ſuitable to his family and fortune, both being as fair as any gentleman could boaſt in the weſt of England *(f)*. He was naturally of an active, enterprizing, and martial genius, which induced him as ſoon as he was his own maſter to procure a licence from Queen Elizabeth, in the eighth year of her reign, to go with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction into the ſervice of the Emperor againſt the Turks *(g)*. But that not contented with giving high proofs of his courage as a ſoldier in Hungary, he adventured his perſon likewiſe by ſea, and had the honour to ſhare the glory of that celebrated victory obtained over the Infidels at Lepanto, by the combined Chriſtian Fleet, under the command of Don John of Auſtria, as ſome have reported is improbable. He continued during the reſt of that war abroad, and with an high reputation juſtly ſpringing from his glorious actions he returned to England *(h)* [D]. His warmth was ſo

(d) Seagers's Baronage, MS.

(e) E Regiſtr. vocat. COODE, qu. 26 in Cur. Prærog. Cantuar.

(f) Carew's Survey of Cornwall, fol. 118. b.

(g) Camden. Annal. p. 122.

(h) Carew's Survey of Cornwal', fol. 62.

remainder to his other brother Degory Greenvile, Eſq; and his heirs male; remainder to his right heirs. He bequeaths to his daughter Mary, three hundred marks for her portion (ſhe was afterwards married to John Gifford, of Brightley, Eſq;); to his ſon-in-law Sir Richard Legh and Margaret his wife, one hundred marks; to his ſon-in-law Robert Whettal, Eſq; and Jane his wife, one hundred marks; to his brother-in-law John Drake, and Anne his wife, his ſiſter, the ſum of twenty marks. The reſt of his will ſhews him to be a perſon of ſound judgment, and a great maſter of oeconomy. His executors were Dame Maud, his wife; his brother-in-law, Edmund Speccot, Eſq; John Beauchamp his brother-in-law; John Kellygrew, and John Bevil, Eſquires (7). He made a codicil thereto, dated at Stow in Cornwall, the third of January, in the third of Edward VIth; alſo another the tenth of March, the fourth of Edward VIth; and another the fifteenth of March following, which was but three days before his death, on the eighteenth of March, and Maud his lady ſurvived him but a ſhort time, dying on the twenty-ſixth of April, the fourth of Edward VIth (8).

(7) Ibid.

(8) Collins's Sopplement to the Peerage, Vol. I. p. 77.

[C] *To his grandſon Richard.*] We have in a former note given an account of the time of old Sir Richard Greenvile's death, here we will ſay ſomething of the cauſe of it, the rather becauſe it has eſcaped the notice of ſuch as have formerly undertaken to diſplay either the fortunes or misfortunes of this ancient family. Amongſt thoſe diſturbances which were raiſed by the Commons about incloſures, in the reign of Edward VIth, the county of Cornwall, where the better ſort of inhabitants are much inclined to that manner of improving, was not without it's ſhare (9); and this it was that proved fatal to Sir Richard, after having eſcaped the dangers of foreign wars, and done eminent ſervice to his country in the capacity of a civil magiſtrate. The worthy and well read Antiquary of Cornwall ſhall deliver the reader this tale (10); ſince for any thing we know, he is the only author that has preſerved it, ſpeaking of Trematon Caſtle, which was formerly a pleaſure houſe of the Dukes of Cornwall; he proceeds thus, 'At the laſt Corniſh commotion Sir 'Richard Greenvile the elder, did, with his lady and 'followers, put themſelves into this caſtle, and there 'for a while endured the rebels ſiege, encamped in 'three places againſt it, who wanting great ordnance 'could have wrought the beſieged ſmall ſcathe, had 'his friends or enemies kept faith and promiſe: but 'ſome of thoſe within ſlipping by night over the walls, 'with their bodies after their hearts, and thoſe without mingling humble intreatings with rude menaces, 'he was hereby won to iſſue forth at a poſtern gate 'for parley. The while a part of thoſe rake-hells, 'not knowing what honeſty and far leſs how much 'the word of a ſoldier imported, ſtepped between him 'and home, laid hold on his aged unweildy body, 'and threatened to leave it lifeleſſe, if the incloſed 'did not leave their reſiſtance. So proſecuting their 'firſt treachery againſt their Prince, with ſuitable actions towards his ſubjects, they ſeized on the caſtle, 'and exerciſed the uttermoſt of their barbarous cruelty, 'death excepted, on the ſurprized priſoners. The '* ſeely gentlewomen, without regard of ſex or 'ſhame, were ſtripped from their apparel, to their 'very ſmocks, and ſome of their fingers broken to 'pluck away their rings, and Sir Richard himſelf 'made an exchange from Trematon Caſtle to that of 'Launceſton, with the gayle to boot.' It was the vexation, hardſhips, and fatigue, which this aged couple went through from the madneſs of this inſolent rabble, that brought them both ſoon after to their end.

(9) Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 345.

(10) Carew's Survey of Cornwall, fol. iii. b, 112.

* i. e. Silly, for innocent and defenceleſs.

[D] *He returned to England.*] We are informed by Camden, that in the year 1566, ſeveral gallant ſpirits of the young Engliſh gentry deſired the Queen's leave to go into Hungary, in order to aſſiſt the Chriſtians againſt the Infidels, by whom they were at that time more grievouſly preſſed, and with greater danger and ruin than had ever threatened Chriſtendom before (11). Maximilian the Second was at that time Emperor of Germany; and Solyman the Magnificent, one of the braveſt and moſt fortunate princes of the line of Ottoman, then occupied the Turkiſh throne. The latter, out of pure ambition, though he was then much weakened by age and infirmities, entered into a war againſt the former, in which, preſuming on the great ſuperiority of his forces, he flattered himſelf with the hopes of reducing all Hungary, making himſelf maſter of Vienna, and ruining entirely the German branch of the Houſe of Auſtria. Theſe dangerous and deſtructive deſigns juſtly alarmed the European powers in general, and thoſe that were moſt likely to ſuffer from the effects of this irruption in particular (12). The Duke of Savoy therefore, and the Grand Duke of Tuſcany ſent conſiderable bodies of men at their own expence; Alphonſo, Duke of Ferrara, marched in perſon into Germany, at the head of a ſmall body of choſen troops, with ſome volunteers of great courage and quality, and many officers of great experience. From Mantua, Genoa, and Lucca, his Imperial Majeſty drew conſiderable ſums, in the nature of free gifts; and the Knights of Malta aſſiſted him with men and money too; and out of France, the Grand Prior of the Houſe of Guiſe went to teſtify his zeal for the Chriſtian Cauſe, attended by many young gentlemen of the firſt families in that kingdom. We need not wonder therefore that Queen Elizabeth ſhould be diſpoſed to permit ſome of her ſubjects alſo to make a campaign or two in the imperial ſervice, upon ſo extraordinary an occaſion. Amongſt theſe young heroes (13), was John Smith, Eſq; afterwards Sir John Smith, couſin-german to king Edward VIth, being the ſon of his mother's ſiſter; Henry Champernown, Philip Butſhid, Richard Greenvile, William Gorges, Thomas Cotton, Eſqrs, and others. Theſe went into Hungary in 1566, and remained there till the enſuing year; when upon the death of Solyman the Magnificent, a negotiation was ſet on foot between the Emperor Maximilian and Sultan Solyman the Second, which ended in a peace (14). As to our Richard Greenvile, it appears from a private family tranſaction that he actually returned to England in the year 1568 (15); and as he engaged the very ſame year

(11) Knolles's Hiſtory of the Turks, p. 820, 821. Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 122.

(12) Hiſtoire de l'Empire Ottoman, par S. A. S. Demetr. Cantimir, lib. iii. c. iv. §. 53.

(13) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 122.

(14) Itenerario di Marco Antonio Pagiſetta, cap. v.

(15) E Collect. Joh. Anſtis Ar.

ſo far from being exhauſted by the fatigues he had undergone, or his appetite to fame ſatisfied by what he had acquired, that within a very little time after his reviſiting his native country, he reſolved to embark his perſon and fortune, in that part of the public ſervice, which demanded the attention of all the ſtirring ſpirits of that time, the reduction of Ireland (*i*). In this he behaved himſelf ſo much to the ſatisfaction of Sir Henry Sidney, who then adminiſtred the affairs of that iſland, that we find him conſtituted by the Queen, in the eleventh year of her reign, ſheriff of Cork, during her royal pleaſure (*k*) [*E*]. Upon his return to England he was, together with William Mohun, Eſq; elected to repreſent the county of Cornwall, in that parliament which was ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter, April 2, 1571 (*l*); he was alſo High-Sheriff of the ſame county in the eighteenth of that reign, though his name is miſtaken by Fuller (*m*), or rather, in all probability, by his printer, and was again elected with Sir William Mohun, to ſerve as Knight for that ſhire in the parliament which was ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter, November 23, 1584 (*n*), in which he was a very active member. At what time he received the honour of knighthood is not very clear, for according to a learned Antiquary, he was returned Knight of the Shire by the name of Richard Greenvile, Eſq; (*o*), and yet the firſt time we find him mentioned in the Journals, he is ſtiled Sir Richard Greenfield (*p*), for ſo it ſeems they wrote his name, and therefore it is probable he was knighted a little before the parliament ſat. At this juncture he was very deeply engaged with his friend and kinſman Sir Walter Ralegh, in his project for planting; and was one of the committee in the Houſe of Commons to whom the bill was referred for confirming the patent which Sir Walter had obtained from the Queen for making diſcoveries, which paſſed the houſe in a few days, and then Sir Richard applied himſelf to the buſineſs of the expedition, of which he was to have the command in chief, with the title of General, as was the cuſtom of thoſe times (*q*). The fleet, or rather ſquadron, which he commanded conſiſted but of ſeven ſmall ſhips, of which the Tyger was the ſtrongeſt, and the largeſt, and of the burthen of about one hundred and twenty ton; the Roebuck, a fly-boat of near the ſame ſize; the Lyon, of one hundred tons; the Elizabeth, of fifty tons; the Dorothy, a ſmall bark; and two little pinnaces; there went, however, with this ſmall force ſeveral gentlemen of good family and fortune, ſuch as Mr Ralph Lane, afterwards knighted, and a very conſiderable perſon; Mr Thomas Cavendiſh, who afterwards diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his voyage round the world; Mr John Arundel, Mr Raymund, Mr Stukley, Mr Bremige, Mr Vincent, and Mr John Clark, with ſeveral others (*r*): they ſailed from Plymouth, April 9, 1595, and on the twelfth of May came to an anchor in the bay of Moſquito, in the iſland of St John de Porto Rico, where they landed, built a fort, and ſet up a new pinnace which they launched on the twenty third, and this in ſpite of the Spaniards; and before the end of the month they took two ſhips that were tolerable good prizes. On the firſt of June they anchored before the town of Izabella, on the north ſide of Hiſpaniola, where the Spaniſh governor invited them on ſhore, promiſing them a fair and honourable reception, which invitation being accepted, the General landed on the fifth, and was very kindly received, and every thing was managed during the whole interview, with the greateſt decency, ſplendor, and honour imaginable, and mutual preſents being exchanged, and all kind of refreſhments freely furniſhed, they ſailed on the ſeventh for the coaſt of Florida (*s*) [*F*]. On the twentieth of June they

(*i*) Sidney's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 32.

(*k*) E Collect. Jubar. Anſtis, Ar.

(*l*) Willis's Not. Parl. Vol. II. p. 12.

(*m*) Worthies, Cornwall, p. 209.

(*n*) Willis, Not. Parl. Vol. II. p. 12.

(*o*) Ibid.

(*p*) D'Ewes's Journals of the Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth, p. 333.

(*q*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 251.

(*r*) Hiſtory of the planting of Virginia, p. 39.

(*s*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 252.

year in the reduction of the Iriſh rebels, it is evident from thence, and from the other facts mentioned in the text, that he could not be preſent in the battle of Lepanto, which was fought October 7, 1571 (16), and for which rejoicings were made over all Europe, and particularly in this kingdom, in virtue of the Queen's letter to the Biſhop of London, for a ſolemn thankſgiving, dated from Greenwich November 8, 1571, and another letter from the Privy Council, by the Queen's command, to the Lord-Mayor of London for the ſame purpoſe (17).

(16) Knolles's Hiſtory of the Turks, p. 885.

(17) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 505, 506.

[*E*] *During her royal pleaſure.*] We have elſewhere given an account of the ſituation of affairs in Ireland at this juncture, when ſome of the old Iriſh nobility were framing the rude draught of that formidable rebellion, that afterwards broke out in this kingdom, for the ſupport of which they had already held a kind of council, or parliament, in which it was reſolved to demand aſſiſtance from the king of Spain, and two Popiſh prelates were ſent as their agents to ſollicit this countenance and protection of a foreign power againſt their natural ſovereign. At the ſame time no pains were ſpared to excite a ſpirit of ſedition and diſloyalty amongſt the native Iriſh of all ranks, which, as Sir Henry Sidney acknowledges, muſt have produced a general inſurrection, if it had not been for the vigilant and prudent behaviour of her Majeſty's Engliſh officers; amongſt whom he particularly mentions Sir Warham St Leger, and Captain Greenvile (18). It was, without doubt, to put it in his power to do more effectual ſervice in this reſpect, that the Queen honoured the latter with this patent; and it is at the ſame time no leſs apparent, that with great expence of money, and with no ſmall hazard of his perſon, our young hero laboured all he could to merit the notice and favour of his royal miſtreſs. In this glorious courſe he had not a few competitors, for it was then grown into a cuſtom for ſuch young gentlemen as had large eſtates to ſerve the Queen at their own coſt, and to entertain young gentlemen whoſe purſes were not ſo full, and who were either allied to them by blood, or attached by affection, till they had ſome opportunity of eſtabliſhing them; from which ſeveral families, more eſpecially in the Weſt, derived in proceſs of time both honours and eſtates, and the public innumerable benefits; amongſt which it was none of the leaſt, that thoſe ſtirring and enterprizing ſpirits which might otherwiſe have been diſpoſed to have raiſed diſturbances in the State, were diverted to ſuch undertakings as contributed to it's ſupport, and enabled the Government to perform great things without levying large ſums upon the people, at leaſt in the way of ordinary taxes (19). A policy peculiar to this reign, and which, though it has been admired, will ſcarce be imitated in any other.

(18) Sidney's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 39.

(19) Bohun's Character of Q. Elizabeth.

[*F*] *They ſailed on the ſeventh for the coaſt of Florida.*] The reader will perceive from the ſuccinct account of this expedition given in the text, that as yet, notwithſtanding

they fell in with the coaſt of Florida, where they were to leave a colony of one hundred men, under the direction of Mr Ralph Lane, who was the firſt Engliſhman that had the title of Governor in that country, and having taken all the neceſſary precautions for this purpoſe, and ſettled every thing to the ſatisfaction of thoſe who were to remain behind, Sir Richard Greenvile, on the twenty-fifth of Auguſt, weighed anchor in the Tyger, and ſet ſail for England (*t*), extremely well pleaſed with this new found country, and fully reſolved to return thither, as he promiſed the people, the enſuing year (*u*). In his paſſage home he chaced a Spaniſh ſhip of the burthen of three hundred tons, which he found it impoſſible to take any other way than by boarding, and this in the judgment of his own people impracticable, as by ſome untoward accident they had not at that time any boat (*w*). The General, however, carried away by his eager courage, cauſed ſomething like a boat to be clapped up with the boards of broken cheſts, in which he went in perſon, with as many men as it would hold, and boarded the Spaniſh ſhip, which he had no ſooner done, than the half wrought vehicle which carried them fell to pieces, and ſunk at the ſhip's ſide (*x*) In this veſſel thus taken, the General, on the tenth of September, found himſelf ſeparated from the Tyger, nor did he ſee her again during the whole voyage, that veſſel coming to an anchor at Falmouth on the ſixth of October (*y*); whereas Sir Richard Greenvile did not arrive in his prize, at Plymouth, till the eighteenth of the ſame month, where he was met and welcomed on ſhore by a great concourſe of people, who came to congratulate his good fortune, and by ſome of his friends and relations, who had a nearer concern in his welfare (*z*). It is ſaid in the journal of his voyage, that this Spaniſh prize was richly laden, but without any inſinuation of it's value, or other circumſtance that might be noted of ſuch prodigious worth, as was afterwards, it may be, without any juſt grounds or truth, not only privately ſuggeſted, but publickly affirmed (*a*) [*G*]. In a ſhort time after his return, Sir Richard, who had this new colony extremely at heart, engaged himſelf to make another voyage thither at the proper ſeaſon, and finding it impracticable to have all things ready ſo ſoon as he expected, prevailed upon his couſin Ralegh to ſend away a ſhip with proviſions, that the promiſe he had made might be at leaſt virtually performed, which might hinder the colony from being diſtreſſed or diſperſed (*b*). Such a veſſel was accordingly ſent, and within fourteen days after her arrival in Virginia, Sir Richard Greenvile himſelf came thither, with his ſmall ſquadron of three ſail, ſo punctual he was in the performance of his promiſe, and ſo zealous for the preſervation of thoſe whom he ſuppoſed depended upon it (*c*). All this care, however, was in vain, for neither the advice ſhip nor Sir Richard's ſquadron could ſee any ſigns, or hear any news of the colony left the year before; who, at their own requeſt, had been taken on board his ſquadron by Sir Francis Drake, who touched there in his return from the Weſt-Indies to England, and this but a few days before the advice ſhip arrived (*d*). Sir Richard Greenvile having no intelligence of this, travelled himſelf up into the country to make what enquiries he could; and being ſtill thoroughly perſuaded

(*t*) H. Holland Heroologi. Angl. p. 85.

(*u*) Admiranda Narratio de commodis & incolarum ritibus Virginiæ, &c. Frankfurt. 1590.

(*w*) Hakluyt's Voyages, p. 253.

(*x*) Oldys's Life of Sir W. Raleigh, p. 28.

(*y*) Hakluyt's Voyages, p. 253.

(*z*) Oldys's Life of Sir W. Raleigh, p. 28.

(*a*) Stukeley's Petition and Information.

(*b*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 265.

(*c*) Oldys's Life of Sir W. Raleigh, p. 30.

(*d*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 265.

notwithſtanding all their ſkill in Geography and Navigation, the very beſt Engliſh ſeamen, by a perverſe adherence to cuſtom, followed the old track, and went round by the Weſtward and Caribbee Iſlands, in order to reach the coaſt of Florida, by which they went clearly a thouſand leagues out of their due courſe, and expoſed themſelves beſides to many unneceſſary dangers, as well as their men to much more labour and fatigue than the voyage required (20). At firſt ſight this may ſeem a trivial, or at leaſt no very weighty obſervation, but whoever conſiders it cloſely will find, that it was chiefly owing to this prepoſterous conduct, that all the attempts made by Sir Walter Ralegh for ſettling a colony in North America met with no better ſucceſs. For if the proper track in ſailing had been known, theſe voyages would not have been either ſo tedious or ſo full of hazards; ſupplies might have been ſpeedily and ſecurely ſent, and returns much ſooner made, ſo that moſt of thoſe objections would have been thoroughly removed, which for a time rendered it very doubtful whether the ſcheme of fixing colonies on the North Coaſt of America, which has been, and ſtill is, of inexpreſſible benefit to this nation, ſhould proceed or not. At length Capt. Bartholomew Goſnold, in 1602, venturing to make uſe of his underſtanding and maritime ſkill, made a ſucceſsful voyage without running ſo far to the South (21); and this old error once corrected, the true, that is, the ſhorteſt and ſafeſt courſe was very quickly found, and has been ever ſince in conſtant uſe.

(20) Britiſh Empire in America, Vol. I. p. 352, 353.

(21) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1647.

[*G*] *But publickly affirmed*] This paſſage occurs in that defence which Sir Lewis Stukeley publiſhed for himſelf, when he had incurred univerſal odium, by betraying Sir Walter Ralegh. He was under a neceſſity of picking up and printing all the pieces of ſecret hiſtory that he could poſſibly collect, to the prejudice of that famous man (22). Amongſt other charges one is, that notwithſtanding all the obligations he was under, not from duty only but gratitude, yet he had ſlandered and inſulted the memory of his deceaſed miſtreſs Queen Elizabeth. 'One day, ſays he, myſelf 'upbraiding him with the notorious, extreme injury 'he did my father, in deceiving him of a great adventure which my ſaid father had in the Tyger, 'when he went to the Weſt-Indies with my uncle Sir 'Richard Greenvile, which was, by his own confeſſion, worth fifty thouſand pounds, which came all 'to his hands; my father's portion, at the leaſt, being ten thouſand pounds, that he might lawfully 'claim. He anſwered, that the Queen, however 'ſhe ſeemed a great good miſtreſs unto him in the 'eyes of the world, yet was ſo unjuſt and tyrannous 'unto him, that ſhe laid the envy as well of this as of 'many other her oppreſſions upon him, and that ſhe 'took all the pearl in a cabinet unto herſelf, without 'ever giving him ſo much as one pearl.' This we find referred by the ingenious author of the life of Sir Walter Ralegh, to the prize taken by Sir Richard Greenvile in his return (23). But as he judiciouſly obſerves, it is very ſtrange that a prize of ſuch great value ſhould not be better known, or that Sir Richard Greenvile ſhould never make any complaint of the injuſtice done to him. After all, it is very likely that this prize might be very rich, and that ſome cabinet, or other curioſity, might be taken for or preſented to the Queen, upon which malice and covetouſneſs might afterwards ground this ſtory, which was never brought to the publick view 'till the death of Sir Walter Ralegh, as well as Sir Richard Greenvile.

(22) The humble Petition and Information of Sir Lewis Stukeley, Knt. &c. 1618, 4to.

(23) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, p. 29.

[*H*] *Which*

ſuaded of the great advantages that muſt ariſe to this kingdom from the poſſeſſion of ſuch a country, left, after mature deliberation, and with their own conſent, fifteen of his men (*e*), in the iſland of Roanoak, that at leaſt the title of the Crown and the Proprietor might be preſerved (*f*). He furniſhed them plentifully with all ſorts of proviſions for two years; and having thus done all that it was poſſible for him in ſuch circumſtances to do, returned again to England (*g*). But, as in his outward-bound paſſage he made ſeveral prizes, ſo in his return home he landed on the Azores, plundered ſeveral villages, and picked up afterwards ſome prizes, ſo that though the end of this expedition was defeated, yet through his prudence it was ſo ordered as to bear, in a great meaſure, it's own expence (*h*). We have not ſo much as one date in the relation that is ſtill preſerved of this voyage, however, it appears clearly from thence, that he muſt have returned towards the cloſe of the year 1586 (*i*). The ſummer next enſuing he ſpent in providing, under the patent, and at the expence of Sir Walter Ralegh, another ſquadron for reinforcing the colony at Virginia; but from theſe occupations he was called by his Sovereign to cares of a higher nature, which regarded the preſervation of her perſon, the ſupport of her government, and the protection of her ſubjects (*k*). The Queen had received repeated intelligence of the deſign of the Spaniards to invade England, and that with the whole force of their monarchy, which obliged her to provide for her defence; and as this was a caſe of a very extraordinary nature, ſo ſhe thought it expedient to refer the conſideration of the matter and manner to a ſtanding council of war, compoſed of nine members, of which Sir Richard was one (*l*), and the other eight were the Lord Grey, who had been lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and was then lord-lieutenant of the county of Bucks; Sir Francis Knowles, treaſurer of the houſhold, and knight of the Garter (*m*); Sir Thomas Leighton, governor of the iſland of Guernſey (*n*); Sir Walter Ralegh, lieutenant-general in Cornwall; Sir John Norris, lord preſident of Munſter; Sir Richard Bingham, once preſident of Connaught; Sir Roger Williams, an excellent officer; and Ralph Lane, Eſq; late governor of Virginia (*o*). Theſe wiſe and experienced perſons came to a reſolution on the points referred to them, and pointed out what to them appeared the cleareſt method of providing againſt any danger from the enemy, whatever method they might take, wherever they might bend their force, or what attempts ſoever might be made to favour them by the malecontents in England, which diſpoſition of theirs has been generally approved (*p*) [*H*]. In order to the due execution of meaſures concerted in this council (*q*), moſt of it's members were, as the danger approached nearer, ſent where it was thought they might contribute moſt to Her Majeſty's ſervice (*r*); and upon the ſame principle Sir Richard Greenvile received the Queen's commands not to leave the county of Cornwall (*s*), which put it out of his power to make a third voyage to Virginia (*t*); and very poſſibly this might have an untoward influence upon the expedition, which it is certain proved unſucceſsful, the ſhips returning without ever viſiting the coaſt of Florida (*u*). This command was in all probability the reaſon that we find no particular account of his behaviour on that memorable occaſion, as otherwiſe, from the activity of his temper, and conſtant deſire to ſignalize his courage, more eſpecially againſt the enemies of his country, might have been expected. In the year 1591, the Queen's miniſtry being informed that the rich fleet, which had remained in the Indies all the year before, through the dread of falling into the hands of Sir John Hawkins and Sir Martin Frobiſher, muſt of neceſſity return home; it was reſolved that a ſtrong ſquadron ſhould be ſent to intercept them at the Weſtern Iſlands (*w*). This fleet conſiſted of ſeven ſail of Her Majeſty's ſhips, viz. the Defiance, of five hundred tons, and two hundred and fifty men, in which was the Admiral Lord Thomas Howard, ſon to the Duke of Norfolk; the Revenge, Sir Richard Greenvile, Vice-Admiral; the Nonpareil, of five hundred tons, and two hundred and fifty men, commanded by Sir Edward Denny; the Bonaventure, of ſix hundred tons, and two hundred and fifty men, under Captain Croſs;

(*e*) Some ſay fifty Perſons.

(*f*) Britiſh Empire in America, Vol. I. p. 350.

(*g*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 265.

(*h*) Ibid. ad calc.

(*i*) See the relation in Hakluyt.

(*k*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 565.

(*l*) Oldys's Life of Sir W. Ralegh, p. 39.

(*m*) Anceſtor to the Earls of Banbury.

(*n*) In ſome copies written by miſtake, Lakeu.

(*o*) Afterwards knighted.

(*p*) Sir W. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 222.

(*q*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 565.

(*r*) Stowe, Holinſhed, and Speed.

(*s*) Carew's Survey of Cornwall.

(*t*) Hiſt. of Virginia by Col. Beverly, p. 9.

(*u*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 253.

(*w*) Camden. Annal. p. 637. Carew's Survey of Cornwall, fol. 62.

[*H*] *Which diſpoſition of theirs has been generally approved*] The deciſion of this famous council of war is dated November 27, 1587, and has been publiſhed with Sir William Monſon's remarks thereupon, which are very pertinent and ſolid (24). The only reaſon for making this note, is to put the reader in mind of the great wiſdom of the adminiſtration in that reign, ſhewn in referring every thing to the conſideration of proper judges, and expecting from them a report of the meaſures fit to be taken, and the reaſons upon which they were grounded. This was the principal cauſe why almoſt every political ſtep during that long reign was attended, in whole or in part, with the conſequences that were expected from it; and ſuch was the virtue of thoſe times, that when an officer was appointed, as the caſe once was, with Sir Henry Palmer, for the command of an expedition, for which he conceived himſelf not the beſt qualified, he judged it no diſcredit to acknowledge this, and to deſire to be excuſed. It ſeems the gentleman beforementioned had an eſtabliſhed character for his courage and conduct as a ſea officer, and therefore was aſſigned to command a ſquadron in 1583, upon the coaſt of Spain (25). Upon this he humbly repreſented to the council, that he had ſerved chiefly in the narrow ſeas, and doubted of his own capacity for the charge to which he was appointed, and therefore was in duty bound to intreat their Honours to make choice of ſome other perſon, who was better acquainted, and had more experience in thoſe ſeas, that Her Majeſty might be the better ſerved, and their Lordſhips derive more honour from their recommendation. This was well accepted, and did not turn in the leaſt to Sir Henry's prejudice, who commanded Her Majeſty's ſhip the Antelope, in the memorable ſea-fight of 1588 (26), and did therein excellent ſervice, as well as in ſeveral ſubſequent expeditions.

(24) Naval Tracts, p. 222.

(25) Sir Richard Hawkins's Obſervations, p. 8.

(26) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 171, 195.

[*I*] *Than*

Croſs; the Lyon, of five hundred tons, and two hundred and fifty men, commanded by Captain George Fenner; the Foreſight, of three hundred ton, and one hundred and ſixty men, Captain Thomas Vavaſor; the Crane, of two hundred tons, and one hundred men, Captain Duffield; the bark Ralegh, Captain Thynne; and ſome ſmall veſſels and tenders (*x*). His Catholic Majeſty, who never wanted intelligence, had ſo early an account of this ſquadron, and of their force, that he ſent orders into the Indies for the galleons to return very late in the year, and at the ſame time ordered a prodigious armament in his own ports. Theſe meaſures were the utmoſt efforts of that refined policy for which he was ſo famous; for he judged that the galleons ſtaying ſo long the Engliſh fleet would be obliged to return home for want of proviſions; ſhewing plainly thereby, that he had rather riſk his ſubjects ſhips and ſilver in that perilous ſeaſon, than run the hazard of a naval engagement if that could be prevented; but if this project failed, as it did through the care taken in ſending ſtore-ſhips from London, then his ſecond muſt take effect, for by this delay he had time enough to provide a fleet of ten times the force of the Engliſh, which was to meet and eſcort the galleons (*y*). On the laſt day of Auguſt, in the afternoon, Captain Middleton, who had kept the Spaniſh Armada company three days, the better to diſcover their force, gave intelligence of it to the Engliſh Admiral, who was riding at anchor under the iſland of Flores, and before his meſſage was well heard the fleet was in ſight. The Engliſh were in a very indifferent ſituation, having a great part of their reſpective crews on ſhore, ſome getting ballaſt, others filling water, and not a few employed in collecting freſh proviſions and fruits; the ſhips alſo were ſeveral of them light for want of ballaſt, all things in diſorder, and, which was the moſt afflicting circumſtance, near half their men diſabled by the ſcurvy and other diſeaſes. The Admiral, however, conſidering the danger and the diſproportion, weighed immediately and put to ſea, as the reſt of his ſquadron did following his example (*z*). The Revenge weighed laſt, Sir Richard Greenvile ſtaying to recover the men who were on ſhore, and would otherwiſe have been loſt, having no leſs than ninety ſick on board. The Admiral, and the reſt with difficulty, recovered the wind, which Sir Richard Greenvile not being able to do, his maſter and ſome others adviſed him to cut his main-ſail and caſt about, truſting to the ſailing of his ſhip, becauſe the Seville ſquadron was already on his weather bow. Sir Richard peremptorily refuſed to fly from the enemy, telling them, *That he would much rather die than leave ſuch a mark of diſhonour on himſelf, his country, and the Queen's ſhip*, putting them in hopes that he would pierce through the two ſquadrons, and force thoſe of Seville to give him way. But the Spaniſh Admiral, called the St Philip, being in the wind, and bearing down upon him, becalmed the Revenge in ſuch a manner that ſhe could neither make way nor feel her helm, and being in this ſituation the ſhips that were under his lee luffed up in order to lay him on board (*a*). The St Philip boarded firſt, and preſently after four other ſhips, two on the larboard, and two on the ſtarboard, however, the reception which the Spaniſh Admiral had from the lower tier of the guns of the Revenge, laden with croſs-bar ſhot, was ſo little liked that ſhe preſently fell off, and the reſt continuing longer were no better treated. Some time after the fight began, the George Noble, of London, a ſmall victualler, fell under the lee of the Revenge, and aſked Sir Richard Greenvile what he would command him, to which, with his uſual greatneſs of mind, he anſwered, *Save yourſelf, and leave me to my fate* (*b*). From the time the fight began, which was about three in the afternoon, to the break of day the next morning, Sir Richard Greenvile repulſed the enemy fifteen times, notwithſtanding that, they continually ſhifted their veſſels, and boarded with freſh men. He was himſelf wounded in the beginning of the action, but continued upon deck till about eleven at night, when receiving a ſhot in the body he was carried down to be dreſſed, which while his ſurgeon was doing Sir Richard received a dangerous wound in the head, and the poor man was killed by his ſide (*c*). By this time the Engliſh began to want powder, all their ſmall arms were broke, forty of their beſt men, which were but one hundred and three at the beginning, killed, and almoſt every one of the reſt wounded, their maſts beat overboard, tackle cut to pieces, and nothing but a hulk left, unable to move one way or other, but as the ſea directed, with the enemy in a ring round them (*d*). In this ſituation Sir Richard Greenvile invited the ſhip's crew to yield themſelves to the mercy of God, rather than of the Spaniards, and not to tarniſh the high reputation they had acquired by ſeeking to preſerve their lives for a few hours, or a few days at moſt, to which the Maſter-Gunner, and many of the ſeamen aſſented, and the former, who was a moſt reſolute man, ſhewed himſelf ready to execute the General's orders, which were to ſplit and ſink the ſhip (*e*). But the Captain and Maſter, who were of another opinion, interpoſed, they alledged that there were ſeveral gallant men whoſe wounds were not mortal, and whoſe lives were not to be thrown away; that they had already done enough to ſecure their honour; that it was now time to conſult their ſafety, and that as to the loſs of Her Majeſty's ſhip it ought not to enter into the queſtion, ſince ſhe had ſix foot water in the hold, three ſhot between wind and water, the leaks made by which were ſo poorly ſtopped that they would certainly open with the working of the ſea, and the ſhip ſink (*f*). While the Captain thus argued the caſe with Sir Richard, who was not at all moved

(*x*) Sir W. Raleigh's True Report in Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. part iii. p. 169.

(*y*) Sir W. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 178.

(*z*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 637.

(*a*) Sir W. Raleigh's True Report, &c. Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 638.

(*b*) Sir W. Raleigh's True Report.

(*c*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 638.

(*d*) Sir Walter Raleigh's True Report.

(*e*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 638.

(*f*) Sir Walter Raleigh's True Report.

so that his fortune, which was not large (*u*), fell (as he desired it should) (*w*) to his two widow sisters (*x*). The week before his death he gave the play-house his opera called *Achilles*, which was acted soon after with applause [Z]. Since this there came out a comedy, said to be written by him, called *the Distressed Wife*, the second edition of which was printed in 1750; and very lately his name has appeared to a humourous piece with this title, *The Rehearsal at Goatham*.

(*u*) About 3000 l.

(*w*) See Remark [*U*].

(*x*) Katharine and Joanna, the first was the relict of Mr Baller, and the other of Mr Fortescue. See the dedication to his Life in 1733, 8vo.

stands (52). His friend's moral character is here finely drawn, and perhaps he was the more sollicitous to exert himself on that head, as it had been grossly misrepresented, particularly by Mr Jacob (53), which procured him a place in the Dunciad (54).

(52) See Letter, 66 in Vol. 9. of Pope's Works edit. 1742.

(53) See Mr Gay's Life in his Lives of the Poets.

(54) In Book III. lines 149, 150, first edition.

[Z] *Achilles was acted with applause.*] The profits of it were given to his sisters (55). It was very assiduously patroniz'd by the Duke of Queensberry, who, Mr Pope observes, acted more than the part of a brother to our author. His papers fell partly into Mr Pope's hands; who, for as much as did so, no doubt took care (as he promised Dr Swift) to suppress things unworthy of him; but he expresses his concern in regard to the rest, which were at the discretion of the administrators, whose partiality he was afraid of (56). Upon the whole, his account does by no means lessen the authenticity of those few pieces mentioned above, which have been published in Mr Gay's name, since his death. P

(55) So says Mr Theoph. Cibber in the Life of Gay, Vol. 4. of the Poets Lives.

(56) See Letter 64, in Vol. 9. of his Works, 1742, as also Letters 65, and 67.

GELLIBRAND [HENRY] a very able Mathematician, a learned Writer, and Astronomy Professor in Gresham College in the XVIIth century. He was the grandson of John Gellibrand, who resided, and who died at St Paul's-Cray in Kent, Nov. 25. 1588. and the son of Mr Henry Gellibrand some time Fellow of All-Souls College in Oxford, who marrying and settling at the place before mentioned, died there August 15, 1615 (*a*). This Henry of whom we are treating, was the eldest of his five sons, and a native of the City of London, being born in the Parish of St Botolph Aldersgate, Nov. 17, 1597 (*b*). The same year that his father died, he was admitted a Commoner of Trinity College in Oxford, being then in his eighteenth year. He took his degree of Bachelor of Arts Nov. 25, 1619, at which time, as Wood tells us in his blunt manner, he was esteemed to have no great matter in him (*c*); but happening to hear one of Sir Henry Savile's Mathematical Lectures, either by pure accident, or to save the sconce of a groat if he had been absent, he was so much taken with it, that he applied himself immediately to that noble science (*d*). This tho' treated as a wonder by Anthony Wood, is no more than what fell out to Des Chales, Paschal, and other eminent mathematicians. Our author pursued this study with so much vigour, that before he took his degree of Master of Arts, which was May 26, 1623, he was distinguished, and esteemed for his great knowledge therein, both in the University, and at London. To the first perhaps his making a dial, which yet remains on the east side of the old quadrangle of Trinity College might contribute, and the latter in a great measure arose from his intimate acquaintance with the celebrated Mr Henry Briggs, and other able mathematicians, who flourished at that time (*e*). He was, while Bachelor of Arts, curate of Chidringstone in Kent, but it is probable resigned it that he might pursue his mathematical studies with the greater freedom. Upon the death of the ingenious Mr Edmund Gunter, December 10, 1620. Mr Briggs encouraged our young mathematician to become a candidate for his Professorship at Gresham College (*f*). Upon this occasion he had a certificate from the Rector of that parish, in which he had officiated as curate, and from others of the Clergy in Kent, in respect to his learning and piety; and another from the President, Vice-President, and Fellows of Trinity College in Oxford, which is conceived in very strong terms, and acknowledges not only his assiduity in his studies, but his great frankness in the communication of knowledge, as also his disinterestedness in contenting himself with his own little patrimony, that the pursuit of preferment might prove no detriment to his studies. In all probability these papers had great weight since within a few days after, viz. January 2, 1626, he was elected Astronomy Professor (*g*). He lived from that time as he had done before in a close intimacy with Mr Henry Briggs, who took great pleasure in communicating to him his mathematical notions and discoveries, and at the time of his decease he recommended to Mr Gellibrand the perfecting and publishing a large book, which he did not live to finish (*h*). Some time after this, one William Beale, who was Mr Gellibrand's servant, published, with his master's knowledge and consent, an Almanack for the year 1631, in which the saints names usually put were omitted, and the names of other saints and martyrs mentioned in Mr Fox's book were placed in their room, for which Mr Gellibrand was brought into some trouble (*i*) [*A*]. This might very probably retard the publication of the BRITISH TRIGONOMETRY, which as he had undertaken to perfect at the request of Mr Briggs, so there wanted not several other eminent persons who pressed him very much upon the same head to whom he gave full satisfaction, by causing that work when compleat to be printed in Holland in 1633, which was received with very great applause (*k*) [*B*]. The same year there came abroad at the end of Mr

(*a*) Wood's Lives of the Gresham Professors, p. 336.

(*b*) Wood's Hist. & Antiquit. Oxoniæ, lib. II. p. 296.

(*c*) Fast. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 212. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 622.

(*d*) Ward's Lives of Gresham Professors, p. 81.

(*e*) College certificate, dated Jan. 26, 1630.

(*f*) Ward's Lives of the Gresham Professors, p. 336.

(*g*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 612. Ward's Lives of G. Professors, p. 82.

(*h*) See the Article BRIGGS [HEN this Dictionary. Certificate of the President, and Fellows of Trinity College, dated Jan. 26, 1630.

(*i*) Canterbury's Doom, p. 142.

(*k*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. c. 612.

[*A*] *Was brought into some trouble.* The person chiefly offended with this almanack, was Dr William Laud, then Bishop of London, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury; and by his means, it is said, that Mr Gellibrand, and his servant Beale, were called into the High-Commission Court; where however they escaped censure, by shewing that this was no innovation of theirs, but had been done before, and pleading also, that they had no ill intention. After Mr Gellibrand's death, this was made part of the accusation against Archbishop Laud, and Major Thomas Gellibrand was produced before the House of Peers as a witness upon this Prelate's prosecution (1).

(1) Prynn's Canterbury's Doom, p. 515

[*B*] *Which was received with great applause.*] The title of this work at large runs thus: Trigonometria Britannica, *sive*, De doctrina triangulorum: Libri duo Quorum

Mr Thomas James's account of his voyage, for the diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage, and wintering in Hudſon's Bay a ſhort diſcourſe of our author's concerning the longitude, which at that ſeaſon was very much admired, and which notwithſtanding the great improvements that have been ſince made, may be very juſtly ſtiled a curious and a uſeful piece, even now (*l*) [*C*]. It is commonly believed that our author made the diſcovery of the variation of the Magnetic Needle, and this upon the credit of a very great man, who has poſitively affirmed it, but in this, without doubt there is an error as will be ſhewn more largely in another place (*m*). In reſpect to this, however, thus much is true, that Mr Gellibrand was extreamly well acquainted with, and wrote a very learned book upon the ſubject, which has been and ever will be eſteemed by competent judges [*D*]. He wrote

(*l*) Appendix to Thomas James's Voyage for Diſcovery of the N. Weſt-Paſſage, &c. Lond. 1633. 4to.

(*m*) See the Article of GUNTER [EDMOND] in this Dictionary.

Quorum prior continet conſtructionem canonis ſinuum, tangentium, & ſecantium. una cum logarithmis ſinuum & tangentium ad gradus & graduum centeſimas, & ad minuta & ſecunda centeſimis reſpondentia: a clariſſimo doctiſſimo integerrimoque viro domino *Henrico Briggio*, Geometriæ in celeberrima academia Oxonienſi profeſſore Saviliano digniſſimo, paulo ante inopinatam ipſius è terris emigrationem compoſitus. Poſterior vero uſum ſive applicationem canonis in reſolutione triangulorum tam planorum, quam ſphæricorum, è geometricis fundamentis petita, calculo facillimo eximiiſque compendis exhibet ab *Henrico Gellibrand* Aſtronomiæ in collegio Greſhamenſi apud Londinenſes profeſſore conſtructus. Goudae 1633. fol. that is, 'Britiſh Trigonometry, or 'the Doctrine of Triangles, in two Books; the firſt of 'which contains the conſtruction of the canon of ſines, 'tangents, and ſecants, together with the logarithms 'of ſines and tangents, &c. by that famous, learned, 'and worthy man, Mr *Henry Briggs*, late Savilian 'Profeſſor of Geometry in the celebrated univerſity of 'Oxford, compoſed by him a little before his unexpected death. The latter ſhewing the uſe or application of the canon in the reſolution of plain and 'ſpherical triangles upon the principles of Geometry, 'and by a ſhort and eaſy method of calculation, by 'Henry Gellibrand, Profeſſor of Aſtronomy in Greſham 'College, London. Printed at Gouda, 1633. folio.' Mr John Newton, in the year 1658, publiſhed a work of the like import, and under the ſame title; the firſt part of which, analogous to that of Mr Briggs, was his own; but the ſecond a tranſlation of our author's work into Engliſh (2).

(2) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 632.

[*C*] *A curious and a uſeful piece, even now.*] The title of this little piece is, *An* Appendix *concerning* Longitude, Lond. 1633. 4to, in three leaves. The beginning of this treatiſe is at once ſo weighty, and ſo perſpicuous, and repreſents ſome points of uſeful knowledge in ſo clear, and at the ſame time in ſo conciſe a manner, that the reader cannot but be pleaſed to peruſe it.

'Latitude and longitude are two primary affections 'of the earth; by the help of theſe two doth the Geo'grapher ſtrive to repreſent the parts of the earth, that 'they may keep ſymmetry and harmony with the 'whole. Latitude then is an arch of the meridian 'comprehended between the equator and a parallel; 'but longitude is an arch of the equator, intercepted 'by the prime meridian, and the meridian of a place, 'the difference of longitude being the difference of 'two meridians. The meaſure of the former is the 'meridian, the equator of this latter. For the exact 'ſettling of latitudes, we have many and abſolute helps; 'ſo that the error, if there any happen, ought to be 'imputed to the imperfect handling of the artiſt. But 'the longitude of a meridian, is that which hath, and 'ſtill weareth the greateſt maſters of Geography. Nevertheleſs, hath not the wiſe Creator left man unfurniſhed of many excellent helps to attain his deſire: 'for beſides eclipſes, eſpecially of the moon (whoſe 'leiſure we muſt often wait, and perhaps go without, 'if the Heavens be not propitious to us) we have the 'concourſe of quick-paced inferior planets, with ſuperior ſlow ones, or their appulſes with ſome fixed ſtar 'of known place, or elſe ſome other artifice derived 'from their motions and poſitions. As for the magnetical needle, to argue a longitude from its variation, 'is altogether without ground; and though well-furniſhed ſeamen are able by their dead reckonings, as 'they term them, to determine the difference of meridians ſomewhat near, yet by reaſon of the unknown 'quantity of a degree in a given meaſure, which is the 'rule of the ſhip's way, varieties of adverſe winds, dif'ferent ſets of tides, and other involved incumbrances, 'they come often wide of the mark they aim at. The 'beſt way yet known to the world, is that which is de'duced from the celeſtial appearances, which being 'performed by judicious artiſts, may in a ſhort time 'rectify our geographical and hydrographical charts hi'therto in moſt places foully diſtorted. It is my intent 'here to give an inſtance from two ſeveral obſervations 'drawn from the celeſtial bodies, by the author of this 'diſcourſe, in his diſcovery for the north-weſt at the 'bottom of the Bay, being his wintering-place, and 'called by the name of Charlton, which for judgment, 'circumſpection, and exactneſs, may compare with 'moſt: the firſt, from the eclipſe of the moon; the 'ſecond, from the moon's meridian of Heaven, or her 'coming to the plane of his meridian of Charlton.' This eclipſe happened Oct. 9. 1631. and it ſo fell out, that Mr Gellibrand himſelf obſerved the eclipſe at the ſame time at Greſham College, from whence he determines the longitude of Charlton to be weſt from London 79 deg. 30 min. by the ſecond method he determined it to be one degree leſs, and to ſhew that this was no very conſiderable error, as things then ſtood, he gives an inſtance of much greater variations with reſpect to Rome and Nurembergh, and this from the obſervations of the beſt Aſtronomers Europe had produced. Regimontanus making this difference 36, Werner 32, Appian 34, Meſtlin and Origan 33, Stoſler 18, Maginus 26, Schoner 12, Mercator and Hondius as much, Stadius 13, Janſonius 10, Longomontanus 16, Lanſperg 10, Kepler by two obſervations on two lunar eclipſes, but 4 minutes of time. The reader muſt obſerve, that every four minutes of time makes a whole degree in longitude; ſo that the difference between the firſt and laſt of theſe computations, is no leſs than eight whole degrees, which will afford a competent judge of theſe things, matter of great ſpeculation. Some and even great errors, without doubt, there muſt be in ſeveral of theſe operations; but that they did not wholly proceed from ſuch inaccuracies, there is good ground to ſuſpect. At the end of ſome copies of Captain James's voyage, there is another diſcourſe after this of Mr Gellibrand's, with this ſingular addreſs, *To the venerable* artiſts, *and younger* ſtudents *in* Divinity *in the famous univerſity of* Cambridge; ſubſcribed X. Z. but ſaid to be written by Mr W. W. Whoever was the author, it is a very curious piece, and may be reckoned among the firſt apologies in our language, for the free exerciſe of thought in Philoſophy, and on this account has been very properly reprinted in a late Collection of Voyages and Travels, to which we ſhall refer the reader for its contents (3).

(3) Harris's Voyages, Lond. 1748. Vol. II. P. 435.

[*D*] *And ever will be eſteemed by competent judges.*] The title of this curious and moſt conſidered of all Mr Gellibrand's works, runs thus: *A Diſcourſe* mathematical *on the* Variation *of the* magnetic Needle. *Together with the admirable diminution lately diſcovered.* London, 1635. 4to

At the opening of his work, our author declares his chief intention to be the treating of the deflection of the needle from the terreſtrial meridian, together with that abſtruſe and admirable variation of the variation lately diſcovered to the world. The variation then, is the deflection of the magnetical meridian, from the terreſtrial, the horizon determining its quantity and quality. Theſe meridians ſometimes are coincident, and in ſuch caſes there can be no variation. Sometimes again, they are different; and then, that hemiſphere wherein either extremity of the needle lies, denominates its quality; for if it be the eaſtern hemiſphere, it

ſtion may be decided, or whether it be decided at all, certain it is, that by his contemporaries he was loudly applauded, and that the fame of this action did not a little contribute to that high reſpect with which the Engliſh were every where treated abroad, and which produced them real advantages at home (*q*). This great and gallant perſon eſpouſed Mary, eldeſt daughter and coheir, to Sir John St Leger, of Aumery in the county of Devon, Knight, by Katherine his wife, daughter to George Lord Abergavenny, and was ſon and heir of Sir George St Leger, Knight, ſon and heir of Sir James St Leger, by Anne his wife, eldeſt daughter and coheir to Thomas Earl of Ormond, lineally deſcended from James Earl of Ormond and Eleanor his wife, daughter of Humphry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of King Edward I. (*r*). Alſo the aforeſaid James St Leger, was the ſon and heir of Sir Thomas St Leger, by Anne his wife, ſiſter to King Edward IV. So that the deſcendants of this Sir Richard Greenvile by Mary his wife beforementioned, were very nobly allied, having iſſue by her three ſons, Bernard, John, and Roger, but the two laſt died without iſſue (*s*). Alſo five daughters, Mary married to Arthur Tremain, of Collacombe, Eſq; Catherine to Juſtinian Abbot, Eſq; Urſula, who died unmarried; Bridget, married to John Weeks, Prebendary of Briſtol; and Rebecca, who died unmarried (*t*).

(*q*) Grot. Annal. lib. i.

(*r*) Genealogical Remembrance of the Family of Greenvile.

(*s*) E Stemmate R. Greenvile.

(*t*) Collins's Supplement to the Peerage, Vol. I. p. 80.

taken for his opinion, this qualifying expreſſion, *Notwithſtanding, out of the greatneſs of his mind he could not be perſwaded.* Yet he frames a handſome apology for Lord Thomas Howard, every way worthy of him, and not unworthy of Sir Walter Ralegh. 'For the 'reſt of her Majeſty's ſhips, ſays he, that entered not 'ſo far into the fight as the Revenge, the reaſons and 'cauſes were theſe. There were of them but ſix in 'all, whereof two, but ſmall ſhips, the Revenge, en'gaged paſt recovery. The iſland of Flores was on 'the one ſide; fifty-three ſail of the Spaniſh, divided 'into ſquadrons, on the other; all as full filled with 'as many ſoldiers as they could contain. Almoſt the 'one half of our men ſick, and not able to ſerve, the 'ſhips grown foul, unromaged, and ſcarcely able to 'bear any ſail for want of ballaſt, having been ſix 'months at ſea before. If all the reſt had entered, all 'had been loſt, for the very hugeneſs of the Spaniſh 'fleet, if no other violence had been offered, would 'have cruſhed them before them into ſhivers. Of 'which the diſhonour and loſs to the Queen had been 'far greater than the ſpoil or harm that the enemy 'could any way have received. Notwithſtanding it 'is very true that the Lord Thomas would have entered 'between the ſquadrons, but the reſt would not con'deſcend, and the maſter of his own ſhip offered to 'leap into the ſea, rather than to conduct that her Ma'jeſty's ſhip and the reſt to be a prey to the enemy, 'where there was no hope nor poſſibility either of de'fence or victory. Which alſo in my opinion had 'ill ſorted or anſwered the diſcretion and truſt of a 'general, to commit himſelf and his charge to an aſ'ſured deſtruction, without hope or likelihood of pre'vailing, thereby to diminiſh the ſtrength of her Ma'jeſty's navy, and to enrich the pride and glory of 'the enemy. The Foreſight of the Queen's, com'manded by M. Thomas Vavaſor, performed a very 'great fight, and ſtayed two hours as near the Revenge 'as the weather would permit him, not forſaking the 'fight 'till he was like to be encompaſſed by the 'ſquadrons, and with great difficulty cleared himſelf. 'The reſt gave divers volleys of ſhot, and entered as 'far as the place permitted, and their own neceſſities, 'to keep the weather gage of the enemy until they 'were parted by night.' This, upon Sir Walter's authority, and indeed he could not have a better, Mr Camden has inſerted in his Annals (34), where it will remain a ſufficient juſtification for that noble perſon's not continuing the fight, without impeaching the character of Sir Richard Greenvile, who did. But let us hear the ſentiments of a worthy and experienced ſeaman, the ſon of an able and gallant Admiral, contemporary with all theſe great men, as well acquainted with facts, free from all connections, and who writ from a ſpirit of truth, and zeal for his country's good. Speaking of the obligation that all officers are under, of performing punctually their duty, with whatever peril the performance of it may be attended, he proceeds thus (35). 'In this point, at the Iſle of Flores, 'Sir Richard Greenvile got eternal honour and repu'tation, of great valour as well as of an experimented 'ſoldier, chooſing rather to ſacrifice his life, and to 'paſs all danger whatſoever, than to fail in his obli'gation, by gathering together thoſe which had re'mained aſhore in that place, though with the ha'zard of his ſhip and company. For we ought ra'ther to embrace an honourable death, than to live 'with infamy and diſhonour, by failing in duty; and 'I account that he and his country obtained much 'credit on that occaſion: for one ſhip, and of the 'ſecond ſort, (rate) of Her Majeſty's ſuſtained the 'force of all the fleet of Spain, and gave them to 'underſtand that they are impregnable; for having 'bought dearly the boarding of her divers and ſun'dry times, and with many jointly, and with a con'tinual fight of fourteen or ſixteen hours, at length 'leaving her without any maſt ſtanding, and like a 'log in the ſeas, ſhe made, notwithſtanding, a moſt 'honourable compoſition of life and liberty for above 'two hundred and ſixty men, as by the pay-book ap'peareth, which Her Majeſty of her free grace com'manded in recompence of their ſervice to be given 'to every one his ſix months wages. All which may 'worthily be written in our chronicles in letters of 'gold, in memory for all poſterities, ſome to beware, 'and others by their example, in the like occaſions, 'to imitate the true valour of our nation in theſe 'Ages.' To underſtand this paſſage, and to reconcile it with the other accounts, we muſt conſider that the capitulation was made for all borne upon the ſhip's books, though of theſe there remained not above one hundred and fifty, of which ninety were ſick in the hold, and the reſt wounded almoſt to a man, ſo that not many returned home to receive the Queen's bounty, which was chiefly valuable, as it was an apparent mark of her approbation. The ſame writer takes notice alſo of Captain Vavaſor, who ſhewed his love to Sir Richard beyond the meaſure of his duty; but let me not forget another gallant man, Capt Jacob Whiddon, in the Pilgrim, who got through the Spaniſh fleet in the night, bore with the Revenge in the morning, *and though hunted like a hare amongſt many ravenous hounds, yet was ſo fortunate as to eſcape* (36). Theſe were all tributes of affection to Sir Richard Greenvile, flowing from the true ſpirit of Engliſh ſeamen, and which ſufficiently indicate their ſenſe of his behaviour. But if the word of a ſcholar, a patriot, and a ſtranger, will add weight, let it be known that the judicious Grotius obſerves (37), 'That the Greeks and Romans who of old ſup'ported all their glorious actions by naval victories, 'were at this time equalled in fortitude and in cou'rage by the Engliſh.' Our learned countryman, John Evelyn (38), having related this action in few words, crys out, *Than this, What have we more? What can be greater?* indeed, I think nothing that is recorded in any hiſtory, in any language. Yet this man is without a monument, and very little pains have been taken to do juſtice to his memory. May every virtuous reader pay it the juſt tribute of a tear, and may the Britiſh Flag never want, what it lately had (39), an officer of the ſame name and ſpirit to ſupport it's glory!

(34) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 638, 639.

(35) The Obſervations of Sir Richard Hawkins, Knt. in his Voyage into the South-Seas, p. 10.

(36) Sir W. Ralegh's True Report, &c.

(37) Annal. de reb. Belgic. lib. i.

(38) Navigation and Commerce, their original, &c. p. 76.

(39) Capt. Thomas Greenvile of the Defiance, ſon to the preſent counteſs Temple killed in the ſervice of his country, May 3, 1747.

E

GREENVILE [Sir BEVIL] the grandſon of the former, in whom united not only the names, and a great part of the fortunes, but the virtues alſo of two of the moſt ancient families in the Weſt of England [*A*]. He was born at the family ſeat of his father Bernard Greenvile, Eſq; in the year 1596, being the thirty-eighth of Queen Elizabeth (*a*). He diſcovered early marks of a pregnant genius, accompanied with a moſt ſweet and amiable temper, which rendered him univerſally beloved at Exeter College in Oxford, to which he was ſent while yet a boy, for the improvement of his ſtudies, where under the ſpecial inſpection of Dr John Prideaux, afterwards Biſhop of Worceſter, he laid the foundation of a ſolid and rational piety, and at the ſame time acquired a large ſtock of uſeful and general knowledge (*b*). February 17, 1613, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and ſoon after left the univerſity, and returned to his own houſe (*c*). His principal care was to maintain his own credit, and the dignity of his family, not by an oſtentatious magnificence, but by a prudent management of his own eſtate, a kind of paternal tenderneſs for his tenants, and a moſt courteous and reſpectful behaviour to all the gentlemen round him. To theſe engaging qualities, he added a ſtrict attention to whatever regarded the public ſervice, and by a multitude of experiments ſhewed, that it was both practicable and profitable to make uſe of coal inſtead of wood in melting of tin; and contrived likewiſe ſeveral methods to hinder the waſting of that metal in the blaſt, which having brought to perfection at his own private expence, he, from a principle of public ſpirit, communicated to his countrymen for their common advantage (*d*). By theſe manly and laudable means he conciliated to himſelf the eſteem and affection of perſons of all ranks, in conſequence of which he was returned with John Arundel, of Trerice, Eſq; Knight of the Shire for the County of Cornwall, in that parliament which was called in the eighteenth of James I.; and in the firſt ſeſſions of which the Lord Chancellor Bacon was cenſured, and which, after a ſecond ſeſſions was diſſolved, February 18, 1621 (*e*). He was alſo returned with William Coryton, Eſq; Knight for Cornwall, in that parliament called in the twenty-firſt of the ſame reign, and which was prorogued May 29, 1624 (*f*). In the three firſt parliaments of the ſucceeding reign he was returned with Richard Scot, Eſq; Burgeſs for Launceſton; and with Ambroſe Manaton, Eſq; to that parliament which was ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter on the 13th of April 1640, and diſſolved the 5th of May following (*g*). About this time he received the honour of knighthood; for in that unhappy aſſembly called the Long-Parliament, ſummoned to meet November the third, in the ſame year, we find Alexander Carew, Eſq; and Sir Bevil Greenvile, Knight, returned for Cornwall (*h*). He had in the year 1638, raiſed a troop at his own expence, with which he attended the King in his firſt northern expedition, by which he gave an early and convincing proof of his loyalty, in (*i*) which he was never backward upon any occaſion, though without making any pretences to court favour. He ſaw ſooner than moſt the bad deſigns that were forming, and apprehended very clearly the pernicious conſequences which muſt follow from them. In this ſituation he conducted himſelf with equal ſteadineſs and prudence. He adhered to what he took to be his duty to his King and Country, but he would not plunge himſelf into the depths of party. He did not take the famous Proteſtation, which many wiſe and worthy men did, being either awed by the fury of the populace, or deluded by the ſpecious pretences of falſe patriots; neither do we find his name in the liſt of Straffordians. His concealing his ſentiments was the pure effect of prudence, and not from any doubtfulneſs, or dread of offending the prevailing party; which manifeſtly appeared in the honeſt advice he gave his unfortunate fellow member Sir Alexander Carew, upon that memorable and melancholy occaſion of paſſing the Bill for the attainder of the earl of Strafford in the Houſe of Commons *. 'Pray, Sir, ſaid this good man, 'when it came to be put to the vote, let it never be ſaid that any member of our 'country ſhould have a hand in this fatal buſineſs; and therefore pray ye give your 'vote againſt the Bill.' To whom Sir Alexander inſtantly replied, 'If I were ſure to 'be the next man that ſhould ſuffer upon the ſame ſcaffold, with the ſame axe, I 'would give my conſent to the paſſing of it.' When this afterwards fell out, and Sir Alexander

(*a*) Viſit. de Com. Devon. c. i. in Col. Arm.

(*b*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon.

(*c*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 194.

(*d*) Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 469.

(*e*) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. II. p. 13.

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 25.

(*h*) Ruſhworth's Collections, part iii. Vol. I. p. 2.

(*i*) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 2, 3. Bill ſign. an. 13 Car. II.

* Dugdale's Short View of the late Troubles in England, p. 198.

[*A*] *In the Weſt of England.*] The Bovile's, or the Bevile's, were a very ancient family in Cornwall, who came in with the Conqueror (1). The chief of this family was ſeated at Gwarnock, and Richard Greenvile, Eſq; the great grand-father of Bernard Greenvile, Eſq; eſpouſed one of the daughters and coheireſſes of John Bevile, Eſq; the other being married to Mr Arundel of Trerice; and they had between them lands to the value of four hundred marks a year by theſe ladies, in the reign of Henry VIIIth, as we are more than once told by our learned Antiquary Leland (2). Bernard Greenvile, Eſq; married Elizabeth, daughter and coheireſs of Phillip Bevile, Eſq; of Brynne, third ſon to John Bevile, and niece and heireſs of Sir William Bevile of Killigarth (3), whoſe fortune, pretty well repaired by ſucceſſive marriages (4), paſſed moſt of it by this marriage into the family of the Greenvile's. The arms of this very ancient family are, argent, a bull paſſant, gules; armed and tripped, or (5). By this Lady Mr Greenvile had (6) Sir Bevil, of whom we are now ſpeaking; Sir Richard Greenvile, of whom in the next article; John Greenvile, who was afterwards of Lincoln's Inn; Roger, who was drowned in the ſervice of King Charles I. and one daughter, Gertrude, who became the wife of Chriſtopher Harris, Eſq; ſon and heir of Sir Chriſtopher Harris, Knight. Before we cloſe this note it may be proper to add, that if we may truſt ſome ancient writers, the father of this Gentleman was knighted as well as himſelf, and is often remembered by the name of Sir Bernard Greenvile (7).

(1) Carew's Survey of Cornwall, fol. 64. b.

(2) Itinerary, Vol. III. fol. 2.

(3) Viſitat. de Com. Devon. c. i. in Col. Armor.

(4) Carew's Survey of Cornwall, fol. 131.

(5) Leland's Itinerary, Vol. III. fol. 2. Carew's Survey of Cornwall, fol. 131.

(6) Viſitat. de Com. Devon. c. i. in Col. Armor.

(7) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. c. 137.

Alexander actually loſt his head upon the ſame ſcaffold, and by the ſame axe, it made a great impreſſion upon the minds of men, and many inferences have been drawn from it. We will venture to mention one that has not been drawn, and it is this; Sir Alexander Carew, who ſeemed ſo determined, altered his opinion afterwards, and ſuffered by thoſe whom he now ſerved; whereas Sir Bevil Greenvile perſiſted ſteadily in his ſentiments, without expreſſing any unneceſſary vehemence, for he thought it to no purpoſe to make ſuch a diſplay of his principles as might poſſibly hinder his being able to act up to them (*k*). He therefore left London as ſoon as he could do it with ſafety, and retiring into his own country, employed himſelf in opening the eyes of other honeſt gentlemen, to ſee that their welfare and happineſs depended on the preſervation of the Conſtitution in Church and State; for the ſupport of which therefore, he adviſed them, whenever it ſhould become neceſſary, to venture their lives and fortunes, as they could have no ſecurity for either, if the Conſtitution was deſtroyed (*l*). The Parliament, at the breaking out of the war, were almoſt every where the ſtrongeſt; and by the help of their committees ſeemed to be in full poſſeſſion of the Weſt, where they had Devonſhire entirely, and the better part of Cornwall, through the induſtry of Sir Alexander Carew, and Sir Richard Buller (*m*). The marquis of Hertford, whom the King had appointed his General in the Weſt, was able to do little in thoſe parts, and what his friends did was in ſo calm and legal a way, that their enemies did not ſuſpect them of any military talents. Sir Nicholas Slanning, indeed, was poſſeſſed of Pendennis Caſtle, and he was known to be an inflexible royaliſt, yet their ſtrength was thought ſo deſpicable, that the Earl of Bedford would not give himſelf the trouble of purſuing Sir Ralph Hopton with an hundred and fifty horſe, when they retired into Cornwall (*n*). In this ſtate of things Sir Bevil Greenvile declared himſelf, and without heſitation joined Sir Ralph with his friends, and conducted them to Truro, where they began to form into a conſiderable body. The leaders of the parliament party, upon this, called in their friends from Devonſhire, and aſſembling at Launceſton, that they might the better deal with their opponents when they had them in their power, preferred an indictment at the quarter ſeſſions againſt certain perſons who had appeared in arms in breach of the king's peace, and againſt his crown and dignity (*o*). Here Sir Bevil's good ſenſe and wiſe management were clearly diſcovered. When it was leaſt expected he appeared with Sir Ralph Hopton, who taking notice of the preſentment, produced to the gentlemen of the grand-jury the king's commiſſion to the Marquis of Hertford, and his lordſhip's commiſſion to himſelf, aſſuring them that he came only to protect them from the impoſition of taxes, and other illegal oppreſſions. The grand-jury voted an addreſs of thanks to the King for his royal care of them, preſented Sir Alex. Carew, and Sir Richard Buller, for a riot or rout at Launceſton, and directed the ſheriff to raiſe the Poſſe Comitatus to diſperſe them, and their adherents (*p*). This was the foundation of all that was afterwards done in ſupport of the King in that part of his dominions. This happened in the ſummer of 1642, and gave for the preſent a new turn to affairs, but it quickly appeared, that in order to ſupport themſelves, ſome other kind of force was neceſſary than that which could be raiſed by the ſheriff. As this could only be done by the intereſt, and at the expence of men of rank and fortune, Sir Bevil Grenvile, who, as the noble hiſtorian ſays, was the moſt beloved man in that country (*q*), Sir Nicholas Slanning, John Arundel, and John Trevanion, Eſquires, raiſed each of them a regiment, and with theſe forces they not only maintained themſelves, and made themſelves maſters of Saltaſh, in which there was a garriſon of two hundred Scots, and forced the earl of Stamford to retired to Taviſtock, whether they were followed by part of the ſmall Corniſh army, in which Sir Bevil Greenvile was with his regiment, and ſo very cloſe puſhed that they were at length glad to conclude a ceſſation of arms between the counties of Devon and Cornwall, for a limitted time, and this upon very reaſonable terms, and without any prejudice to the principles of either party (*r*). The Parliament ſhewing a great diſlike to all treaties of this kind, major-general Chudleigh, who was one of the activeſt perſons in their ſervice, brought as conſiderable a body of troops as he could well collect into the neighbourhood of Launceſton, the night before the ceſſation was to determine, of which Sir Ralph Hopton and Sir Bevil Greenvile having intelligence, they came into the town to encourage their friends, though they had but a very ſmall force; the next day as ſoon as it was light the Parliamentarians attacked the place, or rather the avenues to it, which were long and gallantly defended 'till ſuch time as the King's forces, collected from different parts of the county, arrived, which was late in the evening, and then the enemy retired (*s*). The earl of Stamford, whom the Parliament relied upon for maintaining their quarrel in theſe parts, aſſembled in the month of May, an army of between ſix and ſeven thouſand horſe and foot, with which he marched into the Hundred of Stratton, which lies in the north corner of Cornwall, and the only part of the County well affected to the Parliament, and from thence detached Sir George Chudleigh with twelve hundred horſe to ſuprize Bodmin, where the ſheriff and ſome of the principal gentlemen in the county were aſſembled (*t*). Sir Ralph Hopton and Sir Bevil Greenvile being informed of this, though they were much inferior in ſtrength, and knew the enemy had ſuch a contempt for them, that one part of Sir George Chudleigh's in-

ſtructions

(*k*) Ruſhworth's Collections, part iii. Vol. I. p. 244, 248.

(*l*) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 469. May's Hiſtory of the Parliament of England, lib. ii. cap. vi. p. 121.

(*m*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol III. p. 128.

(*n*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 64.

(*o*) Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 129.

(*p*) May's Hiſtory of the Parliament of England, lib. ii. cap. 6. Civil Wars of Great-Britain and Ireland, p. 75. Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 129.

(*q*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 45. May's Hiſtory of the Parliament. Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 131.

(*r*) Sir William Dugdale's Short View of the Troubles, p. 186. May's Hiſtory of the Parliament, lib. ii. p. 112. Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 137.

(*s*) Memorable Occurrences in 1643.

(*t*) Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory, Vol. III. p. 268,

ſtructions was, to prevent their retreat to Pendennis, that they might have no more trouble with them; reſolved to leave Launceſton, and to march directly to fight the Earl, though they likewiſe knew that he was intrenched with his forces in a plain on the top of a hill, near Stratton, of very difficult acceſs, with ſome artillery, plenty of ammunition, and abundance of proviſions, which were ſo ſcanty with them, that officers and men, who both fared alike, had but a biſcuit a day, for two days that preceeded the action (u). This happened on the 16th of May 1643, when with two thouſand four hundred foot, in four brigades, they marched up the hill, and after twelve hours obſtinate reſiſtance, totally defeated them; which was in all reſpects one of the greateſt actions, and one of the cleareſt victories gained in the courſe of theſe unhappy wars (w) [B]. The King, to perpetuate the memory of this victory, in September following, created Sir Ralph Hopton, Baron Hopton of Stratton (x). The Parliament a little before this, had reſolved to ſend Sir William Waller, their moſt ſucceſsful General, to cruſh all oppoſers in the Weſt; and upon the news of this defeat he was haſtened with all neceſſary ſupplies, and directed his march to Bath. On the other hand, the King ſent the marquis of Hertford, with Prince Maurice, the earl of Carnarvon, and other perſons of diſtinction, with ſeventeen hundred horſe, and a thouſand foot, to join the Corniſh troops, who advancing likewiſe on their ſide, the junction was quickly made at Chard in Somerſetſhire, on the borders of Devon (y). The Corniſh forces amounted to three thouſand foot, and eight hundred

(u) Mercurius Belgicus, p. 19.

(w) Heath's Chronicle, p. 45. May's Hiſtory of the Parliament, lib. iii. cap. iii. Dugdale's Short View of the Troubles in England, p. 186. Lord Clarend n's Hiſtory o the Rebellion. Vol. III. p. 272.

(x) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 469. May's Hiſtory of the Parliament, lib. iii. c. iii. p. 98. Ruſhworth's Collections, part iii. Vol. II. p. 271.

(y) Ruſhworth, May, Dugdale.

[B] *In the courſe of theſe unhappy wars.*] The whole of this action is very clearly and concisely related by the noble hiſtorian (8): 'About five in the morning, ſays he, they, that is, the royal army diſpoſed themſelves to make the attack, having ſtood under arms all night. The firſt brigade was commanded by the Lord Mohun and Sir Ralph Hopton, who undertook to aſſault the camp on the ſouth ſide: next them, on the left-hand, Sir John Berkeley and Sir Bevil Greenvile, were to force their way: Sir Nicholas Slanning and Colonel Trevanion, were to aſſault the north ſide, and on the left-hand, Colonel Thomas Boſſet, who was Major-General of their foot, and Colonel William Godolphin, were to advance with their party, each party having two pieces of cannon, to diſpoſe as they found neceſſary: Colonel John Digby commanding the horſe and dragoons being about five hundred, ſtood upon a ſandy common, which had a way to the camp, to take any advantage he could of the enemy if they charged, otherwiſe to be firm as a reſerve. In this manner the fight begun, the King's forces preſſing with their utmoſt vigour thoſe four ways up the hill, and the enemy's as obſtinately defending their ground. The fight continued with very doubtful ſucceſs 'till towards three of the clock in the afternoon, when word was brought to the chief officers of the Corniſh, that their ammunition was ſpent to leſs than four barrels of powder, which, concealing the defect from the ſoldiers, they reſolved could be only ſupplied with courage, and therefore by meſſengers to one another they agreed to advance, with their full bodies, without making any more ſhot 'till they reached the top of the hill, and ſo might be upon even ground with the enemy; wherein the officers courage and reſolution was ſo well ſeconded by the ſoldier, that they begun to get ground in all places, and the enemy in wonder of the men, who out faced their ſhot with their ſwords to quit their poſt. Major-General Chudleigh, who ordered the battle, failed in no part of a ſoldier, and when he ſaw his men recoil from leſs numbers, and the enemy in all places gaining the hill upon him, himſelf advanced with a good ſtand of pikes upon that party which was led by Sir John Berkeley and Sir Bevil Greenvile, and charged them ſo ſmartly, that he put them into diſorder, Sir Bevil Greenvile in the ſhock being borne to the ground, but quickly relieved by his companion, they ſo reinforced the charge, that having killed moſt of the aſſailants and diſperſed the reſt, they took the major-general priſoner, after he had behaved himſelf with as much courage as a man could do. Then the enemy gave ground apace, inſomuch as the four parties growing nearer and nearer as they aſcended the hill, between three and four of the clock they all met together upon plain ground, at the top of the hill, where they embraced with unſpeakable joy, each congratulating the other's ſucceſs, and all acknowleging the wonderful bleſſing of God; and being there poſſeſſed of ſome of the enemy's cannon, they turned them upon the camp, and advanced together to perfect the victory. But the enemy no ſooner underſtood the loſs of their major-general, but their hearts failed them, and being ſo reſolutely preſſed, and their ground loſt, upon the ſecurity and advantage whereof they wholly depended, ſome of them threw down their arms, and others fled, diſperſing themſelves, and every man ſhifting for himſelf: the conquerors, as ſoon as they had gained the camp and diſperſed the enemy, and after public prayers upon the place, and a ſolemn thankſgiving to Almighty God for their deliverance and victory, ſent a ſmall party of horſe to purſue the enemy for a mile or two, not thinking fit to purſue farther, or with their whole body of horſe, leſt Sir George ſhould return from Bodmin with his ſtrong body of horſe and dragoons, and find them in diſorder; but contenting themſelves with the victory they had obtained upon the place, which in ſubſtance as well as circumſtance, was as ſignal a one as hath happened to either party, ſince the unhappy diſtraction; for on the king's party were not loſt in all above fourſcore men, whereof few were officers, and none above the degree of a captain; and though many more were hurt, not above ten men died afterwards of their wounds. On the parliament ſide, notwithſtanding their advantage of ground, and that the other were the aſſailants, above three hundred were ſlain on the place, and ſeventeen hundred taken priſoners, with their major-general, and above thirty other officers. They took likewiſe all their baggage and tents, all their cannon, being thirteen pieces of excellent braſs ordnance and a braſs mortar-piece, all their ammunition, being ſeventy barrels of powder, and all other ſorts of ammunition proportionable, and a very great magazine of biſcuit, and other excellent proviſions of victuals, which was as ſeaſonable a bleſſing as the victory, to thoſe who for three or four days before had ſuffered great want of food as well as ſleep, and were equally tired with duty and hunger.' In the accounts publiſhed by the Parliament, the defeat is aſcribed to the treachery of their major-general, who is ſaid to have changed ſides in the action, and to have charged thoſe he quitted (9). But this ſeems to be clearly confuted by his remaining priſoner ſome time after the action, which is not reconcileable to his quitting the rebels, and even charging after he had quitted them. It is however true, that both himſelf and his father, ſtung by theſe imputations, quitted the Parliament's ſervice and reconciled themſelves to the King, which was conſidered as an unpardonable crime in them (10); notwithſtanding the Earl of Stamford, when he ſurrendered Exeter to Prince Maurice, ſtipulated amongſt other things, that his highneſs ſhould procure his Majeſty's free pardon to his lordſhip and all his adherents (11); which is a demonſtration, that even in his lordſhip's opinion, a pardon was a very good thing when it could be obtained.

(8) Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 269.

(9) Ruſhworth's Collections, part iii. Vol. II. p. 272. May's Hiſtory of the Parliament, p. 58, 59.

(10) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 473.

(11) Ruſhworth's Collections, part iii. Vol. II. p. 273.

[C] *And*

dred horſe and dragoons; but if they had not been commanded by men of admirable temper, and wonderful virtues, this coalition had been fatal; for though the troops of the Marquis were far inferior to them in number and in diſcipline, yet they were ſo furniſhed with Generals of every denomination, that theſe great men who had done ſo much and hazarded their all in the King's cauſe, found themſelves reduced to the rank of private colonels, which they bore, notwithſtanding, not only with patience, but without murmuring; which appeared ſo extraordinary in the eyes of the Marquis and Prince Maurice, that they took every opportunity of ſhewing them ſuch reſpect, as in ſome meaſure made amends for their loſs of command (z). Taunton, Bridgewater, and Dunſter-Caſtle were immediately reduced, and the army afterwards continued their march towards Wells, from whence they diſlodged the Parliament forces, who retired to Mendip-Hills. Even there they were attacked, and very roughly handled, by Prince Maurice, Sir John Berkeley, and Sir Ralph Hopton, who had conceived a very contemptible opinion of the Parliament horſe, and though they had the advantage of them here, found them much better troops than they expected (a). As for Sir William Waller, he continued at Bath amaſſing arms, ammunition, proviſion, and receiving continual ſupplies from London, and amongſt other troops, Sir Arthur Haſlerig's regiment of horſe with breaſt and back pieces. But for all this he kept his poſition, and though the Marquis and Prince advanced to Froome, and from thence to Brentford, yet he only ſuffered ſome horſe and dragoons to ſkirmiſh. At length the royaliſts advanced to Marſfield, five miles beyond Bath, that they might draw the enemy from the advantageous poſt in which they were, which they very probably might have done if they had acted with more temper (b). But the unreaſonable contempt they had of the enemy, and confidence they ſhould prevail in any ground, together with the ſtreights they endured for want of proviſions, and their want of ammunition, which was ſpent as much in the daily hedge ſkirmiſhes, and upon their guards being ſo near, as could have been in battle, would not admit of patience; for Sir William Waller, who was not to ſuffer that body to join with the King, no ſooner drew out his whole army to Lanſdowne, which looked towards Marſfield, but they ſuffered themſelves to be engaged upon great diſadvantage. It was upon the 5th of July 1643 (c), when Sir William Waller, as ſoon as it was light, poſſeſſed himſelf of that hill, and after he had, upon the brow of the hill over the high-way, raiſed breaſt-works with faggots and earth, and planted cannon there, he ſent a ſtrong party of horſe towards Marſfield, which quickly alarmed the other army, and was ſhortly driven back to their body. As great a mind as the King's forces had to cope with the enemy when they had drawn into battalia, and found the enemy fixed on the top of the hill, they reſolved not to attack them upon ſo great diſadvantage, and ſo retired again towards their old quarters; which Sir William Waller perceiving, ſent his whole body of horſe and dragoons down the hill to charge the rear and flank of the King's forces, which they did thoroughly; the regiment of cuiraſſiers ſo amazing the horſe they charged that they totally routed them, and ſtanding firm and unſhaken themſelves, gave ſo great terror to the King's horſe, who had never before turned from an enemy, that no example of their officers, who did their parts with invincible courage, could make them charge with the ſame confidence, and in the ſame manner they had uſually done. However, in the end, after Sir Nicholas Slanning with three hundred muſqueteers had fallen upon, and beaten their reſerve of dragoons, Prince Maurice and the earl of Carnarvon rallying their horſe, and winging them with the Corniſh muſqueteers, charged the enemies horſe again and totally routed them, and in the ſame manner received two bodies more, and routed and chaſed them to the hill, where they ſtood in a place almoſt inacceſſible. On the brow of the hill there were breaſt-works, on which were pretty bodies of ſmall ſhot, and ſome cannon. On either flank grew a pretty thick wood towards the declining of the hill, in which ſtrong parties of muſqueteers were placed. At the rear was a very fair plain, where the reſerves of horſe and foot ſtood ranged, yet the Corniſh foot were ſo far from being appalled at this diſadvantage, that they deſired to fall on, and cried out, that they might have leave to fetch thoſe cannon. In the end, order was given to attempt the hill with horſe and foot. Two ſtrong parties of muſqueteers were ſent into the woods, which flanked the enemy; and the horſe and other muſqueteers up the road-way, which were charged by the enemy's horſe and routed; then Sir Bevil Greenvile advanced with a party of horſe on his right-hand, that ground being beſt for them, and his muſqueteers on the left, himſelf leading up his pikes in the middle, and in the face of their cannon and ſmall ſhot from the breaſt-works, gained the brow of the hill, having ſuſtained two full charges of the enemy's horſe; but in the third charge his horſe failing, and giving ground, he received, after other wounds, a blow on the head with a pole-axe, with which he fell, and many of his officers about him [C]. Notwithſtanding, the muſqueteers fired ſo faſt

(z) Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 270.

(a) Ruſhworth, May, Ludlow.

(b) Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 282.

(c) Ruſhworth, Heath, May, Dugdale, Mercurius Belgicus.

[C] *And many of his officers about him.*] It is ſaid, that when his body was found, his major and captain-lieutenant were lying at his feet, with eight officers more of his corps; there were ſlain beſide, the honourable Mr Leake, ſon to the Lord Deincourt, afterwards Earl of Scarſdale, with a pair of the enemy's colours twiſted about his arm; Mr Barker, lieutenant-colonel Wall, major Lower, captain James, captain Cholwell, and Mr Baſtard (12). But notwithſtanding this the victory was clear, and was in many reſpects of very

(12) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 476. Heath's Chronicle, p. 46.

faſt upon the enemy's horſe that they quitted their ground; and the two wings who were ſent to clear the woods having done their work, and gained thoſe parts of the hill at the ſame time, beat off their enemy's foot and became poſſeſſed of the breaſt-works, and ſo made way for their whole body of horſe, foot, and cannon to aſcend the hill, which they quickly did, and planted themſelves on the ground they had won, the enemy retiring about demy culverin ſhot, behind a ſtone wall, upon the ſame level, and ſtanding in reaſonable good order. The King's horſe were ſo broken, that of two thouſand which were upon the field in the morning, there were not above ſix hundred on the top of the hill; the enemy were exceedingly ſcattered too, and had no mind to venture on plain ground with thoſe who had beaten them from the hill, ſo that exchanging only ſome ſhot from their ordnance, they looked one upon another 'till the night interpoſed. About twelve of the clock, it being very dark, the enemy made a ſhew of moving towards the ground they had loſt, but giving a ſmart volley of ſmall ſhot, and finding themſelves anſwered with the like, they made no more noiſe, which the Prince obſerving, he ſent a common ſoldier to hearken as near the place, where they were, as he could, who brought word that the enemy had left lighted matches in the wall behind which they had lain, and were drawn off the field, which was true; ſo that as ſoon as it was day the King's army found themſelves poſſeſſed entirely of the field, and the dead, and all other enſigns of victory. Sir William Waller being marched to Bath in ſo much diſorder and apprehenſion, that he left great ſtore of arms and ten barrels of powder behind him, which was a very ſeaſonable ſupply to the other ſide, who had ſpent in that day's ſervice no leſs than fourſcore barrels, and had not a ſafe proportion left. In this battle, on the King's part, there were more officers and gentlemen of quality ſlain than common men, and more hurt than ſlain. But, after all, the victory was clear, and no leſs clear, that it was purchaſed by the valour and conduct of the Corniſh troops, directed by the orders, and encouraged by the example of their gallant commander Sir Bevil Greenvile, who fell like a hero in the field of battle, after having put his enemy to flight *(d)*; and having already received the ſtrongeſt teſtimonies of his maſter's kind and grateful acceptance of his ſervices *(e)* [*D*]. His character, as a ſoldier, would be but ill underſtood if we ſhould be ſilent as to his care in rendering men better, as well as braver, from being under his command. Under him the Corniſh ſoldier was taught to pray as well as fight; and his forces were as much diſtinguiſhed by their piety as their valour. Fervent acts of devotion preceded every attack, ſolemn thankſgivings commemorated every advantage, even on the field of battle. Their conduct was exactly regular in every reſpect, for to Sir Bevil Greenvile it appeared equally abſurd and unjuſt, that troops raiſed to protect, ſhould injure property; and rather than avoid hardſhips by ſuch means, they choſe to bear them, as they frequently did, with moſt exemplary patience *(f)*. He likewiſe ſtood very high in the character of a patriot, and took ſo much pains to preſerve the communication and trade between the different parts of the county, even

(*d*) Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 284. Dugdale's Short View of the Troubles in England, p. 186. May's Hiſtory of the Parliament, lib. iii. cap. iv. p. 77. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 70. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 323. Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 470. The Civil Wars of Great-Britain and Ireland, p. 93. Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 194. Memoirs of the Reign of King Charles the Iſt, p. 271. Heath's Chronicle, p. 46.

(*e*) See note [*D*].

(*f*) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 469.

very great conſequence; for it leſſened the credit of Waller, the beſt eſteemed officer in the Parliament's ſervice; it opened a paſſage for the King's forces, and it prevented the enemy from ſending any detachments weſtward (13). But all theſe advantages were cancelled by the loſs of Sir Bevil Greenvile, whoſe authority and example could not be replaced or repaired. His ſuperior title to command, and his willingneſs to be commanded by any man for the public ſervice, prevented ſewds, and kept every body from murmuring; his conſtant diſcourſes that they were not fighting either for fame or for fortune, but for the honour of the crown, the ſecurity of the ſubject, and to procure a happy and laſting peace, kept both officers and private men in a right temper of mind, and diſpoſed them to do or ſuffer any thing that was neceſſary for attaining thoſe valuable ends; whereas after his death, things gradually changed, narrower notions began to prevail, and this glorious ſpirit evaporated by degrees (14).

(13) Clarendon, Heath, Dugdale.

(14) Lloyd's Memoirs. The Civil Wars of Great-Britain and Iceland. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs.

[*D*] *Acceptance of his ſervices.*] The following letter is at preſent in the hands of the right honourable Charles earl of Egremont, his lineal deſcendant; for lady Jane Greenvile, eldeſt daughter to the earl of Bath, and grandaughter to Sir Bevil, eſpouſed Sir William Leveſon Gower; and by him, amongſt other children, had Catherine, who eſpouſed Sir Edward Wyndham, and by him became the mother of Sir William Wyndham, father of the earl of Egremont.

CHARLES R.

Truſty and well beloved, wee greet you well. We have ſeen your letter to Endymion Porter our ſervant, but your whole conduct of our affairs in the Weſt doth ſpeake your zeale to our ſervice and the public good in ſo full a meaſure, as we reſt abundantly ſatisfied with the teſtimony thereof. Your labours and your expences we are graciouſly ſenſible of, and our royal care hath been to pleaſe you in all that wee could. What hath fallen ſhort of our princely purpoſes and your expectations, wee know you will attribute to the great maligaity of the rebellion wee had and have here to wreſtle withall. And wee know well, how effectual a diverſion of that miſchievous ſtrength you have made for us at your own great hazards. Wee aſſure you we have all tender ſence of the hazards you have endured, and the ſtate wherein you ſtand. Wee ſhall not faile to procure you what ſpeedy reliefe may be. In the mean ſpace wee ſend you our moſt hearty thanks for ſome encouragement and aſſurance on the word of a gracious prince, that God enabling us, wee ſhall ſo reflect on your faithful ſervices, as you and your's ſhall have cauſe to acknowledge our bounty and favour: and ſo wee bid you heartily farewell. Given at our court at Oxford, the 24th of March 1642-3.

On the cover in which this letter is incloſed, George Lord Lanſdowne has wrote,

'Original letter of King Charles the Iſt to Sir Bevil 'Greenvile, written upon ſarcenet, found in his pocket 'at the battle of Lanſdowne, July 5, 1643. Endorſed 'with his own hand (i. e. Sir Bevil Greenvile's) *Keep 'this ſafe.*'

In the hand-writing of Sir William Wyndham, Bart.

'Given me by George Lord Lanſdowne, this 26th 'day of April 1734, to be preſerved in honour of his 'and my grandfather.' W. W.

even after this unfortunate war began, that the miſeries of it were in ſome meaſure prevented, or, at leaſt, abated, as long as he lived. He was the better enabled to do this, becauſe no man of his rank, or, indeed, of any rank in the county, underſtood it's intereſts in all it's different branches better; and by his correſpondence in France, and with the loyal, now noble family of Carteret, in Guernſey, he found means to be well ſupplied with ammunition; and having prevailed upon the gentlemen of the country to ſubmit to an equal tax, it was ſo carefully collected, and ſo honeſtly expended, that the troops of the county were tolerably maintained, and regularly paid (g). Theſe might paſs for endeavours at panegyric, or at leaſt for heightenings of the truth, if we were not able to produce clear authorities from his contemporaries, and which can be ſaid for very few, from writers on both ſides, that not only ſupport, but go higher than we have done, for the ſake of giving a juſt idea of ſo excellent a character to poſterity [E]. Sir Bevil eſpouſed

(g) Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 275, 284.

[E] *Of ſo excellent a character to poſterity*] In producing the atteſtations referred to in the text, we will begin with the noble hiſtorian's remark on the iſſue of the battle of Lanſdowne. 'That which would have 'clouded any victory, and made the loſs of others leſs 'ſpoken of, was the death of Sir Bevil Greenvile (15). 'He was indeed an excellent perſon, whoſe activity, 'intereſt, and reputation, was the foundation of what 'had been done in Cornwall, and his temper and affection ſo public, that no accident which happened 'could make any impreſſions in him; and his example 'kept others from taking any thing ill, or at leaſt ſeeming to do ſo. In a word, a brighter courage, and a 'gentler diſpoſition, were never married together, to 'make the moſt chearful and innocent converſation.' Whitlocke ſpeaks of him with great reſpect (16). 'Waller, and his whole army, ſays he, was fought with by 'Greenvile and Slanning, at Lanſdowne, in the weſt; 'Greenvile did very gallant ſervice, and was ſlain there.' Sir Philip Warwick, a man of ſound judgment, great integrity, and not at all profuſe of his praiſes, ſpeaking of the battle of Lanſdowne, ſays (17), 'In this fight 'fell that excellent perſon Sir Bevil Greenvile, a man 'of great integrity, courage, and intereſt in his country.' This is ſaying a great deal in few words; but towards the cloſe of his work, having occaſion to mention the great ſervices of Sir John Greenvile, afterwards earl of Bath, he adds (18), 'The father of this 'gentleman, though not bred a ſoldier, yet was ſo 'naturally adapted to it, and was ſo full of humanity, 'as well as clear courage, that having been well acquainted with him as a member in the Long Parliament, I was heartily ſorry when, though ſo honourably and victoriouſly, he fell at the rencounter of Lanſdowne.' Theſe paſſages taken together, fully confirm all that is ſaid by Lord Clarendon. We find, indeed, in the Memoirs attributed to a great officer in the parliament's ſervice, ſomething that looks like a contradiction to what is advanced in the text in reſpect to the victory of Lanſdowne (19). 'The two armies, 'ſays he, engaged about Lanſdowne, where the ſucceſs was doubtful a good while, but at laſt our's obtained the victory. The Corniſh men, commanded 'by Sir Bevil Greenvile, ſtood their ground till they 'came to puſh of pike, but were then routed, and Sir 'Bevil killed. The enemy retreated to the Devizes, 'and our's purſued them.' Another writer, though of very different ſentiments, gives nearly the ſame account (20): 'Again at Lanſdowne, ſays he, between 'Sir Ralph Hopton, and the Parliamentarians, under 'Sir William Waller, was fought a fierce battle, wherein the victory was not very clear on either ſide, ſaving 'that the Parliamentarians might ſeem to have the better, becauſe preſently after Sir William Waller followed Sir Ralph Hopton to Devizes in Wiltſhire, 'though to his coſt, for there he was overthrown.' But to clear up the point as to the victory, we will not quote the noble hiſtorian, who has related it largely, but Sir Philip Warwick, who in very few words inſerts that parentheſis which ought to ſtand in both theſe accounts, ſhewing ſufficiently the unſtable condition of ſublunary affairs, and how quickly and how ſtrangely a victory may be loſt and won, and loſt again (21). 'A 'ſmall accident, ſays he, did great miſchief that day 'to the lord Hopton's party; for the greateſt part of 'his ammunition took fire, and he himſelf was much 'ſinged and defaced by it: ſo as, for want of powder, 'he was forced to march into the town of the Devizes, 'which Waller coming to underſtand, he took courage 'again, and came to beſiege Hopton there; and had 'not the King ſoon ſent the lords Wilmot and Carnarvon 'to relieve him, he had not been in a poſture to defend 'himſelf. But here the King's forces, at Roundway-'down, bravely charging him, gave him an intire de-'feat' It is evident from hence, that the valour of Sir Bevil Greenvile, and his Corniſh foot, put the marquis of Hertford and Sir Ralph Hopton in poſſeſſion of the ground and of *the victory*; that the next morning the blowing up of the powder deprived them intirely of theſe advantages, and obliged them to retire to the Devizes, whither they were followed by Sir William Waller, and the face of affairs was changed again. Sir William Dugdale, one of the correcteſt writers of the hiſtory of theſe unhappy times (22), ſtates the matter truly in the feweſt words poſſible: 'At Lanſdowne, in Somerſetſhire, ſays he, 'the lord Hopton had the better of the rebels, though 'the valiant Sir Bevil Greenvile was there ſlain.' But in all theſe writers not a word occurs in the diminution of this great hero's character: mention him who will, friends or enemies, he is ever mentioned with applauſe. At Oxford, the members of the Univerſity, to ſhew their ſenſe of the kingdom's loſs, and their own, did him, and did themſelves, the higheſt honour in their power, by publiſhing a collection of poems, written to celebrate his memory. What intitled him to ſo ſingular a mark of reſpect, might well intitle him to a place in this work; and as theſe poems are now ſcarce to be met with, we will add two from this collection, which were then highly eſteemed, and which are very ſuitable to our purpoſe; the rather, becauſe though part of them be inſcribed on the monument erected on the ſpot where Sir Bevil Greenvile fell, by his illuſtrious deſcendant the late lord Lanſdowne, the letters are now ſo obliterated and decayed that they are ſcarce legible.

(15) Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 284.

(16) Memorials, p. 70.

(17) Memoirs of the Reign of King Charles the Iſt, p. 271.

(18) Ibid. p. 431.

(19) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 62.

(20) Hobbes's Behemoth, p. 209.

(21) Memoirs of the Reign of King Charles the Iſt, p. 271.

(22) A Short View of the late Troubles in England, p. 186.

By Mr William Cartwright.

Not to be wrought by malice, gain, or pride,
To a compliance with the thriving ſide;
Not to take arms for love of change, or ſpite,
But only to maintain afflicted right;
Not to die vainly in purſuit of fame,
Perverſly ſeeking after voice and name:
Is to reſolve, fight, die, as martyrs do,
And thus did he, ſoldier and martyr too.
He might, like ſome reſerved men of ſtate,
Who look not to the cauſe, but to it's fate,
Have ſtood aloof, engaged on neither ſide,
Prepared at laſt to ſtrike in with the tide.
But well weighed reaſon told him, that when law
Either's renounced, or miſapplied, by th' awe
Of falſe-named patriots, that when the right
Of king and ſubject is ſuppreſſed by might;
When all religion either is refuſed,
As mere pretence, or merely as that uſed:
When thus the fury of ambition ſwells,
Who is not active, modeſtly rebels.
Whence, in a juſt eſteem to Church and Crown,
He offer'd all, and nothing thought his own.
This thruſt him into action whole and free,
Knowing no intereſt but loyalty;

Not

eſpouſed Grace, daughter to Sir George Smith of Exeter, knight (*b*), by whom he had four ſons and three daughters; Elizabeth, who became the wife of Peter Prideaux, Eſq; Bridget, who eſpouſed Sir Thomas Higgons, knight; and Jane, who married Colonel Richard Thornhill, and died ſo late as the year 1739. Of the ſons, Richard died young; John will be the ſubject of a future article; Bernard became the father of George Lord Lanſdowne, of whom hereafter; and of Dennis, who was Dean of Durham, and of whom we have already ſpoken.

(*b*) Viſit. de Com. Devon. in Colleg. Arm. Not. c. 1.

Not loving arms as arms, or ſtrife for ſtrife,
Nor waſteful, nor yet ſparing of his life;
A great exacter of himſelf, and then,
By fair commands, no leſs of other men.
Courage and judgment had their equal part,
Counſel was added to a generous heart;
Affairs were juſtly timed, nor did he catch
At an affected fame of quick diſpatch;
Things were prepar'd, debated, and then done,
Not raſhly broke, or vainly overſpun;
Falſe periods no where by deſign were made,
As are by thoſe that make the war their trade:
The building ſtill was ſuited to the ground,
Whence every action iſſued full and round.
We know who blind their men with ſpecious lies,
With revelation, and with prophecies,
Who promiſe two things to obtain a third,
And are themſelves by the like motives ſtirr'd.
By no ſuch engine he his ſoldiers draws,
He knew no arts but courage and the cauſe:
With theſe he brought them on as well-trained men,
And with theſe two he brought them off again.
When now th' incenſed legions proudly came
Down like a torrent, without bank or dam:
When underſtood ſucceſs urged on their force,
That thunder muſt come down to ſtop their courſe,
Or Greenvile muſt ſtep in; then Greenvile ſtood,
And with himſelf oppos'd and check'd the flood:
Conqueſt or death was all his thoughts, ſo fire,
Either o'ercomes, or doth itſelf expire;
His courage work'd like flames, caſt heat about,
Here, there, on this, on that ſide none gave out;
Not any pike in that renowned ſtand,
But took new force from his inſpiring hand:
Soldier encourag'd ſoldier, man urg'd man,
And he urg'd all, ſo much example can;
Hurt upon hurt, wound upon wound did call,
He was the butt, the mark, the aim of all:
His ſoul flies while retir'd from cell to cell,
At laſt flew up from all, and then he fell.
But the devoted ſtand, enraged more
From that his fate, plied hotter than before,
And proud to fall with him, ſworn not to yield,
Each fought an honoured grave, ſo gain'd the field.
Thus he being fallen, his action fought anew,
And the dead conquered, while the living flew.
This was not nature's courage, nor that thing
We valour call, which time and reaſon bring,
But a diviner fury, fierce and high,
Valour tranſported into extacy,
Which Angels, looking on us from above,
Uſe to convey into the ſouls they love.

By Dr Lluelin.

And with this conſtant principle poſſeſs'd,
He did alone expoſe his ſingle breaſt
Againſt an army's force, and bleeding lay,
The great reſtorer of th' declining day.
Thus ſlain, thy valiant anceſtor did lie,
When his one bark a navy did defy:
When now encompaſſed round, he victor ſtood,
And bath'd his pinnace in his conquering blood,
Till all his purple current dried and ſpent,
He fell, and left the waves his monument.
Where ſhall the next fam'd Greenvile's aſhes ſtand,
Thy grandſire fills the ſea, and thou the land.

E

GREENVILE [Sir RICHARD], Baronet, brother to Sir Bevil, and General of the Forces of King Charles I, in the Weſt. He was born in the year which commenced the XVIIth century; and after having received the firſt principles of education in his father's family, was ſent for a little time to Exeter College (*a*), where his brother then ſtudied. He derived from nature great faculties, for with lively parts and a quick penetration he had alſo a very ſolid judgment; which induced him not only to meditate attentively on all his undertakings, but to review them likewiſe with the ſame prudence and patience, and to commit to writing whatever he judged might be of ſervice to him, in the ſucceeding part of his life (*b*). His temper and genius led him to a military life, to qualify himſelf for which, he entered very early into the beſt ſchool in the world; paſſing in the eighteenth year of his age into the Low-Countries (*c*), where he carried arms amongſt the Engliſh forces, under the command of that accompliſhed hero, Horace Lord Vere, of Tilbury; and had the farther advantage of acting under the auſpice of the firſt Captain of that age, Maurice Prince of Orange. He went afterwards into Germany, where he ſerved in the war of the Palatinate (*d*), and having in a ſhort ſpace gained great knowledge in the profeſſion of arms, he returned into his native country, about the beginning of the reign of Charles I, upon a proſpect of being employed in that war, which was broke out with Spain. He commanded, accordingly, a company of foot in that body of land troops employed in the expedition againſt Cadiz, under the Lord Vicount Wimbledon (*e*). In this diſaſtrous enterprize he was a diligent obſerver, and was very far from having any ſhare in that remonſtrance made againſt the Commander in Chief. Captain Greenvile was, from the beginning, a lover of diſcipline, and could not endure to ſee men raiſed to command by their experience, run down by ſuch as having a prejudice

(*a*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. p. 194.

(*b*) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 473.

(*c*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 535.

(*d*) Sir Richard Greenvile's Defence againſt all aſperſions of malignant perſons.

(*e*) Frankland's Annals, p. 114. Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 196.

dice to their perſons, tortured their capacities to find objections to their conduct [*A*]. He loſt no reputation in this voyage, whatever his ſuperior officers might do, but returning home with the credit of having ſhewn both valour and ſkill in the diſcharge of his truſt, he had a company of foot given (*f*) him in the regiment of his old ſchool-fellow, in the Dutch wars, Sir John Burroughs, when the duke of Buckingham made his diſaſtrous expedition for the ſupport of Rochelle, and landed his forces in the iſland of Rhée. As it was a ſcheme of that favourite's, and he flattered himſelf would contribute to render him reſpected abroad, and popular at home, he was very careful in the choice of his officers, and took very great pains to give them all the marks of reſpect and encouragement in his power, to which we may attribute his conferring, as by his commiſſion he had authority to do, the honour of knighthood upon Captain Greenvile, Portſmouth, June 20, 1627, a week before they embarked for the iſle of Rhée. There too he maintained his credit unimpeached, and by ſucceſſive deaths came to the command of a regiment with general approbation, and as a ſoldier that well deſerved it (*g*).* He likewiſe wrote memorials of this expedition, which are ſtill extant, and clearly demonſtrate that he was not ſo very a courtier as not to ſee the failings of the great, or ſo much bent upon expoſing them as to aggravate every thing to the utmoſt. His account is more modeſt, and in no reſpect whatever inferior to any of the relations of that unlucky attempt that have come to our hands [*B*]. His prudent behaviour in the courſe of this

(*f*) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 231.

(*g*) Sir Richard Greenvile's Defence, &c. Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II.

[*A*] *To find objections to their conduct.*] This war with Spain was chiefly of the Duke of Buckingham's procuring, and ſeems to have proceeded more from his perſonal diſtaſte to Count Olivarez, than any ſolid or honourable motive. However, after the war was begun, it ought certainly to have been proſecuted, becauſe, though he acted from private pique, and at a time when it viſibly ſerved his own particular purpoſes, yet, without queſtion, the nation had been grievouſly injured by the Spaniards; and there were, therefore, ſufficient grounds for taking all the advantages our naval power and our alliance with the Dutch gave us, as well as the weakneſs of the enemy, and their firm perſuaſion that, whatever we might pretend, we ſhould not actually commit hoſtilities (1). Sir Edward Cecil, grandſon to the great Lord Burleigh, was the perſon made choice of for this command; an old ſoldier, it is true, but no ſeamen, and therefore not at all qualified for the ſupreme direction of ſuch an undertaking. The Earls of Eſſex and Denbigh were appointed his vice and rear-admirals; and, that he might be the fitter to command men of ſuch quality, he was created Baron of Putney, and Viſcount Wimbledon, and had likewiſe the military rank given him of Lord Marſhal (2). It was thought ſtrange, that though there wanted not many able ſeamen, ſuch as Sir Robert Manſel, Sir William Monſon, and others, yet none of them were intruſted but merely ſuch as were in the Duke's favour, which was both an unreaſonable and an impolitic thing. The force employed was very conſiderable, viz. eighty ſhips, Engliſh and Dutch, and ten good regiments; neither was it improbable, that if matters had been well concerted, and properly executed, this expedition might have turned to the benefit of the nation, and the honour of the King and his miniſtry. The Spaniſh Plate fleet was then returning home, with above a million on board, and, if they had gone to Tercera, they muſt infallibly have been maſters of it, and, by the deſtruction of fifty or ſixty galleons, had diſabled the maritime power of Spain for at leaſt a century. But the fleet did not ſail till October, and then they went upon no ſettled ſcheme, but all was left to the diſcretion of men who in reality were no fit judges of ſuch matters, and beſides were, in point of opinion, divided amongſt themſelves (3). The General ſailed from Plymouth the 7th of October, 1625; but when the fleet was got ſome leagues to ſea, their ſhips were ſeparated by a ſtorm, ſo that they were many days before they got together at their appointed rendezvous off Cape Vincent. On the 19th of October a council was held, wherein it was reſolved to attack Cadiz, which accordingly they did, on the 22d of that month. My Lord Eſſex ſtood into the bay, where he found ſeventeen good ſhips, riding under the town, and eight or ten gallies; theſe he bravely attacked, but, for want of proper orders and due aſſiſtance, the Spaniſh ſhips were ſuffered to retire to Port Real, whither the Lord Marſhal did not think fit to follow them. Then ſome thouſands of ſoldiers were landed, and the fort of Puntall was taken, after which they proceeded to make ſome attempts upon the town. The ſoldiers unfortunately becoming maſters of too much wine, got exceſſively drunk, and became ſo careleſs, that if the enemy had known, or been vigilant enough to have taken this advantage, few of them had returned home. The fright into which this put their officers, engaged them to reimbark their forces; and then it was concluded to cruize off Cape St Vincent for the Flota. There the men grew ſickly; and by the ſtrangeſt management that ever was heard of, that is, diſtributing the ſick, under pretence of taking better care of them, two in each ſhip, the whole fleet was infected, and that to ſuch a degree, as ſcarce left them hands enough to bring it home. This, however, they performed in the month of December, having done little hurt to the enemy, and acquired leſs honour to themſelves: all which was foreſeen, nay, and foretold too, before the fleet left England. On their return, a charge (4) was exhibited againſt the General by the Earl of Eſſex, and nine other officers of diſtinction. Lord Wimbledon juſtified himſelf, in a long anſwer (5) to the charge. The reader who ſhall compare theſe with Sir William Monſon's reflections on this lord's conduct, will diſcern that he is hardly and unjuſtly treated. Sir William arraigns him for calling councils, when he ſhould have been acting; the officers accuſe him for not calling councils, but acting of his own head. The truth *ſeems to* be, he had no notion of a ſea-command, and his officers no inclination to obey him. In this vindication it is ſuppoſed that Captain Greenvile had a ſhare, at leaſt it correſponds with his manner of writing.

(1) Frankland's Annals, p. 114. Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 196.

(2) Kennet's Compleat Hiſtory, Vol. III. p. 12. Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 195.

(3) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts.

(4) See the charge delivered by the Earl of Eſſex and nine other Colonels at the council table, againſt the Viſc. Wimbledon, &c.

(5) See the Anſwer of the Viſc. Wimbledon to the aforeſaid Charge.

[*B*] *That have come to our hands.*] This, like the Spaniſh war, was chiefly the effects of Buckingham's reſentment, aſcribed to different cauſes, into which this is no proper place to enquire; we ſhall, therefore, juſtify what is ſaid in the text, by producing a few curious paſſages from Sir Richard's Journal. The Engliſh forces were landed on the iſland of Rhée on Wedneſday the 11th of July, the operations of the next day our author relates in theſe words: 'July (6) the 12th, 'Monſieur Soubize went to Rochelle, to procure ſome 'aid from them; and Sir William Beecher was like-'wiſe ſent by my Lord Duke to know their intentions, 'but they of the town would ſcarce admit them but by 'a poſtern-door, being jealous of the ſucceſs of our affairs. After four o'clock the ſame day, we began to 'unſhip our ſoldiers; but by that time we had landed 'ſome twelve hundred, or fifteen hundred of our men, 'with three or four drakes, the enemy, who lay un-'diſcovered of us by the advantage of a bottom, 'charged us with two hundred horſe, and one thou-'ſand foot. In their horſe-charge they ſhewed them-'ſelves true Frenchmen, deſperately valiant, and put 'our men, being unranked, and ſcarce ſtepped on 'ſhore, to route, and drowned many of the rear; but 'at length, by the brave example of the colonels and 'general, they reaſſumed their courage, and in grati-'tude laid above one hundred of their cavalry on the 'ground. The foot ſeeing the ill entertainment of 'their horſe, came on very unwillingly, their captains

(6) A true and exact Journal or Diary of the moſt material Paſſages happening at or after our landing at the iſle of Rhée, anno 1627.

'waving

this enterprize gained him the favour of that potent nobleman George Duke of Buckingham; and the good graces of ſo eminent a patron (*b*) recommended him to a lady, who was

(*b*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 535.

' waving their hats to them, and were glad to quit us; ' for, after two or three vollies of ſhot and ſtones, finding our pikes too long before, they betook themſelves ' to flight, and left us maſters of the field; an honour ' dearly purchaſed, it being by the death of many of ' our braveſt commanders. That night we began to ' land our horſe, and make good the place by intrenchment, expecting another charge from the enemy that ' night; but they left us quietly to enjoy our victory, ' wherein, if they had been as provident as valiant, ' we had never prevailed; for if they had firſt charged ' us with their foot, to have received our firſt and hotteſt ' volley, and then flanked us with their horſe, they had ' ſcarce left us any for a ſecond defeat: but it happened ' otherwiſe, by a diſſention among themſelves, ariſing ' from this cauſe. Monſieur Thorax, governor of the ' iſland, had promiſed Baron St Andrew the honour of ' the firſt charge, which he after gave in command to ' his brother; whereat he being diſcontented, would ' not charge at all, nor ſuffer his troops to ſecond the ' vanguard. Yet we muſt not attribute our victory, ' or rather ſafety, wholly to this cauſe, but to the ſpecial favour of God, who, after our ſoldiers took themſelves for loſt, and ran away, gave them courage to ' reſiſt, and then beat the braveſt ſoldiers of all France, ' the regiment of Champagne, never before beaten, ' and to defeat their prime cavalry, conſiſting all of ' gentlemen of quality; a thing miraculous for infantry ' to do.' The following paſſage does not do much honour to the French commander, and is, at the ſame time, a proof that Buckingham was looked upon as the author of the war. ' July the 30th, there came one ' from the citadel, pretending he ran away, who profeſſed himſelf an engineer, and deſiring conference ' with my Lord Duke, he was ſuſpected, his unconfident countenance bewraying him, and being ſearched ' by Mr Aſhburnham's appointment, there was, as ſome ' ſay, a poiſoned dagger found about him, whereupon ' the torture being threatened to him, he confeſſed he ' was ſent by the governor to kill him, which he juſtified to the governor's brothers, and other gentlemen, ' which came to clear themſelves; for which cauſe my ' Lord Duke would not agree to have or give any quarter to them. All this while the battery played, but ' little harm on both ſides; and, notwithſtanding it ' was generally concluded by the colonels, and all the ' council of war, a thing impoſſible to take the fort but ' by famiſhing them, yet in all the time we had been ' in the town, we went not about to block them up ' by intrenchments, but took a more prepoſterous way, ' in raiſing batteries, before we made our approaches; ' a thing very chargeable and needleſs, for with the ' infinite company of ſhot that we made againſt the ' ſand-hill, we did nothing by the way of breach, but ' ſpent more powder and ſhot than half the revenues ' of the iſland was worth, and ſtill the paſſage was open for thoſe of the towns round about to carry what ' proviſion they would into the fort, and give intelligence of the affairs of our army, which the enemy's ' horſe continually did, foraging up and down the ' country.' He mentions frequently, with great concern, the Duke of Buckingham's indiſcreet behaviour, in holding conferences with the enemy, to which he would not either admit any of his principal officers, or report what paſſed in them, which naturally excited jealouſy and diſcontent. Sir Richard deplores the death of Sir John Burroughs, the loſs of whom, ſays he, was the loſs of all our hopes. He obſerves, that upon ſome ſlight hints given at one of thoſe fatal interviews the Duke had with the French officers, he diſpatched Mr Aſhburnham to Paris, on the 4th of September, who came back on the 17th, without having ſo much as ſeen the King, though in other reſpects treated with as much civility as his youth and rank could demand. This uſage had a ſtronger effect upon Buckingham than all the remonſtrances of his beſt friends, as appears from the latter part of our author's Journal, which is ſo full of curious and important facts, that the reader cannot but be well pleaſed to ſee them. ' September 26, there came a parley from the fort, but ' my Lord Duke would admit of none, in regard of ' the ill uſage his couſin Aſhburnham received at Paris, and ſent them an abſolute anſwer that he would ' hold no parley with them, unleſs it were touching ' the delivery of the fort. Preſently after the return ' of this meſſage, came the Lieutenant-Governor of ' the fort, Baron Monthault, with a trumpet, to treat ' of articles of yielding, and withal told my Lord ' Duke, if they received no ſuccours from the main ' that night, the morrow following they would render ' it up; which they were in a manner forced to do, by ' the mutiny of their ſoldiers. But our hopes were all ' defeated, by the coming of fifteen or ſixteen boats ' from the main, which brought them at the leaſt two ' months proviſion of victuals and munition, of which ' they ſtood in great need. For a fortnight's time before ' we had not a great ſhot from the fort, and our ſoldiers marched to their guards in open view of the ' fort, the trenches being full of water, without receiving any hurt by their ſmall ſhot for want of powder. And now, to add to our miſeries, our ſoldiers ' began to ſicken apace, having neither good lodgings ' but in the trenches, nor meat but which ſtunk, nor ' drink but water, all the proviſion of wine in the iſland ' being ſpent: yet the Rochellers would not be ſenſible of our wants, but for that ſmall proviſion they ' ſent they ſold it at a triple value of the worth. October 7, there landed ſeven boats at the little fort. For ' four or five days nothing was done, our ſoldiers died ' apace. On the 13th, there was great preparation for ' an aſſault, neither would my Lord Duke be diſſuaded but by foul weather, although all the Colonels ' ſubſcribed it under their hands to be a thing impoſſible, and alſo for our preſent departure, in as much ' as our army grew ſo weak, and we had certain intelligence of the landing of four thouſand foot, and two ' hundred horſe, the horſe being already embarked. ' Sir Henry Sprye uſed a ſoldier-like freedom of ſpeech, ' in ſhewing to my Lord the neceſſity of our departure, ' and that it would be honourable, having ſufficiently ' ſhewed our valour and reſolution, in remaining ſo long ' time in an enemy's country with ſuch an handful of ' men, and who never dared to meddle with us; and beſides, it would be no more diſhonourable for us, ' being ſo few in number, after four months ſiege to ' go away from a place unfeaſible, than it was for one ' of the greateſt ſoldiers in the world, Spinola, to riſe ' from Bergen-op-Zoom with thirty thouſand men. ' But he was anſwered with a court-like ſcorn, That ' he talked as if he had come from an alehouſe; and ' for the reſt of the Colonels, who were all of the ſame ' opinion, and durſt ſpeak their opinions, inſtead of ' hearkening unto them, by whom he ought to be governed, he abuſed them in words, inſomuch as many ' of them ſwore they would never come forth with a ' man who durſt not return. But my Lord Duke was ' ſwayed by ſome inſinuating ſycophants, and others, ' who told him it would be diſhonourable to go away, ' having two months victuals; but at length we were ' fain to leave our victuals and men behind us too, to ' run away far more diſhonourably. Then foul weather happening, that they could not fall upon the ' fort, Baron St Serin told my Lord Duke he was very ' glad of the weather, and told him freely a truth, the ' experience whereof we dearly bought, That we ' ſhould loſe our men to little purpoſe. On the 21ſt, ' by my Lord Duke's command, about ſix of the clock, ' we quitted our trenches, which the enemy preſently ' poſſeſſed, pulling down our courts of guard in our ' redoubts. The next day, contrary to the opinion of ' the Colonels, having ſo many men, we fell upon our ' own trenches, to beat the enemy out, who baſely ' ran away, faſter than we could follow. On the 23d ' there were twenty-five boats landed at the little fort, ' with a thouſand men. The day before my Lord ' Duke gave St Serin leave to depart for the main. ' Nothing done for four or five days, our Colonels ſtill importuning my Lord Duke to depart: notwithſtanding, on the 27th, my Lord Duke gave order for falling on the fort, which we did, our men being more deſperate for fear of ſtarving, and went on bravely, ' but we quickly found (contrary to the relation of ſome ' villains

was conſidered as one of the beſt matches in the Weſt. This put him in poſſeſſion of a good eſtate in the counties of Cornwall and Devon [C]. He loſt his patron ſoon after, but his credit was ſo well eſtabliſhed, and his character, as an officer, ſo well known, that he was raiſed to the degree of a Baronet, by the name of Sir Richard Greenvile of Kilkhampton in Cornwall, by letters patents dated April 9, 1630 (i). This flow of proſperity did not, however, continue long; in conſequence of his marriage he was unhappily engaged in a ſuit againſt Theophilus Earl of Suffolk, which being proſecuted with great earneſtneſs and acrimony on both ſides, ended in the compleat ruin of Sir Richard Greenvile for the preſent, by depriving him of his wife, ſtripping him both of her eſtate and his own, and confining him to the priſon of the Fleet, in the month of May 1632 (k). It is on all hands agreed, that there was ſomething ſo harſh and ſo ſevere in this uſage, that the fate of Sir Richard was univerſally regretted; perhaps, if it be more cloſely looked into, it will be found not to have been more cruel than it was unjuſt [D]. In this diſtreſs he laboured by every method that either himſelf, or thoſe concerned

(i) Sir William Dugdale's Catalogue of Baronets.

(k) Sir Richard Greenvile's Defence, &c.

' villains who ran away from the fort, that they had ' not four hundred fighting men) a reſiſtance fit for forty ' thouſand men, and we were ſcarce four thouſand. ' They killed above a hundred of our men with ſtones, ' and they might have done the like by our army, if ' they had come on without ever ſhooting ſmall ſhot: ' they blew up three mines, but did little hurt with ' them: in all were loſt and ſlain, four hundred foot ' and horſe: they took ſome thirty priſoners in traps, ' which they had made in their trenches. On the ' 28th, and alſo the night before, there landed five ' boats at the Point, yet my Lord Duke would not be ' perſuaded to be gone, but would have returned Sir ' Henry Sprye, with Sir Henry Peregrine Bertie, to ' La Flot again, which they refuſed to do. About ' three of the clock in the morning, Sir Edward Hawley and Serjeant Major Brett came, in the name of ' the council of war, to intreat him to march away, ' but he would not, being perſuaded by a ſeditious ' miniſter, who told him it was diſhonourable and inhuman to leave our ſick men and proviſion behind ' us. About eight of the clock, Sir William Cunningham's horſe came to my Lord Duke, and told him ' they heard great ſhooting in the main, or rather at ' the point, and ſaw the enemy marching to the town. ' Then my Lord, having talked with Soubize, commanded to march away, which we did, leaving our ' ſick behind us, whoſe throats were after cut, and inhumanly ſent us in a barque, which they thruſt from ' the ſhoar two or three days after, with great ſtore of ' proviſion, as well arms as victuals. We had not ' marched a muſket-ſhot out of the town, but we ſaw the ' enemy at the heels of us, ſome two hundred horſe, ' and two thouſand foot, and we were about three ' thouſand foot, and a hundred horſe. We made a ' ſtand, to ſee if they would give us battle, but they ' would not. On we went to La Lamard, a village, ' where we made another ſtand, thinking they would ' have charged us. Then we marched to Loys bridge, ' where we were to embark; and before two regiments had paſſed the bridge, being very narrow, they ' fell upon our horſe in the rear, and put them to route, ' and they routed the rear inſomuch that none of our ' foot could charge, ſo every one ran away, and the ' enemy had the execution of five whole regiments, ' which they put all to the ſword, except twenty officers and a hundred common ſoldiers taken priſoners, ' and thoſe that were drowned, which were many. ' The enemy had paſſed the bridge, but Sir Pierce ' Croſby, with ſome pikes, and Sir Thomas Fryar, ' with muſkets, made them retreat, after they had ' beaten us out of the work, which was made ſo ill ' it was not tenable.' This Journal agrees very well with a relation publiſhed in Ruſhworth, and ſeems to juſtify the cenſure paſſed upon this expedition in four articles (7). In the firſt it was alledged, That the Duke was too ſlow in his march after his landing, by which the enemy had time to recover from their confuſion, and to ſupply themſelves with proviſions and neceſſaries. The ſecond objection was, That great want of ſkill, diligence, and care, was ſhewn in carrying on the ſiege, ſince otherwiſe, the ſuccours by which it was fruſtrated could never have been received The third fault found, Was neglecting to take the fort in the meadow, which unaccountable omiſſion was in effect the ruin of the whole deſign. Laſtly it was alledged, That the retreat was not well concerted, the proper precautions being neglected, and was very indifferently executed, by which the army ſuffered much, and the nation more. The Duke threw the blame upon the Earl of Holland, who was to have brought him a powerful reinforcement, which however he found in Plymouth road at his return. The Earl of Holland again, diſcharged it all on the commiſſioners of the navy, the agent-victuallers, and the winds; but the voice of the people, which in truth was no other than the eccho of the officers who ſerved, and who at their return ſpoke what they ſaw and knew, laid it upon the Duke himſelf, who, though he wanted experience, thought himſelf ſuperior to advice, and ſeldom took any, but what in ſubſtance, and in reſpect to the perſons from whom it came, was very acceptable.

(7) Collections, Vol. I. p. 463—465.

[C] *In the counties of Cornwall and Devon.*] It is of ſome conſequence to explain who this lady was, becauſe it ſerves to clear up ſeveral points in Sir Richard's perſonal hiſtory, which, as we ſhall ſee, is of no ſmall conſequence towards ſettling the credit of one of our beſt general hiſtories, with regard to ſuch as were unfortunate enough to ſtand but indifferently in the author's good graces. This is not ſaid with any view to leſſen the juſt reputation of Lord Clarendon's great work, which we have often ſupported, and always admired, but for the ſake of truth, which ought to be dearer to all who meddle with hiſtory, than the reputation of any writer whatever. But to return to the point: this lady was Mary, the ſole daughter and heireſs of Sir John Fitz, of Fitzford, a very worthy gentleman, and the laſt heir male of a very ancient family (8). She was firſt married to the honourable Alan Piercy, ſixth ſon to Henry Earl of Northumberland, by whom ſhe had no iſſue. After his deceaſe, ſhe eſpouſed the honourable Thomas D'Arcy, Eſq; ſon to the Lord Viſcount Colcheſter, who likewiſe died without iſſue By her third huſband, who was the honourable Thomas Howard, fourth ſon to the great Earl of Suffolk, ſome time Lord High-Treaſurer of England, and brother to Theophilus Earl of Suffolk, and to the Lady Frances Howard, Counteſs of Eſſex, and afterwards of Somerſet, ſhe had two daughters, Elizabeth and Mary (9).

(8) Riſdon's Survey of Devonſhire, Vol. II. p. 275.

(9) Pedigree of the family.

[D] *Than it was unjuſt.*] The Earl of Clarendon has entered more minutely into the perſonal and private hiſtory of this gentleman, than of almoſt any other of whom he ſpeaks, and it is neceſſary that the reader ſhould ſee the whole of it, as it ſtands in his own words (10). ' Major Greenvile, at the iſle of Rhée, ' inſinuated himſelf into the very good grace of the ' Duke of Buckingham, who was the General in that ' invaſion; and, after the unfortunate retreat from ' thence, was made colonel of a regiment, with gene' ral approbation, and as an officer that well deſerved ' it (11). His credit every day increaſed with the Duke, ' who out of the generoſity of his nature (as a moſt ' generous perſon he was) reſolved to raiſe his fortune; towards the beginning whereof, by his countenance and ſollicitation, he prevailed with a rich wi' dow to marry him, who had been a lady of extraor' dinary beauty, which ſhe had not yet outlived; and, ' though ſhe had no great dower by her huſband, a ' younger brother of the Earl of Suffolk, yet ſhe in' herited a fair fortune of her own near Plymouth, and ' was beſides very rich in a perſonal eſtate, and was ' looked

(10) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 535, 536.

(11) See before in note [B].

cerned for him, could deviſe, to obtain juſtice and redreſs; but finding all that he and they could do was ineffectual, and thinking it hard to paſs the remainder of his days in

'looked upon as the richeſt match of the Weſt. This 'lady, by the Duke's credit, Sir Richard Greenvile '(for he was now made a Knight and Baronet) ob-'tained, and was thereby poſſeſſed of a plentiful eſtate, 'upon the borders of his own country, where his own 'family had great credit and authority. The war be-'ing quickly at an end, and he deprived of his great 'patron, had nothing now to depend upon but the for-'tune of his wife, which, though ample enough to 'have ſupported the expence, a perſon of his quality 'ought to have made, was not large enough to ſatisfy 'his vanity and ambition, nor ſo great as he upon com-'mon reports had promiſed himſelf by her. By not 'being enough pleaſed with her fortune, he grew leſs 'pleaſed with his wife, who being a woman of a haugh-'ty and imperious nature, and of a wit ſuperior to his, 'quickly reſented the diſreſpect ſhe received from him, 'and in no degree ſtudied to make herſelf eaſy to him. 'After ſome years ſpent together in theſe domeſtic unſo-'ciable conteſtations, in which he poſſeſſed himſelf of all 'her eſtate, as the ſole maſter of it, without allowing her 'out of her own any competency for herſelf, and in-'dulged to himſelf all thoſe licences in her own houſe, 'which to women are moſt grievous: ſhe found means 'to withdraw herſelf from him, and was with all kind-'neſs received into that family in which ſhe had been 'before married, and was always very much reſpected 'Her abſence was not ingrateful to him, till the te-'nants refuſed to pay him any more rent, and he found 'himſelf on a ſudden deprived of her whole eſtate, 'which was all he had to live upon; for it appeared 'now, that ſhe had, before her marriage with him, 'ſettled her intire fortune ſo abſolutely upon the Earl 'of Suffolk, that the preſent right was in him, and he 'required the rents to be paid to him. This begot a 'ſuit in the Chancery, between Sir Richard Greenvile 'and the then Earl of Suffolk, before the Lord Co-'ventry, who found the conveyances in law to be ſo 'firm, that he could not only not relieve Sir Richard 'Greenvile in equity, but that in juſtice he muſt de-'cree the land to the Earl, which he did. This very 'ſenſible mortification tranſported him ſo much, that 'being a man who uſed to ſpeak very bitterly of thoſe 'he did not love, after all endeavours to have engaged 'the Earl in a perſonal conflict, he revenged himſelf 'upon him in ſuch opprobrious language, as the go-'vernment and juſtice of that time would not permit 'to paſs unpuniſhed, and the Earl appealed for repa-'ration to the court of Star-Chamber, where Sir Ri-'chard was decreed to pay three thouſand pounds for 'damages to him, and was likewiſe fined the ſum of 'three thouſand pounds to the King, who gave the 'fine likewiſe to the Earl; ſo that Sir Richard was com-'mitted to the priſon of the Fleet, in execution for the 'whole ſix thouſand pounds, which at that time was 'thought by all men to be a very ſevere and rigorous 'decree, and drew a general compaſſion towards the 'unhappy gentleman. After he had endured many 'years of ſtrict impriſonment, a little before the be-'ginning of the late troubles, he made his eſcape out 'of the priſon, and tranſporting himſelf beyond the 'ſeas, remained there till the parliament was called 'that produced ſo many miſeries to the kingdom, and 'when he heard that many decrees which had been 'made in that time by the court of Star-Chamber, 'were repealed, and the perſons grieved abſolved from 'thoſe penalties, he likewiſe returned, and petitioned 'to have his cauſe heard, for which a committee was 'appointed, but, before it could be brought to any 'concluſion, the rebellion broke out in Ireland.'

Let us now hear what Sir Richard Greenvile himſelf ſays of all this matter, in a Vindication printed and publiſhed in Holland, which the noble author might, and very probably muſt, have ſeen, before he penned his Hiſtory (12). 'In the year 1628, I married the 'ſiſter-in-law of the Earl of Suffolk, in whoſe right I 'obtained againſt the Earl a decree in the court of 'Chancery, for his payment of a great ſum of money. 'He ſtood out all proceſs of law, in contempt to that 'decree, whereupon a commiſſion of rebellion was iſ-'ſued forth againſt him. Then he, finding that his 'divers practices, by reaſon of greatneſs, could not 'free him from the law, he got advice and aſſiſtance 'to procure great troubles unto me as an enemy, name-'ly, by authority to command me to come from my 'houſe, two hundred miles from London, with a pour-'ſuivant, to appear and attend the Council-Board. Af-'ter many months diligent attendance, nothing was 'charged againſt me: but, in the mean time, ſome 'perſons were employed to urge me to accept of one 'thouſand pounds from the ſaid Earl, and to acquit 'him of many thouſands which he ſtood engaged to 'pay me. That not prevailing, then was his man 'Francis Taylor ſent as a purſuivant to my houſe in 'Devon, with a warrant of the court of High Com-'miſſion, to bring my wife unto London, as his pri-'ſoner, upon the opportunity of a difference betwixt 'her and myſelf, and, after her arrival in London, the 'ſaid Earl procured her to come and live with him, in 'his own houſe, as ſhe did for a long time. Then the 'Earl commenced a proceſs of law againſt me in the 'Star-Chamber, upon which there paſſed a ſentence 'againſt me of eight thouſand pounds, his ſaid man 'Francis Taylor having ſworn, That I had ſaid the 'Earl of Suffolk was a baſe lord, notwithſtanding the 'contrary was proved by four men preſent at the time 'when thoſe words were pretended to be ſpoken: ne-'vertheleſs his friends in that court would not ſuffer 'any depoſition to be taken againſt the Earl, becauſe 'alledged to be recriminal. By the ſame ſentence was 'I detained priſoner in the Fleet above ſixteen months 'time, during which I laboured by all means deviſe-'able, but in vain, to obtain juſtice only. Beſides, 'to add thereunto, in a vacation out of term, beyond 'precedent, it was contrived with Pye, attorney of 'the Court of Wards, that my wife's eſtate was wholly 'ordered away out of my power, by authority of a 'leaſe made unto the Earls of Pembroke and Dorſet, 'to the King's uſe for eight years, on pretence that 'ſhe was then a ward to the King, as not having ſued 'forth her livery: which being done, nothing was found 'prevalent to revoke or remedy that act. And then 'more to diſable their enemy, by many proceſſes at law 'was I compelled to pay many great debts of my wife's, 'which were owing by her before ever I ſaw her, and 'notwithſtanding I could not receive one penny of her 'eſtate for any occaſion whatſoever. By means of 'which injuſtices and preſſures was I neceſſitated to 'ſell away mine own eſtate, and to impawn my goods, 'which by it were quite loſt. Thus finding neither 'juſtice nor law in England for me, but, on the con-'trary, that all paſſed for juſtice againſt me, on the '17th of October, 1633, I gave myſelf liberty, and 'conveyed myſelf from England into the Swedes ſer-'vice in Germany.'

(12) Sir Richard Greenvile's Defence againſt all aſperſions of malignant perſons.

There is nothing clearer than that one of theſe two relations muſt be in a great meaſure miſtaken, ſince they are diametrically oppoſite; the great point is, to know which is the miſtaken caſe: and in order to ſatisfy the reader, and to decide a point of ſuch importance by proper authority, we find ourſelves obliged to cite the caſe as it is reported, which will do the buſineſs effectually, and ſtands thus (13).

'Inter Theophilum Dom. Suffolk, Quer. & Ri-'chardum Greenvile, Mil. & Bar. & Mariam 'Ux ejus Def. Lord-Keeper, Juſtice Hutton, 'Juſtice Whitlock, 26 Julii, 7 Car. I.

(13) Reports of ſpecial caſes argued and decreed in the court of Chancery, publiſhed by William Nelſon, Eſq; p. 15.

'The defendant, the Lady Greenvile, whilſt ſole, 'had a decree againſt the Earl of Suffolk, for ſix hun-'dred pounds per annum, againſt which decree the 'Earl prayed to be relieved, in regard there was a 'verbal agreement between Sir Richard Greenvile and 'the ſaid lady before marriage, that ſhe ſhould have 'the ſole diſpoſal of the ſaid ſix hundred pounds per 'annum; that accordingly before the ſaid marriage, 'ſhe by deed aſſigned the benefit of that decree to one 'Cutford, and that afterwards ſhe and Cutford releaſed 'the ſame to the ſaid Earl; but not having the ſaid 'deeds to produce, and alledging that Sir Richard 'Greenvile had got and cancelled the ſame, which he 'denied,

in a prison, he made his escape out of the Fleet, October 17, 1633 (*l*). At this time, and by this series of misfortunes, which might be truly stiled inevitable, Sir Richard Greenvile

(*l*) Nelson's Chancery Reports, p. 15. Star-Chamber Reports.

'denied, it was ordered that he and Cutford should be 'examined upon interrogatories to discover the said 'deeds, or copies thereof; and accordingly they were 'examined: but the matter being not cleared by such 'examination, or what were the contents of such deeds, 'the court were all of opinion, That there was no suf- 'ficient proof to bar Sir Richard Greenvile from the 'benefit of the said decree, for that the arrears of the 'said six hundred pounds per annum being in it's own 'nature a *thing in action*, and so to be merely reco 'vered by the process of this court, cannot in law be 'assigned over to another. So that if the assignment 'to Cutford had been proved, as it was not, it would 'have been a void assignment in law, and ought not 'to be supported in a court of equity, especially where 'no consideration appears to make it better in equity 'than it is at law.

'They were all of opinion, That the verbal agree- 'ment of Sir Richard Greenvile, in consideration of 'the said marriage, was to subvert both the grounds 'of law, and the right which was vested in him by 'the intermarriage; and, therefore, if such agreement 'is not settled by some legal assurances, to make it 'binding in law, it is not fit to be maintained in a 'court of equity, in order to give a feme covert such 'a power as is now pretended

''Tis true *things in action* are sometimes turned over 'by a letter of attorney; but if it had been so in this 'case, yet presently by the intermarriage, the letter 'of attorney had been revoked and determined, and 'all covenants, promises, and agreements, made by 'the *husband* to his *wife* before marriage, relating to 'the disposal of his estate, would be extinguished by 'the marriage; and, therefore, if Cutford had an ef- 'fectual letter of attorney executed to him, and the 'same could be produced, yet he could not in his own 'name seal such a *release* to the plaintiff as he had 'done; the contents whereof appearing only on his 'single testimony, he ought not to be admitted as a 'witness, for he was a party interested, and might 'justly be suspected of partiality, because of former and 'continued differences between him and Sir Richard 'Greenvile: and, therefore, the court held it dange- 'rous to admit the sufficiency of a deed to be proved 'by the single oath of such a witness, especially since 'the construction of deeds was the proper office of the 'court of Chancery. But the fact relating to the exe- 'cuting such deeds was proved by witnesses: so the 'bill was dismissed, and Sir Richard Greenvile had 'liberty to prosecute the said decree against the 'plaintiff'

There are visibly many escapes, some trifling, others very material, in the Earl of Clarendon's relation: he makes him a Baronet before the marriage, whereas the date of his patent shews the contrary (14). He makes the suit between the Earl of Suffolk and Sir Richard Greenvile arise from a settlement of Lady Greenvile's fortune upon the Earl, and the decree in the Earl's favour: whereas it evidently appears that Sir Richard, in right of his wife, had a claim upon the Earl, which, by collusion with that Lord, his Lady endeavoured to defeat; and it was for this purpose, after Sir Richard was in the Fleet, that the Earl brought his bill, when the Lord Keeper Coventry was so far from establishing any thing in favour of his Lordship, that, as the reader sees, he did strict justice to Sir Richard under his misfortunes, whose account of the whole affair stands from the report altogether unimpeached. As to the proceeding in the Star Chamber, Lord Clarendon makes the fine two thousand pounds less than it was, yet admits that the proceeding was very severe, and generally disliked.

(14) Dugdale's Authentic Catalogue of Baronets, p. 101.

But to put this point past dispute, as indeed every thing should be put, that relates to so great and so established an author as the Earl of Clarendon, we will also cite the very case as it stands recorded, that it may be seen we have not taken matters on trust, or on the credit of Sir Richard's own narrative, or become parties in an affair which concerns us no farther than it concerns truth, which ought to be defended at the expence of any history. Thus stands the case (15): 'Hill. 7 Car. 'Attornat. Gener. versus Greenvile, Bar. The defen- 'dant, upon conference with one Taylor, touching 'the Earl of Suffolk, did, in the presence of two or 'three others, maliciously and disgracefully say and af- 'firm, That the said Earl of Suffolk was a base lord, 'and had dealt basely with him, and that he would 'make him repent it, and shortly after wished Taylor to 'tell him so, and afterward told one Brabant what he 'said to Taylor of the said Earl. That he was a base 'ignoble lord, and had dealt basely with him, and 'that he had wished Taylor to tell him so; and for 'this he was committed to the Fleet, during his Ma- 'jesty's pleasure, fined four thousand pounds, to make 'an humble acknowlegment and submission to the said 'Earl in this court, as this court should direct, and pay 'him four thousand pounds damages.'

(15) Rushworth's Collections, part ii. Vol. II. in the Appendix, p. 43.

On this occasion the reader, perhaps, will not be displeased if we shew him a very singular and a very striking instance of the bad effects of these kind of judgments in general, and of this in particular, as it will clearly demonstrate the necessity of taking away a court, the power of which was so flagrantly abused. Sir David Foulis, and his eldest son Henry, had with some warmth opposed the commission for compelling men to take the honour of knighthood, and in the course of that opposition had dropped some expressions reflecting upon Thomas Lord Viscount Wentworth, then Lord President of the North, for which they were brought into the Star-Chamber, and when the cause drew to a hearing, that noble peer, then become Lord Deputy of Ireland, writes to Lord Cottington, who was to be one of the judges, in the following words (16):

'This term my cause comes to an hearing with Fou- 'lis, I send over this servant purposely to attend it; I 'must wholly recommend myself to your care of me in 'this, which I take to concern me as much, and to 'have therein as much the better, as I ever had in any 'other cause all the days of my life, so I trust a little 'help will serve the turn. The bearer hath a short 'brief of the cause, which on my word you will find 'truth, for I have examined it myself. You will find 'that I suffer merely in this for doing the King's ser- 'vice, and that in truth the arrow was shot at him, 'albeit they contented themselves to call upon me by 'the way. That the sentencing of this man settles the 'right of knighting business bravely for the crown, for 'in your sentence you will certainly declare the un- 'doubted right and prerogative the King hath therein 'by common-law, statute law, and the undeniable prac- 'tice of all times; and therefore I am a suitor by you 'to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased 'to recommend the cause to the lords, as well in his 'own right, as in the right of his absent poor servant, 'and to wish them all to be there. You are like to 'begin the sentence, and I will be bold to tell you my 'opinion thereon; you have been pleased sometimes 'as I sat by you, to ask me my conceit upon the cause 'then before us, admit me now to do it upon my own 'cause, for by my troth I will do it as clearly as if it 'concerned me not. First, I desire you to remember 'how Greenfield was fined, for calling my Lord of Suf- 'folk only base lord; how a jury gave three thousand 'pounds damage to my Lord Say for the same words, 'and then ballance the slander most ignominiously and 'maliciously put upon me by Sir David and his son, 'and let not me be less valued than other men, when 'I conceive that I merit to be regarded more than 'they: for first, I suffer merely for my zeal in his Ma- 'jesty's service, never having given him the least per- 'sonal offence in all my life. Secondly, I was then in 'the heat of his Majesty's business, which might (by 'this means taking away my credit) have been destroy- 'ed. I was (albeit unworthy) in that place chief go- 'vernor under his Majesty, his Lieutenant and Presi- 'dent of his Council there, which makes this a direct 'mutiny, and stirring up a sedition against the regal 'authority, as well as me. Thirdly, It is the most 'untrue, as well as the most malicious calumny that 'ever was set upon man, there not being so much as 'the least shadow for any thing they charge me with, 'so as the former benefits they have received from the 'crown,

(16) Lord Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 145, 146. See also p. 189, 202.

Greenvile found himſelf a baniſhed man, and in a manner without hopes of returning again into his own country; for no greater crime, admitting all that is alledged againſt him, than, in the midſt of extreme provocation, letting fall an unguarded word (*n*). We have therefore no cauſe to wonder, that a judicature which paſſed ſuch heavy ſentences, on ſuch light offences, ſhould be thought ſuch a grievance as no free people could bear; and it was amongſt the very few advantages that the enſuing troubles procured to this nation that this intolerable court was taken away (*o*). In this exile Sir Richard proſecuted his endeavours to render himſelf a compleat maſter, in theory and practice, of the art of war; and according to his cuſtom, made large collections on the tranſactions in which he was embarked, and on the ſcenes of which he was a ſpectator; ſo that we need not wonder he attained, both at home and abroad, the character of a compleat officer, ſince parts, application, and experience, are the only means by which perfection is attained in any profeſſion (*p*). On the firſt news of the troubles in the North, and of the King's intention to march with an army againſt the Scots, Sir Richard Greenvile came over at all hazards, offered his ſervice to his Sovereign, which was well received; and at the head of a troop of horſe, compoſed of gentlemen of the beſt families in the two counties of Cornwall and Devon, and equipped in a manner ſuitable to their rank, he attended the King in 1639 (*q*). When the Long-Parliament was called, and enquiries began in reference to the heavy and ſevere cenſures paſſed by the Court of Star-Chamber, it is ſaid that Sir Richard Greenvile made his complaint, and to any indifferent perſon it will not ſeem ſtrange that he did. But while it was under conſideration the rebellion broke out in Ireland, and a reſolution was immediately taken to employ him there; and in January 1642, he had a commiſſion to raiſe a troop of horſe (*r*), and was appointed major of the earl of Leiceſter's own regiment, who was at that time appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; he ſerved in that country with great ſpirit and ſucceſs. But it is imputed to him, or, at leaſt, to the troops under his command, that they behaved towards the Iriſh with great cruelty (*s*): yet the truth ſeems to be, that the great provocations which had been received in the bloody maſſacres, previous to the war, and the faithleſs diſpoſition of thoſe people, induced the Engliſh officers, or at leaſt afforded a pretence to their ſoldiers, for acting with a ſeverity repugnant to their nature. This however is certain, that in the moſt authentic accounts of that bloody war, it appears that Sir Richard Greenvile behaved with equal courage and conduct; for not long after his arrival, he marched with two hundred horſe and one thouſand foot to raiſe the ſiege of Athlone (*t*), and to carry ſupplies to that garriſon; both which he effected, but in his return he was encountered by three thouſand four hundred foot and ſix troops of horſe, at Raconell, a place of great diſadvantage to him. Nevertheleſs he had the good fortune to defeat the rebels, with the ſlaughter of two hundred and fifty of their men, and to take General Preſton's eldeſt ſon, and ſome other priſoners. But that which rendered this victory the more valuable was an ancient prophecy, That whoever won the battle of Raconell, ſhould gain all Ireland; therefore this victory troubled and diſcouraged the ſuperſtitious Iriſh exceedingly: in conſequence of their fears they began to labour for a peace, or at leaſt for a ceſſation of arms, which at length they obtained. But before this was brought about, the very motion of it occaſioned diviſions in the Engliſh councils, which contributed very much, if they did not entirely occaſion the deſtruction of the King's affairs (*u*). The Queen's party, as they were called at Oxford, had a bias towards the rebels in Ireland, or as they affected to call them the Catholics,

(*n*) See the paragraphs from the Earl of Strafford's letter in note [*D*].

(*o*) See the preamble to the ſtatute 16 Car. I. cap. 1. by which that court is aboliſhed.

(*p*) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 473.

(*q*) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 200.

(*r*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 537.

(*s*) See the Appendix to the Earl of Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 347, 348.

(*t*) Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, p. 109.

(*u*) Clarendon's Hiſtorical View of Affairs in Ireland, p. 23. Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, p. 133.

' crown, and the continued courteſies I had upon all ' occaſions afforded them, make them to ſtand, I dare ' ſay, the moſt inexcuſable men you ever ſat upon in ' judgment. Remember how Sir Arthur Savage was ' ſentenced in that cauſe of the Lord Falkland, yet ' there was private grudgings between them, that was ' but only adviſing to petition his Majeſty in a very ' foul cauſe, thereby to bring it to juſtice, and ſuch a ' ground for it as ſurely there was a bloody oppoſition ' in the buſineſs, if they could have light of the right ' way. This much worſe in Sir David's caſe, no endeavours to bring any thing into a way of juſtice, but ' libelloufly to take away my good name by open ſlandering me in a way without all form or pretence of ' juſtice, no crime at all committed, the rights of the ' crown only called for, and taken of the ſubject with ' good contentment to all but himſelf, and for the perſon equally conſiderable, the Preſident there being ' in effect the ſame thing the Deputy is here. Much ' more I could ſay if I were in the Star-Chamber, to ' ſpeak in ſuch a cauſe for my Lord Cottington: but ' I will conclude with this, that I proteſt to God, if ' it were in the perſon of another, I ſhould in a cauſe ' ſo foul, the proof ſo clear, fine the father and ſon, ' Sir David and Henry Foulis, in two thouſand pounds ' a piece to his Majeſty, and in two thouſand pounds ' a piece damages to myſelf, for their ſcandal; and ' they both to be ſent down to York, and there publickly at York aſſizes next, to acknowledge, in the ' face of the whole country, the right his Majeſty hath ' to that duty of knightings, as alſo the wrong he hath ' done me; humbly craving pardon of his Majeſty, ' and expreſſing his ſorrow ſo to have miſrepreſented ' his Majeſty's moſt gracious proceedings even in that ' courſe of compounding, where the law would have ' given him much more, as alſo for ſo falſely ſlandering and belying me, without a cauſe. For Sir Thomas Layton, he is a fool, led on by the noſe by the ' the two former, nor was I willing to do him any hurt, ' and ſo let him go for a coxcomb as he is, and when ' he comes home, tell his neighbours it was well for ' him he had leſs wit than his fellows.' The judgment given in this cauſe (17), (for the reader will expect to know it) went even beyond his lordſhip's inſtructions, Sir David Foulis was declared incapable of all the offices and places which he enjoyed, committed to the Fleet during the King's pleaſure, fined five thouſand pounds to the King, and three thouſand pounds to the Lord Wentworth, for the payment of which fines he was obliged to ſell part of his eſtate; his ſon Henry was committed cloſe priſoner to the Fleet during the King's pleaſure, and fined five hundred pounds: Sir Thomas Layton was diſmiſſed.

(17) Ruſhworth's Collections, Part ii. Vol. II. in the Appendix, p. 65, 66.

tholics, from a notion that this would facilitate the ſending over a large body of regular well diſciplined troops, and thereby enable the King to put a ſhort end to the war (*w*). The Marquis of Ormond, Commander in chief of the forces in Ireland, was not averſe to this meaſure, on account of the many relations he had embarked in theſe troubles, and his paſſionate deſire to ſee that iſland reſtored to peace. On the other hand, there was a ſtrong party againſt a ceſſation, and that from different reaſons (*x*). Many of them without queſtion wiſh d well to the cauſe of the Parliament, and were very unwilling that any diverſion ſhould be created, by the ſending over troops to the King's aſſiſtance from Ireland (*y*). But there were others alſo very zealouſly affected to the royal intereſt, and who wiſhed for nothing more than an opportunity to ſupport it in England, that were notwithſtanding vehemently againſt any ceſſation in Ireland, becauſe they thought the Iriſh were not to be truſted; that it would ſerve only to prolong the war; that it would diſcredit his Majeſty's councils; that it would give freſh colour to the Parliament, to treat all who adhered to his Majeſty, as ſecretly inclined to the Papiſts; and that conſequently this ceſſation, inſtead of promoting, would render impracticable the ends for which it was made, and fruſtrate all hopes of peace, either in England or in Ireland (*z*). Such of the Royaliſts as were in theſe ſentiments, were thoſe who adhered to the Earl of Leiceſter, who though he never went in perſon to Ireland, had a great many friends there, and was believed to be an honeſt able man, and as well affected to the King as thoſe who made larger profeſſions of loyalty (*a*). Amongſt theſe was Sir Richard Greenvile, who made no ſcruple of profeſſing his diſlike to a ceſſation while it was in deliberation, or of proteſting againſt it when it was concluded; and as little ſcruple of coming over to ſerve the King in England when it was propoſed to him, fully perſuaded that he had done nothing in Ireland, but what was very conſiſtent with theſe principles (*b*). A conſiderable body of the forces that had ſerved in Ireland being embarked, part under the command of Sir Michael Ernley, landed in Wales; the reſt, among whom was Col. George Monk and Sir Richard Greenvile, came to Briſtol, where they met with a very unexpected reception; for Lord Hawley, who commanded there, produced an order ſigned by Lord Digby Secretary of State, to ſeize them as perſons of ſuſpected at leaſt, if not corrupt, principles; which was owing to the informations from Ireland, founded upon an averſion to all who had any attachment to the Earl of Leiceſter, though he was Lord Lieutenant of the King's appointing; till upon this extraordinary turn in affairs, that high office was conferred upon the Marquis of Ormond. Lord Hawley, who was related both to Col. Monk and Sir Richard Greenvile, behaved towards them as became a man of his quality; that is, he took their parole to go to Oxford, and ſo diſmiſſed them (*c*). Col. Monk went thither directly, but Sir Richard Greenvile thought it expedient to go a little about. He had conſiderable arrears due to him for his ſervice in Ireland, for which the Parliament were reſponſible; he did not care to make a bad figure at Oxford, and, whether well founded or not, his principle was, that he might lawfully deceive thoſe who endeavoured to corrupt him (*d*) [*E*]. His appplication at London

(*w*) Civil Wars in England and Ireland, p. 98, 99. Heath's Chronicle of the Civil War, p. 122.

(*x*) Clarendon's Hiſtorical View of Affairs in Ireland, p. 23, 24, 25.

(*y*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 453.

(*z*) See the Vindication of Sir Richard Greenvile. Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland, p. 133, &c. Rushworth's Collections, P. III. Vol II. p. 555.

(*a*) See the Earl of Leiceſter's character in Clarendon's Hiſtory. Memoirs of the Sidney Family, prefixed to the Sidney Papers, p. 139, 140.

(*b*) Hiſtory of the Civil Wars in England and Ireland, p. 99.

(*c*) Vindication of Sir Richard Greenvile, &c.

(*d*) See Sir R. Greenvile's own letter in the note [*F*].

[*E*] *Who endeavoured to corrupt him.*] The late Lord Lanſdowne, grand-nephew to this gentleman, and who wrote a vindication of him and of his conduct, expreſſes himſelf thus upon this delicate tranſaction (18). 'I will not pretend wholly to juſtify this laſt action, 'not being a friend to any thing that looks like deceit; 'all that can be ſaid for it is, that it was putting the 'old ſoldier upon a pack of knaves, and biting the 'biter.' Mr Oldmixon, who wrote remarks upon his lordſhip's performance, was highly offended with this ludicrous expreſſion (19): 'I have, ſays he, taken all due 'care to avoid giving offence in ſentiment or expreſſion, 'farther than the ſubject may itſelf offend; yet, as 'cautious as I have and ought to have been, I muſt 'confeſs I have not been without provocation ſome-'times to ſpeak the whole of the truth, and in very 'intelligible terms, ſuch is the following paſſage, He 'put the old ſoldier on a pack of knaves I will give 'a liſt of twenty of thoſe knaves, and leave it to the 'reader to compare the ſtile and the characters.

'Denzil Holles, Eſq; afterwards Lord Holles.
'John Crew, Eſq; afterwards Lord Crew.
'Arthur Anneſley, Eſq; afterwards Earl of Angleſey.
'Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, afterwards Earl of Shaftſbury.
'John Selden, Eſq;
'John Pym, Eſq; &c.

'It is no flattery to ſay there were not greater men 'in the Roman ſenate, when Rome was at the height 'of her liberty and glory, but they were Preſbyterians, 'and might therefore be plundered not only with impunity, but applauſe. The fact is this: Sir Richard 'Greenvile had received a conſiderable ſum of money 'of the Parliament, to raiſe forces for them, and, as 'ſoon as they were raiſed, deſerted with them to the 'King. One cannot think that the calling that money 'arrears will excuſe a breach of truſt and deſertion. 'Suppoſing the money was arrears, if, after he had 'deſerted their ſervice in Ireland, and forfeited theſe 'arrears by ſuch deſertion, the Parliament forgiving 'it, and paying him the money on condition he raiſed 'forces with it for their ſervice, the treachery and 'breach of truſt are the ſame as if there had been no 'arrears coming to him. Beſides, it is very much 'queſtioned whether Sir Richard Greenvile was in ſuch 'circumſtances as to ſerve without pay, ſo long that 'there was an arrear ſufficient to levy a regiment of 'horſe due to him. The Parliament ſo highly reſented this treacherous act, that the knight was not only 'hanged in effigy, but was excepted out of their ge-'neral pardons.' To this the noble apologiſt thought fit to reply in the following terms (20): 'But what pro 'voked you, it ſeems, was the expreſſion of a pack of 'knaves—which, by an extraordinary ſtrain of ſophiſtry, you would draw me in to mean twenty honourable perſons, of whom you give a liſt, whoſe memories are to be reſpected, and the more becauſe they 'lived to ſeparate themſelves from the *pack* of *knaves*, 'to be aſhamed of their company, and to make ample 'reparation for having kept it ſo long. This very 'ſeparation proves that there was a *pack* of *knaves*, 'whom theſe men of honour and true patriots diſowned 'and abandoned, as ſoon as they found them out. The 'malice of this reflection turns upon yourſelf, you have 'applied it where I never meant it: it never entered 'into my thoughts.' It might have been urged in behalf of Sir Richard Greenvile, that having ſerved in the army of Ireland, and the King having committed the management

(18) A Vindication of Sir Richard Greenvile, General in the Weſt for King Charles the Firſt, from the miſrepreſentations of the Earl of Clarendon and the Rev. Mr Archdeacon Echard.

(19) Reflections Hiſtorical and Political, &c. p. 21.

(20) A Letter to the author of Reflections Hiſtorical and Political, p. 24, 25.

don was well received; his conduct in Ireland very fairly entitled him to his arrears; his proteſting againſt the ceſſation with the Iriſh was a ſtrong recommendation; his military ſkill having been bred in the ſame ſchool with Sir Thomas Fairfax and Sir William Waller, created a high opinion of him and his influence in Cornwall and Devonſhire, induced the Parliament to wiſh he might enter into their ſervice (*e*); he did not raiſe many difficulties, but having obtained a conſiderable ſum of money, the rank of a Major-General, and orders to raiſe a regiment (*f*), with power to name his own officers, he went about it with great alacrity, and compleated it in a very ſhort time. We find ſome ſtrictures in Clarendon (*g*), as to his affecting finery in his equipage, which we are told conſiſted of a coach and ſix, a waggon and ſix, and ſome led horſes; which, conſidering he was a general officer, and to command the horſe under Sir William Waller, was not ſo very extraordinary. He appointed the rendezvous of his horſe at Bagſhot, to which place he directed his march with all his new equipage; and having there acquainted his officers (*b*) and ſoldiers with his intentions, they fell immediately into them, and filed off directly towards Reading. He went from thence to Oxford, where he was extremely well received, and with very good reaſon; ſince he immediately acquainted the King with a conſummate piece of treachery, by which in a few days he muſt have loſt the important garriſon of Baſing-Houſe (*i*), which by this intelligence was prevented. Immediately upon his withdrawing, he wrote a very full and free letter to William Lenthall, Eſq; the Speaker, in which he ſet forth ſuch reaſons as he thought might juſtify his conduct. But this ſerved only to add fuel to the flame, for the Parliament cauſed him inſtantly to be proclaimed a traitor, with all poſſible marks of infamy [*F*]. This was not the effects of a ſudden and warm fit of reſentment, but

(*e*) Whitlocke's Memorials, Ruſhworth's Collections, Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion.

(*f*) Ruſhworth's Collections, Part iii. Vol. II. p. 284.

(*g*) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. P. 537.

(*b*) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 203.

(*i*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 537.

management of that war to the Parliament, he no way deſerted the King's ſervice in applying to them for his arrears, to which he had an undoubted title, and yet he could apply no where to obtain them but where he did. It might be ſuggeſted, that being in another iſland when the civil war broke out, and having beſides no great reaſon to be ſatisfied with the conduct of the King's miniſters towards him, upon his arrival in England, he might have inclined to know what were the Parliament's real intentions, and might poſſibly form his definitive judgment of things after he knew them. It might be ſurmiſed, that from his conferences with Sir William Waller, who was much more in their ſecrets than the Earl of Eſſex, he came to have ſuch an inſight into their views, as determined him to the part he acted; or it is not impoſſible that the communication of the treacherous deſign of ſurprizing Baſing-Houſe, might have a ſudden and violent effect upon his notions. At all events, they ſurely had but little reaſon to complain of Sir Richard's conduct, who in this very inſtance had inveigled the brother of a moſt noble perſon to break through all the ties of religion, loyalty, and honour, to make his court to them. In the next note we ſhall ſee what the noble apologiſt has omitted. Sir Richard's defence of himſelf, which is much ſuperior to any thing that can be offered by another hand, however able or willing to defend him

[*F*] *With all poſſible marks of infamy*] According to the indiſtinct relations which we have elſewhere, it ſhould ſeem that Sir Richard Greenvile had taken a very large ſum of money from the Parliament, and from thence a doubt might ariſe, whether the view of making ſuddenly a conſiderable fortune, might not have been as ſtrong a motive as any other to his manner of acting; but when it is known that the whole of this vaſt ſum was never more than ſix hundred pounds, it cannot ſure be taken in this light, more eſpecially when it is conſidered that out of this money he had raiſed a regiment of horſe, and, of conſequence, could have but very little left (*z1*). We have before obſerved that this gentleman had accuſtomed himſelf to write; and the following piece upon ſo very delicate a point, may perhaps induce the candid reader to allow, that, like Cæſar, he has left it a queſtion hard to be decided, which weapon he managed beſt, the pen or the ſword (*z2*).

(*z1*) Compare what is ſaid by the Earl of Clarendon, with Ruſhworth, and Sir Richard Greenvile's own Vindication.

(*z2*) Ruſhworth's Collections, Part iii. Vol. II. p. 385.

'To the honourable William Lenthall, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons at London, preſent theſe:

'SIR,

My employment in Ireland in his Majeſty's army, under the pay of the Parliament, and my faithful carriage in it againſt the rebels there, is ſufficiently known; and to ſay no more of it, ſince it concerns myſelf, I thank God I can look back upon thoſe actions with ſome comfort, and the more that I proſecuted with a ſincere affection, to the upholding the Proteſtant religion in that kingdom, ſo well as his Majeſty's juſt and undoubted right to that crown. The occaſion of my coming over is well known too; and truly it was with many ſad thoughts of the diſtractions and miſeries of my native country. And I aſſure you it was without the leaſt deſign of engaging myſelf; for I knew my allegiance to my ſovereign was a check to me to lift my hand againſt him; and the reverence I bare to the name of a Parliament, (which I find hath, and doth deceive many) thwarted any relation in offering my ſervice to his Majeſty, where I knew it was due. I contented myſelf to think I had ſerved both, without diſlike of either, and that therefore I might attend my own particular, and before I by any way engaged myſelf (if I ſhould do ſo in the future) do it upon knowledge, and not report. Landing at Liverpool in Auguſt laſt, I found both there and at Warrington that great ſuſpicions were had of me, and alſo of my Lord Liſle, that we had brought over great ſtore of treaſure; and the itch was ſo great to plunder us thereof, and of our horſes, &c that it was told me what we had was moſt uſeful for their good cauſe in hand; if we were friends it ſhould be but lent, if we were other, they muſt not let ſlip ſuch an advantage. And truly, though we had inſolencies offered us, yet Colonel John Booth by his diſcretion and good uſage of us, kept them from committing thoſe barbarous injuries I found they were inclined unto. This wakened me, and I ſoon perceived, that, if this were the juſtice of thoſe pretenders to religion and reformation, the many complaints I had heard from many honeſt men were not without cauſe. In ſhort, from thence with great difficulty I was permitted to come up, with a ſtrict guard, to London, whence the ſource and ſpring of all our miſeries flows. There Sir, to ſpeak plain Engliſh to you, I found religion was the cloak of rebellion; and it ſeemed not ſtrange to me, when I found there was ſo little left of the Proteſtant religion, as there were few of the learned and reverend divines that were wont to preach it. There I found the ſubject's liberty had a ſtrange guard for it, his conſcience being forced to ſubmit to many unlawful oaths (though it pleaſed God I eſcaped them all) his eſtate was liable, upon interpretation of a neceſſitous party, to be exacted from him; and the whole government there was but a neceſſity of oaths and money, for ſubjects to compound to keep part of their own. The privileges of Parliament I knew not many of them, and yet was it very viſible that the great privilege of this Parliament was to be none of the former. This ſome diſcreet and ſober friends, in divers particulars, made very clear to me. How the King's name was uſed againſt himſelf, was as odious to me as ridiculous. Sir, by this you will ſee I have lived ſome time amongſt you, in which, I muſt confeſs, I endeavoured to have diſpatched ſome of my own occaſions concerning

but a deliberate and decisive act, by which Sir Richard Greenvile was for ever precluded from any hopes of remission or pardon, whatever turn affairs might take; and as we shall see hereafter, this spirit of rancour subsisted on both sides without any abatement during the continuance of the war. After some short stay with the King, Sir Richard Greenvile went with a commission to raise two regiments into his own country, where he offered to assist Col. John Digby, who was employed in blocking up Plymouth (*k*), where Lord Robartes commanded for the Parliament; but it is not at all probable, that he had no command there, though this is asserted by the Noble Historian, since he brought with him a gallant regiment to Oxford, and we may very reasonably suppose that he carried them with him upon this service. At the time he went into the West, Col. Digby had orders to put him in possession of his wife's estate, which had been already sequestered on account of her adhering to the Parliament; and this, all circumstances considered, was but an act of justice, considering how long he had been deprived of it by an extraordinary stretch of power. In consequence of this, he fixed his residence at Greenvile-House, near Tavistock, where he put things into the best order he was able, and lived there with a magnificence suitable to his disposition (*l*). Col. Digby being wounded in the eye, Sir Richard Greenvile was charged with the blockade, where he continued to command till the middle of July 1644, when Prince Maurice found it requisite to re-call such of his forces as lay before Plymouth, by which that place would have been effectually relieved, if Sir Richard Greenvile by his personal influence and great reputation, had not assembled a new force sufficient to maintain that blockade. It was this that constrained the Earl of Essex to continue his march into the West (*m*), under a firm persuasion that Plymouth once relieved, and Sir Richard Greenvile and his forces beaten, the King's formidable power in those parts would be at an end. Accordingly he advanced towards Plymouth, and Sir Richard being in no condition to oppose him, drew off his small garrisons from Mount Stamford, Plympton, and Saltash, and retired into Cornwall (*n*). This gave the Earl an opportunity of taking Greenvile-House, which he did by storm, though being a place of no great defence, those within it had hung out a white flag; however, quarter was given to all, but some who were stiled Irish rebels, that is, some who had returned with Sir Richard out of Ireland. In the house were taken two small pieces of cannon, a considerable quantity of arms, and the value of three thousand pounds in money and plate, and one hundred (*o*) and fifty prisoners. A few days after he advanced to Newbridge, and after a very brisk dispute, not without considerable loss, forced Sir Richard Greenvile to retreat, and thereby opened a passage into Cornwall; which occasioned such a consternation, that part of Sir Richard's forces quitted Launceston, while he with such as remained retired in a very soldierly manner to Truro (*p*). But affairs quickly changed their face, for on the 1st of August the King having joined the army of Prince Maurice, entered Cornwall after Essex, and constrained him to retire (*q*) to Lestwithiel. His Majesty advancing to Lesskard, sent orders to Sir Richard

(*k*) Walker's Historical Discourses, p. 42.

(*l*) History of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 538.

(*m*) Rushworth's Collections, Part iii. Vol. II. p. 677. Heath's Chronicle, p. 58.

(*n*) Walker's Historical Discourses, p. 48. Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 539.

(*o*) Rushworth's Historical Collections, Part iii. Vol. II. p. 690.

(*p*) Walker's Historical Discourses, p. 49.

(*q*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 58.

ing my private fortune, but without it were obliging me in some command, which I conceive had an eye to your own service, I found so little service as any other man. At last, I conceived that this might be a design to have a hold and engagement upon me in a service I was so ill satisfied in: therefore I withdrew myself to my becoming and lawful duty to his Majesty, at whose feet I have now laid myself, from whence no fortune, terror, or cruelty, shall make me swerve. This, Sir, in satisfaction to you and the world; so I rest, as I expect you should term me,

Your malignant Servant,

Oxford, March 8, 1643.

Richard Greenvile.'

The two Houses were so incensed at his going to Oxford, and at his writing and publishing this letter to the Speaker, that they caused two gibbets to be erected, one in the Palace-Yard, Westminster, and the other overagainst the Royal Exchange, where a proclamation was made by the *Provost*-Marshal and trumpeters of Essex's army, in the words following, which were also fixed on each of the said gibbets.

'Whereas Richard Greenvile hath of late presented 'his service unto the Parliament, and hath been entertained by the Parliament, as Colonel of a regiment 'of horse: and whereas the said Greenvile, contrary 'to his promise, engagement, and *honour* of a soldier, 'hath basely, unworthily, and faithlessly deserted the 'said service, and feloniously carried away the money 'paid unto him in regard of the said service, These are 'to proclaim the said Richard Greenvile traitor, rogue, 'villain, and skellum, not only uncapable of military 'employment, but of all acquaintance and conversation with men of honesty and honour: and this proclamation, in the mean time, to be nailed to the gallows, whilst it shall please God to deliver the said 'Greenvile into the hands of justice, that he himself 'may supply the room of this proclamation.

'Done this 15th of March, 1643.'

The threats of the Parliament in such cases, were not things to be lightly regarded; for, amongst other causes of their success in military affairs, the strictness with which they proceeded against all whom they considered in the light of offenders, and more especially for deserting them, may be justly affirmed to be none of the least. When Barnstaple was taken, there was in it one Captain Howard, who had been formerly a lieutenant in the Parliament's service, and who went to the King with nineteen horse, who, on falling thus into their hands, was hanged by judgment of a court martial; upon which Prince Maurice caused one Captain Turpin to be hanged, who had been tried and condemned before the Judges Heath, Forster, Bankes, and Serjeant Glanville, for high treason; upon which the Parliament ordered those Judges themselves to be impeached of high treason (23). This was before they published their famous ordinance for martial law, in virtue of which they condemned many, and, among the rest, Sir Alexander Carew, Sir John Hotham, and his son Captain Hotham, and several other persons. As Sir Richard had these instances before his eyes, so he felt likewise their severity in the tenderest part, for his son falling into their hands, was hanged in reality, as his father had been in effigy (24). We may from hence conceive, that, with respect to this gentleman, there were more reasons to excuse severity than in those who had less to fear, and will therefore serve to explain several subsequent passages both in the text and in the notes.

(23) Whitlocke, Rushworth, Heath, &c.

(24) Lord Lansdowne's Works.

Richard Greenvile to draw his forces to Grampound, which he did, and from thence took poſt at Lanhethorock (r), and ſoon after made himſelf maſter of Weſterman-Caſtle, with a very ſtrong paſs, within half a mile of Leſtwithiel, ſo that the Earl of Eſſex was totally ſurrounded. His horſe, indeed, did break through by the careleſſneſs and drunkenneſs of Goring, but all the foot were made priſoners, by a capitulation ſigned by Major-General Skippon, and approved by Eſſex, and dated on the 1ſt of September (s). It is very remarkable, that the account publiſhed by the King, and the letter written by the Earl of Eſſex to Sir Philip Stapleton, concur in aſcribing to Sir Richard Greenvile's conduct this great defeat, which was by much the moſt ſevere ſtroke the Parliament received during the whole war, and that which gave them both occaſion and opportunity to lay their unfortunate General aſide, and to introduce what was called the new model. It has been ſuggeſted, that the Royaliſts did not make the moſt of their great advantage, and that the conſequences were by no means ſuitable to the clearneſs of their victory [G]. Sir Richard Greenvile, on the 2d of September, marched in purſuit of the enemy, and to recover Saltaſh, which he effected, and found therein eleven pieces of cannon, and then continued his march towards Plymouth. On the 11th of September the King, with his whole force, came

(r) Walker's Hiſtorical Diſcourſes, p. 62. Ruſhworth's Collections, Part iii. Vol. II. p. 705. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 103, 104.

(s) Walker's Hiſtorical Diſcourſes, p. 80.

[G] *And to the clearneſs of their victory.*] It is a matter of fact undeniable, that, except a very few, all about the King had an earneſt deſire to peace. To this the King himſelf was alſo inclined, as appears from his letter to the Earl of Eſſex; and yet for a meſſage which the Lord Wilmot, who had a great friendſhip for Eſſex, ſent him that he would be accountable for the ſincerity of that application, he was, though General of the horſe, arreſted, declared in effect a traitor, and his command immediately beſtowed upon Goring, which ſurprized and diſconcerted the whole army, who joined in an application in favour of Lord Wilmot, which ſoon afterward coſt his friend, the Lord Piercy, General of the Ordnance, his poſt (25). This proceeding had fatal effects at the time, and much more fatal conſequences; Lord Wilmot, though he was not the moſt regular man in his morals, yet he was a very cautious commander, which rendered him, generally ſpeaking, ſucceſsful in all his enterprizes, as his great care of the ſoldiers, and ſingular courteſy to every body, made him the moſt-reſpected and the beſt-beloved officer in the army. This did not hinder another addreſs being ſet on foot by the officers, to promote a peace, which in general they ſigned; and the King finding them unanimous, conſented that it ſhould be tranſmitted to the Earl of Eſſex. The ſecret of this buſineſs was, a deſire of rendering the Prince of Wales mediator between his father and the Parliament; in which it does not appear that Sir Richard Greenvile, at this time, at all concurred, though he entered into it in a few months after (26). This ſome warm writers have repreſented as a meaſure diſhonourable, if not diſaffected; but the truth ſeems to be, that theſe officers perceiving the King's nephews, Rupert and Maurice, intirely poſſeſſed of his confidence, and diſliking the violence of their meaſures, thought it the moſt effectual means to preſerve their country, the conſtitution, and the royal family, to introduce the Prince of Wales, to whom the Parliament could pretend no juſt cauſe of offence, in the high quality of a mediator, from whom they might receive ſuch aſſurances as might lead to a ſafe and ſolid peace. It may very well be doubted whether ſuch as attribute future miſcarriages to this diſpoſition in the army, have formed a right judgment, and there ſeems at leaſt an equal if not a greater probability, that theſe unfortunate events were occaſioned by the warm proceedings againſt Lord Wilmot, Lord Piercy, and their friends; for how peaceably ſoever the King's army was inclined, when they had found that all overtures were rejected, and that Eſſex would hearken to nothing, there is no doubt that they would have been as unanimous in the purſuit of their own ſafety, by taking vigorous meaſures; and if, inſtead of arreſting and removing Lord Wilmot, the King had openly expoſtulated with him and his friends, and ſhewn them that all farther applications of this ſort were not only uſeleſs, but dangerous and diſhonourable, there had been an end of them, and the army, under officers they eſteemed, would have acted with ſpirit and unanimity: whereas, by this high act of power at ſo critical a conjuncture, the minds of men were amazed and confounded, at the very inſtant when that alacrity which ſprings from union was moſt neceſſary (27). When the Parliament army under Eſſex was intirely ſurrounded, and might have been either totally defeated, or obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war, their horſe, under Sir William Balfour, was ſuffered to eſcape; and the Noble Hiſtorian ſays expreſsly, 'That if the meaſure had been well conducted, their foot might have eſcaped likewiſe, which was owing intirely to the diſſolute conduct of Goring, who had timely notice of their motion, but treated that notice with contempt, rather than interrupt his drunken debauch. This could never have been the caſe, if Wilmot had commanded the horſe, whoſe circumſpection upon ſuch occaſions the Noble Hiſtorian himſelf allows (28). This was the firſt, and a very great misfortune, not only as it leſſened the King's ſucceſs, and preſerved the Parliament's cavalry, but as it weakned his force: for the King's army, equally diſſatisfied with the bad conduct of the new General, with his looſe behaviour, and the ſcandalous licentiouſneſs of his troops, began to decreaſe daily; ſo that when the foot of Eſſex's army ſurrendered, they were very near as numerous as thoſe to whom they ſurrendered, and, in point of arms and cloathing, in much better condition. From this ſudden and ſtrange alteration in the King's circumſtances, as well as from his earneſt deſire to return to Oxford, nothing of conſequence was done in the Weſt: for the looking upon Plymouth, without reducing it, was doing, if poſſible, leſs than nothing; whereas if the King's army had been intire, as it might have been, both that garriſon and Portſmouth muſt have fallen, which, notwithſtanding the defeat of Marſton-Moor, which happened a little before, would have re-eſtabliſhed his affairs. But this was not all; when the King left the Weſt after his victory, he left it rather in a worſe condition than he found it: ſo that if Sir Richard Greenvile, by his complicated authority of Sheriff of Devon and General in Cornwall, had not aſſembled a force ſufficient to renew the blockade of Plymouth, both counties had been left open to the incurſions of that garriſon, and the relieving it, which was the principal point that Eſſex endeavoured, had been carried, notwithſtanding his defeat. For the preſent, therefore, the King plainly left the preſervation of the Weſt to the care of it's inhabitants, of which he gave the ſtrongeſt teſtimony, by a very warm and grateful declaration, in which he did equal juſtice to their conduct, their courage, and their loyalty (29); but then ſurely it had been prudent to have truſted the command with gentlemen of fortune and intereſt in thoſe parts, of whom there were many whoſe merit and capacity were equally out of diſpute. Inſtead of this, Goring, who had no intereſt, but, on the contrary, was dreaded and deteſted there, was ſpeedily ſent back, and put at the head of the troops, that he might be out of the way of Prince Rupert, who was willing to employ his all-powerful intereſt in doing for him all he could, provided it was at a diſtance. The reader may from hence eaſily form a judgment of Sir Richard Greenvile's ſituation, and of the reaſons which induced him not to be over ready in acting, either under or in conjunction with Lord Goring, but rather to take what precautions he could for the ſecurity of the country, for which he had, as became him, a very natural and a very laudable affection, and which was not only very conſiſtent with, but very eſſential to, the King's ſervice.

(25) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 273. Sir Richard Bulſtrode's Memoirs, p. 115.

(26) Sir Edward Walker's Hiſtorical Diſcourſes. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 273.

(27) Sir Richard Bulſtrode's Memoirs, p. 115.

(28) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 524.

(29) Lord Lanſdowne's Works.

came before that town, which he ſummoned (*t*), but without effect; and as the then ſtate of his affairs required, or at leaſt was thought to require, his return to Oxford, the care of blocking up that troubleſome garriſon was again committed to Sir Richard Greenvile, with ſo ſmall a force as five hundred foot and three hundred horſe; which inconſiderable body, by his care, vigilance, and intereſt, grew very ſoon ſo numerous as to be eſteemed an army. While this was doing, a part of the garriſon of Plymouth made an excurſion, which it was not in his power to hinder, as they embarked in a dark night, and landing in Cornwall, they made themſelves maſters of Saltaſh, Millbrooke, and the fort between thoſe two places. This, however, was an advantage which they did not long enjoy; for Sir Richard marching in perſon, with a detachment of his beſt troops, amounting to about ſeven hundred men, took Saltaſh by ſtorm, on the eighth of October, with great ſlaughter, and made a regiment of foot, a troop of horſe, and the remains of ſome other corps, priſoners; who, as they were taken without quarter, he intended to have hanged, yet not without informing the King, who ſent him expreſs orders to deſiſt from (*u*) that reſolution. It was about this time that a relation of his, one Mr Greenvile, fell into the hands of the Governor of Plymouth, to whom, by a meſſage, he offered either ranſom or exchange, but he was ſo far from gratifying him in this reſpect, that, under colour of a plot, he cauſed him to be immediately hanged up (*w*). When the Parliament condeſcended, after much ſollicitation, to ſend propoſitions of peace to the King at Oxford, by Mr William Pierpoint, Mr Denzil Hollis, Mr Whitlocke, and Lord Wenman, which brought on the treaty of Uxbridge, the Parliament excepted Sir Richard Greenvile by name, amongſt ſuch as were never to expect pardon, and with him were joined Sir Alexander Carew, Sir John Hotham, and his ſon Colonel Hotham, then in their hands, and deſtined to the ſame uſage Sir Richard would have met with, had he been in the ſame ſituation. It was the knowledge of this diſpoſition of theirs, that induced Lord Roberts to behave in the manner he did, and to ſhew as little mercy as manners in every tranſaction of the war, more eſpecially where it had even a diſtant relation perſonally to Sir Richard, for then it was all rudeneſs and rigour. This, and other ſeverities of the ſame kind, induced Sir Richard to practiſe ſomething of the like nature; and though, perhaps, this may not be ſufficient to juſtify his conduct, yet aſſuredly it ought, in ſome meaſure, to excuſe it; and it cannot but ſeem ſtrange, to an impartial reader, that the Noble Hiſtorian ſhould relate very particularly whatever acts of violence came to his knowledge of this gentleman, without taking notice of the provocations that, in the opinion of Sir Richard Greenvile, made them abſolutely neceſſary. How far he might be right or wrong in his ſentiments, we pretend not to determine; but the whole truth ought certainly to be ſpoken, when ſuch actions are related as have an apparent tendency to ſet the character of a man of ſuch diſtinction in ſo diſadvantageous a point of light. He has, indeed, at a great diſtance of time, found as noble an apologiſt, who with great wit and ſpirit has vindicated his memory, but, at the ſame time, has omitted ſome matters of fact that perhaps might have anſwered the purpoſe much better than can be done by the moſt plauſible arguments [*H*]. The King having a great ſenſe

(*t*) Ruſhworth's Collections, Part iii. Vol. II. p. 712. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 103.

(*u*) Ruſhworth's Collections, Part iii. Vol. II. p. 716. Walker's Hiſtorical Diſcourſes, p. 105.

(*w*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 106. Ruſhworth's Collections, Part iii. Vol. II. p. 713.

[*H*] *Than can be done by the moſt plauſible arguments.*] It is a point of great ſingularity that we are to examine in this note; a point to which we are directed, and in which we are to be governed intirely by the love of truth. This point is a candid enquiry, how far the Noble Hiſtorian has done juſtice to one of the King's generals, who made a great figure in his ſervice, expoſed his life freely, and carried the certificate of his courage in a body covered with wounds. The Earl of Clarendon (30), as we have before obſerved, enters minutely into this gentleman's perſonal hiſtory, in which he is copied, as in moſt other things, by another hiſtorian (31); and, which is not a little ſingular, there is a third writer, diffident enough of this great man's authority upon all other occaſions, who follows him implicitly upon this, and, without the leaſt ſcruple as to the juſtice of the character, treats Sir Richard Greenvile as a perfect monſter (32).

There muſt have been ſome reaſon why the Noble Author took ſuch peculiar pains about this gentleman and his concerns; and what that reaſon was, the reader ſhall learn from his own words (33). 'This ſo large 'excurſion upon a private perſon may ſeem very ex'travagant, and to carry in it too much animoſity a'gainſt the memory of a man who did ſome things well, 'and was not without ſome merit in the King's ſervice; 'but they who know the occurrences of the next year, 'which will be faithfully related, and conſider the ſe'verity that he compelled the Prince to uſe towards 'him, of which he made a great noiſe afterwards in 'the world, and prevailed with ſome good men to be'lieve that the proceeding againſt him was too rigo'rous, and that the council then about the Prince had 'ſome perſonal diſreſpect towards him, may reaſonably 'believe that this enlargement was in ſome degree ne'ceſſary, that ſuch a man's original nature, manners, 'and diſpoſition ſhould be manifeſt and clearly under'ſtood.'

For the very reaſons here aſſigned, the Noble Hiſtorian ought to have been remarkably circumſpect in what he delivered of this gentleman, ſince he ſeems to profeſs that the chief cauſe of entering into his character, was to ſhew that he could ſeparate his private reſentments, and ſpeak calmly and candidly even of a perſon whom he had reaſon to conſider as his enemy; for if this had not been his deſign, his lordſhip had much better have left Sir Richard Greenvile, and his private character at leaſt, to be celebrated by ſome other pen. We will now proceed to ſome matters of fact. Speaking of the blockade of Plymouth, he ſays (34), 'The 'Earl of Eſſex had left the Lord Roberts governor in 'that town, a man of a ſour and ſurly nature, a great 'opiniatre, and one who muſt be overcome before he 'would believe that he could be ſo. The King find'ing no good could be done with him, and that the 'reducing the town would require ſome time, purſued 'his former reſolution, and marched away, having 'committed the blocking up of Plymouth to Sir Ri'chard Greenvile, a man who had been bred a ſol'dier, and of great expectation, but of greater pro'miſes, having with all manner of aſſurance under'taken to take the town by Chriſtmas, if ſuch con'ditions might be performed to him; all which were 'punctually complied with, whilſt he made his quar'ters as far as ever they had been formerly from the 'town, beginning his war firſt upon his wife, who had 'been

(30) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 535, 536.

(31) Archdeacon Echard, in his Hiſtory of England.

(32) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 259.

(33) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 539.

(34) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 534.

ſenſe of Sir Richard's ſervices, and being alſo perſuaded of his abilities to render him ſtill greater, from his ſuperior knowledge of that country, his great capacity, and the credit of his

'been long in poſſeſſion of her own fortune, by virtue 'of a decree in Chancery, many years before the trou- 'bles, and ſeizing upon all ſhe had, and then making 'himſelf maſter of all their eſtates who were in the 'ſervice of the Parliament, without doing any thing 'of importance upon the town; only upon the firſt 'meſſage between the Lord Roberts and him, there 'aroſe ſo mortal a miſunderſtanding, that there was 'never civility or quarter obſerved between them, but 'ſuch as were taken on either ſide were put to the 'ſword, or, which was worſe, to the halter.'

We have in the text ſhewn how this matter happened; but it will be proper to give the words of the noble vindicator, who, in examining this charge againſt his relation, delivers himſelf thus (35): 'If the Chancellor 'had been ſo good as to have explained the nature and 'occaſion of that meſſage, with all it's circumſtances, 'Sir Richard would have been fully acquitted of the 'conſequences. The fact was as follows:

(35) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 194, 195.

'Sir Richard commanded at that time the blockade 'at Plymouth; the Lord Roberts was Governor; a 'man, ſays the hiſtorian, of a ſour ſurly nature, &c. 'It happened in ſome ſkirmiſh where priſoners were 'taken on both ſides, a young gentleman of about ſix- 'teen years of age, near kinſman to Sir Richard, and of 'his own name, fell into the enemy's hand Sir Richard, 'by a civil meſſage, reclaimed him as his kinſman, of- 'fering any terms by ranſom or exchange: the gover- 'nor ordered him in the inſtant to be hanged up at the 'gates of the town, in ſight of the meſſenger, without 'other reply.

'After an execution ſo cruel, ſo inhuman, and of 'ſo exaſperating a nature, what could follow but the 'utmoſt returns of vengeance?

'Theſe are caſes not to be found in Coke upon Lit- 'tleton; the appeal muſt be to military judges.'

The author who wrote Reflections upon Lord Lanſdowne's Vindication, thinks it highly probable that this Mr Greenvile was above ſixteen years of age, that he was not taken priſoner in a ſally, or, if he was a priſoner, that he broke the law of arms, and acted like a ſpy, by which he loſt all title to ranſom; in virtue of which conjectures he pronounces, that all Sir Richard Greenvile's revenges were ſo many murthers. The noble vindicator, in his Reply, ſays, That he was told by them who knew him, that he was a young man: ſo that here is ſome degree of teſtimony againſt the reflector's notions.

Mr Whitlocke gives us this account of the matter (36): 'One Greenvile, a kinſman of Sir Richard 'Greenvile, was perſuaded into a plot to betray Ply- 'mouth to Sir Richard; but the plot was diſcovered, 'and Mr Greenvile executed.' His being a kinſman of Sir Richard, and the word perſuaded, are not favourable by any means to the conjecture. We are elſewhere told what this plot was, viz. Mr Greenvile was accuſed of offering Colonel Serle three thouſand pounds for delivering up the place (37).

(36) Memorials of Engliſh Affairs, p. 106.

(37) Rushworth's Collections, Part iii. Vol. II. p. 713.

The next charge againſt Sir Richard Greenvile, in the Noble Hiſtorian's words runs thus (38): 'One day 'he made a viſit from his houſe, which he called his 'own, to the Colonel (Digby) and dined with him, 'and the Colonel civilly ſent half a dozen troopers to 'wait on him home, leſt any of the garriſon, in their 'uſual excurſions, might meet with him. In his re- 'turn home, he ſaw four or five fellows coming out of 'a neighbour wood, with burthens of wood upon their 'back, which they had ſtolen. He bid the troopers 'fetch thoſe fellows to him; and finding that they 'were ſoldiers of the garriſon, he made one of them 'hang all the reſt, which, to ſave his own life, he was 'contented to do; ſo ſtrong his appetite was to thoſe 'executions he had been accuſtomed to in Ireland, 'without any kind of commiſſion, or pretence of au- 'thority.'

(38) Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 538.

Lord Lanſdowne recapitulates this ſtory thus (39): 'He himſelf (that is Sir Richard) ſurprizes ſome troopers 'in the very act of pillaging and plundering the coun- 'try, and orders them upon the ſpot to be hanged; 'nay, he makes them hang one another. How could 'rogues be better employed?' This may ſeem a little too ludricrous, and no ſuitable anſwer to the accuſation; but what follows from Ruſhworth may, perhaps, appear ſomewhat more to the purpoſe (40).

(39) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 205.

'On the 11th of July, 1644, Colonel O Brian (bro- 'ther to the Lord Inchiquin, and in the King's ſervice) 'ſent out a party of two hundred and forty horſe and 'foot, from Wareham to Dorcheſter, who faced the 'town ſeveral hours; but the inhabitants ſtood upon 'their guard, and ſent to the Parliament garriſons at 'Adderbury and Weymouth for relief; whereupon 'Colonel Sydenham. Major Sydenham, and other for- 'ces, haſtened thither, put them to flight, and pur- 'ſued them almoſt to Wareham, ſlew twelve, and took 'ſixty horſes, and one hundred and ſixty priſoners; 'whereof eight being natural Iriſh, ſeven of them were 'immediately hanged, and the other ſpared for doing 'execution on his fellows.'

(40) Ruſhworth's Collections, Part iii. Vol. II. p. 686.

We will make no comments upon this but proceed to a third and laſt inſtance of the Noble Hiſtorian's inclination to point out this gentleman's enormities; and his own Preface will ſhew, that he really had ſuch an inclination (41) 'There hath been, ſays he, too 'much ſaid already to diſcover the nature and the 'temper of this gentleman, if the current of this diſ- 'courſe did not make it abſolutely neceſſary to men- 'tion many particulars with which the Prince was 'troubled almoſt in all places. and which exceedingly 'diſordered the whole buſineſs of Devon and Corn- 'wall, and indeed thereby, the whole Weſt. There 'was one particular that made a great noiſe in the 'country: ſhortly after he was deputed to that charge 'before Plymouth, upon the hurt of Mr Digby, one 'Brabant, an attorney at law, who had heretofore ſol- 'licited the great ſuit againſt Sir Richard in the Star- 'Chamber, on the behalf of his wife and the Earl of 'Suffolk, living in thoſe parts, and having always very 'honeſtly behaved himſelf towards the King's ſervice, 'knowing it ſeems the nature of the gentleman, re- 'ſolved not to venture himſelf within the precincts 'where he commanded, and, therefore, intended to 'go to ſome more ſecure quarter, but was taken in his 'journey, having a mountero on his head. Sir Ri- 'chard Greenvile had laid wait to apprehend him, 'and he likewiſe had concealed his name; but being 'now brought before Sir Richard, was immediately, 'by his own direction, without any council of war, 'becauſe he ſaid he was diſguiſed, hanged as a ſpy; 'which ſeemed ſo ſtrange and incredible, that one of 'the council aſked him whether it was true? and he 'anſwered, very unconcernedly, Yes, he had hanged 'him, for he was a traitor, and againſt the King; and 'that he had taken a brother of his, whom he might 'have hanged too, but he had ſuffered him to be ex- 'changed. He ſaid he knew the country talked that 'he hanged him for revenge, becauſe he had ſollicited 'a cauſe againſt him, but that was not the cauſe; 'though having played the knave with him, he ſaid 'ſmiling, he was well content to find a juſt occaſion to 'puniſh him.'

(41) Hiſtory of the Reb. lion, Vol. IV. p. 668.

Lord Lanſdowne's anſwer is again too ludicrous, upon ſo very ſerious a ſubject (42). 'A ſpy, ſays he, is 'diſcovered diſguiſed in his quarters: he commanded 'him to be hanged: from whence may be concluded 'his diſreſpect to the profeſſors of the Law, the fellow 'being a country attorney; an honeſt man to be ſure 'by his profeſſion.' All the evidence we have in this matter comes from one ſide, with this additional circumſtance, that it pretends to report at once all that was or could be ſaid on the other, and yet this is not very fairly done; for Brabant was not only concerned for the Earl of Suffolk and Lady Greenvile, againſt Sir Richard, in the great cauſe in the Star-Chamber, but he gave evidence likewiſe, and therefore it is probable that the grudge, if any, did not ariſe ſo much from ſolliciting, for that any man might have done, and ſome muſt have done, as from the ſwearing, which certainly was not neceſſary, and, if Sir Richard is to be believed, was not true. If we take his anſwer as the Noble Hiſtorian reports it, we muſt take it altogether, and then it will prove nothing, for Sir Richard clearly affirms, that he was hanged for being a ſpy; and if the ordinances of the Parliament

(42) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 205.

his family, made him Sheriff of the county of Devon, and granted him the eſtates of ſeveral perſons of great diſtinction, who were in arms againſt him, in ſequeſtration; which employment and grants enabled him to keep up a great body of troops, to pay them regularly, and to maintain a very ſtrict diſcipline, as it is on all hands allowed he did (*x*). But, at the ſame time, it excited againſt him a very ſtrong ſpirit of envy, and, which is very ſingular, his affecting great order, taking care of the eſtates committed to his charge, and keeping up a form of government, both civil and military, with much exactneſs, while nothing of the like nature appeared elſewhere, ſubjected him to reproach, and gave a colour of objecting to him as crimes, actions which he thought himſelf intitled, and even obliged to do, in diſcharge of his duty [*I*]. It was a great misfortune to the King's affairs,

(*x*) Coffin's Liſt of the Sheriffs of the County of Devon, p. 1.

Parliament upon that head had been rules to Sir Richard, as they might be, though he did not acknowledge their authority, his conduct might be juſtified. Mr Brabant was taken returning out of the King's quarters, in an unuſual dreſs, and denied his name; it was from thence inferred that he was carrying intelligence. The caſe was hard, but there were many hard caſes in thoſe times. Mr Daniel Kniveton (43), one of the King's ſworn meſſengers, charged with a meſſage to the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, from his Majeſty, was hanged at the Royal Exchange of London, for delivering it. The noble vindicator reaſons very juſtly, when he ſays (44), 'When an officer has to do with an enemy who ſcruples 'at no violence, who pillages and plunders, and hangs 'and draws and quarters, without quarter, what has 'he to do but to deal with him in his own way? If 'violence is practiſed on one ſide, and lenity allowed 'on the other, the multitude will deſert where they 'are ſureſt of ſafety.' All that we have cited, and all that we have ſaid, is ſubmitted to the reader's judgment; and we beg leave only to add, that it is ſomething very ſingular, all circumſtances conſidered, that ſo many charges of ſeverity, oppreſſion, and cruelty, ſhould be brought againſt this gentleman by the Noble Hiſtorian, and not one of them occur in Whitlocke or in Ruſhworth.

(43) Ruſhworth's Collections, Part iii. Vol. II. p. 369.

(44) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 208.

[*I*] *And even obliged to do, in diſcharge of his duty.*] The great and heavy charges againſt this gentleman are ſolely brought by the Earl of Clarendon; for as to what is ſaid by others, they are only tranſcribed from him. Let us hear then what he ſays (45): 'Before 'the King left the country, he granted him the ſequeſ'tration of all the eſtate of the Earl of Bedford in De'vonſhire, all the eſtate of Sir Francis Drake, by which 'he had Buckland Monachorum, which was his quar'ter whilſt he blocked up Plymouth and Warrington 'by Launceſton in Devon, and the Lord Roberts his 'eſtate in Cornwall; all which, and his wife's eſtate, 'he enjoyed by the ſequeſtration granted from his Ma'jeſty, and of which he made a greater revenue than 'ever the owners did in time of peace. For beſides 'that he ſuffered no part of theſe eſtates to pay contri'bution, whereby the tenants very willingly paid their 'full rents; he kept very much ground about all the 'houſes in his own hands, which he ſtocked with ſuch 'cattle as he took from delinquents; for though he 'ſuffered not his ſoldiers to plunder, yet he was in 'truth himſelf the greateſt plunderer of this war; for 'whenever any perſon had diſobeyed or neglected any 'of his warrants, or when any man failed to appear 'at the Poſſe, which he ſummoned very frequently 'after he was Sheriff of Devon, and for no other end 'but the penalty of defaulters, he ſent preſently a party 'of horſe to apprehend their perſons, and to drive 'their grounds. If the perſons were taken, they were 'very well content to remit their ſtock, to redeem their 'perſons. For the better diſpoſing them thereto, he 'would now and then hang a conſtable, or ſome other 'fellow, for thoſe faults of which a hundred were as 'guilty; and if, out of the terror of this kind of juſ'tice, men hid themſelves from being apprehended, 'they durſt not ſend to require their ſtock, which was 'from thence quietly enjoyed: ſo that he had a greater 'ſtock of cattle of all ſorts upon his grounds, than any 'perſon whatſoever in the weſt of England. Beſides 'this, the ordering of delinquents eſtates in thoſe parts 'being before that time not well looked to, by virtue 'of theſe ſequeſtrations he ſeized upon all the ſtock 'upon the grounds, upon all the furniture in the ſeve'ral houſes, and compelled the tenants to pay to him 'all the rents due from the beginning of the rebellion. 'By theſe, and ſuch-like means, he had not only a 'vaſt ſtock, but received great ſums of money, and 'had as great ſtore of good houſhould-ſtuff as would 'furniſh well thoſe houſes he looked upon as his own. 'This was his own eſtate, upon which he ſaid he had 'maintained himſelf without any allowance from the 'King; which I am confident, beſides what he got by 'his contributions, which would always pay double the 'men he had, and were ſtrictly levied, and by his o'ther arts and extortions of ſeveral kinds, was more 'and more worth in money to him, than his Majeſty 'beſtowed upon all his general commanders of armies, 'and upon all his officers of ſtate, ſince the beginning 'of the rebellion to that time.'

(45) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 673, 674.

There are many points in this charge, as the noble vindicator truly obſerves, that, upon the very face of them, are no crimes; many others that will appear in the ſame light, when truly repreſented, and moſt of the reſt either founded in ſuſpicion, or roundly affirmed, becauſe it is impoſſible they ſhould be diſproved. If the King granted his wife's eſtate by way of ſequeſtration, he certainly did him no more than bare juſtice, conſidering the hardſhips he had ſuffered, and the manner in which it was taken from him. As to the eſtates of delinquents, while in his hands by the King's grant, he might well enough call them his own, to diſtinguiſh them from the contributions levied upon the country. Beſides, the King might very well do this, as the Parliament did it in reſpect to all ſuch as continued in their duty to his Majeſty. It is a ſhrewd remark of the noble vindicator, That thoſe in arms againſt the King are upon all other occaſions very roundly called Rebels; whereas, in the preſent caſe, the Noble Hiſtorian makes uſe of the Parliament's own word, Delinquents. Thus far as to the eſtates he held in his hands; now as to the money raiſed by other means.

If we allow Sir Richard Greenvile to be the greateſt oppreſſor and greateſt plunderer of the whole war, we muſt alſo allow him, upon the ſame evidence, to have been the moſt wonderful oppreſſor, the moſt public-ſpirited plunderer, that ever exiſted; for in his character of oppreſſor, we are told the people paid very willingly, for he qualified the matter ſo prudently, that they found their account in it. He ſummoned the force of the county very often, becauſe, as their occaſions required, he very often ſuffered his men to return home, which, if he had not done, their families muſt have ſtarved. It is confeſſed, that from other Generals they continually deſerted, and yet thoſe Generals were very indulgent: but this ſtrict, this ſevere Sir Richard Greenvile, could draw together even theſe deſerters at his pleaſure, and keep them together likewiſe as long as he wanted them; from whence they were intitled Greenvile's reformades. What could be the reaſon of all this? When they were under the command of Sir Richard Greenvile they were regularly paid. One charge againſt him is, the inſolence of his anſwer when they would have left him his command, and taken away his contributions: he ſaid, He neither could nor would be at the head of an army who were not punctually paid. In conſequence of this, his ſoldiers never plundered; this his enemies allow, and ſay that he was beloved and reſpected by the country for that reaſon. But then, ſay they, he plundered enough for himſelf and them too.

We have ſeen that his houſe was taken by ſtorm, by the troops of the Earl of Eſſex, and we know what the ſum was they found in it, which certainly did not amount to a month's pay of his army; ſo that this muſt be eſteemed an indifferent proof. After his exile abroad, and of his own motive, he ſupplied the King's garriſons

affairs, that he had withdrawn the Lord Hopton, to whom he had given the title of Field-Marſhal of the Weſt, and who was a perſon of calm courage, equally fit for the council and the field; and who, while he held the command there, had been always ſucceſsful: but it was a much greater overſight to make General Goring, now, by the creation of his father, Earl of Norwich, become Lord Goring, General of the horſe, at the expence of Lord Wilmot, who was not only deprived of his command, but obliged to leave the kingdom. All this, but more particularly the ſending back Lord Goring to command in the Weſt, was attributed to Prince Rupert, who, hating and fearing that Lord, reſolved to remove him from the King's perſon, and therefore ſent him into the Weſt, where, having no intereſt or alliances, he was from the beginning diſliked, and, for his diſſolute life, and the great licence he allowed his troops, in a very little time univerſally hated (*y*). This Lord was very deſirous of having Sir Richard Greenvile and his foot under his command, which Sir Richard, forſeeing they ſhould not agree, declined, at leaſt till Taunton ſhould be taken, which was a thing of conſequence, and in which he had embarked. The Noble Hiſtorian thinks he made no great haſte in the execution of that enterprize; and yet one would think he was pretty much in earneſt, ſince, in giving orders for the attack of Colonel Popham's houſe at Wellington, towards the middle of April, 1645, he expoſed himſelf ſo much, that he received a ſhot in the thigh, which at firſt was believed to be mortal, and by which he was for ſome time diſabled (*z*). Another circumſtance, very unfavourable to the King's affairs in the Weſt, was the ſending thither the Prince of Wales, who was too young to command himſelf, and aſſigning him a council who were far from being popular. Amongſt theſe, Sir Edward Hyde, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, had a great authority, which he exerted in controuling the advices of the King's Generals, who could never be brought to underſtand that the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Maſter of the Rolls were fit perſons to direct an army: Lord Goring made very high demands; Sir Richard Greenvile was alſo diſſatisfied; the council ſometimes played them againſt each other, in order to which, a commiſſion of Field-Marſhal was ſent to Sir Richard, who acted under it for a ſhort ſpace, but finding great inconveniences ariſe reſigned it (*a*) For this, and for ſome other actions of a like nature, he was ſent for before the council, who upbraided him with the King's favours, reprimanded him, and ordered him to retire to his houſe as a private man. He ſubmitted with great humility, and remained in that ſituation a fortnight, 'till they were obliged to employ him again, the troops refuſing to ſerve if he did not command them (*b*). New diſputes quickly aroſe, Sir Richard came in perſon to wait upon the Prince at Truro, where, he freely repreſented to him the ſituation of his affairs, and the neceſſity there was of providing for the ſafety of the Weſt, Lord Goring having deſerted his army, his brother-in-law, Lieutenant-General Porter, gone over to the enemy, and Lord Wentworth, who now commanded the horſe, terrible to the King's ſubjects, and contemned by the Parliament forces. One of the things he propoſed was to draw a line from Barnſtaple to the ſea, forty miles in extent, by which he thought all Cornwall and part of Devonſhire might be defended againſt any force that could be brought to attack them (*c*). This the Noble Hiſtorian looks upon as a mark of his being out of his ſenſes, and is equally diſpleaſed with another piece of advice which Sir Richard likewiſe gave the Prince of Wales, that his Highneſs ſhould ſend to the Parliament for a treaty, and ſhould offer, if he might enjoy the revenue of the duchy of Cornwall, and they would not advance to diſturb him in that county, that then he would not attempt any thing upon them, but that they ſhould enjoy the freedom of all their ports in Cornwall for trade, without any diſturbance by his Majeſty's ſhips (*d*). This was alſo rejected as unworthy of the Prince, becauſe undutiful to the King; but it is plain enough from both theſe overtures, that Sir Richard Greenvile thought the King's affairs deſperate, conſidering the hands in which they were, and thoſe of the Prince in the high road of becoming ſo too, which he was willing to prevent, and at the ſame time to provide for the ſecurity of the county, as believing probably, that if the Prince of Wales was left quietly in his own duchy of Cornwall, more open than any part of the kingdom to foreign aſſiſtance, he might quickly gather ſo great a ſtrength as to run no riſk of being diſpoſſeſſed, and in time become ſuch a check upon the Parliament, as might hinder them from attempting any thing againſt the King's perſon, whatever

(*y*) Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 641, 643. Vindication of Sir Richard Greenvile, p. 210.

(*z*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 143.

(*a*) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 211, 214. Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 672.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 677, 684.

(*c*) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 216.

(*d*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 704. Lord Lanſdowne's Works.

garriſons out of what he had left, made a handſome preſent to the Duke of York, lived privately, and died poor. Was there ever ſuch a plunderer as this? he lived handſomely, while in command kept all things in good order, and formed ſchemes for preſerving Cornwall, and Devon, when all the reſt of the King's dominions were loſt. His projects were rejected and contemned, in conſequence of which Cornwall was loſt too. He was a man auſtere in his behaviour, maintained a ſevere diſcipline, judged without law, and puniſhed without mercy. He was therefore hated by his ſoldiers, who thought his being removed and confined, a deliverance. Not ſo neither. He was ſo much reſpected and beloved by them, that they would ſerve under nobody elſe! The very country-people too, whom he had oppreſſed and plundered without mercy, loſt all patience upon his ill uſage, and addreſſes came from every quarter to demand that he ſhould be reſtored to liberty and power! Many of the Prince's Council were diſpleaſed with his treatment; and many who were neareſt his Royal Highneſs's perſon had ſuch a regard for the Knight, that they were wanting in duty to the Prince! Is this intelligible? Is this conſiſtent? Be this as it will, the evidence is preciſely the ſame; the Noble Hiſtorian who brings the charge, and who adviſed his commitment, acknowledges, that theſe were it's effects. But we ſhall ſee much more of this in the next note.

whatever they might do with regard to his authority (*e*). But notwithſtanding the ill reception this advice met with, and the indifferent opinion Sir Richard had of the Prince's counſellors and commanders, he continued to ſerve 'till all things fell into confuſion by the want of conduct in others, and the Prince found it unſafe for him to remain at Taviſtock, which Sir Richard had foreſeen, and upon his Royal Highneſs's retreat to Launceſton, the care of the retreat, and the removing all that could be ſaved from Taviſtock, was committed to Sir Richard Greenvile. The Noble Hiſtorian informs us, that he performed this but very indifferently, which is highly probable; for the very next day, he repreſented, by letter to his Royal Highneſs, the impoſſibility of keeping that army together, or fighting with it in the condition it was then in; told him, that he had the night before ſent directions to Major-General Harris to guard ſuch a bridge, but that he returned him word that he would receive orders from none but General Digby; that General Digby ſaid, that he would receive orders from none but his Highneſs; that a party of the Lord Wentworth's horſe had the ſame night come into his quarters, where his troop of guards and his firelocks were; that neither ſubmitting to the command of the other, they had fallen foul, and two or three men had been killed; that they continued ſtill in the ſame place, drawn up one againſt another; that it was abſolutely neceſſary his Highneſs ſhould conſtitute one ſuperior officer, from whom all thoſe independent officers might receive orders, without which it would not be poſſible for that army to be kept together, or do ſervice; that, for his own part, he knew his ſeverity and diſcipline had rendered him ſo odious to the Lord Goring's horſe, that they would ſooner chooſe to ſerve the enemy, than receive orders from him, therefore he deſired his Highneſs to conſtitute the Earl of Brentford or the Lord Hopton to command in chief, and then he hoped ſome good might be done againſt the enemy (*f*). The Prince received this letter kindly, wrote Sir Richard Greenvile a letter of thanks, and, in the beginning of the year 1645, declared Lord Hopton General of the army, and appointed Lord Wentworth to command the horſe in chief, and Sir Richard Greenvile the foot; but Sir Richard deſired to be excuſed, alledging that he was become infirm, and that he could do more ſervice by drawing together ſuch as had quitted the army, and providing for the interior ſafety of the county (*g*). This was ſo ill taken, that, by the advice of his council, the Prince ſent for Sir Richard, and after a ſharp expoſtulation committed him priſoner, firſt to Launceſton, and then ſent him to the Mount, where his confinement laſted as long as thoſe that committed him had power to confine him (*b*) [*K*]. They were equally diſappointed in Lord Wentworth, who being

(*e*) Sir Richard Greenvile's Vindication.

(*f*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 724, 725, 726.

(*g*) Memoirs of Sir Richard Bulſtrode, p. 152. Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion.

(*b*) Memoirs of Sir Richard Bulſtrode, p. 152, 153. Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 217—220.

[*K*] *Had power to confine him.*] What is ſaid in the text, we have taken entirely from the Noble Hiſtorian; we will here, in his own words, give the Noble Vindicator's explanation (46). 'He ſays, that 'the diſorders in the army daily increaſing, Sir Richard, 'at laſt fairly and honeſtly repreſents in a letter to 'the Prince, the impoſſibility of doing any thing with 'an army ſo diſtracted by different and contradictory 'orders: and recommends a more abſolute command 'to be given to ſome perſon whom all would obey, 'and names the Lord Hopton, who had formerly 'commanded with great glory and ſucceſs: he excepts 'againſt himſelf, upon the account of that ſeverity 'and diſcipline in which he always kept his men, 'which might make him diſagreeable to that part of 'the army which had been accuſtomed to ſuch licence 'as he never could overlook, &c.

'This advice was readily taken, and he received 'thanks for it; but it was purſued in ſuch a manner 'as gave a finiſhing ſtroke to all hope, where alone 'any hope was left.

'The Lord Hopton was immediately declared General; and Sir Richard, without adviſing with him 'how far it might be agreeable to his intentions, or 'hearing what in all probability he might have to 'offer in relation to himſelf, was at the ſame time 'declared one of the Lieutenant-Generals under 'him.

'It could not be reaſonably imagined, that by propoſing to quit the chief command, his deſign could 'be to obey in an inferior poſt in the ſame army. 'But, ſays the Chancellor, this command was ſuperior 'to what he had before. Strange logic, that part 'ſhould be more than the whole! the Lieutenant 'greater than the Captain! But it was plain he had 'ſome underhand drift. Well, what was that drift? 'Why, to ſtay behind and provide for the *ſecurity of* 'Cornwall: was Cornwall not worth preſerving? O! 'but there was a diſcontented party there, and he 'would *have* put *himſelf* at the head of it. Stranger, 'and ſtranger ſtill. A diſcontented party, where all 'were known to be profeſſed Royaliſts! There was, 'indeed a ſtrong party diſcontented with the meaſures of the Council; but let no man flatter himſelf, 'be his power never ſo great, that it can ever be a 'doctrine received among Engliſhmen, That to be diſſatisfied with the Miniſter, implies diſaffection to the 'Prince. In ſhort, the Chancellor's real apprehenſion appears to have been, That if once he had quitted Cornwall, and Sir Richard had remained behind, 'he would have ſhut the door againſt his return: 'this was a perſonal fear, and therefore Sir Richard 'was to be pinned down to this peremptory command, 'or nothing, He was not to be truſted out of ſight.

'Here it is, that the Lord Hopton is ſo highly 'magnified for a ſpeech he is ſaid to have made upon 'accepting this command.——That, whereas, it was become a cuſtom for others to excuſe their diſobedience, by pretences of honour; for his part, tho' 'he could not obey at this time without reſolving to 'loſe his honour, he was ready to obey, with the loſs 'of his honour.

'This ſpeech was ſurely meant rather as a reproach 'to every body elſe, than an encomium upon this 'gallant Lord, and ſeems to be a mere hiſtorical flouriſh. If he had been commanded, like Sir Richard, to deſcend from the chief poſt, to obey in an 'inferior one; ſubmiſſion in that caſe, might very 'properly have been called obedience, with loſs of 'honour.——But, on the contrary, he was appointed to the ſupreme command, which, ſure, was 'an honour: if any hazard appeared in the execution, the more difficult the taſk the greater the glory. 'By military ſkill, under extreme diſadvantages, as 'much honour is to be gained as in compleat victories. 'No General, ſure, ever excuſed accepting a command, upon pretence of danger in the execution. 'In what then conſiſted this indubitable loſs of honour, for which the Noble, and the Reverend, Hiſtorian, ſo highly extol this implicit obedience? neither was there at that time any occaſion for ſuch a 'ſpeech, the caſe was far from being deſperate: it 'was ſoon made ſo, indeed, by the violence uſed to 'Sir Richard.

(46) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 217—222.

'In

ing a very haughty man, it was thought he would reſign; but he kept his command, and behaved as indifferently in it as ever; ſo that ſoon after Lord Hopton's forces were routed, and all power of reſiſtance in the Weſt failed (*i*). It is a ſtrange account that the Noble Hiſtorian gives of the conſequences attending Sir Richard's misfortune. He has repreſented him as a man of ſuch haughtineſs as rendered him diſtaſteful to his ſuperiors, and impracticable with regard to his equals, at the ſame time that his ſeverity made him terrible to his inferiors, and his oppreſſions odious to all people. Yet, ſays he, notwithſtanding all this, he was no ſooner committed by the Prince, than even thoſe who had complained of him as much as any, expreſſed great trouble; and many officers of thoſe forces which he had commanded, in a tumultuous manner petitioned for his releaſe; and others took great pains to have the indiſpoſition of the people, and the ill accidents that followed, imputed to that proceeding againſt Sir Richard Greenvile, in which none were more forward than ſome of the Prince's own houſhold-ſervants, who were ſo tender of him that they forgot their duty to their maſter (*k*) [*L*]. In leſs than two months time after the commitment of

(*i*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 727, 730. The Civil Wars in England and Ireland, p. 178. Dugdale's Short View of the Troubles, p. 202.

(*k*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 729. Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 221, 222.

'In ſhort, Sir Richard perſiſting to excuſe himſelf 'from being thus commanded, is put under arreſt as 'the Lord Wilmot had been the year before, and 'committed, with all the public marks of indignation 'and diſgrace that could poſſibly be imagined, a cloſe 'priſoner in the common county goal at Launceſton, 'among pick-pockets and highwaymen, and in that 'condition remained till the fate of the Weſt was to-'tally decided.

'I muſt not forget one circumſtance, when he was 'thus ignominiouſly put under arreſt.

'Colonel Roſcarrock, an officer of diſtinction, rode 'haſtily up to him, and whiſpered him not to ſubmit 'to ſo unjuſt a ſentence: he was ſure of the reſent-'ment of the troops, they would ſtand by him, and 'follow wherever he would lead. He ſeverely re-'proved him, enjoining a ſtrict obedience to the com-'mands of the Prince, to which, whatever might be 'his fate, he was reſolved to ſubmit in every thing 'that was conſiſtent with his honour: and in this he 'required all, who had any regard for him, to follow 'his example.

'This particular I had from Roſcarrock's own 'mouth, who lived to have a government conferred 'upon him in Ireland after the Reſtoration, and did 'not die till towards or after the Revolution.

'I think this ſpeech was full as good as that aſcrib-'ed to the Lord Hopton, and as far from any ſpirit of 'diſobedience: he not only obeyed with entire reſig-'nation, but ſacrificed, at the ſame time, the two 'ſtrongeſt paſſions of human nature, ſelf preſervation 'and revenge.

'It was neceſſary for the Chancellor to find ſome 'public juſtifiable reaſon for ſo extraordinary a ſtep: 'a *ſi quis*, therefore a proclamation was publiſhed, 'inviting and encouraging all manner of perſons to 'appear and give evidence of their grievances, du-'ring this arbitrary general's command. If there had 'been any in reality, well grounded or ſupportable, it 'is natural to believe, complainants would not have 'been wanting againſt a man ſo diſgraced, that to ac-'cuſe him was making their court: now, or never, 'was the time for all the murther and plunder to 'come out But, to the Chancellor's infinite ſurprize, 'not one mortal appeared.

'On the contrary, the whole country took offence, 'the very perſons who were ſaid to have clamoured ſo 'much againſt him, appeared to clamour as much for 'him; the ſoldiers murmured, the officers of the 'army went tumultuouſly in a body to demand his re-'leaſe, all the members of the council itſelf, except the 'Chancellor's particular adherents, diſowned the ad-'vice, and almoſt all the Prince's own houſhold-ſer-'vants, as the Chancellor ſtyles them, openly declared 'their diſlike'

'This diſappointment was too ſenſible for the Chan-'cellor to contain himſelf in the account he gives of it: '*They were more tender of Sir Richard*, ſays he, *than 'of their duty to their maſter*. A cruel and unnatural 'reflection upon ſo many perſons of honour, who had 'devoted their lives and fortunes to the King, and 'could have no other intereſt but their maſter's! Such 'general exclamations from every quarter, could be 'founded upon no other motive, but a foreſight of the 'evil conſequences of ſo unjuſt and violent a proceed-'ing: neither could there be a greater proof of the in-'nocence and merit of the perſon thus ill treated, nor 'a fuller anſwer to all that the Chancellor has muſtered 'up to alledge againſt him, than ſo public, ſo volun-'tary, and ſo unanimous an appearance in his defence.

'This is confeſſed by the Chancellor: but then he 'cries out—*Who would have thought it?*'

There is nothing need, there is nothing can, be added to this Lord's clear and very curious account of the manner of Sir Richard Greenvile's quitting the command, and the conſequences it produced; he writes indeed with the warmth of a relation, but then he reaſons very concluſively, and from facts that have not been, or indeed ever can be, controverted.

[*L*] *That they forgot their duty to their maſter.*] We have hinted already more than once, but in this note we will clearly declare, our motives for ſetting forth the memoirs of this gentleman's whole life, in ſo copious, and, at the ſame time, in ſo critical a manner. They are no other, than an earneſt deſire to throw light on a very important and very controverted point of the hiſtory of theſe times. We have, in the former article, ſhewn that the Weſt of England, and more eſpecially Cornwall, were the parts of the King's dominions beſt affected to him, and where his intereſt was moſt entire; which has been very juſtly and very judiciouſly attributed, to the attachment of the middle as well as the lower ſort of people to the gentry of old families and large eſtates; and theſe being unanimouſly loyal, gave the King the great weight he had in thoſe parts (47). It is no wonder therefore, that immediately after thoſe dreadful times, it became a queſtion ſo much agitated, How the Weſt came to be loſt? It ſo fell out, that the Noble Hiſtorian found himſelf obliged to treat this matter very particularly, as being a thing in which he had an immediate concern, the rather, becauſe at the time it happened, there were a great number, and amongſt them ſome very wiſe and worthy perſons, who ſuggeſted the true ſource of the ſudden and ſad turn of the King's affairs in the Weſt, to be the wrong meaſures taken by thoſe in whom he principally confided; to his preferring ſoldiers of fortune, and who had no intereſts in the country, to thoſe gentlemen of birth and eſtates, who had ſerved him ſo faithfully and ſo ſucceſsfully in the beginning of the war; to the licentiouſneſs of the forces which they commanded, who behaved as if they had been in an enemy's country, and who, imitating the diſſolute behaviour of their generals, became very ſoon equally dreadful to their friends, and contemptible to their enemies; and above all, to the departing from the original ſcheme of ſending the Prince of Wales thither, as to his own duchy, where he ought to have been aſſiſted by a council who were perfectly acquainted with the country, and had a great influence in it, or who at leaſt would have heard and taken the advice of ſuch as were. The council the Prince had about him was in a great meaſure compoſed of able and worthy men; but it is alledged, that it differed from all other councils, in having it's reſolutions governed by the minority, through their ſuperior intereſt with the King, whoſe letters converted opinions, that would otherwiſe have been rejected, into orders that were not to be diſobeyed. The Earl of Berkſhire, who was the Prince's governor, and ought naturally to have been at the head of the council, was ſhut out of all ſecrets; and all who were in his ſentiments had the like fate. Theſe ſentiments were no other,

(47) Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 217.

of Sir Richard, the Prince of Wales finding his power gone, and his perſon in danger, thought it high time to retire, as he did on the ſecond of March, from Pendennis caſtle to the iſlands of Scilly; and the very next day Sir Richard Greenvile embarked on board a veſſel for France, from whence he made a tour to Italy, and then returned to Flanders (*l*). We have no where any diſtinct account of the motives of Sir Richard's journey, only it may be preſumed that they were not altogether for amuſement or pleaſure. As for the Parliament, even the moſt moderate and beſt inclined amongſt them, who conſented to a treaty with the King in the iſle of Wight, ſtill preſerved ſo ſtrong a reſentment againſt him, that, in their propoſition, dated October 13, 1648. they inſerted Sir Richard Greenvile's name in the firſt branch of delinquents, who were to *expect no* pardon (*m*). In all probability this did not much ſurprize him, though it might quicken his endeavours to procure ſome means of returning with a competent force into Cornwall. His having ſerved ſo long abroad made him known to ſome of the moſt eminent perſons in almoſt every court in Europe; and as the tranſactions in England were at that time the principal topic of diſcourſe in all places, Sir Richard Greenvile was particularly welcome, as a perſon of all others the moſt capable of giving a clear and credible account of the whole tranſactions of the war, and of the real and ſecret motives of the diſmal conſequences that had followed it. Sir Richard improved this kind of correſpondence as much as poſſible for the King's ſervice, both by writings and diſcourſes; laboured the probability of King Charles the ſecond's being replaced on the throne of his anceſtors, with a ſmall ſhare of aſſiſtance from foreign Princes and States (*n*). Theſe repreſentations of his had ſo good an effect, that the King, who was now more able to judge for himſelf, and who was free from thoſe counſellors who had conceived perſonal prejudices againſt Sir Richard, and the nature of his affairs requiring alſo the advices of a man of a military genius, his Majeſty, from Jerſey where he then was, wrote to Sir Richard to meet him in France, as he accordingly did at Beauvais, where his Majeſty conferred with him in his way to Breda, where he was then going to meet the commiſſioners from Scotland; from which expedition however he was diſſwaded by Sir Richard Greenvile; but, in obedience to the King's orders, he remained in Bretagne, and for the moſt part at St Maloes, that he might be ready upon any occaſion to do what ſervice he was able (*o*). As a clear and convincing proof of his invariable loyalty, he not only ſent cloaths, money, and proviſions, to the garriſon in the Sorlinges, but provided in the like manner for the garriſon in Guernſey-Caſtle, and ſent a very reaſonable and handſome preſent to the Duke of York, whoſe affairs were in very great diſorder, and to whom it was highly acceptable [*M*]. After the total defeat of the King's army at Worceſter,

(*l*) Sir Richard Greenvile's Vindication. Lloyd's loyal Sufferers, p. 473.

(*m*) Sir Edward Walker's Account of the Treaty at Newport in the Iſle of Wight, p. 57.

(*n*) Lloyd's loyal Sufferers, p. 473.

(*o*) Sir Richard Greenvile's Vindication.

other, than that Lord Goring, who commanded in the Weſt, ſhould march with his troops into thoſe counties, where he had a real intereſt, and where, if his troops could have eſtabliſhed themſelves, they might have rendered the war burthenſome to the King's enemies, by living, as they ought to have done, at their expence; that Cornwall and the Weſt ſhould be defended by it's inhabitants, under generals choſen from amongſt themſelves; that all poſſible means ſhould have been taken to fortify the country, from it's ſituation very defenſible, and the entrance of the enemy diſputed at every paſs; that the ports ſhould be kept open for ſuch ſuccours as might be obtained from abroad, and that the Prince ſhould put his honour and his cauſe on maintaining his own duchy, to which he had a clear, hereditary, and indiſputable right. It is however alledged, that the Maſter of the Rolls, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and their dependants, were in very different ſentiments; and that they compelled the Prince, againſt his own opinion, and by the authority of his father, to act ſolely under their directions; that they aſſumed the power of Dutch deputies, were for controuling the opinions, and reconſidering the reſolutions of councils of war; that they were for new modelling every thing according to their own notions, without reſpecting the King's grants, or the manner in which things had been ſettled, while the war had been carried on proſperouſly with little aſſiſtance from the King's armies elſewhere; that upon the firſt checks, occaſioned ſolely by ill management, inſtead of altering their meaſures, they fell into deſpair; that they propoſed early the Prince's flight into France, concealed it from the Earl of Berkſhire, and executed it at laſt againſt his conſent; that the true ſecret of impriſoning Sir Richard Greenvile, was to prevent his making an attempt to preſerve Cornwall, which, to the very laſt, he thought practicable, and, if he had been at liberty, would either have performed it or periſhed. It is to refute theſe aſſertions, and to juſtify the Prince's conduct under his own and his friends direction, that the Noble Hiſtorian has laboured this book ſo much more than any other part of his work. This gives the true key to the bad character of Sir Richard Greenvile, the weak one of Colonel Wyndham, and the ſuggeſting that the Earl of Berkſhire had no character or intereſt at all. But in thoſe times it was alledged, that events did not juſtify the wiſdom of theſe councils, that ſome ſtrong places in Cornwall, that the iſlands of Scilly, of Guernſey, and of Jerſey, held out long; that if the Prince had been in Cornwall, and that dutchy preſerved, when the fleet returned to their duty, the parliament garriſons revolted in Wales, the bold inſurrection made in Eſſex, and the Scots, reflecting on their own diſhonour in parting with, had declared again for the King, affairs might once more have taken a new turn; and that after all, we ſhall find Sir Richard Greenvile and his friends were unalterable in their affections to the King and his family; and that ſuch of them as ſurvived, were very inſtrumental, at the hazard of their lives, having loſt their fortunes before, in bringing about the Reſtoration.

[*M*] *And to whom it was highly acceptable*] This epiſtle will ſufficiently convince the reader, that notwithſtanding all the ill uſage he had met with, Sir Richard preſerved a ſincere affection for his country, a noble zeal for the cauſe in which he was embarked, and all poſſible reſpect for the Royal family, at the ſame time he made no difficulty of declaring whom he took for his capital enemy (48).

(48) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 220, 227, 228, 229.

'May it pleaſe your Royal Highneſs,

'Hearing your Highneſs is under ſome fears at 'Jerſey, ſince his Majeſty left you there, I have pre'ſumed, out of my great zeal for your Highneſs's ſer'vice, by the aſſiſtance of an honeſt loyal merchant 'here in St Malo's, Mr John Richards, to make your 'Highneſs a preſent of ſix hundred pounds; which I 'humbly preſent by the bearer Major Madren, a Cor'niſh gentleman, who was Major to my regiment, 'when I had the honour to be his Majeſty's General 'in the Weſt.

'He

Worceſter, and his Majeſty's return into France, there were great intrigues at his court, tho' it was very far from being numerous; and thoſe who at that time were in the poſſeſſion of the Government in England, were likewiſe very deſirous of gaining at any price exact intelligence of what was doing there, and with whom the King held correſpondence in his own dominions (*p*). The deſire of knowing, and the power of rewarding, filled very naturally a neceſſitous court with falſe friends, who betrayed whatever they could learn; and the courtiers, eager and ambitious even of nominal places, endeavoured to ſerve their reſpective purpoſes, by imputing theſe perfidious practices, the conſequences of which were apparent, and therefore undeniable, one to another; ſo that if the King liſtened implicitly to any, he could not help hearing that all about his perſon were traytors (*q*). Amongſt the reſt, one Mr Robert Long, who had acted as Secretary of State, was removed from his office, and the ſeals given to Sir Edward Hyde; upon ſome ſuch ſuſpicions Colonel Wyndham, of whoſe integrity the King was ſure, and of whoſe capacity he had a good opinion, was diſappointed of the poſt of Secretary, which he expected; and many others of leſs quality were in the like ſituation, and being moved, partly by reſentment, partly by ambition, and not a little from envy, at ſeeing the King's confidence wholly engroſſed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, they began to place all miſcarriages to his account, alledging, that he held a cloſe correſpondence with Cromwell, and riſing by degrees, as is common in ſuch caſes, at length ſuggeſted, that he had privately made a tour to England, and had been actually ſeen in conference with him (*r*). Theſe ſtories coming to the ears of Sir Richard Greenvile, who thought himſelf hated, and conceived himſelf injured, by Sir Edward Hyde, in neither of which perhaps he was miſtaken; he thought it his duty to inform the King, as he did by letter in the month of Auguſt 1653, but affirmed nothing of his own knowledge, and deſired only, that for the King's honour, and the ſafety of ſuch as were daily hazarding their lives in his ſervice, the matter might be enquired into. This application, though at ſome diſtance of time, had it's effect; an enquiry was accordingly made, which produced a declaration in council, entirely in favour of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and as prejudicial as might be to his accuſers (*s*) [*N*]. The Chancellor of the Exchequer,

(*p*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 563—569. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 288.

(*q*) See the Intelligence given by Bampfield, Manning, Willis, &c. in Thurloe's Correſpondence.

(*r*) Sir Richard Greenvile's Vindication.

(*s*) See the Order in the Note.

'He will farther acquaint your Highneſs, that I 'have likewiſe, out of my ſmall ſtock, ſent a relief of 'cloaths for the ſoldiers, and proviſions to Colonel 'Hodge Burges, at Guernſey caſtle, which will ena'ble him to defend that place the longer againſt the 'rebels in the iſland.

'Theſe voluntary ſervices, I hope, will preſerve 'me in your Highneſs's good opinion, notwithſtand'ing I have ſo powerful an enemy as Sir Edward 'Hyde, to miſrepreſent my actions and loyalty to the 'King, to whoſe ſervice, and to your Royal Highneſs's 'I ſhall be always devoted with great ſincerity.

'Preſuming therefore upon my duty to your High'neſs, I muſt beſeech you to admit me to make an 'humble petition on behalf of a nephew, my godſon, 'now with me, ſecond ſon to my brother Sir Bevil 'Greenvile, who was ſlain at Lanſdowne; That your 'Highneſs would be pleaſed to receive him into your 'family and ſervice, near your perſon: his education 'has been, ſince he left his brother in Scilly, at an 'academy in Angers; and, I find his inclinations lead 'him to venture his life, and run his fortune in the 'immediate ſervice of your Highneſs. Wherefore, I 'will be anſwerable for him, and ſupport him, if your 'Highneſs will pleaſe to accept of his ſervice; be'ſeeching your Highneſs to believe me, with the ut'moſt ſubmiſſion and duty,

'May it pleaſe your Royal Highneſs,

'Your Royal Highneſs's moſt obedient,

'and moſt dutiful ſervant,

'Richard Greenvile.'

The Duke's Anſwer.

'Sir Richard Greenvile,

'I have received from the hands of Major Madren, 'the ſix hundred pounds you have moſt ſeaſonably 'ſupplied me with in this place; the want of money 'having detained me here ever ſince the King went 'to Breda, but now, with this help, I will ſuddenly 'remove, and whereſoever I am, retain a memory of 'this, your particular ſervice to myſelf.

'What you have deſired of me concerning your 'nephew, now with you, when I am in a condition 'to increaſe my family, I will take into my ſervice 'upon your recommendation; but for the preſent, my 'condition will allow me no more near my perſon, 'but Harry Jermyn, and Charles Bercley. When I 'leave this place, you ſhall know where to addreſs 'to,

'Your affectionate friend,

'JAMES.

[*N*] *And as prejudicial as might be to his accuſers*] The circumſtances expreſſed in the text, might very eaſily kindle diſtruſt, more eſpecially amongſt men, who, on account of events long before paſſed, heartily hated each other. But, beſides all this, there might be, and indeed, there certainly were, ſome correſpondences of Sir Edward Hyde, which might afford Sir Richard Greenvile, and perſons of his way of thinking, very ſtrong grounds of jealouſy (49). He had an intercourſe with ſome of the moſt zealous officers in the old army, with perſons who had the ſtricteſt connection with Cromwell, and even with the children of ſome of the King's judges. To the old Royaliſts, ſuch an intercourſe as this muſt have appeared in a very ſtrange light, and have inclined them to believe any, even the moſt improbable, ſtories, becauſe, whatever they were, they muſt appear leſs abſurd, than that ſuch perſons could ever ſeriouſly meditate the reſtoration of the King; and yet this was really the fact, and the Chancellor not culpable in the leaſt, any more than Sir Richard Greenvile, whoſe vindication it is proper the reader ſhould ſee in his own words, that the conduct of the King, the Council, Sir Richard Greenvile, and thoſe upon whoſe credit he had ventured to ſet on foot his accuſation, may appear in a true light, and the laſt ſcene of this great man's life be as fully and fairly repreſented as any of his preceding tranſactions. Thus then, Sir Richard's vindication runs (50):

(49) Carte's Life of James Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 177.

'In April and May 1653, when I was in Paris, it 'was there commonly ſpoken, by divers perſons, how 'that Sir Edward Hyde was ſuſpected to have betray'ed the King.

'Afterwards, elſewhere, having underſtood more 'probabilities of ſuch truths, I believed it my duty to 'advertiſe his Majeſty of what I had been informed 'thereof

'Auguſt 12, 1653, I writ of it to his Majeſty, for 'prevention of future miſchief, if to be doubted, as 'that

(50) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 236—243.

Exchequer, who, though he might have faults, was undoubtedly a very able man, turned the edge of the King's declaration againſt Sir Richard Greenvile, by forbidding him his preſence,

'that it was reported Sir Edward Hyde had private 'conference with Cromwell in England, for intel- 'ligence.

'For anſwer thereto, the Marquis of Ormond, by 'letter of the 19th of September, 1653, did write 'to me——That his Majeſty required to know my 'grounds, for what I did alledge againſt Sir Edward 'Hyde; alſo, that I ſhould ſend him all writings 'concerning that affair, and likewiſe, the names of all 'my authors.

'In obedience, I wrote as followeth.

'That my duty was my only ground for what I 'writ concerning Sir Edward Hyde. As for my au- 'thors, Colonel Wyndham ſaid to myſelf at Boulogne, 'in June 1653, That Sir Edward Hyde had been in 'England, and that there he had private ſpeech with 'Cromwell; alſo, ſaid he, Mr Robert Long is now 'in Holland, he can, and will give more certain in- 'formation of it's particulars: and that thereupon I 'did by letter deſire Mr Long to certify the truth of 'that report.

'July 28, 1653, I received his anſwer, wherein he 'appeared to confirm what I writ, was ſaid of Sir Ed- 'ward Hyde, by Colonel Wyndham: which letter I 'ſent, becauſe commanded, but greatly againſt my 'will.

'Since which Letter, Mr Robert Long ſent me an- 'other, containing thus——

'I will aſſure you, it will be verified, that the per- 'ſon named did poſitively, and conſtantly, affirm be- 'fore two witneſſes; whereof one is on this ſide of 'the ſea, and the other in England, that that perſon 'brought Sir Edward Hyde to a conference with 'Cromwell, and deſcribed him ſo particularly, that 'it was evident he was known, and did as particular- 'ly deſcribe a perſon that was then with him.'

'And laſtly, concerning Sir Edward Hyde's pen- 'ſion for intelligence, that it was ſo ſaid by divers 'perſons, ſo commonly, and in divers places, that I 'did not charge them to my memory, therefore could 'not poſſibly, at certainty, name many authors for it, 'but I did well remember Mr Campbell ſaid it ſundry 'times, in my hearing, at Paris: ſo alſo did the 'Biſhop of Derry ſpeak it to me at Fluſhing, July '1653.

'Having thus performed my duty as required, at 'laſt, for the reward of my conſtant known loyalty, 'the Marquis of Ormond did ſignify to me, by let- 'ters dated November 29, 1653, that it was his Ma- 'jeſty's pleaſure to command, that I preſume not to 'come in his preſence, or court: that he finds my 'allegations againſt Mr Chancellor of the Exchequer, 'to be deficient to the ends they were offered, and 'are taken to be a defamatory libel.

'Since again, for farther vindication of Hyde, have 'been diſperſed many copies of a declaration, in 'writing, as authorized by his Majeſty, January 13, '1654, whereof divers copies have been diſperſed 'not only in France, but alſo in England, Holland, 'and elſewhere, and of the ſame here next enſuing is 'a copy.'

Tueſday the 13th of January, 1654.

Preſent,

The King's Majeſty,
The Queen's Majeſty,
The Duke of York,
The Duke of Glouceſter,
Prince Rupert,
Lord Keeper Sir Edward Herbert,
Lord Chamberlain Lord Piercy,
Lord Inchequin,
Marquis of Ormond, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland,
Lord Jermin,
Mr Chancellor of the Exchequer.

'Whereas, upon complaint made the 22d day of 'December laſt, by Mr Chancellor of the Exchequer, 'of certain diſcourſes ſpread abroad to his prejudice, 'as if he was under an accuſation of high treaſon: and 'upon his humble deſire that his Majeſty would exa- 'mine the grounds of thoſe diſcourſes, his Majeſty, 'after other inquiries, cauſed a letter to be read, 'which had been written to himſelf, in Auguſt laſt 'paſt, by Sir Richard Greenvile; in which he inform- 'ed his Majeſty, That Mr Chancellor of the Exche- 'quer had made a ſtep into England before his laſt 'coming to Paris; and that he had there private con- 'ference with Cromwell, and that he had a penſion 'paid him a long time out of England for intelligence; 'for juſtifying which information, the ſaid Sir Richard 'being required by his Majeſty to ſend him the grounds 'thereof, had ſent a letter, written to him by Mr Ro- 'bert Long, which was then likewiſe read: Upon 'which matter, after his Majeſty had examined other 'allegations, made by Sir Richard, which he found to 'be untrue, and ſome whereof his Majeſty himſelf 'knew to be falſe, his Majeſty had formerly declared 'his judgment to the ſaid Sir Richard, forbidding him 'to come into his preſence.——And moreover, his 'Majeſty examined Mr Peter Maſſonet at the board, 'the 12th of this inſtant, in regard, he had been men- 'tioned as one of the authors of that report; and like- 'wiſe cauſed a paper, written by the ſaid Mr Robert 'Long, dated January 13, in juſtification of what he 'had formerly written to Sir Richard Greenvile, to be 'read; which paper his Majeſty looks upon as a libel, 'derogatory from his own honour and juſtice, as well 'as full of malice againſt Mr Chancellor, and will 'hereafter take farther conſideration thereof. And 'upon the whole matter declares, that the accuſation 'and information againſt Mr Chancellor, is a ground- 'leſs and a malicious calumny, and that he is well ſatiſ- 'fied of his conſtant integrity and fidelity in the ſervice 'of his father and himſelf: and moreover, that he will 'in due time farther examine this unworthy combina- 'tion againſt him, when it ſhall be more in his power 'to puniſh the perſons who ſhall appear to be guilty of 'it. And, in the mean time, his Majeſty farther de- 'clares his former judgment, That the ſaid Richard 'Greenvile ſhall not preſume to come into his preſence.

'To conclude this declaration I only ſubſcribe— '*O put not your truſt in princes, nor in any child of* '*man, for there is no help in them.*

'Though theſe experiences have grieved me, yet 'they have of late done me good, for they mind me 'of my greateſt duty; and accordingly I will purſue it, 'to ſeek my peace with God and man, and to find me 'a quiet dying place in my native country, never again 'to touch with any worldly affairs.

'The premiſes being ſo ordered to public view, it 'is free for the world to judge whether or not I am 'guilty of a crime worthy of baniſhment, becauſe, as 'my conceived duty, I advertized the King how Hyde 'was ſuſpected, and reported to betray his Majeſty, 'and I named my authors and my advices received 'thereof

'This being, why ſhould ſuch performance of duty 'be charged againſt me, as guilty of a combination 'againſt Hyde, whereof I proteſt myſelf not to be 'guilty in any particular; rather the contrary may be 'conceived, that Hyde is guilty of ſome combinations 'againſt me, in ſome relations not convenient here to 'be mentioned.

'If perſons, to perform their loyal duty, ſhall diſco- 'ver probabilities of treaſon, and be ruined for it, 'who then will trouble themſelves to do it, when as 'ſovereignty ſhall cenſure loyalty as a crime.

'I muſt confeſs truths. After ſight of his Majeſty's 'diſpleaſure, it gave me for ſome days a moſt hearty 'ſorrow and grief for myſelf, as having loſt that royal 'countenance which loyal duty made me love.

'Now alſo I'll confeſs, I am not leſs ſorry for the 'King's loſs of ſo faithful a ſervant, that has freely ſa- 'crificed both his eſtate and life for him.

'Such he wants, and ſuch he will want, but that's 'not valued Hyde muſt be conceived injured by 'common fame: he may not be taken guilty of any 'diſloyalty.

'But

preſence, and thereby ſecured himſelf for the future, againſt an opponent who had abilities and merit of every kind, and who, in this very tranſaction, was rather zealous and credulous than criminal; and there is reaſon to believe that the Chancellor himſelf thought ſo, ſince, in the account he has given us of this matter, in which it clearly appears, that except the Marquis of Ormond he had not a real friend in the council, he never ſo much as once mentions Sir Richard Greenvile, being either content with the revenge he had taken, or conſcious that the part he had acted had nothing in it baſe or unworthy (*t*). Sir Richard Greenvile himſelf was ſo ſecure of this, that he ſoon after publiſhed an apology for his own conduct, together with the order, in Holland; in which he expreſſes himſelf, as the reader has ſeen, with great ſpirit, and as if he had been wholly indifferent as to the event. But though great minds may conceal, that does nothing towards preventing their feeling ſtrokes of this nature; Sir Richard, who had ſupported ſo many and ſo great misfortunes, ſunk under the weight of this; and being deprived of that cordial which had hitherto ſuſtained his ſpirits, the hopes of rendering ſervice to his exiled ſovereign, fell the victim of his undeſerved diſpleaſure, and, as the laſt teſtimony of his unſhaken loyalty, died of GRIEF (*u*). This is not ſaid ſlightly or from conjecture, but is a very certain and melancholy fact. As ſoon as he had written and publiſhed his Vindication, he ſhut himſelf up in a cloſe retirement, ſuffered his beard to grow, in teſtimony of his ſorrow, and very ſoon quitted that life which his misfortunes had rendered hateful; but when or where is not in our power to ſay: all we know of him farther is, that his remains lie interred in a church at Ghent, with this inſcription only upon a plain ſtone:

(*t*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 515—520.

(*u*) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 247.

Sir Richard Greenvile,
The King's General in the Weſt.

His Wife ſurvived him for many years, and came again into the poſſeſſion of her eſtate, about which ſhe embroiled herſelf once more in Chancery (*w*). He had by this lady only one daughter, who out-lived him, named Elizabeth, who became the wife of William Lennard, Eſq; (*x*), and was never the better for her mother's eſtate (*y*), but might be truly ſaid to inherit the ill fortune of her Father (*z*).

(*w*) Cafes in Chancery, p. 19.

(*x*) Segar's Baronage, MS.

(*y*) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, ubi ſupra.

(*z*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. V. p. 89.

(51) Vindication of Sir Richard Greenvile.

'But Sir Richard Greenvile, for his preſuming loyalty, muſt be, by a public declaration, defamed as a Banditti, and his very loyalty underſtood a crime.

'However, ſeeing it muſt be ſo, let God be prayed to bleſs the King with faithful counſellors, and that none may be prevalent to be any way hurtful to him or to any of his relations.

'As for Sir Richard Greenvile, let him go with the reward of an old ſoldier of the King's; there is no preſent uſe for him, when there ſhall be, the council will think on't—if not too late, *Vale*.

'Sir Richard's part in this matter was unavoidable (51). No generoſity could have excuſed ſtifling informations of ſo dangerous a nature. Concealment was high-treaſon: he could do no leſs than communicate the advice; and he did it in the moſt private manner, in a letter to the King, which his Majeſty was at liberty either to ſtifle or examine, as in his own wiſdom he ſhould think fit: in this there could be no crime, in ſilence there would, eſpecially ſince thoſe informations, however improbable, were not taken from raſh and idle diſcourſes, but ſignified under the hands of perſons of note and character, who undertook for the proof. Neither was Sir Richard haſty or precipitate in producing his evidence, he ſecured his vouchers under hand and ſeal before he adventured to advertiſe his maſter. If there was any malicious combination, he poſitively denies any ſhare in it: yet ſuch was the Chancellor's grudge to him, and to him only that he was the ſole perſon fingled out to be puniſhed: the reſt were referred to another time, when his Majeſty might have more power of examining and puniſhing; and yet, when that time came, and theſe very original accuſers returned to the charge, reviving this very article in a parliamentary impeachment, Wyndham was liberally provided for, Mr Robert Long was made Sir Robert, and Auditor of the Exchequer, and Sir Richard, had he been alive, perhaps might have been a General again.'

E

GREENVILE, [Sir JOHN] afterwards Earl of Bath; he was born at the houſe of his father, Sir Bevil Greenvile (*a*), in the year 1628. And after receiving the firſt elements of a liberal education in his own county, was, about the beginning of the troubles, removed to Oxford, and there entered a Gentleman-Commoner of Glouceſter-Hall (*b*), over which, the famous Degory Wheare at that time preſided (*c*). His ſtudies there were interrupted by the news of his father's immature, though glorious, death, at the battle of Lanſdowne; upon which, as the chief of his family, and the hopes of Cornwall, this young gentleman, though ſcarce fifteen, left the ſeat of the Muſes, to put himſelf at the head of his father's regiment (*d*); in which he very gallantly ſerved, 'till it was thought neceſſary to ſend him, with the remains of that regiment, into his own county, to recruit it; where his extenſive influence, and wiſdom ſuperior to his years, placed him in the command of a brigade, inferior to none on either ſide, conſiſting of five regiments of Coniſh infantry (*e*). In this ſtation he was, when, with the reſt of the officers of his Majeſty's forces, he ſubſcribed that famous letter to the Earl of Eſſex, from which the calmer and more candid part of both armies, entertained the ſtrongeſt hopes of peace (*f*) [*A*]. After the defeat of

(*a*) Lloyd's Loyal Sufferers, p. 472.

(*b*) Wood's Athen. Oxonienſis, Vol. I. col. 154.

(*c*) Antiquitat. Oxonienſis, Part ii. p. 381.

(*d*) Lloyd's loyal Sufferers, p. 472.

(*e*) Bibl. Sign. 12. Car. II.

(*f*) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 118. Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 519. Ruſhworth's Collections, Part iii. Vol. II. p. 692.

[*A*] *The ſtrongeſt hopes of peace.*] We have mentioned this letter in the former article, and, indeed, it is one of the papers of moſt conſequence, among the many that paſſed between both parties, in this lamentable war; the reader therefore will be pleaſed to peruſe, and conſider it, and weigh particularly the names of the officers, by whom it was ſubſcribed.

'My

of the Earl of Eſſex, he attended his Majeſty in his return to Oxford, and behaving very bravely in the ſecond battle of Newbury, fought on the 27th of October, 1644, we find his name amongſt the heroes who were wounded in that engagement, by the title of Sir John Greenvile (g). At the beginning of this action, Sir John was poſted on an eminence at Spine, with a body of infantry, a few pieces of cannon, and a ſmall retrenchment before him. The enemy advancing with a ſuperior force both of horſe and foot to charge him, General Goring attacked them with the King's cavalry to prevent it; but the Earl of Cleaveland being made priſoner in this charge, the Parliament's forces attacked thoſe under Sir John Greenvile with great ſpirit, and met with as obſtinate a reſiſtance; 'till Sir John, receiving a ſevere ſtroke with a ſword upon the head, his troops began to give way, when Sir

(g) Mercurius Aulicus. Sir Edward Walker's Hiſtorical Diſcourſes, p. 115. Ruſhworth's Collections, Part iii. Vol. II. p. 721.

' My Lord,

' We having obtained his Majeſty's leave to ſend ' this to your Lordſhip, ſhall not repeat the many ' gracious meſſages, endeavours, and declarations ' which his Majeſty hath made, and have been ſo ' ſolemnly proteſted in the preſence of God and men, ' that we wonder how the moſt ſcrupulous can make ' any doubt of the real, and royal performance of ' them. But we muſt, before this approaching occa- ' ſion, tell your Lordſhip, that we bear arms for this ' end, only to defend his Majeſty's known rights, the ' laws of the kingdom (1), the liberty of the ſubject, ' the privilege of the Parliament, and the true Prote- ' ſtant Religion, againſt Popery, or Popiſh innova- ' tions. And this being the profeſſed cauſe of your ' Lordſhip's taking arms, we are confident, that, con- ' curring in the ſame opinions and pretences, we ' ſhall not, by an unnatural war, weaken the main ' ſtrength of this kingdom, and advance the deſign of ' our common enemies, that long ſince have devour- ' ed us in their hopes. My Lord, the exigent of the ' time will not ſuffer us to make any laboured decla- ' rations of our intentions, but only this, That on the ' Faith of Subjects, the Honours and Reputation of ' Gentlemen and Soldiers, we will with our lives ' maintain that which his Majeſty ſhall publickly pro- ' miſe, in order to a bloodleſs peace. Nor ſhall it be ' in the power of any private perſon whatſoever to ' divert this reſolution of ours; and the ſame we ex- ' pect from you. And now we muſt take leave to pro- ' teſt, That if this our profer be neglected, which we ' make neither in fear of your power, nor diſtruſt of ' our own; but only touched with the approaching ' miſeries of our nation, that what calamities ſhall op- ' preſs poſterity, ſhall lie heavy upon the ſouls and ' conſciences of thoſe that ſhall decline this overture, ' which we cannot hope ſo ſeaſonably to make again, ' if this conjuncture be let go. And therefore it is ' deſired, that your Lordſhip and ſix other perſons, ' may meet our General to-morrow, at ſuch an indif- ' ferent place as you ſhall think fit, attended with as ' many, or, if you ſhall find it any way inconvenient to ' come in perſon, that then your Lordſhip will ap- ' point ſuch, or ſo many, to meet with the like num- ' ber from hence, that may conſider of all means poſ- ' ſible, to reconcile the unhappy differences and miſ- ' underſtandings that have ſo long afflicted the king- ' dom; and for the ſecurity of your Lordſhip, and ' thoſe that ſhall come with, and be employed by, ' your Lordſhip, we do engage our Faith and Ho- ' nour, and do expect the ſame from your Lordſhip; ' deſiring withal, your very ſpeedy anſwer, which ' muſt be a guide to our proceedings; concluding, ' that if this ſhall be refuſed, we ſhall hold ourſelves ' juſtified before God and man, whatſoever ſhall be ' the ſucceſs. So we reſt,

(1) Walker's Hiſtorical Diſcourſes, p. 59, 60, 61.

Your Lordſhip's humble ſervants,

From the army, the 8th of Auguſt 1644.

Maurice,	Ad. Scroop,
Brainford,	Herbert Lundesford,
Tho. Wentworth,	Barth. Pell,
Percy,	Hen. Shelley,
Cleveland,	Tho. Pawlet,
Tho. Blagge,	Theod. Kyrton,
Amys Pollard,	Anthony Brocket,
Ja. Hamilton,	Druery Leigh,
Rich. Thornehill,	Arthur Slingeſby,
Jo. Topping,	David Skringer,
Ja. Dundaſſe,	Ja Murray,
Giles Strangways,	Cha. Compton,
R Smith,	Richard Cave,
Nich. Samuel,	Bernard Steward,
Lyndſey,	Bernard Aſteley,
Northampton,	Theo. Gilby,
Jacob Aſteley,	William Leighton,
Joſeph Bampfield,	William Murrey,
Anthony Thelwell,	Tho. Blackwall,
Jo. Owen,	Tho. Bellingham,
Tho. Stradling,	Richard Page,
Robert Howard,	Cha. Fowlke,
Jo. Stocker,	James Carye,
Bar. Jenkes,	Geo. Goring,
Hen. Miller,	Ralph Hopton,
Rich. Fielding,	Joſeph Wagſtaffe,
Tho. Weſton,	Tho. Baſſet,
Paul Smith,	Char. Lloyd,
Guy Mouldſworth,	George Liſle,
Phi. Honywood,	William St Leger,
Tho. Culpeper,	Ed. Nott,
William Leak,	Jo. Rideck,
Jo Lunther,	Alex. Standiſh,
Jo. March,	Jo. Stewart,
Edw. Porter,	Jo. Gambling,
Geo. Armſtrong,	*Jo. Greenvile*,
Rich. Nevil,	Arthur Hemingham,
Tho. Pigott,	James Haſwell,
Jo. Brown,	Will. Maxwell.

To ſo cool, and moderate a letter, the Earl of Eſſex returned the following ſhort and ſurly anſwer.

' My Lords,

' In the beginning of your letter, you expreſs by ' what authority you ſend it. I having no power by ' the Parliament (who have employed me) to treat, ' cannot give way to it without breach of truſt.

My Lords,

I am,

Your humble Servant,

Liſtithiel, Auguſt 10, 1644. Eſſex.

For his Highneſs Prince Maurice, and the Earl of Forth.

This letter is ſeverely cenſured by the Noble Hiſtorian (2), who ſeems to think the original deſign of the officers fell very little ſhort of treaſon; and in the ſame light it was conſidered by Sir Edward Walker (3), who wrote immediately under the King's eye. One would imagine theſe authors thought the King was at the head of an army fighting for pay, againſt a foreign enemy, and not of free-born Engliſhmen, contending for his Rights and their own Liberties, againſt their deluded countrymen. It was the lofty ſentiment of theſe gentlemen, as to the prerogative of the Crown, when guided by their councils, that gave the Parliament great encouragement, and ſunk the ſpirit of the King's true friends, who fought from principle, and had ſomething to loſe; and hence ſprung the notion of getting the Prince of Wales to act, which in the ſentiments of the ſame counſellors, approached nearer ſtill to treaſon.

(2) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 519.

(3) Hiſtorical Diſcourſes, p. 59.

Sir John Cansfield, with the Queen's regiment of horſe, happily interpoſed, checked the enemy's progreſs, and ſaved Sir John Greenvile from being taken; in which charge however, Sir John Cansfield had the misfortune to loſe his leg (*b*) by a cannon ſhot. In the ſpring of the following year, Prince Charles being then in his own duchy, and ſeeing how great an intereſt the family had, as well as admiring the prudence and ſpirit of this young ſoldier, declared him of his own accord one of his bed-chamber (*i*); which gave an occaſion, though the King confirmed his choice, to one of thoſe unfortunate letters to the Queen; which, being ſoon after taken at Naſeby, were, by the Parliament's order, decyphered and publiſhed, on purpoſe to ſhew to how great a degree the King was governed by her counſels (*k*) [*B*]. As for Sir John Greenvile, he continued to ſerve the young Prince with much zeal and fidelity, and with a diſintereſtedneſs that in all reſpects merited the favour ſhewn him, and wrought ſo ſtrong a confidence in him, that when his affairs in the Weſt began firſt to decline, which was not long after Sir John's being ſworn of his bed-chamber, he made choice of him, though ſo young a perſon, to go over to France, in order to know what aſſiſtance he might expect from thence, and whether, in caſe of neceſſity, it would be expedient for him to retire thither. At his return, he brought a letter from the Earl of Norwich, the King's Ambaſſador at that court, in which he very roundly declared, the Prince's coming thither would be his certain ruin, referring himſelf for his reaſons in ſupport of ſuch a declaration as this to the bearer, who, in vindication of this letter, communicated many paſſages of moment (*l*). We have theſe facts almoſt in theſe words in the work of the Noble Hiſtorian, but not a ſyllable of Sir John Greenvile; only we are told that this letter and meſſage was brought by one of the Prince's bed-chamber (*m*). In the beginning of the month of March following, the Prince, at the earneſt requeſt of thoſe who, in virtue, as they ſaid, of the King's authority, governed him, embarked for the iſles of Scilly, where he remained from the 4th of that month 'till the 16th of April, and then, by the ſame advice, retired to the iſland of Jerſey (*n*). Sir John Greenvile attended him all this time, and there happened a paſſage during the Prince's ſtay in Scilly, which, though very ſlightly touched by the Noble Writer, might, if it was in our power to give it, deſerve a clearer explanation. He ſays, that the Prince received by a trumpet a ſummons, rather than an invitation, from Sir Thomas Fairfax; adding immediately, 'It was well it came not to Pendennis, where it would have found a party among the Prince's ſervants (*o*).' It is very poſſible, this party amongſt the Prince's ſervants meant him as well as thoſe who were for hurrying him out of his father's dominions. Sir Thomas Fairfax is ſaid to have conceived ſome perſonal diſtaſte (*p*) to the King; but there is nothing more certain, than that he was no enemy to monarchy, and very freely hazarded his life and fortune afterwards for the ſervice of this Prince, when his affairs were in a much more deſperate condition (*q*): Who therefore can tell what his intentions might be now [*C*]? The Prince, after ſome ſtay at Jerſey, and freſh diſputes amongſt

(*b*) The Civil Wars in Great Britain and Ireland, p. 140. Sir Richard Bulſtrode's Memoirs, p. 118.

(*i*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 549.

(*k*) King's Letters to the Queen, No. xi.

(*l*) See the Earl of Clarendon's Account in the next quotation.

(*m*) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 685.

(*n*) Ruſhworth's Collections, Part iv. Vol. I. p. 104, 285. Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. V. p. 2, 4. Heath's Chronicle, p. 96. Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 178.

(*o*) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. V. p. 3.

(*p*) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II.

(*q*) M.S. Memoirs of Lord Fairfax, by Bp. Sprat.

[*B*] *The King was governed by her counſels.*] This letter is dated from Droitwich (4), Wedneſday, May the 14th; and ſo much of it as regards our purpoſe follows.

(4) See this Letter in the Appendix to Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 271.

'Now, I muſt make a complaint to thee of my ſon Charles, which troubles me the more, that thou mayſt ſuſpect, I ſeek, by equivocating, to hide the breach of my word, which I hate above all things, eſpecially to thee. It is this, he hath ſent to deſire me, that Sir John Greenfield may be ſworn Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber; but already ſo publickly engaged in it, that the refuſal would be a great diſgrace, both to my ſon, and the young gentleman, to whom it is not fit to give a juſt diſtaſte, eſpecially now, conſidering his father's merits, his own hopefulneſs, beſides the great power that family has in the Weſt: yet I have refuſed the admitting of him, until I ſhall hear from thee. Wherefore, I deſire thee, firſt, to chide my ſon for engaging himſelf without one of our conſents; then not to refuſe thy own conſent; and, laſtly, to believe, that directly, or indirectly, I never knew of this while yeſterday, at the delivery of my ſon's letter. So farewel ſweet-heart, and God ſend me good news from thee.'

It is but too apparent from this letter, that though the King had a judgment ſuperior to thoſe by whom he was ruled, yet in reality he had no will of his own, and was very little inclined his ſon ſhould have any either. When the reſolution was taken at Oxford to ſend the Prince into Cornwall, it was upon a ſuppoſition, that his preſence in a part of his father's dominions, which in ſome meaſure belonged to him, might be beneficial to both their concerns. It is very plain, that the Prince underſtood it ſo, and was very well inclined to have done what in him lay to that purpoſe. But the Juncto, in his council, all of them ſtrangers in that part of the world, and who had no natural intereſt in it, were extremely jealous of the native Corniſh (5), who, they ſaw, and, indeed, it was no wonder, as zealous to declare their love for their native country, as their loyalty for their natural Prince. If this had not been the caſe, the council would have prevented, by their interpoſition, the King's finding any thing amiſs, in his ſon's making a promotion, in his bed-chamber, founded as much in policy, and his true intereſt, as in affection and gratitude. In a time of perfect ſerenity, the King might, perhaps, have had reaſon for his complaint. But in this broken and diſtracted ſituation of things, when his ſubjects were every where in arms againſt him, and the Prince at a diſtance, to complain of the Prince, and to exculpate himſelf when, at the ſame time, he avers there was no fault, and to one, who could be no judge, though it ſeems ſhe always expected to decide, muſt appear very ſtrange, and leſſen the King's character extremely; with which view it was publiſhed by the Parliament, and the very publication of theſe letters ſufficiently ſhew, how little they meant to confide for the future in the King, whoſe forgiveneſs, if they had ever ſeriouſly deſired, they would not thus maliciouſly, needleſsly, and wantonly, have provoked.

(5) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 224, 225.

[*C*] *What his intentions might be now.*] The war was now in a manner determined, at leaſt in the Weſt, where the King had the moſt friends, and, conſequently, the greateſt force; which was in a ſtrange manner divided, diſperſed, and deſtroyed by the diſputes between the Prince's council and the Generals, and their reciprocal miſunderſtandings amongſt themſelves; for they were as little united in their councils of State and of War, as with each other. It is a queſtion that has been

amongſt his little court, came at length, contrary to the advice of his council, to a ſettled reſolution of going to France, which he accordingly executed; but found ſuch a reception in all reſpects, as, in the name of the Earl of Norwich, Sir John Greenvile had foretold him, and with which he was ſo diſguſted that he did not remain there long (r). About this time it ſeems that Sir John Greenvile returned into the iſles of Scilly; for, though upon the Prince of Wales's quitting theſe iſlands, and taking with him the beſt part of the officers who ſhould have defended them, their inhabitants ſubmitted to the Parliament, and received ſome ſmall garriſons; yet, as ſoon as their fleet retired, and the people had recovered from the conſternation they were in, they reſolved to deliver themſelves from their new maſters; and, as ſoon as they had done ſo, they ſent to make their ſubmiſſion to the Prince of Wales, and to deſire he would ſend ſome officer of experience, and well acquainted with their iſlands, to defend them, which they thought might be done in ſuch a manner as to prevent their feeling that puniſhment with which they were threatened by the Parliament (s). Upon this, Sir John Greenvile, with many officers who had ſerved under him, were ſent thither immediately, and eſtabliſhing himſelf in St Mary's, fortified as well as he could, and made the beſt diſpoſitions poſſible for the ſecurity and improvement of this laſt remnant of his maſter's ſovereignty. The revolt of part of the fleet from the Parliament to the Prince made theſe iſlands of ſtill greater conſequence; for Sir John taking all the advantages that their commodious ſituation would allow, ſometimes alarmed the coaſts of Cornwall, ſometimes thoſe of Devon, and ſometimes his frigates cruized on thoſe of Ireland (t). In theſe expeditions they gave terrible alarms, and took ſeveral officers of rank in the Parliament's ſervice, whom they kept priſoners, but treated them gently (u). Beſides all this, Sir John was daily increaſing his forces by the reſort of many officers and ſoldiers

(r) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. V. p. 33.

(s) Heath's Chronicle, p. 284. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 396. Geſta Britonnorum, by Sir G. Wharton.

(t) Whitlocke's Memorials.

(u) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 326.

been more than once aſked, and perhaps, the curious reader will think it a queſtion worth anſwering. Whether in ſuch a ſtate of things, any method might have been ſtruck out for preſerving the Conſtitution, and uniting once more the Parliament with the Monarchy, in which, without doubt, the eſſence of our government conſiſts? The moderate men in the King's army, who diſliked the dictates of Digby, the pompous eloquence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the peremptory orders of the princes Rupert and Maurice, had, as we have hinted before, and as we intend fully to explain here, caſt their eyes upon the Prince of Wales, and thought that under his auſpice a ſolid peace might be made (6). It has been inſinuated, that the worthieſt men on the ſide of the Parliament had likewiſe thought of the ſame expedient; and that Eſſex and Wilmot underſtood one another on this head; and that it was to prevent other people from being brought to underſtand it, that Wilmot was accuſed, and arreſted in the King's army by the intrigues of the miniſters, rather than any real umbrage taken by the King. As to the firſt point, that the calmer and more conſiderate officers on the King's ſide had this opinion, we have the fulleſt authority to prove (7). In reſpect to the Parliament, there are two things certain, the firſt, that the wiſe John Hampden, who meant to mend and not to murther the King, or the Monarchy, had ſet his heart on one poſt, which was, being governor to the Prince of Wales; a circumſtance, that fully proves he was no Republican, or inveterate enemy to the Royal family. The other is, that as darkly as the Noble Hiſtorian expreſſes it, the Parliament now, when he was in the iſles of Scilly, invited the Prince (8) to come to them. They ſaw what was working by the independent republican faction, and they foreſaw what would be the iſſue of it; and at the ſame time they could diſcern no method ſo likely to reſtore the reeling conſtitution, as placing at their head the undoubted heir of the Crown; and, as at this time they had the greater part of the army, their new, as well as their old General well diſpoſed to it, the thing might very probably have been done. But we muſt not expect to be credited on our own authority, or that of an anonymous author, but whoſe work contains ſome remarkable facts for all that (9). If the Noble Hiſtorian, who ſometimes records things of leſs moment, had preſerved, inſtead of ridiculing Sir Thomas Fairfax's meſſage, we might have been better able to judge of it; however, it is well it is not totally loſt. The celebrated Lord-Keeper Whitlocke, who probably had ſome concern in it, treats this buſineſs thus (10). 'March 17, 1645, The Houſe being informed that 'the Prince was in Scilly, and in ſome ſtraits for want 'of proviſions, they agreed that a letter ſhould be 'written to him, in a loving and tender way from 'both Houſes of Parliament, to invite him to come 'into the Parliament, and to reſide in ſuch place, and 'have ſuch attendants and counſellors about him as 'ſhould be approved by both Houſes.' We find in the ſame work, that this propoſition was puſhed as far as it would go, that the Lords (11) joined in it, that the ſtrongeſt aſſurances were given in reſpect to his liberty, and manner of living, and that at length Richmond was fixed upon for the place of his reſidence. To all this, the Prince, ſometimes by the advice, perhaps, of thoſe counſellors, the Noble Hiſtorian ſo much derided, gave very modeſt and moderate anſwers; which kept the negotiation alive, till the Prince was either perſuaded, or compelled to leave Jerſey, and go to France. Neither was the King inſenſible, or, perhaps, averſe to this, for when in his way to the Weſt, the whole county of Somerſet came to ſalute him near Ilcheſter, at the cloſe of a long and gracious ſpeech, in which he profeſſed, that he deſired nothing ſo much as peace, and to rule according to the laws of the land, he pointed to the Prince, and ſaid (12), If I live not to do it, I hope this young man, my ſon, your fellow ſoldier in this expedition will, to whom I ſhall particularly give it in charge. When he ſent his own meſſage to Eſſex for peace, he intended to have ſent a meſſenger alſo with inſtructions, and this meſſenger was Mr Harding, one of the Prince's bed-chamber, and his (13) inſtructions are yet extant. Add to all this, that in the laſt moſt diſmal ſcene of his life, when all other circumſtances of hope or comfort had forſook him, he had recourſe to this propoſition, to hear (14) which the High Court of Juſtice adjourned. It came, indeed, then too late, for the Parliament was purged, the army as much revolted from them as from the King, and Cromwell and his aſſociates maſters of all. But even then, Mr Downes, one of his judges, cried out, Have we (15) no bowels? and would have gone further, if he had been permitted. All theſe particulars taken together, moſt undoubtedly ſhew, that at this juncture, when the Prince was in the iſlands of Scilly, ſuch of his ſervants as thought he might have treated, were not to be looked upon as either wanting in their duty to the King, or deſtitute of common ſenſe. If after all another queſtion ſhould be aſked, Why, if affairs ſtood in this light, did not the Prince's council unanimouſly incline to treat? To this two things may be ſaid; Firſt, It is very extraordinary, the Noble Hiſtorian, who has recorded ſo many other things, has not thought proper to record theſe reaſons; the other, that the Parliament, though then deſirous of receiving the Prince, were determined never to have any thing to do with theſe miniſters, and had declared it.

(6) Sir Richard Bulſtrode's Memoirs, p. 102, 103. Walker, Warwick.

(7) Clarendon, Walker, Warwick, Bulſtrode, Echard.

(8) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. V. p. 2, 3.

(9) Hiſtory of King Charles II. by a Perſon of Quality, p. 6.

(10) Memorials, p. 197.

(11) Ibid. p. 199, 202, 205, 206, 209.

(12) Walker's Hiſtorical Diſcourſes, p. 45. Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. II. Part iii. p. 690.

(13) Walker's Hiſtorical Diſcourſes, p. 53.

(14) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. II. Part iv. p. 1422, 1423. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 373. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 280. Heath's Chronicle, p. 212, 213. Sir Thomas Herbert's Memoirs, p. 126.

(15) Heath's Chronicle, p. 467.

soldiers who had served in the late King's army, and by such as had a mind to share in the riches which their daily captures produced (*w*). These circumstances taken together, but more especially the loud complaints of the city of London, in regard to the depredations to which their trade was exposed, alarmed the Parliament so much, that they sent a strong squadron with a good body of land troops on board, commanded by two of the best officers in their service, Sir George Ayscue and General Blake, to reduce those islands (*x*). This was in the beginning of May 1651, the King being then in Scotland, and the Dutch having a good fleet at sea, of whom the Parliament then began to be jealous (*y*). This was not without reason, for the States had actually made propositions to Sir John Greenvile, which might have tempted a man of less honour, for they offered him one hundred thousand pounds to put those islands into their hands, to which, if he had consented, Van Tromp was ready, with a squadron of twelve men of war, to have taken possession of them: but Sir John, after making all the preparations necessary for a desperate resistance, entered into a treaty with General Blake; and having made him sensible, that, if he was driven to extremities, the reduction of those islands would be very dearly purchased, he procured from him as good terms as he could reasonably expect, which were signed on the 23d of May (*z*). In pursuance of these articles, the Parliament officers, amongst whom were the Colonels, Axtel, Sadler, and Le Hunt, were set at liberty, the greatest part of Sir John's forces transported, pursuant to those articles, wherever they pleased to go (*a*), and Sir John himself, with his principal officers, returned with Blake into England, in order to make his submission, and, without any composition, to live quietly upon his own estate (*b*). The Parliament, amazed at the large concessions they contained, at first shewed some dissatisfaction with respect to these articles, and seemed little inclined to ratify them. But Blake on the one hand representing his reasons in a very strong light, and declaring on the other, that if they were not ratified he would lay down his commission, they resolved that they should be punctually executed, and so they were (*c*) [*D*]. As soon as he found himself in so easy a situation, Sir John thought it expedient to settle himself in the world, that he might make his interest in Cornwall and Devonshire still more considerable, and, at the same time, take off the apprehensions which those then in possession of the government entertained of his principles and activity. Accordingly, in 1652 he espoused Jane, the only surviving daughter of Sir Peter Wych, who, after residing twelve years as Ambassador at Constantinople, was made Comptroller of the Household to Charles I. upon whom he made a very considerable settlement, in which he durst not take the title of Knight, but stiles himself John Greenvile, son and heir of Sir Bevil Greenvile, late of Stowe in the county of Cornwall (*d*). The easiness of his circumstances, and this alteration in his family, did not in the least abate his zeal for the King's service. On the contrary, he was always one of the Commissioners appointed by King Charles for carrying on his affairs in England, and for concerting measures with his friends for the support of his Majesty and his brethren abroad, or for the bringing him home. He was not even discouraged when it became necessary for the King to grant a new commission (*e*), on account of the treachery of one of those, and him none of the least capable, who had been named in the former. But Sir John, though a young man, in possession of a good fortune, and entirely beloved in his country, conducted his correspondence so warily, behaved so decently to all persons in power, lived so unexceptionably in the country, that he met with little molestation, though he was sometimes restrained, and remained always suspected [*E*]. He had, besides

(*w*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 284.

(*x*) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 465, 467. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 326.

(*y*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 284, 288.

(*z*) See the original articles to Sir John Greenvile, in the library of the society for promoting Christian Knowledge, and propogating the Gospel. Heath's Chronicle, p. 289. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 326. Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 256.

(*a*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 495. Heath's Chronicle, p. 289.

(*b*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 495.

(*c*) Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 257. Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 89, 90.

(*d*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 480.

(*e*) Baker's Chronicle, p. 640. Life of Dr Barwick, p. 185, 454. Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 667—669.

[*D*] *And so they were.*] It is very clear that Sir John Greenvile, while he remained possessed of these islands, gave the world a very different notion of them, from what had ever been entertained before. A very knowing and candid writer says, that he made it evident, that the post he had taken was a key (16) that opened a passage to several nations. He had a great garrison to subsist, and, as the islands afforded little for that purpose, he was forced to make use of his frigates; the captains of which, under various pretences, made free with the ships of all nations, and amongst others, took twenty sail of Dutch merchant-men, of which the States complained loudly to King Charles II. (17) who was then in Scotland; and, at the same time, sent Admiral Van Tromp, with a compleat squadron, to procure satisfaction by force, or, which they rather affected, to obtain possession of these islands for a sum of money (18). Sir John made no farther use of this latter proposal, than to draw from the Parliament better terms. Admiral Blake did not grant these 'till he had tried what could be done by force, for he debarked Captain Morris (19) with a considerable force, who attacked the two islands of Trisco and Briers with his best troops, which they carried indeed after a long dispute. But Colonel Wogan, who defended them, sold them so dear, that they did not care to purchase any thing more upon the same terms; and therefore, upon his retreat to St Mary's, where there were great magazines and tolerable fortifications, the Parliament Generals very wisely changed their batteries, and proposed honourable terms. Sir John Greenvile stipulated in the first place indemnity for all under his command, and next, a free passage for them wherever they had a mind to go. By these propositions he kept his people firm; and we shall be the less surprized, that even Blake was willing to be rid, almost at any rate, of such troublesome people, when we learn, that, at the time of Sir John's surrender, he had, under his command, three and twenty field-officers (20), sixty captains, a proportionable number of subalterns, and that all the private men were veterans, who, under such commanders, would not have been easily subdued, and who, if hard pressed, might have called in the Dutch if they had pleased. This great affair, which Sir John managed with so much firmness, prudence, and address, with two such great men as Ayscue and Blake at the head of a fleet of fifty sail, did him so much the more honour, as he was at this time but in the twenty-third year of his age, a season when conduct is not always shewn even where courage is not wanting.

(16) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 473.

(17) Heath's Chronicle, p. 284.

(18) Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 256. Heath's Chronicle, p. 288.

(19) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 493.

(20) Heath's Chronicle, p. 289.

[*E*] *Though he was sometimes restrained and always suspected.*] We have, in a former article, dwelt a little on the the natural sagacity and prudence of this family, and of the wonderful steadiness and calmness of this

beſides that general plan concerted among the King's friends, ſome particular views of his own. He knew the cloſe connection that had ſubſiſted between Sir Bevil Greenvile and Sir Thomas Monk, the obligations, that General Monk, who now commanded in Scotland, had to Sir Richard Greenvile; and he foreſaw that there might be a time when his relation to that family might be of uſe. When he came to reſide at Kilkhampton, he found the parſonage as well as his eſtate under ſequeſtration, on account of the delinquency, that is the loyalty, of Mr Rouſe, the incumbent, into whoſe church the ſequeſtrator had thruſt his ſon. But, upon the death of Mr Rouſe, the living being vacant, Sir John exerted his right, and beſtowed it upon Mr Nicholas Monk, the General's brother, who, having married a widow, lived ſilently and peaceably at a ſmall living, about twelve miles from it. This living of Kilkhampton was worth three hundred pounds a year (f); and, at the time Sir John beſtowed it, he gave Mr Monk to underſtand, that, if he ſhould afterwards have any occaſion for his ſervice with his brother, he ſhould depend upon him. Mr Monk thereupon made him, as a due teſtimony of gratitude, a clear promiſe, which, as ſoon as an

(f) See the Dedication prefixed to Dr Price's Myſtery and Method of the King's Reſtoration. Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 90, 91. Gumble's Life of General Monk, p. 104.

this gentleman's father, Sir Bevil, in which Sir John reſembled him extremely; for, with great quickneſs of parts, and with much ſolidity of judgment, he had a degree of prudence, that, perhaps, did more in the management of thoſe dangerous and difficult things with which he was intruſted, than all his other great qualities together. He did not promote the King's intereſt, or rather endeavour to promote it, as ſome did, by feaſting, and having conſtantly about him a number of dependants, obſtreperouſly zealous for the cauſe; but, on the contrary, held a fair correſpondence with all his neighbours in general, and was particularly careful in cultivating an acquaintance and friendſhip with ſuch gentlemen of fortune and family, as, in the beginning of the troubles, had engaged on the ſide of the Parliament, and afterwards changed their ſentiments on ſeeing the unexpected and unnatural lengths to which things had been carried. But this modeſty and ſilence did not render him at all leſs ſteady or leſs uſeful in the King's ſervice, in promoting which, he was in the firſt commiſſion which his Majeſty granted for the management of his affairs in England, and which, for it's ſuppoſed impenetrable ſecrecy, was commonly ſtyled, *The Sealed Knot*. It was (21) compoſed of the Earl of Oxford, the Lord Bellaſis, Sir William Compton, Sir Richard Willis, Colonel John Ruſſel, and Sir John Greenvile. But, in October 1659, it was diſcovered, that Sir Richard Willis betrayed all to Secretary Thurloe (22). Upon this, Sir Edward Hyde wrote to all his correſpondents to give them notice of Sir Richard's behaviour; and the King, upon his return into the Low-Countries from the tour he had made to the frontiers of Spain, found it neceſſary to ſend over a new commiſſion (23), conceived in the following terms:

(21) Baker's Chronicle, p. 640. Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 82. Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 258.

(22) Life of Dr Barwick, p. 185, 454. Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 667—669. Heath's Chronicle, p. 448.

(23) Baker's Chronicle, p. 640.

'Charles, by the Grace of God, King of England, 'Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the 'Faith, &c. To our right truſty and well beloved, Arthur Anneſley, Eſq; (afterwards Earl of Angleſey) 'John Mordaunt, (afterwards Lord Viſcount Mordaunt) Sir Thomas Peyton, Bart. Sir John Greenvile, Knight, and William Legg, Eſq; and to every 'of them greeting. We do, by theſe preſents, conſtitute and appoint you our commiſſioners, giving you 'or any one or more of you power to treat with any 'our ſubjects of our kingdom of England, and dominion of Wales, that are or have been in arms againſt us 'or our father of bleſſed memory, or that have contributed to the preſent rebellion in England (excepting 'ſuch as actually ſat in judgment for the taking away 'the life of our ſaid father, or pleaded, as counſel 'learned, againſt his life, or attended as miniſters to 'that odious pretended court, or laid hands on his 'perſon in the execution of that horrid murther), and 'to aſſure them in our name, That, if they ſhall forſake the preſent rebellion, and join heartily and effectually for the ſuppreſſing of the ſame, and for our 'reſtoration to the rights due to us by the laws of God 'and that of our kingdom; That then we will not 'only freely pardon their former oppoſing us and our 'dear father, and all other their crimes and offences in 'acting in, adhering to, or complying with, the ſaid 'rebellion; but that we will recompenſe and reward 'ſuch of them, as ſhall, by any remarkable ſervice, 'merit of us, either by reducing or rendering any 'town, fort, or garriſon of the rebels into our hands, 'or into the poſſeſſion and power of you, or of any 'other truſtee employed by us or you for our ſervice. 'And what you or any one or more of you, ſhall, by 'virtue of this our commiſſion in writing, under your 'hands, or the hands of any one or more of you, promiſe in our name, in this kind we ſhall ratify and 'confirm and perform Given at our court at Bruſſels, 'this 11th day of March 1659, in the eleventh year 'of our reign'

In conſequence of this commiſſion, all who were named in it concurred in their endeavours, and left no path untried, no method uneſſayed, to reconcile to the King's cauſe ſuch as they thought any way capable of promoting it. In this they made a very great progreſs; for, as moſt of the ſenſible Lawyers were averſe to overturning every thing that reſembled the antient conſtitution in the State, ſo the learned and conſcientious Nonconformiſts were as little pleaſed with the deſtruction of the Church The nobility could not but ſee with regret, that they were confounded with the bulk of the people, and entitled to no farther reſpect than what reſulted from courteſy, and the remembrance of their former ſtation. Merchants and citizens, who had enriched themſelves by trade, were infinitely deſirous of ſeeing things ſettled, that they might be able to purchaſe lands with ſafety; and there wanted not ſome, even among thoſe who had been deepeſt in the worſt practices, who, forſeeing what afterwards happened, were deſirous, at any hazard, to make their peace in time, ſo as to enjoy quietly, and without queſtion, what they had acquired by ſo many former hazards. This confuſion of intereſts, the commiſſioners jointly and ſeparately managed with ſo much dexterity, that many of the moſt conſiderable perſons in the kingdom in point of intereſt and property, not a few of the officers in the army, and ſome even among the new courtiers, that is, thoſe who attached themſelves to the family of Cromwell, upon a ſuppoſition that the government might have continued in his family, overcoming all former prejudices, in a confidence that all paſt failings would be likewiſe forgotten, reconciled themſelves thoroughly, and engaged heartily to ſerve the King, and to reſtore him to his juſt rights. The remainder of the Long Parliament, who were at this time in poſſeſſion of the ſupreme authority, were far enough from being ignorant of what was paſſing; but, on the one hand, they conſidered the attachment of the army to them as an invincible ſecurity againſt all their enemies, and, on the other hand, they flattered themſelves, that they ſhould for ever fix this army, which however had turned them once out before, to their intereſts, aggrandize themſelves and their relations, and lay all their opponents in the dirt, by ſuffering theſe ſecret deſigns to ripen into act, then ſuppreſs them by the ſword, and laſtly, ſweep away the fortunes of all concerned, by an unrelenting act of forfeiture; and this, notwithſtanding the antient ties of blood or friendſhip, that might ſubſiſt between them and thoſe who were thus deſtined to deſtruction. Such were the perils to which Sir John Greenvile voluntarily expoſed himſelf, for otherwiſe, he might have ſat ſtill in the peaceable enjoyment of his paternal eſtate, and have been treated with all poſſible kindneſs by thoſe who would have indulged him in any thing, ſo he left them their authority.

an opportunity offered, he likewiſe very readily and punctually performed. There was nothing followed upon this immediately; but, when the general inſurrection was concerted, which was the laſt great plan for the King's reſtoration, upon which all his hopes depended, and in ſupport of which he determined to riſque his perſon, it was thought expedient to make ſome freſh overtures to General Monk, notwithſtanding he had obſerved a profound ſilence upon ſome former hints and invitations from the King; and in this deſign it was judged, that no one could ſo well ſerve his Majeſty as Sir John Greenvile, who was alſo very deeply embarked in the other affair [F]. Upon this, in the ſummer of 1659, the King

[F] *Who was alſo very deeply embarked in the other affair.*] We have, in the former note, ſhewn in what manner the King's affairs were managed at home by his commiſſioners, with whom he concurred to the utmoſt of his power, and very frankly offered to hazard his own perſon and the perſons of his brothers, at any time and in any manner that ſhould appear to them neceſſary, for their encouragement. We have before obſerved, that this deſign had a very broad bottom; for the Royaliſts, or thoſe who had been in arms for the late King, and the friends of the old Parliament, looking with abhorrence upon this remnant; began to perceive now they were cool, and had leiſure to reflect, that their intereſts were the ſame, and their principles not ſo remote from each other as they had formerly imagined. But as they were thoroughly ſenſible that prejudices ſtill prevailed amongſt the middle ſort of people, they very prudently agreed that the riſing ſhould be begun by ſuch as had been always avowed friends to liberty, and never in arms for the late King, of whom there was enough in all the counties of England and Wales to make a formidable appearance (24). Sir George Booth was to raiſe Lancaſhire and Cheſhire. Sir Thomas Middleton Shropſhire and Flintſhire. Sir John Carter Denbighſhire The Earl of Stamford Leiceſterſhire. The Lord Willoughby of Parham (who alſo advanced money to buy arms) Suffolk. Colonel Roſſiter Lincolnſhire. Colonel Popham Somerſetſhire and Wiltſhire, and to ſecure Briſtol and Taunton. Mr Edward Dunch and others Berkſhire. Major-General Maſſey, the Lord Herbert of Worceſter, and Mr How, Glouceſterſhire. Sir William Compton, Sir Thomas Leventhorp, and Mr Fanſhaw, Hartfordſhire. Mr Mordaunt, Sir Francis Vincent, and Sir Adam Brown, Surry. We might mention many more in almoſt every part of the kingdom; but that theſe are ſufficient to ſhew the nature of the deſign, and the manner in which it was managed, only one thing more is neceſſary, both in point of authority and for the ſake of perſpicuity, and that is the Declaration (25), which was to juſtify this riſing, and which was penned with great care and circumſpection, probably by the commiſſioners themſelves, ſo as to comprehend, and within a very narrow compaſs, the views of all the honeſt part of the nation; and therefore it follows.

(24) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 369.

(25) Baker's Chronicle, p. 649. Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 672.

'Since it hath pleaſed Almighty God to ſuffer the 'ſpirit of diviſion to continue in this diſtracted nation, 'and to leave us without any ſettled foundation of re'ligion, liberty, and property, the legiſlative power 'uſurped at pleaſure and contemned, the army, raiſed 'at firſt for our defence, abuſed, and miſled into un'warrantable actions, by the cunning and ambition of 'ſome of the ſuperior officers, no face of government 'appearing, either in any ſingle perſon, or a body of 'men in council lawfully conſtituted, to whom the 'grievances of the people may with any probability of 'ſucceſs be properly addreſſed. Therefore we being 'conſcious of our duty, and ſenſible of our own and 'the nation's ruin if theſe diſtractions continue, or 'iſſue in a more fixed oppreſſion, by ſome ſettlement, 'inconſiſtent with the laws, peace, and intereſt of 'theſe nations, have taken arms in defence of ourſelves, 'and all others who will partake with us in the vindi'cation and maintenance of the freedom of Parliaments, 'againſt all violence whatſoever, of the known laws, 'liberty, and property, of the good people of this na'tion, who at preſent groan under illegal, arbitrary, 'and inſupportable taxes and payments, unknown to 'our anceſtors. This being our duty to God and to 'man, and our only deſign, we cannot deſpair of the 'bleſſing of him who gives victory, nor of the cheer'ful concurrence of all good people, nor of the unde'ceived part of the army, whoſe arrears and increaſe 'of future pay, and advancement of high command, 'we ſhall by all means procure, ſuffering no impoſi'tion of force on any man's conſcience; and to this 'we doubt not but all honeſt Engliſhmen will ſay, 'Amen, Amen.

The day firſt fixed for this riſing was the firſt of July, but, from the number of perſons engaged in it, and their diſtance from each other, it became abſolutely neceſſary to delay it for a month; of which the King, who was very punctual on his part, and was come to the coaſt of France in diſguiſe (26), had notice. In this ſhort interval, a diſcovery was made from the indiſcretion of Lady Mary Howard, upon which, herſelf, Mr Byron, and Mr Hatley, were committed to the Tower (27); but, as we obſerved in the former note, ſome of the principal perſons in the Committee of Safety, ſtood in no need of ſuch information. They had it earlier and from a much better hand, the King's diſcarded commiſſioner (28), in whom, though the King's friends no longer confided, yet they could not hinder his diſcloſing thoſe ſchemes with which he had been formerly truſted; ſo that his new friends were abundantly well acquainted with every thing that related to the general meaſure, though they might not know by name particular men. By the help of theſe informations, they took their precautions ſo well, that they diſſipated moſt of the intended riſings, which was very eaſy for them to do, excepting only that of Sir George Booth in Cheſhire, Sir Thomas Middleton in Denbighſhire, and Lord Byron at Nottingham, againſt whom marched Major-General Lambert, with three regiments of foot, three of horſe, and ſome troops of dragoons. Forces were likewiſe ſent for from Ireland, ſo that Sir George Booth was quickly overpowered (29). While Lambert was thus dealing with their opponents in the field, the Council of State having communicated their lights to the Parliament, they contrived how to deal with them as faſt as they fell into their hands. They ſummoned by proclamation the Earl of Litchfield, Mr Mordaunt, Major General Brown, Sir William Compton, Sir Thomas Leventhorpe, and Mr Fanſhaw, to ſurrender, which the three laſt did. The Earl of Stamford was taken in his own houſe in arms, and ſent to Leiceſter; the Lords Falkland and Delawar were committed to the Tower, as were alſo the Earl of Cheſterfield, the Lord Viſcount Falconbridge, the Lord Bellaſis, Lord Charles Howard, and Lord Caſtleton. The Earl of Oxford was committed to the cuſtody of a Serjeant at Arms (30). All this was with a view to fix their authority upon an immoveable baſis, and to deliver themſelves at once from all their enemies, by diſtributing, as near as poſſible, all the property in the kingdom amongſt their friends, or ſuch as by theſe gifts might be made ſo. They had no ſooner the news of Sir George Booth's being taken, than they voted Lambert one thouſand pounds to buy him a jewel (31), and reſolved to draw from Sir George Booth, if poſſible, the names of all who were embarked in his deſign, but his memory would not ſerve him for that (32). He acknowledged very frankly, that his deſign was to reſtore the King. It is much leſs wonderful that the remnant of a Parliament ſhould be ſo highly tranſported with their victory, than that their opponents in general ſhould concur in that ſentiment, and give up every thing for loſt. The Royaliſts retired into the moſt diſtant and leaſt frequented parts of the kingdom. Monk not only diſmiſſed his brother, but, as the reader will ſee in the text, began to think of laying down his command; or elſe thought it requiſite to make ſuch an offer, that he might from thence collect how far they ſuſpected or had proof of his being acquainted with Sir George Booth's deſign. The firmeſt men about the King began

(26) Biker's Chronicle, p. 649, 650. Life of Dr Barwick, p. 206, 207.

(27) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 681, 683. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 369. Heath's Chronicle, p. 423, 424.

(28) Life of Dr Barwick, p. 185.

(29) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 683, 684. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 693.

(30) Heath's Chronicle, p. 425. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 370.

(31) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 683. Heath's Chronicle, p. 427. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 696.

(32) Heath's Chronicle, p. 426.

King wrote Sir John Greenvile a letter, intimating his hopes, and at the ſame time incloſed another to General Monk; but though both theſe were couched in unlimited terms, as the reader will ſee in the notes [G]; yet Sir John was, by private inſtructions, confined to the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds per annum, to be diſtributed among ſuch officers as the General ſhould find it requiſite to gain (g). There was at this time a very ſtrange concurrence of events; the great enterprize was on the point of breaking out, and indeed did break out under Sir George Booth (b). Colonel Jonathan Atkins, afterwards Sir Jonathan, and Governor of Barbadoes, had been ſent to Monk to acquaint him with the deſign, and to procure his concurrence (i). At this very juncture, Sir Hugh Pollard, Sir Thomas Stukely, and ſome other loyal gentlemen in the Weſt, had framed a deſign of ſending Mr Nicholas Monk to his brother, as the moſt likely perſon to gain him over to the King's intereſt; but in the firſt place it was held expedient that he ſhould go to London, where Sir John Greenvile then was, and receive his laſt inſtructions from him (k). Sir John had alſo the ſame views, and therefore inſtantly approved of the deſign, and communicated to him both the King's letters. He alſo deſired to embark Dr Clarges, whoſe ſiſter General Monk had married, and to whom Mr Nicholas Monk had communicated his intentions before he went to Sir John. He very honeſtly reported his commiſſion, which Dr Clarges very wiſely declined; he conſidered that Sir John Greenvile was a declared Cavalier, and that it would be very improper for him, who was the General's agent at London, to have any intercourſe with a gentleman of that character. He concurred however ſo far, as to preſs the Divine to execute the commiſſion he had undertaken; and becauſe all the ways to Scotland were obſtructed, he took care to provide a frigate for the tranſporting of Mr Nicholas Monk thither, and conveyed him ſafe on ſhipboard (l), fully inſtructed how to manage his negotiations with caution, and expreſsly directed to communicate with none but the General, except Dr Samuel Barrow, Phyſician to the army, a very diſcreet gentleman, and Mr John Price his Chaplain; the firſt of which was ejected out of Trinity-College in Cambridge for his affection to his Maj-ſty, and the latter the ſon of a ſequeſtred miniſter, always educated in principles of loyalty, a good ſcholar, and an honeſt man; both recommended by Clarges to the General, at his firſt going into Scotland, to be near his perſon. The General received his brother kindly, and having made choice of a few perſons about him whom he could truſt, and united them together by a ſolemn oath of ſecrecy, he directed an expoſtulatory letter to be drawn up, addreſſed to the Parliament, which he propoſed ſhould have been ſigned by moſt of his officers, and, as far as can be collected, intended this as a prologue to an action of much greater conſequence. He changed his mind, however, ſuddenly, and reſolved to do nothing

(g) Price's Hiſtory and Method of the King's Reſtoration, p. 9.

(b) Baker's Chronicle, p. 649. Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 672. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 369. Heath's Chronicle, p. 424.

(i) Price's Hiſtory and Method of the King's Reſtoration, p. 6.

(k) Baker's Chronicle, p. 650, 651.

(l) Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 96.

gan to deſpair; and Charles, ſeeing no hopes of his reſtitution, but from the reconciliation between France and Spain, ſet out for the Pyrenees (33) in order to promote it. In ſix or ſeven weeks however all things altered their face, the Parliament reſolved to abate the ſpirit of the army. The army ſhewed no diſpoſition to ſuffer it. On the 6th of October, the city, to promote a better underſtanding amongſt them, invited the Parliament, the council of ſtate, and the field officers, to dinner (34), at Grocer's-Hall. On the 12th of the ſame month the Parliament declared the commiſſions of Lambert and many other officers null, and the very next day the officers nulled that, by ſetting guards upon the Houſe of Commons (35). All this time Sir John Greenvile lived in his houſe in Covent-Garden, with more apparent tranquility than almoſt any man of his condition; and though he neglected nothing that was in his power to comfort and relieve the diſtreſſed, to furniſh ſafe retreats to thoſe whom their fears had driven to hide themſelves, and laboured to mollify the perſons in power with regard to thoſe who were in confinement; yet he found ſuch a variety of pretences for doing all this, independent of party, that he ſeemed to act rather like a generous good-natured man, and one who was above deſerting his friends in their diſtreſs, than as a warm Cavalier.

(33) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 680.

(34) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 684.

(35) Heath's Chronicle, p. 428, 429. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 370, 371. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 684, 685.

[G] *In the notes.*] The reader, on the peruſal of theſe letters, will very clearly diſcern how entirely the King truſted Sir John Greenvile, and how little hopes he had of General Monk, otherwiſe than through his influence (36).

(36) Baker's Chronicle, p. 651. Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 93, 94.

To Sir John Greenvile.

S I R,

'I am confident that George Monk can have no 'malice in his heart againſt me, nor hath he done 'any thing againſt me, which I cannot eaſily pardon; 'and it is in his power to do me ſo great ſervice that 'I cannot eaſily reward, but I will do all I can. 'And I do authorize you to treat with him, and not 'only to aſſure him of my kindneſs, but that I will 'very liberally reward him with ſuch an eſtate in land, 'and ſuch a title of honour, as himſelf ſhall deſire, 'if he will declare for me, and adhere to my intereſt. 'And whatſoever you ſhall promiſe to him on my be'half, or whatever he, or you by his advice, ſhall 'promiſe to any of his officers, or the army under 'his command, (which command he ſhall ſtill keep) 'I will make good and perform, on the word of a 'King.

Your affectionate Friend,

July 21, 1659.

Charles R.

That to the General was.

S I R,

'I cannot think you wiſh me ill, for you have no 'reaſon ſo to do, and the good I expect from you 'will bring ſo great a benefit to your country, and to 'your ſelf, that I cannot think you will decline my 'intereſt. The perſon who gives, or ſends this to 'you hath authority to ſay ſo much from me; and if 'you once reſolve to take my intereſt to heart, I will 'leave the way and manner of declaring it entirely 'to your own judgment, and will comply with the 'advice which you ſhall give me. The reſt I refer 'to the perſon who conveys this to you, and it is in 'your power to make me as kind to you as you can 'deſire, and to have me always,

Your affectionate Friend,

July 21, 1659.

Charles R.

[H] *In*

thing 'till he ſaw what became of Sir George Booth's enterprize (*m*). 'As that gentleman was defeated on the firſt, and ſent priſoner to the Tower on the twenty-fourth, of Auguſt, Monk immediately cauſed his letter to be burnt unſigned, and finding the members, who were ſtiled the Parliament, began to diſplace ſeveral of his officers, and to new model his army, he grew ſo diſſatisfied, that he actually ſent a letter to this remnant (*n*) of a Parliament, to deſire he might have leave to lay down his command, and paſs the remainder of his days in quiet. He reprimanded his brother for having entered into a deſign of ſuch conſequence, adviſed him to mind the affairs of his profeſſion for the future, and went ſo far as to tell him, that if either he or his couſin Greenvile ſuffered this buſineſs to come to light, he would do his beſt to ruin them both (*o*). But before the Parliament could come to any reſolution upon his requeſt, they were turned out by Fleetwood and Lambert, ſo that the victory, which they believed would have fully eſtabliſhed their power, proved the ruin of it. The government, appointed by the army, was a kind of council compoſed of twenty-three perſons, with the Keeper Whitlocke at their head, to whom they gave the title of the Committee of Safety (*p*). This revolution was made on the 13th of October, and General Monk no ſooner received the news, than he declared immediately, notwithſtanding all that was paſt, for the remnant of the Parliament that had been turned out (*q*). In the mean time his brother returned into England by ſea, and giving no other anſwer to Sir John Greenvile than that he was under an oath of ſecrecy, he communicated this to the King, ſo that for the preſent all hopes from General Monk were laid aſide (*r*). General Fleetwood and Lieutenant-General Lambert both courted Monk, but the latter nevertheleſs marched againſt him with an army much ſuperior in force, and if he had proceeded with the ſame activity with which he began, in all probability he had carried his point. But if Lambert was ſtronger in men, Monk had the advantage in point of money, ſince he had about ſeventy thouſand pounds in bank; Lambert had very little, and no means to raiſe more, unleſs he would have done it by open force (*s*). While things were in this diſjointed ſtate, and Lambert with the beſt part of his forces at Newcaſtle, the remnant of the Long Parliament made a bold puſh, took advantage of the ſoft temper of General Fleetwood, brought over the beſt part of the troops that were left about London, and on Chriſtmas day took poſſeſſion of their old ſeats again at Weſtminſter, the army in Ireland and fleet having alſo declared for them (*t*). This did not hinder General Monk from proceeding in his own way, and marching into England in ſupport of Lord Fairfax, who had raiſed the North in his favour; however, he ſent Major-General Morgan back into Scotland with a reaſonable force, that he might have ſomething behind him to truſt to (*u*). On the third of February, General Monk, at the head of his forces, entered London, and, as through the courſe of a long winter march, he had behaved with ſo much darkneſs and reſerve, that, except Lord Fairfax and one or two who were about him, nobody ever knew or gueſſed at his meaning; ſo, after he came to the Parliament, he balanced with ſo great circumſpection, that he was believed to be firm to one ſide today, and appeared quite another man to-morrow. By theſe dexterous ſhiftings, with thoſe who were continually contriving to ſhift him out of his power, he did what Cromwell, Fleetwood, or Lambert, could never do before; that is, he engaged, or rather he obliged, the remnant of the Long Parliament, firſt to admit the ſecluded members, then to put an end to their own ſeſſion, and to iſſue writs for a new Parliament (*w*), returnable April 25, 1660. He was then, as maſter of all, courted by all; the great leaders of the Parliament offered him Hampton-Court, and a great revenue, at length the ſupreme authority in what form and with what title he thought fit (*x*). The French Ambaſſador ſeconded this propoſal (*y*); for Cardinal Mazarin, who had made ſo good uſe of the firſt, was willing to beſpeak the friendſhip of this ſecond Cromwell upon any terms. Sir John Greenvile, who was likewiſe amongſt thoſe who kept a ſtrict eye upon the General and all his motions, reſolved to take the firſt opportunity of executing the commiſſion he had ſo long ago received from his maſter, and at the hazard of his life to draw the King out of that perplexity in which he then ſtood [*H*]. But this opportunity was not to be found, the

(*m*) Price's Hiſtory and Method of the King's Reſtoration, p. 23—26.

(*n*) Baker's Chronicle, p. 643.

(*o*) Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 109, 110.

(*p*) Baker's Chronicle, p. 664. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 685.

(*q*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 698. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 372. Heath's Chronicle, p. 430.

(*r*) Price's Hiſtory and Method of the Reſtoration, p. 41.

(*s*) Baker's Chronicle, p. 666. Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 134.

(*t*) Price's Hiſtory and Method of the King's Reſtoration, p. 72. Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 704, 706. Heath's Chronicle, p 437. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 373. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 691.

(*u*) Baker's Chronicle, p. 667, 668. Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 703. Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 138, 139. Price's Hiſtory and Method of the King's Reſtoration, p. 60.

(*w*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 437, 438, 439. Gumble's Life of General Monk, p. 228, 263, 271. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 375, 376, 577. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 694, 696. Skinner's Motus Compoſit. p. 28, 36, 41.

(*x*) Price's Hiſtory and Method of the King's Reſtoration, p. 127, 128. Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 251, 252. Baker's Chronicle, p. 693. Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 716, 752. Gumble's Life of General Monk, p. 270. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 426.

(*y*) Baker's Chronicle, p. 695.

[*H*] *In which he then ſtood.*] In order to have a juſt and preciſe idea how this important tranſaction of the King's Reſtoration was brought about, and by whom; the beſt method that can be deviſed, is to conſider the letters of Sir Edward Hyde to Dr Barwick, written at the time, and which are happily preſerved. Theſe are authentic and unexceptionable evidences, for, beyond all doubt, the Chancellor was maſter of moſt of the King's intelligence. From thoſe letters, in the earlier part of the year, it is moſt apparent that at Bruſſels they only fatigued themſelves with gueſſes and conjectures, as to Monk's temper and diſpoſition, and comforted themſelves with the hopes that Colonel Cloberry, Mr Otway, and Major Redman, whom Dr Barwick had reconciled to the King, and who had all of them ſome intereſt with Monk, might work upon him. However, the reſerves of the General frequently wore out the Chancellor's patience, who was very deſirous to be at the bottom of his deſign, and a little piqued that none of his friends could aſſiſt him. In a very long letter, dated February 20, 1660, N. S. he tells Dr Barwick, 'that 'he conceives Mr Otway muſt be with him, and 'then, ſays he, you cannot be long kept in ſuſpence 'as to what Monk reſolves to do, and if Clarges hath 'the courage to ſhew him the King's letter, it muſt 'work upon him as much as if it had been written to 'himſelf.' In the ſame letter there is another paragraph, that the reader will certainly peruſe with pleaſure, as it affords us a true picture of the Chancellor's mind in that important criſis (37). 'I did hope that 'our laſt letters would have brought us ſome news of 'the city's reſentment, but I believe they will avoid 'all ſharp expoſtulations till they can make a clearer 'judgment

(37) Barwick's Life, p. 499, 500.

the General was aware of his deſign, and kept at ſuch a diſtance, that Sir John knew not how to act. At length he bethought himſelf of Mr Morrice, his neighbour in the country,

' judgment of Monk's reſolutions, of which methinks, ' by your's of the third, you ſeem ſtill to retain ſome ' hopes; and it is evident enough from his carriage, ' that he is willing all parties ſhould retain a fair hope ' of him. There is no doubt it is in his power, if ' he be once well reſolved to make himſelf ſo ſtrong, ' by a conjunction with honeſt and worthy men, that ' he need fear no oppoſition, but may bring all to ' paſs that he can reaſonably deſire, or others deſire ' from him; and he takes very ill meaſures of his ' own intereſt, if he doth not believe that it can be ' more advanced by his adhering to the King, and ' eminently promoting his right, than by any other ' courſe he can take; and, in truth, that no other ' advancement can be pleaſant or laſting to him. But ' if he ſhould prove ſo falſe and ſo fooliſh, as to give ' himſelf up to the imagination of a Republic; I ' hope the good ſpirit that already appears throughout ' the whole kingdom will be heightened with indig- ' nation and obſtinacy, to proteſt againſt a ſubmiſſion, ' and ſubjection to ſuch an extravagant and abſurd go- ' vernment as is now over them, and conſequently, ' will refuſe all payments of taxes and impoſitions, ' and fill Weſtminſter-Hall with proceſs, and com- ' plaints to the Judges for the oppreſſions they ſuffer ' againſt law. So that they may not be only without ' hope of a ſolid ſettlement, but may receive ſuch vi- ' ſible oppoſition as may take away all their reputa- ' tion with their neighbours, of their being like to ' ſettle: and then will be the time for thoſe Preſby- ' terian Pulpits, which would be thought to have any ' principles of allegiance, to diſcharge themſelves ef- ' ficaciouſly.' In a letter dated, March 8, 1660, to the ſame perſon, the Chancellor expreſſes himſelf (38) thus. ' As Monk's proceeding hath been very my- ' ſterious throughout, ſo nothing is more wonderful ' than the ſecrecy of all that hath been tranſacted in ' Scotland; of all which intrigue the King knows no ' more than he does of his preſent intentions, nor hath ' any expreſs been diſpatched from Scotland to the ' King, to give him any account of what they de- ' manded, or the other promiſed; therefore the King ' deſires you would uſe the beſt means you can to in- ' form yourſelf of all the particulars. His Majeſty is ' abundantly pleaſed with the account you give him ' of your friend, upon whoſe affection he depends, as ' likewiſe upon his diſcretion, to proceed in that me- ' thod, and pace, he finds moſt convenient; who can ' beſt judge of his nature, and how he is to be ap- ' proached, and when it is ſeaſonable he will ſhew ' him the King's letter to him, and may aſſure him ' that he cannot be diſappointed in any expectation ' he ſhall entertain of the King's kindneſs.' At the cloſe of this letter, he adds. ' This hath been writ- ' ten theſe two days, and I meant not to have made ' any addition, but the expreſs is juſt now arrived ' with the great news, who likewiſe brings your letter ' of the 21ſt, which gives the King great hope that ' Monk is better diſpoſed and reſolved than he yet ' avows: however, the buſineſs is in a good way, and ' he will by degrees be brought to it, if he had not ' rather others ſhould have the glory of ſuch an ac- ' tion than himſelf: but, methinks, this calling an- ' other Parliament is the fartheſt way about, and, I ' believe, not eaſy to be practiſed.' On the twenty- ſeventh of the ſame month, he wrote another letter, though perhaps not to Dr Barwick, which was inter- cepted, and therein ſpeaks very favourably of Monk, adding, ' I hope he will quickily diſcern that it is ' time for him to declare his inclinations towards the ' King, in compliance with the ſenſe of the king- ' dom, which would have a great impreſſion upon ' many, and ſo would be of the greater merit in him.' This, if thoſe then in the Government, had been in any condition to have acted with vigour, might have been very fatal to the General, and it is not eaſy to ſee of what uſe it could have been of to the King; for if Monk was ſo well inclined, and yet found it neceſſary to conceal his inclinations, why ſhould Sir Edward Hyde, purely to expreſs his ſentiments, run the riſk of revealing them to thoſe, whoſe intereſt it was, not only to fruſtrate, but to puniſh the General for having ſuch inclinations? In another letter, dated April 2, N. S. Sir Edward writes to Dr Barwick (39) thus. ' The King is abundantly ſatisfied with the ac- ' count you give of your friend *, and hath heard no- ' thing that ſhould perſuade him that Monk hath ' withdrawn any of his confidence from him. But it ' is very true, one letter from a reaſonable good hand ' (which doth not ſuſpect that we know any thing of ' him) mentions him as a great ſtickler with the of- ' ficers to promote that remonſtrance which the Ge- ' neral quaſhed; and I find many others, eſpecially ' about Cheſter, who believe Redman to be an Ana- ' baptiſt, and that brigade to be even ready to proteſt ' and engage againſt the preſent government. But ' nothing of thoſe diſcourſes make any impreſſions ' here, but his Majeſty promiſes himſelf great ef- ' fects of both their ſervices. And truly, if we ' may believe what ſome ſober men of the city ' ſay of Monk himſelf, and ſome expreſſions of ' his to them, we may reaſonably believe, that he ' is not only without any malice or ſharpneſs towards ' the King, but even with very good purpoſes for his ' ſervice, of which I hope we ſhall ſhortly ſee the ef- ' fects.' We will add to all this, a ſhort paſſage from the ſame Noble Writer's hiſtory, which will effectually convince the reader, that before Sir John Greenvile went over to the King, the Chancellor was a total ſtranger to General Monk's intention (40). ' This ' ſpeaking of the temper of thoſe who commanded ' the fleet, together with the many good ſymptoms in ' the ſtate, raiſed his Majeſty's hopes and expectation ' higher than ever, if it had not been an unpleaſant ' allay, that in ſo great an alteration and application ' of many, who had been eminently averſe from his ' Majeſty, of the General, who only could put an end ' all to his doubts, there was, *altum ſilentium*, no per- ' ſons truſted by his Majeſty could approach him, nor ' was any word known to fall from him that could en- ' courage them to go to him, though they ſtill pre- ' ſumed that he meant well. The General was weary, ' and perplexed with his unweildy burthen, yet knew ' not how to make it lighter by communication. He ' ſpent much time in conſultation with perſons of ' every intereſt, the King's party only excepted, with ' whom he held no conference, though he found in ' his every day's diſcourſes in the city, with thoſe ' who were thought to be *Preſbyterians, and with* ' other perſons of quality and conſideration, that the ' people did generally wiſh for the King, and that ' they did believe there could be no firm and ſettled ' peace in the nation that did not comprehend his in- ' tereſt, and compoſe the prejudice that was againſt ' his party. But then there muſt be ſtrict conditions ' to which he muſt be bound, which it ſhould not be ' in his Majeſty's power to break, and which might ' not only ſecure all who had borne arms againſt him, ' but ſuch who had purchaſed the lands of the Crown, ' or of Biſhops, or of delinquents; and nobody ' ſpoke more favourably than for the confirming all ' that had been offered by his father in the iſle of ' Wight. Whether by invitation, or upon his own ' deſire, he was preſent at Northumberland-Houſe, ' in a conference with that Earl, the Earl of Man- ' cheſter, and other Lords, and likewiſe with Hollis, ' Sir William Waller, Lewis, and other eminent per- ' ſons, who had a truſt and confidence in each other, ' and who were looked upon as the heads and gover- ' nors of the moderate Preſbyterian party; who moſt ' of them would have been contented, their own ſe- ' curity being provided for, that the King ſhould be ' reſtored to his full rights, and the Church to it's ' poſſeſſions. In this conference the King's reſtora- ' tion was propoſed in direct terms, as abſolutely ne ' ceſſary to the peace of the kingdom, and for the ſa- ' tisfaction of the people; and the queſtion ſeemed ' only to be, upon what terms they ſhould admit him: ' ſome propoſing more moderate, others more ſevere ' conditions. In this whole debate the General in- ' ſiſted upon the moſt rigid propoſitions, which he ' preſſed in ſuch a manner that the Lords grew ' jealous,

(38) Barwick's Life, p. 258, 259.

(39) Ibid. p. 508, 510.

* Col. Cloberry.

(40) Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 732, 733.

country, his intimate friend, and one of the truſtees in his father's will. This gentleman was one of the ſecluded members, and, upon his coming up to town to take his ſeat in Parliament, he had been kindly received by the General as an old friend, and admitted as far as any man into his confidence. To Mr Morrice therefore Sir John Greenvile addreſſed himſelf, and earneſtly deſired him to procure him a private audience from the General, that he might impart to him an affair of the utmoſt importance. Mr Morice having informed the General of this addreſs, he received it with much ſtrangeneſs, for they had little acquaintance with each other, though related, Sir John entering early into the world when the General was under confinement, and afterwards had been long abſent from his country. Therefore the General told Mr Morrice, except Sir John would ſend information by him of the nature of his buſineſs, he would not allow of any interview with him. Mr Morrice thereupon told him, He had already deſired to know that, but Sir John Greenvile refuſed it. The General, who was himſelf the cloſeſt man alive, liked very well of this reſervedneſs, and bid Mr Morrice acquaint him, That if he came the next day at nine at night to St James's, he would ſpeak with him. Accordingly, Sir John waited on him at the appointed time, which was on March the ſixteenth, the next night after the diſſolution of the Rump Parliament; and after he had requeſted pardon for the importunity of his viſit, he deſired his permiſſion to deliver a meſſage to him from the King. The General ſeemed ſurprized; but ſeeing there was only Mr Morrice in the room, and he at a good diſtance from them, he bid him ſay what he pleaſed. He then preſented a letter from the King, and told him, That his Majeſty had great confidence in his affections to him, and ſince he had ſo far complied with the deſires of all the ſober part of the kingdom, for the admiſſion of the ſecluded members, in order to a free Parliament, the conſequences thereof could not but give ſufficient evidence of his inclinations to his Majeſty's ſervice and reſtoration, which would naturally flow from his endeavours, in conjunction with their counſels. The General replied (z), 'That he had long lamented the miſerable diſtraction 'of his native country, and waited for a fit opportunity to contribute his aſſiſtance towards 'the redemption of it. And when Lambert and thoſe of his party had interrupted the 'Parliament, conſidering that the army had been in a great meaſure, by that Parliament, 'modelled, he ſuppoſed, by a declaration for their reſtitution, he might gain power into 'his hands for better purpoſes, and as the better to bring theſe purpoſes about, he had re-'ſolved, if by his arms the Parliament ſhould be reſtored, together with thoſe few mem-'bers who ſat at their interruption, to admit thoſe alſo who had been ſecluded, intending 'to that end, by degrees, to put his army into ſuch hands as would favour his intentions. 'That it was well known to all, how he was diſappointed in that deſign, and through what 'difficulties he had arrived to the ſtation he was then in; nor was he even at that time 'ſecure from great danger of diſappointment, if he ſhould not manage his affairs with 'more than ordinary ſecrecy. As to the King's Majeſty, he ſaid, nobody wiſhed him 'greater

(z) Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 266, 267, 268—272. Price's Hiſtory and Method of the King's Reſtoration, p. 133—137. Baker's Chronicle, p. 695, 696. Gumble's Life of General Monk, p. 275, 276, 277. Life of Dr Barwick, p. 262.

'jealous, that he had ſuch an averſion from reſtoring 'the King, that it would not be ſafe for them then to 'proſecute that advice, and therefore it were beſt to 'acquieſce till the Parliament met, and that they 'could make ſome judgment of the temper of it. 'And the General, though he conſulted with thoſe 'of every faction with much freedom, yet was by 'many then thought to have moſt familiarity, and to 'converſe moſt freely, with Sir Arthur Haſlerig, who 'was irreconcileable to Monarchy, and looked upon 'as the chief of that Republican party, which de-'ſired not to preſerve any face of government in the 'Church, or uniformity in the public exerciſe of Religion. This made the Lords, and all others who 'were of different affections, very wary in their diſ-'courſes with the General, and jealous of his incli-'nations.' This conference with the Earl of Northumberland, reſts upon the credit of the Noble Hiſtorian entirel, for Dr Clarges, who kept an exact journal of all that paſſed in thoſe times, in which none was a deeper actor than himſelf, has not a word of it*. He does, indeed, ſay, that he went on the behalf of the General to a certain great Peer, whoſe name is not in the printed hiſtory, upon ſome propoſitions about admitting the Houſe of Lords to ſit before the diſſolution of the old Parliament; and it is not impoſſible this might be the very conference mentioned by the Earl of Clarendon. But, perhaps, the reader may be better ſatisfied with what the Earl of Northumberland himſelf ſays, who writing to his brother-in law, the Earl of Leiceſter, the man in the world he loved beſt, and truſted moſt, has theſe words †. 'The meeting my Lord of Southampton, 'in purſuance of ſome overtures that have been made 'for a marriage between his daughter and my ſon, 'was the principal occaſion that brought me now to 'this town, where I find moſt people very buſy, or 'at leaſt ſeeming ſo, and the public affairs in a poſture 'that needs the advice of better heads than mine. 'All perſons here ſhew ſtrong inclinations to bring in 'the King, and re eſtabliſh the government upon the 'old foundation. Some there are that would have 'him reſtored to all without any condition, only an 'act of oblivion, and general pardon to be granted; 'but the ſoberer people will, I believe, expect terms 'of more ſecurity for themſelves, and advantage for 'the nation; and unleſs a full ſatisfaction be given in 'ſuch points as ſhall be judged neceſſary to thoſe 'ends, it is thought the army will not be pleaſed. 'We are told that the force will be removed from 'the Lords houſe, and that the next repreſentative 'will not act without us; but until the way be clear 'for your Lordſhip to come amongſt us, and that we 'may be aſſiſted by your counſels, I ſhall have no 'good opinion of our buſineſs; nor, indeed, do I 'yet well underſtand by what warrant, or upon what 'account, we ſhould meet Lambert's eſcape out of 'the Tower doth a little ſtartle our governors. Co-'lonel Salmon, Creede, and ſome other chief officers 'of that party it is ſaid, are lately gone privately 'from their uſual dwellings, and cannot be heard of, 'which increaſes the ſuſpicion of a deſign.' From this letter, dated April 13, 1660, we may judge of the Earl of Northumberland's ſentiments from his own words, and compare them with thoſe which are aſcribed to him by the Noble Hiſtorian. As to General Monk's conferences with Sir Arthur Haſlerig, the true deſign of them was, to keep him quiet, a matter of very great conſequence at that time, and which the General very happily effected, and which was of no ſmall conſequence to the King's peaceable reſtoration.

* Baker's Chronicle, p. 692.

† Sidney's Papers, Vol. II. p. 685, 686.

'greater felicity than himſelf, nor deſired his reſtoration with more paſſion; but if it were 'not cautiouſly attempted, it would be out of his power to ſerve him in it, ſince, in 'counſels of ſo nice concernment, there would not be room for two errors. The people, 'he ſaid, had been long ſeduced by ſeditious informations, and the army had been in the 'hands of ſuch as had always been againſt his royal father, and many of them even againſt 'monarchy itſelf; but that, nevertheleſs, he hoped, if they might find the ſame ſecurity 'under his Majeſty's government, as they had under the uſurpers of it, he ſhould not de-'ſpair of their reduction to obedience. And to effect this, it was his humble advice, that 'his Majeſty ſhould prevent their fears, by declaring a free and general pardon to all 'his ſubjects, and engage himſelf to give it under the great ſeal to all that ſhould ſubmit 'to his authority, except ſuch as ſhould be exempted by the Parliament. And that he 'would conſent to any act or acts of parliament that ſhould be preſented to him for the 'ſettlement of public ſales, and diſpoſitions of lands, to officers, ſoldiers, and others, and 'the payment of the ſoldiers arrears. As alſo for toleration of liberty of conſcience to all 'his ſubjects, and that none ſhould be puniſhed for differences in matters of religion, who 'ſhould not diſturb the public peace.' Sir John Greenvile aſked him what he would give in command for himſelf, and if he would write to his Majeſty, which he excuſed, ſaying, 'If his letter ſhould be intercepted before he had compleated the reforming of the army, 'it would be impoſſible for him to keep them in temper, or hinder the ſubverſion of all 'he had hitherto done, adding, that he fought not his own advantage in his endeavours 'for the public benefit of his country, and that having with much hazard brought mat-'ters near to a fair iſſue, in purſuance of the general ſuffrage of the nation, he was unwil-'ling by indiſcretion to venture a relapſe, but would chuſe to involve himſelf in the ſame 'condition with the generality of people, in expectation of what the next Parliament 'ſhould bring forth, to the happineſs of his Majeſty and all his dominions.' Sir John Greenvile wrote the ſubſtance of this diſcourſe, and repeated it to the General, to be the better able to retain it in his memory, who, as ſoon as he had read the paper, tore it in pieces, and conjured him to acquaint no perſon whatſoever with their conference except the King himſelf, and to requeſt him alſo to conceal it. But above all, he intreated him to deſire his Majeſty from him to leave the King of Spain's dominions, and go to Breda, or ſome other place under the government of the United Provinces, for that he had certain advice he would be detained by the King of Spain's miniſter's, if he ſtayed in his dominions, and enjoined him not to return 'till he had ſeen his Majeſty out of Flanders. When Sir John took his leave the General ſaid, 'He was glad that this occaſion of preſenting his duty to 'the King was an effect of his diligence, whom he was glad to find ſo induſtrious in his 'maſter's ſervice, of which he had before ſome experience, when his brother Nicholas 'came from him into Scotland.' Sir John promiſed to obſerve his inſtructions, and ſet out immediately for Dover, in order to take the firſt opportunity of paſſing over to Flanders; and there it was that he met with the Lord Viſcount Mordaunt, who had prepared a veſſel with the ſame view of going to wait on his Majeſty, though diſpatched to the King by his other friends, and with notices of quite another nature; neither did Sir John Greenvile (*a*) confer with his Lordſhip at all as to the nature of his buſineſs, though the contrary would ſeem more than probable from another account of this matter [*I*]. They landed at Oſtend

(*a*) Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 276. Price's Hiſtory and Method of the King's Reſtoration, p. 143. Baker's Chronicle, p. 696.

[*I*] *From another account of this matter.*] The account we have of the tranſactions mentioned in the text, from the pen of the Noble Hiſtorian, is by much the moſt extraordinary in his whole book; he begins his account thus (41). 'There was at this 'time, in much converſation and truſt with the Gene-'ral, a gentleman of Devonſhire, of a fair eſtate and 'reputation, one Mr William Morrice, a perſon of a 'retired life, which he ſpent in ſtudy, being learned 'and of good parts, and he had been always looked 'upon as a man far from any malice towards the King, 'if he had not good affections for him, which they 'who knew him beſt believed him to have in a good 'meaſure. This gentleman was allyed to the General, 'and entirely truſted by him in the management of his 'eſtate in that county, where, by the death of his el-'der brother without heirs male, he inherited a fair 'fortune. And Morrice being choſen to ſerve in the 'next enſuing parliament, had made haſte to London, 'the better to obſerve how things were like to go.'

(41) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 733.

The perſonal character of Mr William Morrice is extremely juſt, and the great fault in this paragraph lies in the chronology, which is in this hiſtory ſo looſely expreſſed, that it can only be collected from circumſtances. In the preſent caſe, it is plain that *at this time* refers to ſome ſpace after the election of members to the Convention Parliament, which is made the cauſe of Mr Morrice's going up to London; but the truth is quite otherwiſe. This gentleman had been elected knight of the ſhire for Devon in 1645 (42), and though he never had ſat, was conſidered as one of the ſecluded members of the Long Parliament. The way he came up to town was this; the Reverend Mr Nicholas Monk wrote to Dr Clarges to put his brother the General in mind of ſending for Mr Morrice, as a prudent perſon, and well diſpoſed for his Prince's ſervice and the good of his country, who might therefore be a proper aſſiſtant in his councils. Dr Clarges took this hint, prevailed upon his brother to follow it, and, in the anſwer he wrote to Mr Nicholas Monk, incloſed a letter from the General to Mr Morrice, deſiring him to come and take his ſeat in parliament, which he did (43); and this account we have from Dr, afterwards Sir Thomas Clarges himſelf, who either wrote or cauſed to be wrote the continuation of Baker's Chronicle for the firſt thirteen years of this reign, which is the moſt authentic account we have. The General ſoon found him ſo uſeful in the cabinet as well as the ſenate, that he reſolved to have the benefit of his abilities in the place where he was moſt pinched, and therefore made him a Colonel and Governor of Plymouth, which at once ſecured an important poſt, and gave him a ſeat in the council of officers.

(42) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 571.

(43) Baker's Chronicle, p. 690.

Let us now return to the Noble Hiſtorian (44). 'With him the General conſulted freely, touching 'all his perplexities and obſervations, how he found 'moſt men of quality and intereſt inclined to call in 'the King, but upon ſuch conditions as muſt be very ungrateful,

(44) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 734.

Oſtend on the 23d of March, and proceeded from thence to Bruſſels, where the King then was. Sir John, according to his inſtructions, remained there very private, contenting himſelf

' ungrateful, if poſſible to be received; and the Lon-
' don miniſters talked already ſo loudly of them, that
' the Covenant being new printed, and by order fixed
' up in all churches, they, in their ſermons, diſcourſed
' of the ſeveral obligations in it, that, without expoſing
' themſelves to the danger of naming the King, which
' yet they did not long forbear, every body underſtood
' they thought it neceſſary the people ſhould return to
' their allegiance.

' That which wrought moſt upon the General, was
' the choice which was begun to be made in all coun-
' ties for members to ſerve in parliament, very many of
' them being known to be of ſingular affection to the
' King, and very few who did not heartily abhor the
' murther of his father, and deteſt the government that
' ſucceeded; ſo that it was reaſonably apprehended,
' that, when they ſhould once meet, there would be
' warmth among them that could not be reſtrained or
' controuled, and they might take the buſineſs ſo much
' into their own hands, as to leave no part to him to
' merit of the King, from whom he had yet deſerved
' nothing

' Mr Morrice was not wanting to cultivate thoſe
' conceptions with his information of the affections of
' the Weſt, where the King's reſtoration was, he ſaid,
' ſo impatiently longed for, that they had made choice
' of few or no members to ſerve for Cornwall or De-
' vonſhire, but ſuch who they were confident would
' contribute all they could to invite the King to return.
' And when that ſubject was once upon the ſtage, they
' who concurred with moſt frankneſs would find moſt
' credit, and they who oppoſed it would be overborne
' with laſting reproach. When the General had re-
' flected upon the whole matter, he reſolved to advance
' that deſign, and ſo conſulted with his friend how he
' might manage it in that manner before the parliament
' ſhould aſſemble, that what followed might be im-
' puted to his counſels and contrivance.'

It is very evident, that the main deſign of this account is to *tranſfer*, in a great meaſure if not wholly, the merit of the Reſtoration from Monk to Morrice; but here again the want of chronology ſpoils all, as we ſhall preſently ſee. The arguments here advanced are very pretty and plauſible, but could never have fallen from the mouth of Mr Morrice, unleſs he had been a prophet. Thoſe who were upon the ſpot, very ſcrupulous and ſtrict obſervers of every thing that paſſed, and who at this time held a conſtant correſpondence with Sir Edward Hyde, were ſo far from believing the General was influenced (at leaſt in the Noble Hiſtorian's ſenſe) by the elections, that they aſcribe theſe elections going as they did to the General's influence ſolely. They affirm, he firſt prompted the Royaliſts to ſtand, notwithſtanding their being diſqualified, upon this principle, that a free parliament could be choſen only by leaving the people's affections without reſtrictions. He is alſo ſaid to have given private encouragement to many of the Royaliſts to ſtand at different places, and it is carried ſo far, as to affirm, that no Cavalier preſumed to ſtand any where, 'till he had firſt obtained the General's tacit approbation (45). Theſe circumſtances (if well founded, and this too may be proved) ſeem to ſhew a regular gradation in the General's conduct, which was grounded in a juſt apprehenſion of men and things, and calculated for what is the perfection of true policy, creating that opportunity, and preparing thoſe inſtruments he meant to uſe. Sir Philip Warwick, who not only lived in theſe times, but had ſome ſhare in theſe meaſures, and who had ſeen the account given of them by Dr Clarges, profeſſes that too little is aſcribed to Monk, and too much to his aſſiſtants, Clarges and Morrice, for that in reality, Monk was ſo far from being managed by any, that he managed them all (46), ſo that thoſe who were generally eſteemed his inſtructors were in fact but his inſtruments. Honeſt Anthony à Wood (47) tells us, in his rough way, which however is pretty near the truth, that the General employed Morrice as a kind of a ſtate blind to cajole the Preſbyterians.

(45) Life of Dr John Barwick, p. 260, 261.

(46) Memoirs of the Reign of Charles the firſt, with a Continuation, p. 420.

(47) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 571.

(48) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 735.

Once more let us hear the Noble Hiſtorian (48).

' There was then in the town a gentleman well
' known to be a ſervant of eminent truſt to the King,
' Sir John Greenvile, who, from the time of the ſur-
' render of Scilly, had enjoyed his eſtate, and ſome-
' times his liberty, though, under the jealouſy of a
' diſaffected perſon, often reſtrained. He had been
' privy to the ſending to the General into Scotland the
' clergyman his brother, and was converſant with thoſe
' who were moſt truſted by his Majeſty, and at this
' time were taken notice of to have all intimacy with
' Mr Mordaunt, who moſt immediately correſponded
' with Bruſſels. This gentleman was of a family to
' which the General was allied, and he had been obli-
' ged to his father, Sir Bevil Greenvile, who loſt his
' life at the battle of Lanſdowne for the King, and
' by his will had recommended his much impaired for-
' tune, and his wife and children, to the care and
' counſels of his neighbour and friend Mr Morrice,
' who had executed the truſt with the utmoſt fidelity
' and friendſhip.'

There is nothing in this paragraph which is not exactly true; but notwithſtanding this, the whole meaning conveyed, for it is not expreſſed, is as remote from truth as can be imagined. This is a great ſingularity, and deſerves extraordinary attention. Upon peruſing the paragraph, one immediately apprehends, that Mr Morrice, an old grave gentleman, intruſted with the care of Sir John Greenvile's perſon and fortune by his father, and knowing how well he had behaved in the King's ſervice, and that he was extremely intimate with Mr Mordaunt, to whoſe care the King's concerns were principally intruſted, believed he might be a very proper agent for the General as things now ſtood, and recommended him accordingly. Yet, whoever ſhould advance this might be confuted, by producing the Noble Hiſtorian's own words, which certainly do not ſay this, and yet as certainly mean it or mean nothing.

But to go on (49). (49) Ibid.

' The General was content that Sir John Greenvile
' ſhould be truſted in this great affair, and that Mr
' Morrice ſhould bring him ſecretly to him, in a pri-
' vate lodging he had in St James's. When he came
' to him, after he had ſolemnly conjured him to ſecre-
' cy, upon the peril of his life, he told him, he meant
' to ſend him to the King, with whom *he preſumed* he
' had credit enough to be believed without any teſti-
' mony, for he was reſolved not to write to the King,
' nor to give him any thing in writing, but wiſhed
' him to confer with Mr Morrice, and to take ſhort
' memorials in his own hand of thoſe particulars he
' ſhould offer to him in diſcourſe, which when he had
' done, he would himſelf confer with him again at an
' hour he ſhould appoint. And ſo he retired haſtily
' out of the room, as if he were jealous that other men
' would wonder at his abſence.

' That which Mr Morrice communicated to Green-
' vile was, after he had enlarged upon the perplexity
' the General was in, by the ſeveral humours and fac-
' tions which prevailed, and that he durſt not truſt any
' officer of his own army, or any friend but himſelf
' with his own ſecret purpoſes; he adviſed that the
' King ſhould write a letter to the General, in which,
' after kind and gracious expreſſions, he ſhould deſire
' him to deliver the incloſed letter and declaration to
' the Parliament, the particular heads and materials
' for which letter and declaration Morrice diſcourſed
' to him, the end of which was, to ſatisfy all intereſts,
' and to comply with every man's humour, and indeed
' to ſuffer every man to enjoy what he would.'

Theſe two paragraphs ſpeak things out plain, and entirely ſtrip Sir John Greenvile of the merit of firſt inviting the General to an immediate correſpondence with the King, which is transferred to Mr Morrice; but the great buſineſs of the commiſſion too is taken from the General and tranſlated to the ſame gentleman, as having abilities more equal to the taſk. He ſeems here too to be endowed with the ſpirit of prophecy, for, not content with inſtructing the young man who was to carry the meſſage, he likewiſe takes upon him to direct what the King ſhould do, which, as his Majeſty really did it, it looks as if the prophecy had been fulfilled.

But

himself with giving notice to the King, by Lord Mordaunt, where he was, and in the mean time he digested again in writing what he had received from the General. The King went to

But let us now go on to the last paragraph of this narrative (50).

(50) Ibid.

'After Sir John Greenvile had enough discoursed 'all particulars with him, and taken such short me- 'morials for his memory as he thought necessary, 'within a day or two he was brought with the same 'wariness, and in another place, to the General, to 'whom he read the short notes he had taken, to which 'little was added; and the General said, that if the 'King writ to that purpose, when he brought the let- 'ter to him, he would keep it in his hands 'till he found 'a fit time to deliver it, or should think of another 'way to serve his Majesty. Only he added another 'particular, as an advice absolutely necessary for the 'King to consent to, which was his Majesty's present 'remove out of Flanders. He undertook to know 'that the Spaniards had no purpose to do any thing 'for him, and that all his friends were jealous that 'it would not be in his power to remove from thence, 'if he deferred it 'till they discovered that he was like 'to have no need of them. And therefore he desired 'that his Majesty would make haste to Breda, and 'that for the public satisfaction, and that it might be 'evident he had left Flanders, whatsoever he should 'send in writing should bear date as from Breda, and 'he enjoined Sir John Greenvile not to return, 'till he 'had himself seen the King out of the dominions of 'Flanders. Thus instructed he left him, who taking 'Mr Mordaunt with him for the companion of his 'journey, set out for Flanders about the beginning of 'April 1660, and in a few days arrived safely at Brus- 'sels.'

At the time of all these transactions, the Noble Writer was abroad, and therefore could not have any personal knowledge of what he wrote. After his return, he might be deceived by those who undertook to give him the best informations, and certainly was so. He had the weight of public affairs upon his shoulders, while at home, and after he was abroad in his second exile, it may be, he had no opportunity of correcting his mistakes, or it is possible he did not suspect them. Be this as it will; there is nothing more evident, than that the whole of this narrative, in which no one authority is cited, is inconsistent with the best and the best informed contemporary writers; irreconcilable to facts and dates; incompatible with the King's declarations, under the broad seal, affixed by this Noble Writer himself; and incoherent in it's several parts. We are not the first who have asserted this (51), nor shall we find it any difficulty to prove it.

(51) See Dr Webster's Preface to the Life of General Monk.

With regard to contemporary writers, we may insist upon Dr Clarges (52) than whom no man could be better informed, and who committed the history of these things to writing, to prevent posterity from being misinformed. We may mention Dr Thomas Gumble (53), who was chaplain to General Monk, who, immediately upon the death of that great man, published the history of his actions, and addressed it to the King. We may add Dr John Price (54), another of the General's chaplains, who wrote the history of this interesting period very circumstantially, from his own knowledge, and from the relations of the Duke of Albemarle and the Earl of Bath, which, the former being dead, he dedicated to the latter. We may also add to these authorities the judicious work of Dr Thomas Skinner (55), who was Physician to the Duke of Albemarle, conversed much with him during the latter part of his life, and had very extraordinary helps in the writing of his history. To these we may subjoin two other unexceptionable historians, wherher we consider them in the light of knowledge or of probity, Sir Philip Warwick (56), and Dr Peter Barwick (57). They all agree that Sir John Greenvile addressed himself to Mr Morrice; that it was with some difficulty, and not 'till after he had refused to treat with Morrice, Sir John obtained a private audience of the General; that at this audience he produced the King's letters to himself and to the General; that the reason the General sent him back without a letter, was because the King could not refuse credit to his own minister; and that this negotiation rested entirely upon Sir John Greenvile.

(52) Biker's Chronicle, p. 695.

(53) Life of General Monk, p. 275.

(54) The Mystery and Method of the King's Restoration, p. 133.

(55) Life of General Monk, p. 267.

(56) Memoirs of the Reign of Charles I, and the Continuation &c. p. 431.

(57) Vita Johann. Barwick, p. 181.

It is inconsistent with facts and dates, which are very carefully marked in the text. Mr Morrice came up to town, in consequence of the General's letter of invitation, in the latter end of February; he was made governor of Plymouth in the beginning of March; he introduced Sir John Greenvile to the General on the sixteenth of the same month; he set out two or three days after; all which facts happened previous to the date the Noble Historian has fixed, by the words *at this time*, in the beginning of his relation, and before those facts, which, according to him, were the motives of this whole transaction. He landed at Ostend on the 23d of March, and had finished his negotiation by the time the Noble Historian assigns for his departure out of England.

The narrative, as it is given in the text, is clearly supported by the King's warrant, which the reader will find in the next note, and by the preamble of the patent by which Sir John Greenvile was created Earl of Bath. The relation of the Noble Historian is inconsistent with itself; for if Mr Morrice had not come to London 'till after his election to the Convention-Parliament, he could scarce have arrived there before Sir John Greenvile's departure for Brussels; and if the General had been really wrought upon by the motives assigned in that narrative, all these momentous affairs must have been transacted in fewer hours than they took up days.

But there is something more to be done before we close this note.

It seems very strange that Sir John Greenvile, who was in a joint-commission to manage the King's affairs with Mr Mordaunt, now Lord Viscount Mordaunt, than whom no man had more freely hazarded himself for the King's service, should go with him, without saying one word to him of his commission. But this will be very easily accounted for, if we consider two circumstances; the first is, that their going together was not by design but by accident. Take the very words of an accurate historian *. 'Sir John Greenvile, in his journey 'towards Dover, very seasonably found the Lord Mor- 'daunt, who was then going over to the King, and had 'hired a vessel to himself, in which he was very joyful 'to accommodate his old acquaintance Sir John Green- 'vile, and engage together in the King's service; but in 'all their voyage to Ostend they knew nothing of one 'another's business. When they came to Brussels, 'the Lord Mordaunt resolved to go directly to the 'court, and Sir John Greenvile to his lodgings, desi- 'ring his Lordship to acquaint the King that he was 'come to town, and where he lodged.'

* Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 276.

The next circumstance is, that as they met by chance, so Lord Mordaunt had his secret as well as Sir John Greenvile. If the reader considers the following passage, perhaps he may suspect that both their secrets regarded the same person †.

† Memoirs of Affairs after the King's Murcher, p. 428, 429.

'After some time, says Sir Philip Warwick, the 'great Lords, Warwick, Manchester, and Say, and 'some chief members, had private conferences with 'some persons of the King's party, as Sir Orlando 'Bridgeman, Sir Geoffry Palmer, and myself, the un- 'worthiest. Not many weeks after, without the 'knowledge of the Lords, Mr Annesley, (*now* Lord 'Privy-Seal) Sir Anthony-Ashley Cooper, and Sir 'William Morrice, met with the same persons 'from the General, to the end that the King might 'see their good intentions, through a medium which 'was not likely to deceive him. And *though* they 'did the same thing afterwards themselves, by particu- 'lar messengers whom they sent over to the King; 'yet they thought this a good means early to be right- 'ly understood: and the General was so well satisfied, 'that he confessed that there was not a meeting in 'town, but he had some intelligence of it, save of 'this, which offered him of their secrecy; and yet he 'knew not the same persons met at the same time 'with the Lords.' This passage will also serve to confirm and illustrate what is said of the reception these propos'd met with from the King, in the text. In plain terms, those who met Sir Philip Warwick in the name, and with the concurrence, of the General, procured

him alone in his coach with the like privacy, and having received from him all that he had to say, his Majesty then told him, it was necessary to acquaint the Marquis of Ormond, the Lord Chancellor Hyde, and Sir Edward Nicholas, with this important affair, as their advice and assistance was absolutely and indispensibly necessary, in framing the dispatches and commissions which were fit for him to carry back (*b*). But the point chiefly pressed by Sir John Greenvile, as that which General Monk had most at heart, was the King's immediate departure out of the Spanish territories; and, in the whole of these momentous transactions, there is no one circumstance which shews the sagacity of that great man so much as this; since, through the dilatoriness of his ministers, who would needs prepare their dispatches there, though they might have drawn them in a safer place, when it came to be executed it was done with great precipitation, and the King had only a few hours to make his escape (*c*), the Spaniards having determined to imprison him, 'till he had engaged to restore Dunkirk and the island of Jamaica. At this time his Majesty only directed a commission to be drawn up for General Monk, to command as Captain-General over all the forces of England, Scotland, and Ireland, which was signed by him, and put up with a private letter to him from his Majesty, written with his own hand (*d*). There was also another letter directed 'To our trusty and well-beloved General Monk, to be by him 'communicated to the President of the Council of State, and to the officers of the armies 'under his command,' with a copy of the King's Declaration inclosed; and because the new and auspicious Parliament (upon whose counsels the hopes both of the King and people did so much depend) were suddenly to meet, letters were drawn up, to be delivered at their assembly, by Sir John Greenvile, directed by the King, 'To our trusty and right 'well-beloved the Speaker of the House of Lords;' and another 'To our trusty and 'well-beloved the Speaker of the House of Commons;' in both which were also copies of his Majesty's Declaration inclosed. There was also a letter directed 'To our trusty and 'well-beloved, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council, of our city of Lon-'don;' in the contents whereof the Lord Mordaunt (*e*), who was also to return with Sir John Greenvile, was mentioned; and another to General Monk and General Montague, to be by them communicated to the fleet. All these papers were dated as from Breda, on the 4th of April old style, and on the 14th according to the new; and this latter date being commonly mentioned, has occasioned great perplexity and confusion. In his conference with the King, Sir John peremptorily refused, as being expressly so commanded by the General, to mention any thing, or to permit any thing to be mentioned, of a reward for his service; only he told his Majesty, that in treating with the General he had made him an offer of one hundred thousand pounds a year, and the post of Lord High Constable of England (*f*), of which he would not hear, and charged him to make no demands, and to receive nothing for him, with which, knowing the General's punctuality, he was resolved to comply. The King however put into Sir John's packet an authentic testimony of his service, and of his own sense of it, which the reader will find in the notes [*K*]. While

(*b*) Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 277.

(*c*) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 738, 739, 740. Gumble's Life of General Monk, p. 277. See also Sir George Downing's Letter to Secretary Thurloe, in the Collection of State Papers, Vol. VII. p. 885.

(*d*) Baker's Chronicle, p. 702—708. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 378. Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 280. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 434.

(*e*) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 751.

(*f*) Price's History and Method of the King's Restoration, p. 144. Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 277.

procured him and the rest of the King's friends, to send a person whom they could trust; and this was the Lord Mordaunt, with this general message as the result of their conferences; but, at the same juncture, Mr Annesley and Sir Anthony dealt secretly and separately with the King, in the same manner the General did by Sir John Greenvile.

[*K*] *Will find in the notes.*] As at this time the Chancellor was upon the spot, and consequently better qualified than any other writer, to relate what passed during Sir John Greenvile's stay at Brussels, it is less wonderful that he should disagree with those who speak but at at second hand; and yet even that is such authority, as we can but rarely meet with in history. Dr Price says (58), from the mouth of the Earl of Bath, who was then Sir John Greenvile, that the King, upon intimation of his being come to Brussels, went privately to his lodgings, and was alone with him, to whom he discovered his instructions from the General, and by whom he was believed, though he had no letter. The Noble Historian says (59), that Greenvile's and Mordaunt's being in Brussels was unknown, they attending his Majesty only in the night at the Chancellor's lodging, concealing themselves from being taken notice by any, and all along treats Mordaunt as if joined in commission with Sir John Greenvile. Dr Skinner says, that on their arrival Lord Mordaunt went directly to court, and, as we have said in the text, informed the King of Sir John Greenvile's arrival, and where he was, which produced a visit to him from the King alone. At this interview, the same writer tells us, he entered into the relation of those private instructions that he had received from the General; which, when his Majesty had further considered and debated with Sir John Greenvile (60), 'they found it impossible to comply with General Monk's desire, in managing this secret affair by themselves alone, without admitting some others to a share in their councils. And therefore his Majesty resolved, that the next day the Marquis of Ormond, the Lord Chancellor Hyde, and Sir Edward Nicholas, should be acquainted with it, who accordingly attended his Majesty privately, together with Sir John Greenvile, and received this news from General Monk with a kind of joyful astonishment.'

This was a very right resolution in the King, and reconciles us to the Noble Historian's account, to whom very probably his Majesty said nothing of what he thought the General's too great caution. The Chancellor assumes to himself the advising the letters to the two houses of parliament, which was a very prudent well-timed step, and proved of infinite consequence. The Noble Historian affirms, that Sir John Greenvile recommended Morrice to the seals; but he says nothing of the offers that had been made to Monk, and rejected by him, of the King's shewing an inclination to reward Sir John Greenvile, or of the following warrant (61), which was put up in Sir John's packet.

(58) Mystery and Method of the King's Restoration, p. 143.

(59) History of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 739.

(60) Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 277.

(61) Price's Mystery and Method of the King's Restoration, p. 157—160.

'CHARLES R.

'In consideration of the many services done us, by our right trusty and well-beloved servant, Sir John Greenvile (one of the gentlemen of our bed chamber), and his father, Sir Bevil Greenvile, who most honourably lost his life at the battle of Lansdowne, in the defence and service of the crown against the rebels, after he had performed many other great and signal services. But more especially, in consideration of

While Sir John was with the King, he received profeſſions of duty from ſome perſons of great weight in England, who informed him that they had been with General Monk, and took great merit to themſelves, from their having prevailed upon him to conſent to his Majeſty's return, on the terms that the King his father had conſented to in the iſle of Wight, to which they intreated him alſo to conſent, as it was impoſſible for them, notwithſtanding their great importunities, to obtain from the General, terms that were in any degree

' the late moſt extraordinary ſervices, never to be for-
' gotten by us or our poſterity, which the ſaid Sir John
' Greenvile hath lately rendered us in his perſon, in
' his ſecret, prudent, and moſt faithful tranſactions and
' negotiations, in concluding that moſt happy treaty
' which he had lately, by our ſpecial command and
' commiſſion, with our famous and renowned General
' Monk, and wherein HE ALONE, AND NO OTHER,
' was intruſted by us concerning the ſaid treaty, about
' thoſe moſt important affairs for our reſtoration, which
' he has moſt faithfully performed, with great pru-
' dence, care, ſecrecy, and advantage, for our ſervice,
' without any conditions impoſed upon us, beyond our
' expectation, and the commiſſion we gave him, where-
' of we doubt not, but by God's bleſſing, we ſhall ſee
' the effects of our ſaid happy reſtoration: we are gra-
' ciouſly pleaſed to promiſe, upon the word of a King,
' that, as ſoon as we are arrived in England, and it
' ſhall pleaſe God to reſtore us to our crown of that
' kingdom, we will confer upon him, our ſaid truſty
' and well-beloved ſervant, Sir John Greenvile, the
' place and office of Groom of our Stole, and firſt Gen-
' tleman of our Bed-chamber (with all fees, penſions,
' and perquiſites, thereunto belonging) together with
' the title and dignity of an Earl of our kingdom of
' England: and the better to ſupport the ſaid title of
' honour, and to reward as we ought thoſe many great
' ſervices, and to recompence the loſſes and ſufferings
' of him and his family, we are further graciouſly
' pleaſed to promiſe, upon our ſaid royal word, to pay
' all the debts that he the ſaid Sir John Greenvile, or
' his father, have contracted in the late wars in our
' ſervice, or in our Royal father's, of bleſſed memory;
' and alſo to beſtow and ſettle, in good land in Eng-
' land, an eſtate of inheritance, to the value of at leaſt
' three thouſand pounds per annum, upon him the ſaid
' Sir John Greenvile and his heirs for ever, to remain
' as a perpetual acknowledgment for his ſaid ſervices,
' and as a teſtimony of our grace and favour towards
' him, and that antient and loyal family of the Green-
' viles, unto all poſterity. Given at our court at Bruſ-
' ſels the 2d of April, in the twelfth year of our reign,
' 1660.

By His Majeſty's command,

Edw. Nicholas.'

It is impoſſible to doubt, after peruſing this paper, what the King's ſentiments were, or what he intended the world ſhould think of this negotiation, or the gentleman who managed it. One would imagine, that, at this juncture, Sir Edward Hyde thought preciſely as the King did, and believed that their direct intercourſe with General Monk was to be through Sir John Greenvile alone, and no other, ſince, before he knew whether Sir John was in England or not, he wrote him the following very remarkable letter (62), which is ſtill preſerved, and which, though of ſome length, the reader cannot but peruſe with pleaſure.

(62) In the poſſeſſion of Hugh Gregor, Eſq;

Sir EDWARD HYDE to Sir JOHN GREENVILE.

April the 23d, Breda 1660. N. S.

' Sir,

' The King hath received your's of the 18th from
' Oſtend, and you will eaſily believe he wiſhed you a
' quick and a ſafe paſſage, and is impatient to hear
' from you after you have ſpoken with the Gentleman.
' Since we came to Breda, every day hath brought us
' more expreſſes than you imagine from England, and tru-
' ly ſome from conſiderable perſons of all parties, and all
' pretend to have great power and credit with the Gen-
' tleman, and great hope of diſpoſing him to ſerve the
' King; in order to which, many propoſitions are
' made, and from ſome, the very advices which are
' already followed, you will eaſily think the King re-
' turns thanks to all, and deſires them to uſe all their
' power to ſo good an end. Now, as the King re-
' ſolves to conceal nothing of moment from the Gen-
' tleman, upon whoſe affection he relies entirely, and
' that whatſoever he ſhall be informed of by his Ma-
' jeſty, ſhall not be turned to the prejudice of any man;
' ſo I am directed to let you know of one particular
' embaſſy he hath received, which puts him into ſome
' wonder, and the Gentleman will better know what
' uſe to make of it than the King doth. There is a
' gentleman come from my Lady Carliſle, who went
' firſt to the Queen at Paris, and ſo from thence hither,
' with inſtructions in writing, which the lady profeſſeth
' are the Gentleman's poſitive advice, conſented to her by
' the Secretary Thompſon, who is the ſole confident
' between them. They contain the Gentleman's poſi-
' tive exceptions againſt the King's being in Flanders
' or in Holland, as unfit places for them to treat in,
' the firſt as an enemy's and a catholic country, the
' other as too much intereſted in trade, and ſo like to
' take advantage of the King's preſence; and thereup-
' on his advice is preſumed to be as poſitive that his
' Majeſty ſhould immediately go into France, as a
' place without all exception, and if it were for the exerciſe of
' religion, and a country not at all addicted to its in-
' tereſt. You will [illegible] believe that
' to be the Gentleman's opinion, yet we think it neceſ-
' ſary he ſhould have it, to the end the better judge
' what deſign there may be in this, and whether, in
' truth, Mr Thompſon be like to have any hand in it.
' There is another thing in which the King doth as
' much deſire the Gentleman's advice. We have, ſince
' I ſaw you, received very frank overtures from Secre-
' tary Thurloe, with many great profeſſions of reſolving
' to ſerve the King, and not only in his own endea-
' vours, but by the ſervice of his friends, who are eaſi-
' ly enough gueſſed at. This comes through the hands
' of a perſon who will not deceive us, nor is eaſily to
' be deceived himſelf, except by ſuch bold diſſimulation
' of the other, which cannot at firſt be diſcovered.
' Yet it is enough ſuſpected by the King, there is ſome-
' what of curioſity accompanies Thurloe's profeſſions,
' for he is very inquiſitive to know whether the King
' hath any confidence in the Gentleman, or hath ap-
' proached him the right way, which he deſires to
' know, only that he may finiſh what is left undone,
' or be able the better to adviſe his Majeſty what he is
' to do therein.

' The King returned ſuch anſwers as are fit, and de-
' ſires to ſee ſome effects of his good affection, and
' then he will find his ſervice more acceptable. Both
' theſe particulars the King thinks fit the Gentleman
' ſhould know, that his Majeſty may receive his advice,
' and to know what his opinion is of Thurloe, and
' and whether he be able, if he were willing, to con-
' tribute much to his Majeſty's ſervice; but this being
' of ſuch a nature, as being communicated, may be
' turned to the prejudice of perſons, to whom his Ma-
' jeſty wiſheth no hurt, and may draw reproach upon
' himſelf and his councils; the King would not have
' you impart either of them to any perſon whatſoever,
' except the Gentleman himſelf and Mr Morrice, be-
' cauſe poſſibly you may not ſo conveniently at preſent
' be admitted to the Gentleman, and then no inconve-
' nience can ariſe from it.

I am,

Sir,

Your moſt affectionate humble ſervant.'

Indorſed by William Morrice, Eſq; afterwards Sir William Morrice, and Secretary of State.
Lord Chancellor to Sir Jo. Greenville *from* Breda.

[L] To

degree better. The fact was ſo far true, that they had applied to the General, and propoſed bringing the King home in that manner, to which he was forced in appearance to aſſent, that they might not penetrate his real intentions. The King underſtood this very well, and therefore, when he communicated this affair to Sir John, he could not help ſaying, 'Theſe people little know on how good terms I ſtand with General Monk through 'your interpoſition (g).' Sir John left the court on the firſt of April, went to Antwerp, where Lord Mordaunt (h) waited for him, and from thence to Oſtend, carrying with him the King's privy ſeal and ſignet, which the General was to deliver (i) to whom he thought fit. On his arrival, he privately attended the General at St James's, and delivered to him his Majeſty's letter, written with his own hand, together with his commiſſion of General over all the armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The General refuſed the letter, and kept it with him, but for the preſent he would not truſt his own cabinet with the commiſſion, which was therefore delivered back to Sir John Greenvile, who ſecured it in a private place in the floor of his bed-chamber, where he had been long uſed to lay up letters and commiſſions from the King, where alſo this lay 'till after the King's return, and was then delivered to the General (k). And for thoſe other letters, it was now reſolved, that Sir John Greenvile ſhould keep them privately 'till the opening of the Parliament, and then deliver them according to his inſtructions. The General at this time alſo deliberated with Sir John Greenvile about the diſpoſal of his Majeſty's ſeal and ſignet, where it was agreed, that in regard Mr Morrice was the only perſon that had been privy to this ſecret affair, and had ſo faithfully aſſiſted therein, they would recommend him to the truſt; which, ſo ſoon as the King returned, was accordingly done by the General, though at the ſame time he was offered ten thouſand pounds to procure the place for another. Whatever it might be afterwards, his promotion was at this juncture highly acceptable to the Chancellor, whoſe complaiſance and regard for Sir John Greenvile and Mr Morrice ran as high as they could wiſh, or at leaſt he expreſſed himſelf in ſuch terms as manifeſted his deſire to perſwade them of his reſpect and affection [L]. At this very time an incident fell out

(g) Price's Myſtery and Method of the King's Reſtoration, p. 142. Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 282, 283.

(h) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 741.

(i) Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 283. Price's Hiſtory of the Reſtoration, p. 145. Gumble's Life of General Monk, p. 379.

(k) Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 284.

[L] *To perſwade them of his reſpect and affection.*] It is not impoſſible but both the following letters might in effect come from the ſame hand, that is to ſay, the Chancellor might dictate the King's, as well as write his own letter; for moſt of King Charles's letters are remarkably ſhort, and are conceived in a quicker and more pointed ſtile; but be that as it will, theſe letters are inconteſtible proofs, that the King and the Chancellor were at this time thoroughly convinced of the capacity of the new Secretary, of the ſtrict fidelity of Sir John Greenvile, and of the abilities and affections of them both towards the King's ſervice (63).

(63) In the poſſeſſion of Hugh Gregor, Eſq;

King CHARLES II. to William Morrice, Eſq;

'Mr Morrice, Breda, 20 May 1660, N. S.

'The laſt week Bernard Greenvile was even departing from me with my anſwer to your's of the 20th of 'the laſt month, when ſome meſſengers arrived with 'the news of the reception of my letters and declaration, found in the two Houſes, which made moſt that 'I had writ to you unneceſſary, and ſo I ſtopped his 'journey. I have ſince received your's of the 5th, and 'I muſt tell you, I find cauſe enough to rejoice in the 'very good opinion I have of you, and in the choice I 'have made of you for ſo near a truſt, which I am ſure 'you will diſcharge with full abilities, as well as fidelity to me. I ſhall hereafter write to you with that 'freedom as is due to ſuch a ſervant, and impart thoſe 'apprehenſions to you, which it may be you may find, 'upon further enquiry, to be very reaſonably grounded. That both Houſes are very well conſtituted of 'men, who deſire to reſtore the nation to a full peace 'and ſecurity, upon the right and ſafe foundation of 'the laws, I do not in the leaſt degree doubt; yet 'there is a little queſtion, that there are ſome perſons 'both within and without both Houſes, who deſire to 'keep up the memory of old jealouſies and animoſities, 'and to prevent ſuch an entire union as can only make 'us all happy. Next the bleſſing of God, nothing can 'ſo abſolutely diſappoint thoſe diſguiſes, as my preſence with you, which thoſe men will as much endeavour to haſten, being moſt aſſured (as I doubt not 'you are) that I have offered nothing in my Declaration or letters that I will not moſt punctually and exactly perform; but without doubt, for the ſpeedy 'and ſecure way of doing it, my preſence is moſt 'neceſſary, which would eaſily adjuſt all thoſe things 'both in matter and form which are liable to moſt objections. And therefore, I pray look upon thoſe 'who would delay my ſpeedy coming to you, as perſons who have other deſigns than they yet own. I 'know the General cannot but obſerve, that my 'friends in the Houſe have complied with his deſires in 'all things, according to the command I gave them, 'and have thereupon departed from their own ſenſe, 'and reſtrained themſelves from purſuing that which 'they thought moſt for my ſervice. You muſt take 'care that I do not ſuffer for that temper and condeſcenſion in them, and that advantage be not taken 'from thence, either to delay the diſpatch of what is 'neceſſary, or to ſet on foot any unneceſſary and inconvenient demands, which muſt be inconvenient to 'me, and would leſſen that joy with which we ſhould 'meet each other, to receive thoſe great bleſſings 'which God Almighty is ready to pour upon us, if 'any indiſpoſition in the army makes it leſs fit for the 'General to appear; in paſſing that which is moſt 'deſirable, you may eaſily get it to be promoted by 'the Houſes, to which he and the army are obliged to 'ſubmit. Do all I pray that is neceſſary to be done, 'in order to the bringing me quickly to you; 'till 'when, truſt me, there are as many deſigns abroad as 'at home, to prevent and diſturb that good intelligence 'and agreement which can only make us happy, and 'diſappoint the many deſigns which are againſt the 'peace and honour of the nation. I know not what 'to ſay more 'till the committee arrive, who I hope 'will invite me ſpeedily to repair to you. Sir John 'Greenvile will, I am ſure, be abſent from you, and 'ſo I cannot communicate ſome things which are not 'ſo fit to write, and therefore I have intruſted Sir William Compton to impart ſome particulars of my 'doubts and apprehenſions to you. He is a perſon in 'whoſe diſcretion you may repoſe great confidence, as 'well as in his affection and fidelity to me, and can 'convey any thing you think neceſſary, and ſhall adviſe him to many of my friends, who will be very 'uſeful upon all occaſions. I will ſay no more, but 'that I long to ſee you, which I hope is at hand, and 'you will then find you have a full credit with

Your affectionate friend,

CHARLES R.

Sir

out which had like to have thrown all things back again into confuſion. This was Lambert's eſcape out of the Tower, to whom many diſcontented officers ſoon repaired; and, if he could have gained time, there is no doubt he might have aſſembled a conſiderable army. But the General ſent Ingoldſby and Streater in purſuit of him, and was extremely well ſeconded by the council of State in his endeavours to reduce them, of which however he was ſo far from being confident, that he ſent for Sir John Greenvile, and told him, that if this inſurrection grew to any height, he was determined to publiſh the King's commiſſion, and put the Royaliſts in arms in all the three kingdoms (*l*). At the ſame time he wrote an anſwer to the King's private letter, the firſt he ever wrote his Majeſty, and ſent it by Bernard Greenvile, Sir John's younger brother, with the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of duty and fidelity. However, Lambert was defeated, and brought back priſoner to the Tower (*m*), before the meeting of the Parliament. At their meeting, the Houſe of Lords choſe the Earl of Mancheſter for their Speaker, as the Commons did Sir Harbottle Grimſton; appointed their uſual committees, and ordered thanks to the General, with the moſt entire approbation of his ſervices (*n*); and then the Houſe of Lords adjourned to the firſt of May. In the time of this ſhort receſs, that is, on the 27th of April, Sir John Greenvile attending at the door of the council-chamber in Whitehall, deſired Colonel John Birch, who was one of the members, to let the General know he was there, and upon his coming to the door, he preſented to him the King's letter, which he was to communicate to the council of ſtate and officers of the army (*o*). His Excellency received it with great ſurprize, and ordered his guards to take care of the perſon who brought it, broke the ſeal, and then preſented it to the Preſident; notwithſtanding which, they had not the courage to read it, ordering that to be poſtponed 'till the Parliament met; yet they called in Sir John Greenvile, and aſked him from whom he had it. He anſwered, *The* King *my maſter delivered it with his own hand to me at* Breda. Upon this they reſolved to commit him, that he might be forth coming when the two Houſes met; on which the General told them, that though not much of his acquaintance, he was his relation, and he would be anſwerable for him. On the 1ſt of May Sir John attended the Houſe of Commons, and ſeeing the Lord Commiſſioner Tyrrel going in, he deſired him to acquaint the Speaker that he was entruſted with a letter to the Houſe from his moſt ſacred Majeſty. When the Commiſſioner came in, he found Arthur Anneſley, Eſq; the Preſident of the council of ſtate, relating what had paſſed there. As ſoon as he had ended, the Commiſſioner acquainted the Speaker with Sir John's meſſage, upon which a debate enſued. In the mean time, Sir John went to the Houſe of Lords, and having ſent for the Earl of Oxford out of the Houſe, deſired he would acquaint the Speaker that he attended with a letter from his Majeſty. The Lords, after a ſhort debate, reſolved to attend their Speaker to the door, where Sir John met and preſented him the King's letter, for which he had immediately the thanks of the Houſe (*p*). On his return to the Houſe of Commons, he was as well received there, and ſoon after they returned him their moſt ſolemn thanks; and, as a farther memorial of their ſenſe of his ſervice, ordered him five hundred pounds to buy a jewel (*q*), which ſum was carried to his lodgings the next day [*M*]. On the 10th of May, Sir John Greenvile, by direction from the General, went

(*l*) Price's Hiſtory of the Reſtoration, p. 149.

(*m*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 726, 727, 728. Heath's Chronicle, p. 441. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 377.

(*n*) Baker's Chronicle, p. 701. Heath's Chronicle, p. 442.

(*o*) Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 287. Price's Hiſtory of the Reſtoration, p. 155, 156.

(*p*) Skinner's Hiſtory of General Monk, p. 301.

(*q*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 446. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 381. Baker's Chronicle,, p. 706.

Sir EDWARD HYDE to William Morrice, Eſq;

* In the poſſeſſion of Hugh Gregor, Eſq;

* 'SIR,

'I have enough underſtood from Sir John Greenvile 'how much I am beholden to you, and I beſeech you 'do not impute it to vanity in me, that I was always 'confident, that at ſome time or other, either by the 'repreſentation of ſome friend, or when I ſhould be 'fully known to you, I ſhould have a part in your 'friendſhip. I am afraid I may be now upon ſome 'diſadvantage, by the ſo good character the partiality 'of Sir J. Greenvile may have given me to you, which 'I may appear far ſhort of; and I ſhall be very well 'content that you think me not ſo good a man as he 'hath pleaſed to deliver me, ſo you think me not ſo 'ill a man as others have given me out to be. I hope 'ſhortly to wait on you, for the King expects and de'ſires you to come with my Lord General to meet 'him, for 'till then he will take no reſolution of im'portance, and I ſhall make myſelf as worthy of your 'friendſhip as I can. I have preſumed to write to his 'Excellency, which, if you think fit, I ſhould deſire 'you to preſent to him, as likewiſe the other letter to 'Mr Palmer, if the contents be agreeable to your 'opinion, which will always find a great ſubmiſſion 'from

Sir,

Hague, 27 May, S. N. 1660. Your moſt obedient ſervant,

Edw. Hyde.'

For my worthy friend Mr Morrice.

It would be eaſy to prove, from other authentic evidence, that, at this the moſt critical juncture of all, the reliance of the King was upon the General, Morrice, and Greenvile, and extended no farther; but that what has been already ſaid may ſeem ſufficient; only let it be obſerved, that the Lord Viſcount Mordaunt, who had been ſo much truſted, and hazarded his life ſo freely, had ſo clear a ſenſe of Sir John Greenvile's merit, that he could not help writing to the Marquis of Ormond, *on the 7th of May, that they* ſhould have a care of truſting Dr Clarges on that ſide of the water (64), but that they ſhould *rather let things* reſt 'till his worthy comrade came.

[*M*] *The next day.*] The thanks of the Houſe of Commons (65) appear in almoſt all our hiſtories, but curtailed and abridged; for which reaſon we have thought it requiſite to give them a place here, as belonging ſtrictly to the perſonal hiſtory of Sir John Greenvile. Sir Harbottle Grimſtone delivered them thus.

'Sir John Greenvile,

'I need not tell you with what grateful and thank'ful hearts the Commons, now aſſembled in Parlia'ment, have received his Majeſty's gracious letter; '*res ipſa loquitur:* you yourſelf have been *auricularis* '*& oculatus teſtis de rei veritate*; our bells and our 'bonfires have already begun the proclamation of his 'Majeſty's goodneſs and our joys: we have told the 'people, that our King, the glory of England, is 'coming home again, and they have reſounded it back 'again in our ears, that they are ready, and their 'hearts

(64) Carte's Collection of Letters, Vol. II. p. 336.

(65) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 381. Mercurius Publicus, 4to. No. 19.

went on board Admiral Montague's ſhip (*r*), to deſire that he would proceed with the fleet to the coaſt of Holland, which he promiſed; and the next day Sir John proceeded thither on board the Speaker (*s*), now called the Mary Frigate, of which he brought the King advice on the 14th, and at the ſame time acquainted him with the earneſt deſires of his ſubjects of all ranks to enjoy his preſence. He accompanied his Majeſty, and was preſent at Canterbury when the General received the Order of the Garter, and Mr Morrice that of Knighthood, being at the ſame time declared one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State (*t*). The ſatisfaction he enjoyed in contemplating the proſperity of his prince and country, which he might very juſtly attribute to the bleſſing of Divine Providence upon his own dutiful endeavours, ſtood for ſome time in the place of a recompence for his many ſignal ſervices, which however he did not aſcribe to any defect either of kindneſs or of gratitude in his Royal Maſter, but to the ſlowneſs, or perhaps coldneſs, of the Earl of Clarendon, who had in a manner the ſole and ſupreme direction of affairs. At length, at the diſtance almoſt of a year, on the approach of his Majeſty's coronation when ſeveral Earls were to be created, he had the title of Earl of Bath conferred upon him, but with circumſtances that were not over pleaſing, ſince, notwithſtanding it was well known that General Monk, now become Duke of Albemarle, intereſted himſelf only as to him and Colonel Charles Howard, who had been highly ſerviceable in keeping the army ſteady in the moſt critical conjuncture, the Earl of Bath was the laſt but one in the liſt, and the Earl of Carliſle the laſt of all (*u*). However, this was in ſome meaſure qualified by other marks of royal favour, which did not ſo immediately depend upon the Miniſter [*N*]. He was one of the Lords who accompanied his Majeſty and the Duke of York to that grand entertainment, which was given them by the ſociety of the Inner Temple (*w*), Auguſt 15, 1661.

(*r*) Kennet's Chronicle, p. 144.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 146.

(*t*) Baker's Chronicle, p. 711. Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 772.

(*u*) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 168,

(*w*) Dugdale's Origines Juridiciales, p. 157.

(66) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 767.

' hearts are open to receive him; both parliament and ' people have cried aloud to the King of Kings, Long ' live King Charles the Second. I am likewiſe to tell ' you, that the Houſe doth not think fit that you ſhould ' return to our Royal Sovereign, without ſome teſtimony ' of their reſpects to yourſelf; they have therefore or- ' dered and appointed, that five hundred pounds ſhall ' be delivered unto you to buy a jewel, as a badge of ' that honour which is due to a perſon whom the King ' hath honoured to be the meſſenger of ſo gracious a ' meſſage; and I am commanded in the name of the ' houſe to return you their hearty thanks.'

Upon which the Noble Hiſtorian very juſtly exclaims in theſe words (66).

' So great and ſudden a change was this, that a ſer- ' vant of the King's, who for near ten years together ' had been in priſons, and under confinement, only for ' being the King's ſervant, and would but three months ' before have been put to have undergone a ſhameful ' death, if he had been known to have ſeen the King, ' ſhould be now rewarded for bringing a meſſage from ' him. From this time there was ſuch an emulation ' and impatience in lords, and commons, and city, and ' generally over the kingdom, who ſhould make the ' moſt lively expreſſions of their duty and of their joy, ' that a man could not but wonder where thoſe people ' dwelt who had done all the miſchief, and kept the ' King ſo many years from enjoying the comfort and ' ſupport of ſuch excellent ſubjects.'

As a proof of this we need only obſerve, that the city (67) received the King's letter with as high demonſtrations of joy, and beſtowed upon the Lord Viſcount Mordaunt and Sir John Greenvile, three hundred pounds to buy each of them a ring

(67) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 700.

[*N*] *Upon the Miniſter*] Sir John Greenvile, by letters patents (68), bearing date at Weſtminſter, April 20, in the 13th of King Charles the Second, was created Lord Greenvile of Kilkhampton and Byddeford, Viſcount Lanſdowne, and Earl of Bath, being at that time Firſt Lord of the Bed-Chamber, and Lord Warden of the Stannaries. At this juncture it being ſuggeſted (69), that he had by inheritance a real right to the titles of Earl of Carboil, and Lord of Thorigny and Granville in Normandy, he was ſix days after, by his ſaid Majeſty's declaration under his royal ſignet, allowed and permitted to enjoy, the name, ſtile, and dignity, of Earl of Carboil, Lord of Thorigny and Granville, in as full and ample manner as his anceſtors formerly uſed, before that dukedom was loſt to the crown of England. In the preamble of which warrant, his Majeſty uſes theſe words (70): ' Whereas it appears to us, that our ' right truſty, &c. John Earl of Bath, &c. is derived ' in a direct line as heir male to Robert Fitz-Hamon, ' Lord of Glouceſter and Glamorgan, in the reigns of ' King William the Conqueror, King William Rufus, ' and King Henry I. and who was the ſon and heir of ' Hamon Dentatus, Earl of Carboil, and Lord of Tho- ' rigny and Granville in Normandy, which titles they ' held before Normandy was loſt to the crown of Eng- ' land, whereby he juſtly claims his deſcent from the ' younger ſon of the Duke of Normandy, as we our- ' ſelves do from the eldeſt, &c.' Alſo in the ſame year (1661) (71), the King paſſed a warrant under the privy-ſeal, whereby he obliged himſelf, and recommended it to his ſucceſſors, that, in caſe of the failure of male iſſue to General Monk, the title of Duke of Albemarle ſhould deſcend to the ſaid Earl of Bath, and be continued in his family. And likewiſe, by another warrant (72), promiſed the earldom of Glamorgan, formerly enjoyed by Robert Fitz-Hamon, in caſe of failure of iſſue male of the Marquis of Worceſter by his lady then living, to be enjoyed by him and his heirs male, and in default of iſſue, to the heirs male of Sir Bevil Greenvile his father.

(68) Bill. Sign. 12 Car. II.

(69) MS. Addit. to Baron. by Sir W. Dugdale.

(70) Ex Inform. præhon. Geo. Dom. Lanſdowne.

(71) Ibid.

(72) Ibid.

It is from hence we are to date the humour of changing the manner of ſpelling this name, of which the late Lord Lanſdowne was ſo remarkably fond, that he cenſures the Noble Hiſtorian on this head very unjuſtly (73), ' The Chancellor, ſays he, ſpells the family name ' *Greenvil*, wherein he has been followed by others. ' as an oracle in Heraldry as well as Hiſtory. If Cam- ' den had been conſulted, or any antient authentic re- ' cord, it would have been found, that *A* and *E* ſingle ' have often varied in different ages, but never with a ' double *E*. All antient names have ſuffered the ſame ' change, eſpecially of the letter *A* into an *E* ſingle.' To ſhew how little ſtrength there is in this criticiſm, we need only produce Dr Gumble (74), who was the Duke of Albemarle's chaplain, and perfectly well acquainted with this gentleman's family. He ſpeaks of him thus, ' Sir John Greenvile, couſin-german to the ' General, a moſt loyal and active inſtrument in his ' Majeſty's reſtoration, to whoſe conduct and prudence ' we are obliged by juſtice to attribute very much next ' the General.' But perhaps Dr Price, another of the Duke of Albemarle's chaplains, may appear of ſtill greater weight; he dedicates his book to this noble perſon in 1680, and the title of his Dedication runs thus (75): ' To the Right Honourable John Earl of Bath, ' Viſcount Greenvile of Lanſdowne, Baron Greenvile ' of Byddeford and Kilkhampton, Knight; Groom of ' the Stole, Firſt Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, ' Lord-Lieutenant of the counties of Devon and Corn- ' wall, and one of the Lords of His Majeſty's moſt ho- ' nourable Privy-Council.' To this we may add, that Dr Peter Barwick, in his Latin life of his brother, calls him always *Johannes Greenvillus*. It would be impertinent to multiply authorities upon a point of ſo little conſequence, and which thoſe already produced are ſufficient to determine.

(73) Genuine Works in verſe and proſe &c. Vol. II. p. 190.

(74) Life of General Monk, p. 104.

(75) The Myſtery and Method of his Majeſty's happy Reſtoration, laid open to public view.

1661. He likewiſe attended the King and Queen to Oxford, when they went to pay a viſit to that univerſity, and had the degree of Maſter of Arts conferred upon him (x) September 28, 1663. His Lordſhip was preſent at a meeting of the Privy-Council at Whitehall, February 22, 1664 (y); in which the King's declaration of his motives for granting letters of marque and reprizal againſt the Dutch, which was the prelude to the firſt war in that reign was made. At this juncture it was a very popular meaſure, countenanced by the approbation of both houſes of Parliament, and had ſo far the concurrence of the city of London, that they not only readily lent the King one hundred thouſand pounds for the neceſſary preparations for that war, but came with equal alacrity into a ſecond loan of the ſame ſort (z). However, the Lord High-Chancellor Clarendon was neither preſent at the council beforementioned, or took any ſhare in adviſing (a) or managing the war, which ending leſs proſperouſly than it began, and having been ever oppoſed by that great man, the King took the ſeals from him (b), and gave them to Sir Orlando Bridgeman. In the next ſeſſion of Parliament, which began October 10, 1667, the Commons impeached the Earl of Clarendon of treaſon, and deſired that he might be committed, which their Lordſhips refuſed, unleſs ſome particular treaſon was aſſigned (c). Upon this a conference followed, in which the Commons offered their reaſons; and upon the report, the queſtion being put to comply with the deſires of the Houſe of Commons, it was carried in the negative; upon which, twenty-ſeven peers entered their proteſts (d), amongſt whom was the Earl of Bath, in which it may well be doubted whether he liſtened ſo much to his reaſon as his reſentment. He was one of the Lords of the Committee for Trade, who ſigned, Auguſt 4, 1676, a very explicite report to the King, of the depredations committed upon his Majeſty's ſubjects by the French Privateers, conceived in very ſtrong terms, to which the King gave a ſatisfactory anſwer, and ordered the Lord Berkeley, then his Ambaſſador at the court of France (e), to demand immediate ſatisfaction. In 1678, his Lordſhip was one of the few peers who proteſted againſt the diſpoſſeſſing the Lord Viſcount Purbeck of his peerage, in which his Lordſhip ſhewed himſelf to be a true lover of juſtice, being perſwaded in himſelf, that the intereſt of the Duke of Buckingham had at leaſt as much weight in that buſineſs, as the arguments offered (f) in favour of the bill. In 1679, when the King, to calm the heats that had been created by the diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot, reſolved to conſtitute a new Privy-Council, conſiſting of thirty perſons, who, in point of quality and of character, might be as acceptable to his ſubjects as grateful to himſelf, we find the Earl of Bath of this number (g). There was no meaſure of the King's reign that gained him more reputation than this; and of the number of new members, none more unexceptionable than his Lordſhip, who, without incurring envy, enjoyed the King's favour; had been all his life a courtier without loſing character, and, except in the caſe of the Earl of Clarendon's proſecution, his patriotiſm appeared the pure reſult of principle. A very ſtrong inſtance of this was ſhewn in his being one of the thirty-one Lords *, who acquitted William Lord Viſcount Stafford of high-treaſon, December 7, 1680, notwithſtanding which he was convicted and ſuffered death. He was alſo one of the ſixteen Privy-Counſellors who ſubſcribed the King's ſolemn Declaration, entered in the council books, and dated March the third the ſame year, importing, that to prevent any diſputes relating to the ſucceſſion, his Majeſty affirmed, that he was never married, or gave any contract of marriage, to Mrs Walters, otherwiſe Barlow, or to any other woman whatever, except Queen Katharine his conſort, then living, which was a point at that time of the utmoſt conſequence to the public peace †. His Lordſhip maintained this character of being a ſteady friend to the crown and to his country, and in all the variety of changes that happened in that reign, retained his credit with the King, whom he always ſtyled his moſt gracious Maſter to the laſt. In a little time after King James II. was ſeated upon the throne, viz. April 19, 1685: his Lordſhip was removed from his office of Groom of the Stole (h), which was beſtowed upon the Earl of Peterborough. It is clear enough from hence, that his Lordſhip had not that degree of perſonal favour with this monarch that he had with his brother; and it is poſſible alſo, the King might be deſirous, in point of conveniency, of having in that office a Lord of his own religion. But however this might happen, or on whatever motive this alteration was made, the Earl of Bath, as it was very natural for him to do, thought himſelf ſlighted; and it may be conceived, that as King James reaped the benefit of the Reſtoration, and had ſucceeded to that throne in which he had ſo great a hand in ſeating his brother, he was bound to conſider that warrant which had been ſigned at Breda, and which gave him ſuch a title to that poſt, as could not be honourably ſuperſeded during his life-time. However, upon the Duke of Monmouth's landing at Lyme in Dorſetſhire, in the month of June 1685, the Earl of Bath raiſed a regiment (i) of foot for the King's ſervice, with the behaviour and diſcipline of which regiment, his Majeſty, on reviewing them at Hounſlow, was ſo well pleaſed, that as a public mark of his approbation, he conferred the honour of knighthood upon Captain Bevil Greenvile, at the head of the regiment. His Lordſhip had however very little to do with this monarch or his miniſters, he was very little conſulted, and leſs employed, having ſhewn upon all occaſions equal zeal for the Proteſtant religion, and the liberties of his country, though without any biaſs either to rebellious or republican principles. He had a very

(x) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol II. p. 830.

(y) Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 272, 273. Heath's Chronicle, p. 532.

(z) Baker's Chronicle, p. 753.

(a) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 200.

(b) Baker's Chronicle, p. 756. Lord Arlington's Letters, Vol. II. p. 234, 235.

(c) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 255, 256.

(d) The Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords from the Reſtoration to the preſent time, Vol. I. p. 99. Lord Arlington's Letters, Vol. II. p. 271, 272.

(e) Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 339.

(f) The Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords from the Reſtoration to the preſent time, Vol. I. p. 208.

(g) Baker's Chronicle, p. 774, 775. Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 362.

* State Trials, Vol. III. p. 212. Memoirs of Sir John Reresby, p. 107, 108, 111. Baker's Chronicle, p. 780.

† Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 366. Echard's Hiſtory, p. 988. Annals of the Univerſe, p. 404, 405.

(h) Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 439.

(i) Ibid. p. 451.

a very great hand in that amazing turn of affairs which happened in 1688, and was very little leſs concerned in the Revolution than in the Reſtoration, though ſome writers (*k*) have taken pains to leſſen his merit in reſpect to both. With a view to this it is ſaid, that when the Prince of Orange, with his fleet and forces aboard, by ſome accident or other paſſed Dartmouth and Torbay, the Earl of Bath would not undertake to admit him into the port of Plymouth, under pretence that he was managing the garriſon, and that as yet the point was not abſolutely in his power, which he did to gain time, and 'till he ſaw how things would go. The fact truly ſtated however is very different. His Lordſhip was at that time Lord-Lieutenant of the counties of Devon and Cornwall, and governor of the important port and royal citadel of Plymouth, built by King Charles II. and one of the beſt (if not the very beſt) fortifications in England, having upwards of two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon mounted (*l*). There was in the place thirteen companies of foot, moſt of them belonging to the Earl of Huntingdon's regiment, many of the officers, and moſt of the ſoldiers, being Papiſts (*m*). It was ſuppoſed that the Prince of Orange intended to ſteer for the North, ſo that the Earl of Bath could have no notice of his having any deſign upon Plymouth, 'till apprized of it by the approach of the Dutch fleet; and if he did make any ſuch anſwer as is before mentioned (though it is not eaſy to conceive how the queſtion could be propoſed or the anſwer made) it was certainly very proper, and moſt likely to be the truth. For on the night between the 10th and the 11th of November, he ſurprized the citadel of Plymouth, ſeizing the Earl of Huntingdon, and the officers upon whom he moſt depended; turned all, in whom he could not confide, out of the garriſon; and having declared for the Prince of Orange, and cauſed his Declarations to be proclaimed, and immediately admitted part of the Dutch fleet into the harbour, which the writers of thoſe times acknowledge to have been a point deciſive in favour of the Revolution (*n*). He alſo ſent his own regiment, under the command of his nephew Sir Bevil Greenvile, to ſecure the important iſland of Jerſey, where the King had a Popiſh governor, and a garriſon wholly devoted to him; ſo that the Earl, not without reaſon, ſuſpected a place of ſuch conſequence to the crown of England, might have been delivered to France, from which danger it was thus happily preſerved (*o*). His Lordſhip, in the diſputes that followed, was againſt the ſettling a regency, and voted for declaring the Prince and Princeſs of Orange King and Queen. He was ſoon after ſworn of the Privy-Council, and continued in his former offices (*p*). He was however as little and as ill received a courtier in this as in the former reign, but, in reſpect to national concerns, he ſupported and oppoſed according to his own notions of the public good. His regard for the conſtitution, abhorrence of thoſe ſevere and ſanguinary ſentences, which ſeemed calculated to render the law itſelf odious, and his earneſt deſire to take away arbitrary and abuſed power, wherever placed, induced his Lordſhip to contend earneſtly for the reverſing thoſe exorbitant judgments, believing, that what ought never to have paſſed at all, ſhould not laſt and remain on record for ever (*q*). His Lordſhip heard grievances inſiſted upon as the principal ground of the Revolution, and from thence concluded, that the redreſs of grievances, and a thorough amendment of the whole ſtructure of government, was the great end of the Revolution, which with great zeal and inflexible conſtancy he ſet about accompliſhing, without inquiring where it would render him acceptable, or whom it might diſoblige or offend. He was very aſſiduous, in 1689, in promoting a clauſe to be added to the bill of Rights, declaring all pardons, upon an impeachment of the Houſe of Commons, to be null and void, except with the conſent of both houſes of parliament, and though it was loſt in the Houſe of Peers by a great majority, he entered his proteſt (*r*). In 1690 he took the ſame ſtep in reſpect to a law which he thought might bear hard on the Earl of Torrington, who was then expoſed to a proſecution on the part of the crown, and at the ſame time to the general outcry, not of this only, but of a neigbouring nation, which the Earl of Bath conſidered as ſo many additional reaſons that ought to intitle his Lordſhip, in point of form as well as matter, to the ſtricteſt juſtice (*s*). In the year 1692, he found himſelf expoſed to the reſentment of King James, who, when he was ready with a potent army to invade the ſouthern part of his iſland, by his declaration, dated at St Germains (*t*) the 10th of April, excepted from his promiſe of general pardon, the Duke of Ormond, the Marquis of Wincheſter, the Earls of Sunderland, Bath, Denbigh, and Nottingham, the Lords, Newport, Delamere, Wiltſhire, Colcheſter, Cornbury, Dumblain, and Churchill, together with the Biſhops of London and St Aſaph, and many other perſons of diſtinction who were commoners. This did not hinder his Lordſhip from perſiſting in his former meaſures, and labouring, as much as in his power lay, in parliament, to examine ſeriouſly into the ſtate of the nation (*u*), and not to treat as ſenſeleſs and ſeditious what the courtiers ſtyled public clamour, 'till they were thoroughly ſatisfied they were not grievances brought to their ears by the cries of the people. In 1694, came on, before the Lord Keeper Somers, in the high court of Chancery, his great ſuit in regard to the ſucceſſion of Chriſtopher, late Duke of Albemarle, in which ſuit his Lordſhip prevailed, as he likewiſe did when it was brought by appeal before the Houſe of Lords (*w*) [O]. In

(*k*) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 788.

(*l*) Supplement to Camden's Britannia. Brome's travels, p. 253.

(*m*) Expedition of his Highneſs the Prince of Orange, p. 19. Compleat Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. Echard's Hiſtory, p. 1125.

(*n*) The exact Diary of the Expedition, p. 65. The Hiſtory of the Deſertion, p. 83. Hiſtory of Illuſtrious Men, p. 338, 339.

(*o*) Falle's Hiſtory of the iſland of Jerſey, p. 125. Collins's Supplement to the Peerage, Vol. V. p. 117.

(*p*) Hiſtory of Illuſtrious Men, p. 339. Collins's Supplement, Vol. V. p. 117. Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 550.

(*q*) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 566. Journal of the Houſe of Lords.

(*r*) The Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, Vol. I. p. 396.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 405—407.

(*t*) The State of Europe for the year 1692, p. 178.

(*u*) The Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, Vol. I. p. 412, 413.

(*w*) Journal of the Houſe of Lords. Biſhop Stillingfleet's Diſcourſes, p. 149.

[O] *Before the Houſe of Lords.*] There are few caſes better known to the Lawyers than this, which was carried on with great warmth and obſtinacy on all ſides, created general expectation on account of many particular

In 1698 his Lordſhip was amongſt the number of ſixty-one peers, who divided a[gainſt] the bill for attainting Sir John Fenwick; and was alſo amongſt the forty-one L[ords] who proteſted, upon their paſſing that bill, by a majority of ſeven (x). In the very ſame ſeſſion, his Lordſhip gave a like public proof of his ſtrong deſire to ſee the Commons of England repreſented in parliament by men of landed eſtates, and conſequently the leaſt liable to biaſs of any kind, becauſe *men of real property* muſt always have the ſtrongeſt abhorrence (y) for public confuſions. His Lordſhip was of the number of thoſe who diſapproved the partition treaty (z), and were deſirous that ſome expedient ſhould be found to prevent

(x) Compleat Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 729. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 181. Journal of the Houſe of Lords.

(y) [illegible] Hiſtory of the Lords, Vol. II. p. 66.

(z) Ibid. p. 26.

cular and intereſting circumſtances attending it, and received three determinations with as great ſolemnity as any thing of this kind ever did (76). We ſhall endeavour to ſtate the matter clearly and conciſely here. We have before mentioned how great regard and reſpect General George Monk, afterwards Duke of Albemarle, expreſſed for his relation and friend Sir John Greenvile, then become Earl of Bath; and we have likewiſe obſerved as a teſtimony of it, that he engaged King Charles II. to promiſe by a ſign manual, that in caſe his iſſue male ſhould extinguiſh, he would confer the dukedom upon the Earl of Bath or his poſterity, and likewiſe beſtow upon them the honour of Theobalds, which would then revert to the crown (77). This great teſtimony of affection and reſpect, induced the Earl of Bath to ſhew the utmoſt tenderneſs and concern for Chriſtopher, the only ſon and heir of Duke George, who in 1675, being then of full age, and capable of diſpoſing of his real eſtate, made a will, and ſettled a great part of it, on failure of his own iſſue, on the Earl of Bath. In the month of July, 1681, the ſame Duke made a deed, relative to this will in ſome reſpect, whereby the main of his eſtate, after the Duke and Ducheſs's death without iſſue, was ſettled upon the Earl of Bath, and ſome other parts on Sir Walter Clarges and Mr Bernard Greenvile (78). The reaſons aſſigned by his Grace for making this deed being, that his next heirs at law were deſcended from a regicide, and his great conſideration and regard for the perſons to whom he bequeathed it. In this deed there was a proviſo, that the Duke ſhould have power to revoke any uſes in the deed, and limit new ones; but this was to be done by a writing under his hand and ſeal, in the preſence of ſix witneſſes, of whom three were to be peers of the realm, and the tender of ſixpence to each truſtee mentioned in the deed (79). After all this, in the year 1687 the Duke made another will, and thereby gave ſome parcels of his lands to Mr Bernard Greenvile, Sir Walter Clarges, and others; made ſome larger proviſions for the Ducheſs during her life, but gave the bulk and reſidue of all his eſtate to Colonel Thomas Monk, and likewiſe made a petition in that will to the King, that he would be pleaſed to confer a title of honour upon him, and that he would create him Baron Monk of Potheridge (80), the antient ſeat of the family; whereas, in the former will of 1675, he had deſired the King to grant to the Earl of Bath, and the iſſue male of his body, the title of Duke of Albemarle, and that his eldeſt ſon might bear the title of Lord Monk.

But notwithſtanding all this, a little before his going Governor to Jamaica, he delivered to the Lord Bath the will of 1675, and the deed of 1681, incloſed in a paper under his ſeal; and directed Mr Crofts, though one of the witneſſes to the laſt will in 1687, to deliver the keys of all his evidences to the Earl, whom he likewiſe mentioned as the perſon to be applied to during his abſence, and as the perſon who was to be the heir of the beſt part of his eſtate, in caſe any thing (81) happened to him; and parted with his Lordſhip, not only without any ſigns of diſlike or quarrel, but with all teſtimonies of ſincere and cordial friendſhip, which were confirmed afterwards by letters from Jamaica; and during the Duke's ſtay there, all applications to court on his behalf were made by and through the Earl of Bath (82), in conſequence of expreſs directions from his Grace.

After the Duke's demiſe in Jamaica, in January 1688, ſeveral ſuits were commenced in Chancery. The Ducheſs of Albemarle, and after her intermarriage with Ralph Lord Montagu, that Lord in her right became plaintiffs againſt the Earl of Bath and others defendants; and in their bill, ſet forth the Duke of Albemarle's marriage-ſettlement, and his Will of 1687, made with great circumſpection by the Lord Chief Juſtice Pollexfen, executed in the preſence of three witneſſes; three copies engroſſed, one delivered into the hands of the Ducheſs of Newcaſtle, another to Colonel Thomas Monk, and a third carried by the Duke himſelf to Jamaica, where, without ſhewing or explaining the contents, he told Sir Hans Sloane, his Phyſician, that was his Will (83). In this bill the plaintiffs complain, that the Earl of Bath ſets up another will, and a deed, which, if ever executed by the Duke, they believed was obtained by ſurprize, and ought to be ſet aſide in equity; and, if it ſhould not be ſet aſide, they pray that the Ducheſs may have the lands limited to her by that deed, and the rent-charge of two thouſand pounds a year over the jointure ſettled upon the marriage, and confirmed by the will of 1675; and they farther pray, that the will of 1687 ſhould ſtand good as to the perſonal eſtate and legacies, and to be protected in the enjoyment of the perſonal eſtate and ſpecific legacies, diſcharged from the Duke's debts.

Another bill was brought by Chriſtopher Monk and Henry Monk, ſons of Colonel Thomas Monk, complaining of the Earl of Bath and others, ſetting up the will of 1675, and the deed of 1681, and praying that both will and deed may be ſet aſide, and that the plaintiffs might enjoy the benefits and eſtates given them by the will of 1687.

There was a third bill brought by the Earl of Bath, Mr Bernard Greenvile, and Sir Walter Clarges, in which they ſet forth the will of 1675, and the deed of 1681, and the continuance and conſtancy of the Duke's friendſhip and truſt to the time of his death, complaining of the Ducheſs and others, defendants, for ſetting up the will of 1687, praying that the perſonal eſtate might be applied to the payment of the Duke's debts, and that the real eſtate might be confirmed to the plaintiffs. Theſe cauſes were firſt heard before the Lords-Commiſſioners of the great Seal, the 8th of July 1691, when a decree was made, that the perſonal eſtate ſhould be accounted for, and applied to the payment of the late Duke's debts; and directed an iſſue at law to try the validity of the deed of 1681. According to this order, in Michaelmas term following, there was an ejectment tried at the King's-Bench bar, wherein the Ducheſs of Albemarle and Mr Chriſtopher Monk were the leſſors of the plaintiffs, and a verdict was then found for the defendants, which eſtabliſhed the deed at law; this was the firſt deciſion (84).

The parties then reſorting back to the court of Chancery for the deciſion of the points reſerved, the cauſes came to be finally heard on Thurſday December 12, 1693, before the Lord Keeper Somers, aſſiſted by the two Chief-Juſtices, Holt and Treby, and Mr Baron Powell. That day Baron Powell and the Lord Chief Juſtice Treby gave their opinions, and on the next day the Lord Chief Juſtice Holt and the Lord Keeper delivered theirs, all four concurring in their ſentiments, that the bills of the Earl of Montagu, the Ducheſs of Albemarle, and the Monks, ſo far as they reſpected the deed of 1681, ought to be diſmiſſed (85). There was an appeal from this decree to the Houſe of Lords, which came on to be heard the 27th of February following; where, after a full hearing, the decree was affirmed; and this was the final deciſion (86). But after all, the manor of Potheridge did not paſs by this deed, but in virtue of prior ſettlements deſcended to Thomas Pride and Elizabeth Pride, the ſon and daughter of Colonel Pride by Elizabeth Monk the daughter of Thomas Monk, elder brother to the Duke of Albemarle, from whom, all diſputes being amicably compromiſed, the Earl of Bath purchaſed it (87).

(76) See the Caſe of Bath and Montagu, at the end of the 2d part of Caſes argued in the High Court of Chancery, p. 112, 113.

(77) See the preceding note.

(78) See the Caſe of Bath and Montagu, p. 71.

(79) This proviſo was ſeen and approved by Sir William Jones.

(80) See the Caſe of Bath and Montagu, p. 71, 72.

(81) Ibid. p. 63.

(82) Ibid. p. 121, 124.

(83) Ibid. p. 93, 127.

(84) Ibid. p. 113.

(85) Ibid. p. 128.

(86) Journals of the Houſe of Lords. Diſcourſes of Dr Stillingfleet, Bp. of Worceſter, p. 749.

(87) Hiſtory of Illuſtrious Men, p. 340, 341.

prevent the maritime powers from being embarked in another war, before they had in some tolerable degree recovered their ſtrength after the former. His conduct, in regard to public affairs in general, was vigorous, from the natural warmth of his temper, and uniform to the very laſt hour of his life, being animated by a firm and ſteady attachment to the cauſe of liberty, in all caſes and againſt all opponents. This ſteadineſs and uniformity ſeemed to afford the ſtrongeſt evidence of his having acted conſtantly from principle, which however has not entirely ſecured his memory from cenſure [*P*]. His Lordſhip died

[*P*] *From cenſure.*] We have, in the courſe of this article, made it ſufficiently evident, that any diminution of this noble perſon's merit, in the conduct of the great tranſactions in which he was embarked, muſt proceed either from miſinformation or injuſtice; and we have alſo made it as clear, from facts, as any thing can be made, that he was ſcarce ever a boy; but from the age of fifteen conſidered as a man, knighted when about ſeventeen, and very early eſteemed for that which is commonly of the ſloweſt growth, though one of the higheſt of all human qualities, prudence. His family, his reputation, and his polite behaviour, recommended him to Prince Charles, but the King his father valued him for his diſcretion. It was this that determined the Earl of Norwich to truſt things with him, on which the fate of the royal family depended, before he was of age. At twenty-three he made that glorious defence in Scilly, and, in conſequence of it, that very advantageous treaty with the Admirals, Aſcue and Blake, which reſtored to him his eſtate and freedom, and ſecurity to all who followed him. He was but thirty-three, when, after having run through numberleſs perils, with much ſuſpicion and little hurt, he with great dexterity brought about the Reſtoration, which, if we will believe one who knew it beſt, King Charles the Second, was the work of him and none other. When the reader conſiders this character, drawn from facts, let him caſt his eye on the manner in which we find him introduced upon the ſtage, in the hiſtory of a right reverend author (88). 'He (that is 'General Monk) took care to raiſe his kinſman Greenvile, who was made Earl of Bath, a man who thought 'of nothing but of getting and ſpending money.' His nephew and apologiſt was a little warm upon this, and with reaſon (89). 'Would one not naturally 'think, ſays he, this ſame Greenvile, as he calls him, 'was ſome pitiful ſcoundrel, raiſed from the dirt upon 'no other merit but being the General's couſin? A 'man or a wretch, 'tis the ſame thing, who thought 'of nothing but getting and ſpending money. Now 'this happens likewiſe to be directly the reverſe both 'in character and fact: but it was a random ſtroke, 'ſome laſh he deſerved for the hand he had in the Reſtoration, ſomething was to be ſaid, hit or miſs, true 'or falſe, it was to take it's chance, and poſterity was 'to believe it upon his word. Dr Burnet ſays it.' We will treat this matter more calmly. The prelate muſt have written this part of his hiſtory from information, he might be miſinformed, and he really was ſo. This ſame Greenvile was not raiſed by his kinſman Monk. He had the warrant for his earldom before the King ſaw the General's face; but as for reaſons mentioned in the text, he was not actually created Earl of Bath 'till many months after the Reſtoration, Biſhop Burnet might be eaſily deceived in that particular; yet if he had conſulted Dr Price's book, he might have ſeen that warrant, and have learned from thence, that he did not riſe at his kinſman's requeſt, or at his own; but derived his title purely from his proper merit, and his maſter's gratitude. But ſtill this is not all. So far was Sir John Greenvile from being raiſed by his kinſman, that his kinſman was really raiſed by him. It was at firſt propoſed to create General Monk Earl of Eſſex, with a penſion of three thouſand pounds a year; of which the King being aſhamed, and the General refuſing to make any propoſal, it was left to Sir John Greenvile to ſettle the matter, who fixed the title of Albemarle, on account of the General's direct deſcent from Margaret, the eldeſt daughter of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick and Albemarle, with a very moderate grant to ſupport the dignity (90). That the Earl of Bath was not very rapacious, we may likewiſe collect from ſome inconteſtable facts. If he had been ſo, he would have taken the hundred thouſand pounds offered him for the iſles of Scilly by the Dutch. He accepted, for the greateſt ſervice a ſubject could render a prince, what the King was pleaſed to give or rather promiſe him; and it is highly probable he had only part of that, ſince, from his laſt will (91), it appears the King his maſter died much in his debt. If he did ſpend money, it was certainly his own, for we ſhall give ſuch inſtances of his juſtice, as will leave the reader under a moral certainty that he did not ſpend other people's. Let us now return to the Right Reverend Hiſtorian; ſpeaking of King Charles the Second's being reconciled to the Church of Rome at the time of his death, he ſays (92), 'As ſoon as Huddleſton had prepared every 'thing that was neceſſary, the Duke whiſpered the 'King in the ear. Upon that the King ordered that 'all who were in the bed-chamber ſhould withdraw, 'except the Earls of Bath and Feverſham, and the door 'was double locked. The company was kept out half 'an hour, only Lord Feverſham opened the door once, 'and called for a glaſs of water' The Reverend Father's own account differs ſomewhat from this (93). 'The King, ſays he, having private notice that Mr 'Huddleſton waited at the door, deſired to be in pri'vate; the Biſhops and Nobles withdrew, the Duke 'latching faſt the door; the Lords P. B. and F. were 'going out alſo, but the D told them they might ſtay.' It has been ſuppoſed, that the three initial letters ſhould be read, Peterborough, Bath, and Feverſham. It appears from Huddleſton's account, that the Earl of Bath would willingly have retired, and his ſtaying ought to be aſcribed to the Duke's command, and his office as Groom of the Stole. Some have applied to this noble perſon the following paſſage, which clearly contradicts the foregoing relations both of the Prieſt and Biſhop (94). 'I heard a great peer relate, that 'King Charles was in a manner paſt his ſenſes when 'the Duke ſaid, *Brother, will you have the* Prieſt *come in*; and without any ſenſible anſwer given by the 'King, Father Huddleſton, who was ſet to wait at the 'chamber door, was called in, and did what he pleaſed 'in his way without the King's choice, or any open 'ſign of aſſent to it.' If any thing of this ſort eſcaped him early, it might be a very good reaſon why King James would not have the Earl about his perſon. Yet the ſame Right Reverend Author tells us, his Lordſhip was very deep in the worſt meaſures of that reign (95). 'At the ſame time, ſays he, a Parliament was ſummoned, and all arts were uſed to manage elections, 'ſo that the King ſhould have a Parliament to his mind. 'Complaints came up from all the parts of England, 'of the injuſtice and violence uſed in elections beyond 'what had ever been practiſed in former times. And 'this was ſo univerſal over the whole nation, that no 'corner of it was neglected. In the new charters that 'had been granted, the election of the members was 'taken out of the hands of the inhabitants, and reſtrained to the corporation men, all thoſe being left 'out who were not acceptable at Court. In ſome boroughs they could not find a number of men to be 'depended on, ſo the neighbouring gentlemen were 'made the corporation men; and in ſome of theſe, 'perſons of other counties, not ſo much as known in the 'borough, were named. This was practiſed in the 'moſt avowed manner in Cornwall by the Earl of Bath, 'who, to ſecure himſelf the Groom of the Stole's 'place, which he held all King Charles's time, put 'the officers of the guards names, in almoſt all the charters of that county, which ſending up forty-four 'members, they were for the moſt part ſo choſen, that 'the King was ſure of their votes on all occaſions.' In the firſt place, it may not be amiſs to inform the reader, that the King, as ſoon as he came to the throne, deſigned to exclude the Earl of Bath from being Groom of the Stole; in which poſt he did not ſeek to maintain himſelf

(88) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 98.

(89) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 254, 255.

(90) See the Preamble to the Patent of George Monk, Eſq; creating him Duke of Albemarle, dated 7 July 1660, in Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. II. lib. xiv. p. 1. Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 167.

(91) Collins's Supplement, Vol. V. p. 219.

(92) Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 607.

(93) A true Relation of the late King's death. To which are added, Copies of two papers, written by the late King Charles II. of bleſſed memory, found in his ſtrong box.

(94) Bp Kennet's compleat Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 418. in the notes.

(95) Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 625, 626.

died at his houſe in St James's (a), Auguſt 22, 1701, and was buried at Kilkhampton in Cornwall. He had iſſue, by his ſole conſort beforementioned, and who dying Feb. 17, 1692, was buried in the Church of St Clement Danes, five ſons and eleven daughters. Of the latter, ſeven died while they were young: Lady Jane married William Gower, Eſq; and by him became the mother of Sir John Leveſon Gower, who was the firſt Lord Gower; Lady Katharine, married to Craven Peyton of the county of Lancaſter, Eſq; Warden of the Mint, who died without iſſue before him; Lady Grace, who married Sir George Carteret, raiſed to the degree of a Baron of this realm, by King Charles II. and Lady Henrietta Maria, for whom he had provided a fortune of ten thouſand pounds, but who died before him unmarried. Two of the ſons alſo died when they were young, and three ſurvived him, viz. Charles, who ſucceeded him in his honours, and yet did not live to ſee his funeral (b) [Q]. His youngeſt ſon, Bevil, died of the ſmall-pox (c), September 15,

(a) Hiſtory of Europe for the year 1701. p. 379.

(b) Hiſtory of Illuſtrious Men, p. 341.

(c) Collins's Supplement, Vol. V. p. 121.

himſelf by favour, but claimed it as his right. His claim was conſidered more than once by the Privy-Council, and was at laſt referred to Sir Robert Sawyer, the King's Attorney-General, who reported that the King might beſtow the office, but that the ſalary and perquiſites belonged to the Earl of Bath. Upon this King James ſaid, that was giving Peterborough, who was his own Groom of the Stole when Duke of York, the ſhell, and Bath the kernel (96). After theſe altercations, which certainly were not like to make the King love him better, the Earl of Bath was turned out on Sunday the 19th of April (97), the Parliament was not opened 'till the nineteenth of May. So that in this time the elections were made, and the reader will judge, whether, under ſuch circumſtances, the Earl of Bath was like to go violent lengths for the Court; and if he caſts his eyes upon the liſts of the county and boroughs of Cornwall in this Parliament, he muſt be ſatisfied that they were never better repreſented. We have before obſerved, that his Lordſhip has been miſrepreſented in the affair of Plymouth at the Revolution. The Biſhop admits that he ſent his promiſe to the Prince of Orange by Admiral Ruſſel (though probably he meant Herbert); and though he diſputes the complying with it in the place before cited in the text, yet he afterwards clearly admits the fact (98). Another writer, who was alſo a lover of ſecret hiſtory, has been ſo kind to inform us, that ſoon after the Revolution, his Lordſhip applied himſelf to one who was in the higheſt favour with the new King, and deſired him to repreſent the claim he had to the royal ſeat of Theobalds; but it is ſaid (99) that favourite took this opportunity of begging it for himſelf; and from thence ariſes an inſinuation, that the Earl of Bath, by this diſappointment, was diſobliged. In reſpect to this fact we cannot affirm or deny any thing. But this we have a right to ſay, that if we take this noble peer's character from facts, we muſt conclude him a man of a very ſteady temper, and of very amiable and eſtimable qualities. He was the dutiful and zealous ſervant of Charles the Second, and yet durſt oppoſe his favourites and his miniſters. His loyalty to King James appeared on the Duke of Monmouth's invaſion. As to what followed, when the King purſued his own notions at the expence of the laws, he ſet an example fatal to himſelf. But that his Lordſhip really followed his ſentiments in that great turn, appears from the whole ſtrain of his conduct afterwards, by which he was expoſed to the reſentment of one King, at the ſame time he was not much in favour with the other. That he was a firm and faithful friend, appears from his behaviour towards the Duke of Albemarle's family. On the death of the old Duke, the King offered him his Garter, but he modeſtly declined accepting it, and deſired it might be given the young Duke (100), which was accordingly done. As Duke Chriſtopher left him a great part of his eſtates in 1681, ſo in 1684, the Earl, by his Will made with much caution, after the heirs male of his own family, ſubſtitutes the Duke and his, but without making the thing public, ſo that there is not the leaſt hint of it in the caſe. As a proof of his juſtice we may remark, that in a little time after the Reſtoration, he preſented the Reverend Mr Nicholas Monk and the Reverend Mr Price to the King, and made their ſervices known (101). We may add another inſtance in his family. His circumſtances once made it neceſſary for him to demand his lady's conſent to depart from her right to certain lands which were in her jointure, but things changing, ſo that he was not under the neceſſity of ſelling them, he voluntarily replaced them (102). He was an excellent father, a kind relation, and a generous maſter. He lived with a ſplendour ſuitable to his quality in town; he built a fine houſe (103), and ſhewed great hoſpitality in the country, where, through all the changes in his own fortune, and notwithſtanding all the alterations in the ſtate of public affairs, his influence was very extenſive through the whole courſe of his life, and his death generally and deſervedly regretted.

(96) Hiſtory of Illuſtrious Men, p. 337.

(97) Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 439.

(98) Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 793.

(99) Hiſtory of Illuſtrious Men, p. 339, 340. Chauncy's Hiſtory and Antiquities of Hertfordſhire, p. 297.

(100) See the Caſe of Bath and Montagu, p. 120, 121.

(101) See the Dedication prefixed to Dr Price's Hiſtory of the Reſtoration.

(102) Collins's Supplement, Vol. V. p. 118.

(103) See the notes to Camden's Britannia, edit. 1695. p. 14.

[Q] *And yet did not live to ſee his funeral.*] If this Noble Peer had deſcended from a line leſs fertile in heroes, his actions might well have entitled him to a ſeparate article, whereas here, from the nature of our work, we are obliged to confine the particulars that regard him to a note. His title during his father's lifetime was Viſcount Lanſdowne, and his turn to a military life being conſpicuous very early, his father conſented in 1683 to his making a campaign in Hungary againſt the Infidels; he was preſent in the month of September at the raiſing of the ſiege of Vienna, and attended the Duke of Lorrain when he gained the famous victory at Barkan, on the firſt of October, and alſo aſſiſted in the ſiege of Gran (104). On his return to England, King James appointed him Envoy Extraordinary (105) to the court of Spain, where he actually reſided when the Revolution happened. He returned through France, where he delivered back his letters credential to King James at St Germains. He was no ſooner at home, than he was called up by writ to the Houſe of Lords, by the title and with the precedency of his father's barony (106). In 1690 he did very remarkable ſervice, in defending the coaſts againſt the French, after the Earl of Torrington's misfortune at ſea, with which Queen Mary, who was then left in the adminiſtration, was highly ſatisfied. In an addreſs which he preſented to her upon that occaſion, he takes the title of Charles Lord Viſcount Lanſdowne, Count of the Sacred Roman Empire (107), &c. This honour was conferred upon him by the Emperor Leopold, for his ſignal ſervices in the war of Hungary, by his charter bearing date at Lintz, Jan. 27, 1684, and was to deſcend to all his poſterity of both ſexes (108): his Lordſhip however voted in the Houſe of Lords as his father did, which gave credit to a report, that he ſtood upon indifferent terms with King William, occaſioned by a warm expreſſion of his Lordſhip's upon the following occaſion. He had applied for the arrears due to him as miniſter in Spain, and meeting with delays at the Treaſury board, he addreſſed himſelf to King William in perſon, and receiving an anſwer he did not expect, he replied with ſome warmth, *What, does it ſhock your Majeſty to do juſtice* (109)! We have obſerved in the text that he did not long ſurvive his father, and indeed the accident that brought him to his end was equally ſingular and unfortunate. He had a cuſtom of cleaning his piſtols himſelf before he went a journey, and deſigning to attend his father's remains into Cornwall, he was thus employed on the 4th of September, when the piſtol, the charge of which he was drawing, going ſuddenly off, ſhot him through the head, ſo that his corpſe, with that of his father, was carried down to Kilkhampton (110). On the 22d of May 1678, this Noble Lord was married at St Martin's in the Fields, to the Lady Martha Oſborne (111), fifth daughter of Thomas Earl of Danby, afterwards Duke of Leeds, by whom he had iſſue a daughter, who died an infant, which lady was buried in Weſtminſter Abbey, on the 26th of September 1689.

(104) Hiſtory of Illuſtrious Men, p. 342. Hiſtory of Europe for the year 1701, p. 382.

(105) Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 439.

(106) Hiſtory of Illuſtrious Men, p. 343. The Hiſtory of Europe for the year 1701, p. 382.

(107) Hiſtory of Illuſtrious Men, p. 344, 345, 346.

(108) Hiſtory of Europe for the year 1701, p. 382. Collins's Supplement, Vol. V. p. 122.

(109) Hiſtory of Illuſtrious Men, p. 344.

(110) Hiſtory of Europe for the year 1701, p. 381, 382. Hiſtory of Illuſtrious men, p. 346, 347.

(111) Hiſtory of Europe for the year 1701, p. 382. Collins's Supplement, Vol. V. p. 124.

5, 1706. His ſecond ſon, John Greenvile, after having ſignalized himſelf by his great courage, both by land and ſea, particularly at the ſiege of Cork, in which he led on the Grenadiers, roſe by his diſtinguiſhed merit to be a Colonel in the guards, Captain of a third rate man of war, and Governor of Deal, from all which he was removed, for vindicating the conduct of the Earl of Torrington. He was no leſs conſpicuous in his character as a ſenator, having the honour to ſit conſtantly in Parliament, from the firſt year of the reign of King James II. to the firſt of Queen Anne, and was a very able and eloquent ſpeaker, inſomuch, that on March 9, 1703, being then Knight of the Shire for the county of Cornwall, he was created Baron Greenvile of Potheridge *(e)*, and conſtituted Lord Lieutenant of Cornwall, Lord Warden of the Stannaries, during the minority of his nephew, and Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance. But about two years afterwards was removed, to make way for the Lord Rialton, and his father the Earl of Godolphin *(f)*, from the two former employments. He eſpouſed Rebecca, daughter of Sir Joſiah Child, and widow of Charles Marquis of Worceſter, by whom he had no iſſue; ſo that deceaſing December 3, 1707, the title of Lord Granville of Potheridge became extinct *(g)*, but his eſtate, which was very conſiderable, fell to his nephew William-Henry, Earl of Bath, who was alſo the laſt that bore that title, as the reader will ſee in the notes [*R*].

(*e*) Bill. Sign. a. Annæ Regin.

(*f*) Hiſtory of Illuſtrious Men, P. 348. Hiſtory of Europe for the year 1707.

(*g*) Hiſtory of Illuſtrious Men, P. 349. Hiſtory of Europe for the year 1707, P. 514, 515. Le Neve's Monumenta Anglicana, p. 141.

1689. He married ſecondly the Lady Iſabella, daughter to Henry de Naſſau Lord of Auverquerque, Veldt Marſhal of the force of the States-General, and ſiſter to Henry Earl of Grantham, by whom he had iſſue (112), his only ſon William-Henry Earl of Bath, of whom his mother died in childbed.

(112) Hiſtory of Illuſtrious Men, P. 347.

[*R*] *In the notes.*] This hopeful youth was born the thirteth of January (113) 1691-2, and loſing both his father and grandfather in the tenth year of his age, the ſuperintendence of his education devolved on his grandmother, the old Lady Auverquerque (114), who ſo well executed that charge, that his Lordſhip even in his youth ſurpaſſed the hopes of his friends; and being excited by the martial ardour natural to his family, made two campaigns in the army of the high allies before he was twenty years of age. While he was thus employed, his couſin, the honourable George Granville, Eſq; then Secretary at War, wrote him the following letter, which, as it contains abundance of hiſtorical circumſtances relating to the family, may with great propriety be inſerted here.

(113) Collins's Syſtem of Nobility, Vol. V. p. 24.

(114) Hiſtory of Europe for 1712, P. 539.

To WILLIAM-HENRY, Earl of BATH, &c. at the camp in Flanders, September 4, 1710.

'My dear Lord,

'Whilſt you are purſuing honour in the Field in the earlieſt time of your life, after the example of your anceſtors, I am commanded by the Queen to let you know ſhe has declared you her Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Cornwall, the Earl of Rocheſter to act for you 'till you are of age (115).

(115) Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, Vol. Vol. II. p. 657.

'You will do well to write your moſt humble thanks to her Majeſty, for ſo graciouſly remembering you, unſollicited, in your abſence: you ſhall likewiſe do the ſame to my Lord Rocheſter for accepting the trouble.

'This, my dear Lord, is a *preparative to bring you* upon the ſtage, with ſome luſtre at your firſt appearance in the world. You are placed at the head of a body of gentry, entirely diſpoſed in affection to you and your family: you are born, poſſeſſed of all thoſe amiable qualities which cannot fail of fixing their hearts: you have no other example to follow, but to tread in the ſteps of your anceſtors: it is all that is hoped or deſired from you.

'You are upon an uncommon foundation in that part of the world: your anceſtors, for at leaſt five hundred years, never made any alliance, male or female, out of the weſtern counties: thus there is hardly a gentleman either in Cornwall or Devon but has ſome of your blood, or you ſome of theirs. I remember the firſt time I accompanied your grandfather into the Weſt, upon holding his Parliament of Tinners, as Warden of the Stannaries, when there was the moſt numerous appearance of gentry of both counties that had ever been remembered together: I obſerved there was hardly any one but whom he called couſin, and I could not but obſerve at the ſame time how well they were pleaſed with it. Let this be a leſſon for you when it comes to your turn to appear amongſt them. Nothing is more obliging that to ſeem to retain the memory of kindred and alliance, though never ſo remote: and, by conſequence, nothing more diſobliging than a forgetfulneſs of them: which is always imputed to an affected diſdainful ſuperiority and pride.

'There is another particular, in my opinion, of no ſmall conſequence to the ſupport of your intereſt, which I would recommend to your imitation; and that is, to make Stowe your principal reſidence. I have heard your grandfather ſay, if ever he lived to be poſſeſſed of New-Hall he would pull it down, that your father might have no temptation to withdraw from the antient ſeat of his family. From the Conqueſt to the Reſtoration, your anceſtors conſtantly reſided amongſt their countrymen, except when the public ſervice called upon them to ſacrifice their lives for it.

'Stowe, in my grandfather's time, 'till the civil wars broke out, was a kind of academy for all the young men of family in the country: he provided himſelf with the beſt maſters of all kinds for education, and the children of his neighbours and friends ſhared the advantage with his own. Thus he in a manner became the father of his country, and not only engaged the affection of the preſent generation, but laid a foundation of friendſhip for poſterity, which is not worn out at this day.

'Upon this foundation, my Lord, you inherit friends without the trouble of making them, and have only to preſerve them: an eaſy talk for you, to whom nature has been ſo liberal of every quality neceſſary to attract affection, and gain the heart.

'I muſt tell you, the generality of our countrymen have been always Royaliſts: you inherit too much loyal blood to like them the worſe. There is an old ſaying amongſt them, that a Godolphin was never known to want wit, a Trelawney courage, or a Greenvile loyalty: wit and courage are not to be miſtaken, and to give thoſe families their due, they ſtill keep up to their character: but it is the misfortune of loyalty not to be ſo clearly underſtood or defined. In a country ſubject to revolutions, what paſſes for loyalty to-day may be treaſon to morrow; but I make great difference between real and nominal treaſon. In the quarrel of the houſes of York and Lancaſter, both ſides were proclaimed traytors as the other prevailed. Even under Cromwell's uſurpation, all who adhered to the King were proclaimed traytors, and ſuffered as ſuch: but this makes no alteration in the thing itſelf: it may be treaſon to call black black or white white: but black will be black and white will be white, in ſpite of all the legiſlators in the world.

'There can be no doubt about allegiance unleſs princes become tyrants, and then they ceaſe to be Kings: they will no longer be reſpected as God's vicegerents, who violate the laws they were ſworn to protect. The preacher may tell us of paſſive obedience; that tyrants are to be patiently ſuffered as ſcourges, in the hands of a righteous God, to chaſtiſe a ſinful nation, and to be ſubmitted to like plagues, famines, and ſuch like judgments from above. Such doctrine, were it true, could only ſerve to miſlead

'lead ill-judging princes into a falſe ſecurity: men are 'not to be reaſoned out of their ſenſes: human nature 'and ſelf-preſervation will eternally arm againſt ſlave-'ry and oppreſſion.

'It is therefore not to be ſuppoſed that even the 'weakeſt prince would run that hazard, unleſs ſeduced 'by advice, wickedly palliated by evil counſellors. 'Nero himſelf, under the influence of a good miniſtry, 'was the mildeſt, the moſt gracious, and beſt beloved 'of the Emperors. The moſt ſanguinary, the moſt 'profligate, and the moſt abhorred, under a bad 'one. A prince may be deceived or miſtaken in the 'choice of his favourites: but he has this advantage, 'he is ſure to hear of it from the voice of the public. 'If then he is deaf, he ſeems to take upon himſelf the 'blame and odium of thoſe actions which were chargea-'ble before but upon his adviſers.

'Idle murmurs, groundleſs diſcontents, and pretend-'ed jealouſies and fears, the effect of private prejudice 'and reſentments, have been, and will ever be, under 'the wiſeſt adminiſtrations: we are peſtered with them 'even now, when we have a Queen, who is known to 'have nothing ſo much at heart as the contentment of 'her people: Theſe are tranſitory vapours, which 'ſcatter at the firſt appearance of light: the infection 'ſpreads no farther than a particular ſett of ſour ſple-'netic enthuſiaſts in politics, not worth minding or 'correcting; univerſal diſcontent can never happen 'but from ſolid provocations.

'Many well meaning perſons, however abounding 'in zeal, have been often unwarily caught by popular 'pretences, and not undeceived 'till it was too [illegible] 'Have a care, my dear couſin, of ſplitting upon a 'rock: there have been falſe patriots as well as falſe 'prophets.

'To fear God and honour the King, were injunctions 'ſo cloſely tacked together, that they ſeem to admit 'but one and the ſame command: a man may as well 'pretend to be a good Chriſtian without fearing God, 'as a good ſubject without honouring the King.

'*Deo, patriæ, amicis*, was your great-grandfather 'Sir Bevil's motto: in three words he has added to his 'example a rule, which in following you can never err 'in any duty of life. The brighteſt courage and the 'gentleſt diſpoſition is part of the Lord Clarendon's 'character of him: ſo much of him you have begun to 'ſhew us already, and the beſt wiſh I can make for you, 'is to reſemble him as much in all—but his untimely 'fate.

My Dear Lord,

I am for ever, &c.

GEORGE GRANVILLE.'

This excellent young nobleman, of whom ſuch extraordinary hopes were conceived both at home and abroad, was ſeized by the ſmall-pox in the ſucceeding year, and died May 17, 1711, in the twenty-firſt year of his age, unmarried. His remains were interred the twenty-third of the ſame month in Weſtminſter-Abbey (116). E

(116) Hiſtory of Illuſtrious Men, p. 347. Hiſtory of Europe for 1711, p. 539. Monumenta Anglicana, p. 228.

GREENVILE, or, as he wrote it himſelf, being the great patron of that orthography, GRANVILLE, [GEORGE] created by Queen Anne, Baron Lanſdowne of Biddeford in the county of Devon; an eloquent ſpeaker, an elegant writer, an admirable poet, and, in a word, one of the moſt accompliſhed noblemen this nation has produced (*a*). It is a misfortune that a perſon ſo able has not left us any memoirs of his own, who with ſo much candour and ſpirit has reſcued from calumny the characters of other great men. The materials for this article are for this reaſon, in proportion to the worth of it, very ſcanty; and all that we are able to do towards rendering juſtice to his memory, and gratifying in ſome meaſure the expectation of the reader, is to range them in the beſt manner we are able, and to borrow from his own excellent writings all the lights we can (*b*). He was the ſon of the honourable Mr Bernard Greenvile, or Granville, who, in regard to the merit of his illuſtrious father Sir Bevil, had, by a ſpecial warrant from King Charles the Second, the rank given him of an Earl's younger ſon (*c*), and who added to the luſtre of his antient and noble family freſh ſplendour by his perſonal merit [*A*]. His ſon George was born about the year 1667, and is ſaid to have received a great

(*a*) Collins's Supplement to the Peerage, Vol. V. p. 98.

(*b*) See the article of GRANVILLE [GEORGE], in Jacob's Lives of the Poets; and the article LANSDOWNE in the General Dictionary.

(*c*) Lives of Illuſtrious Men, p. 349.

[*A*] *By his perſonal merit.*] This gentleman, Bernard Granville, Eſq; the father of our author, was, as we have already ſhewn, the ſon of Sir Bevil Granville, and brother to the Earl [illegible] (1). He was born in the year 1631, and conſequently was not above twelve years old when his father was killed at Lanſdowne (2). He received his education in the country, and remained under the care of ſome of his father's friends in Cornwall and Devon 'till he was about twenty years of age, and then ſecretly withdrew himſelf, that he might join his brother Sir John Greenvile in the iſlands of Scilly (3). He had there the benefit of the capitulation, and returning with his brother into the Weſt, was very active in the King's ſervice, and eſcaped very narrowly with his life upon ſeveral occaſions (4). In the great tranſaction of the King's Reſtoration, he was introduced by his brother to General Monk; and that great man gave a ſingular inſtance of his confidence in him, by intruſting him with his anſwer to the King's letter at a very critical conjuncture (5). Our author ſays upon this ſubject (6), 'My father, Mr Bernard Granville, 'was the perſon entruſted by the General with his laſt 'diſpatches to the King to invite him home, and to 'acquaint him that every thing was ready for his re-'ception.' In point of time his Lordſhip is clearly miſtaken; for, as Dr Skinner truly obſerves, this was the boldeſt ſtroke in the General's whole conduct (7). He wrote an anſwer to the King's letter before Lambert was retaken, and conſequently, long before things were ſettled, and all matters in readineſs for the King's reception. Indeed it appears by the King's own letter to the General, that this with which Mr Bernard Granville was intruſted, bore date the 20th of April (8); whereas the King's letters were not preſented to the two Houſes 'till the firſt of May But this does not at all affect the credit of what his Lord ſhip ſays farther (9), 'That when the General gave his 'father his final inſtructions, he acquainted him, that 'there were other meſſengers going over at the ſame 'time in the ſame ſhip, from Sir Anthony-Aſhly Coo-'per and others, directed to the Chancellor: that he 'ſhould take care not to be ſuſpected of any thing 'more than a common paſſenger, nor charged with 'any buſineſs: and above all, to uſe ſuch diligence 'as to get firſt to the King, that his Majeſty might 'not be ſurprized or perplexed by any uneaſy impor-'tunities or diſagreeable demands, but be prepared in 'what manner to receive and content them with ge-'neral anſwers. My father accordingly arrived the firſt 'by two or three hours to the King, who was at ſup-'per. Upon ſending in his name, his Majeſty imme-'diately aroſe from the table, and came to him in 'another room: the King had no ſooner read the 'General's letter, but he embraced the bearer, and 'told him, that never man was more welcome to him. 'He could now ſay *he was a* KING *and not a* DOGE.' He was Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to the Duke of Glouceſter during the time of his exile; and after the Reſtoration, Gentleman of the Horſe, and one of the Grooms of the Bed-Chamber to King Charles the Second (10). He was choſe for Leſkard in Cornwall in the firſt Parliament after the King's Reſtoration, called the Long Parliament (11), and ſerved for Launceſton and Saltaſh in all the Parliaments of that reign

(1) Biographia Britannica, Vol. IV. p. 2297.

(2) E Stemmate antiq. & nob. Familiæ Greenvile.

(3) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 106.

(4) Collins's Supplement to the Peerage, Vol. V. p. 96.

(5) Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 291.

(6) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 161.

(7) Skinner's Life of General Monk, ubi ſupra.

(8) See the Appendix to Dr Barwick's Life, p. 528.

(9) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 161.

(10) See the monumental Inſcription in Aubrey's Surry.

(11) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. II. p. 34.

A great part of his education in his infancy under the eye of Sir William Ellis, who was himſelf a man of letters, and of very quick parts (*d*). Mr Granville quickly diſcovered the genius of his family, and being with his elder brother entered of Trinity-College in Cambridge, at a time when others have made very little progreſs in a grammar-ſchool, he was, before he reached the age of twelve, diſtinguiſhed, by addreſſing a very fine copy of verſes, of his own compoſition, to her Royal Highneſs Maria Beatrix d'Eſte, Ducheſs of York, who in 1679 viſited this univerſity (*e*). He took his degree of Maſter of Arts there at thirteen, and left Cambridge ſoon after. On the acceſſion of King James the Second, he addreſſed three poems to that monarch in the firſt year of his reign, and in the eighteenth of his own age, all of them very finely written, particularly the laſt, which was looked upon as incomparable. Panegyric in proſe and in verſe was in faſhion in thoſe days; Lewis the Fourteenth had introduced and rewarded it in France, and from thence, with the other modes of that court, it ſpread over all Europe, and very early into England, where Waller, Dryden, and Otway, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this way; and therefore it was the more excuſable for ſo young an author as Mr Granville, prompted alike by inclination and ambition, to tread in the ſame path. His obedient genius enabled him to gratify his paſſion, and to reach, even in his firſt heat, thoſe who were ſo much practiſed to the race. He was from this time conſidered as a maſter of numbers; and we may truly ſay of him, what can ſcarce be ſaid of any other, that before he was a man he was a poet. There was, and there ſtill is, a degree of complaiſance that waits on the productions of young men of faſhion; but Mr Granville did not at all avail himſelf of this, his very firſt poems are among the number of his beſt, and he did not ſtand indebted for his reputation, to favour, faction, or common fame, but had it conferred upon him by the firſt and faireſt judges of the times, than whom perhaps few ages have produced better (*f*) [*B*]. The great eſteem in

(*d*) Jacob's Lives and Characters of the Engliſh Dramatic Poets, Vol. II. p. 121.

(*e*) Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. I. p. 5. Jacob, ibid.

(*f*) See the note [*B*].

reign (12), for Plymouth in the firſt of James the ſecond (13), and for Saltaſh, in the reign of King William, to the time of his death (14), in the 70th year of his age, on the 14th of June, 1701, and was buried at Lambeth in Surry, as was alſo his lady, who died on the 20th of September following (15); ſhe was ſole daughter and heir of Cuthbert Morley, of Normanby in Cleveland, in Yorkſhire, Eſq; by his wife, the Lady Katherine Leke, daughter to Francis Earl of Scarſdale, by whom he had iſſue three ſons, Bevil, George, and Bernard; and two daughters, Anne, married to Sir John Stanley, Bart. and Elizabeth (16).

[*B*] *Than whom perhaps few ages have produced better.*] If teſtimony were of any weight in proving an author to be a genius, we ſhould find no great difficulty to ſucceed in this particular; for if the names of the immortal Dryden (17), who was his friend; the celebrated Joſeph Addiſon, Eſq; (18) who was his intimate acquaintance; the famous Henry St John (19), afterwards Lord Viſcount Bolingbroke who lived with him in the greateſt intimacy; and the ingenious Mr Bevil Higgons (20), who was his relation, would ſuffice; it is ſecure; more eſpecially as they have all given it under their hands, and ſtaked their own credit with poſterity in ſupport of his. But where a man's writings are extant, it is to them we ought to appeal, and this will juſtify our producing his third poem to King James (21), Mr Waller's complement to him, and his own reply. They are all very ſhort, and full to the point, but perhaps it may not be amiſs to remark, that our author wrote in the dawn of that monarch's reign, and before it was overcaſt by any of thoſe offenſive acts in favour of Popery, which gave occaſion to it's being tranſmitted in ſo very different a light to ſucceeding times.

To the KING.

Heroes of old, by rapine, and by ſpoil,
In ſearch of fame, did all the world embroil;
Thus to their Gods each then ally'd his name,
This ſprang from Jove, and that from Titan came:
With equal valour, and the ſame ſucceſs,
Dread King, might'ſt thou the univerſe oppreſs;
But Chriſtian laws conſtrain thy martial pride,
Peace is thy choice, and piety thy guide;
By thy example Kings are taught to ſway,
Heroes to fight, and Saints may learn to pray.
From Gods deſcended, and of race divine,
Neſtor in council, and Ulyſſes ſhine;
But in a day of battle, all would yield
To the fierce maſter of the ſeven-fold ſhield:
Their very Deities were grac'd no more,
Mars had the courage, Jove the thunder bore.
But all perfections meet in James alone,
And Britain's King is all the Gods in one.

To the author, on his foregoing verſes to the KING.
By Mr EDMUND WALLER.

An early plant, which ſuch a bloſſom bears,
And ſhows a genius, ſo beyond his years,
A judgment that could make ſo fair a choice,
So high a ſubject to employ his voice;
Still as it grows, how ſweetly will he ſing
The growing greatneſs of our matchleſs King.

Anſwer. To Mr WALLER.

When into Libya the young Grecian came,
To talk with Hammon, and conſult for fame;
When from the ſacred tripod where he ſtood,
The Prieſt inſpir'd, ſaluted him a God;
Scarce ſuch a joy that haughty victor knew,
Thus own'd by Heaven, as I, thus prais'd by you.
Who e'er their names can in thy numbers ſhow,
Have more than empire, and immortal grow;
Ages to come ſhall ſcorn the powers of old,
When in thy verſe of greater Gods they're told;
Our beauteous Queen, and Royal James's name,
For Jove and Juno ſhall be plac'd by Fame;
Thy Charles for Neptune, ſhall the Seas command,
And Sachariſſa ſhall for Venus ſtand:
Greece ſhall no longer boaſt, nor haughty Rome,
But think from Britain, all the Gods did come.

We cannot conclude this note, without confirming what has been ſaid in the text, by the authority of a profeſſed critic (22), who thought like a ſcholar, and wrote like a gentleman; his work was addreſſed to the Marquis of Granby, in 1709. 'Waller, ſays he, for 'the muſic of his numbers, the courtlineſs of his verſe, 'the eaſineſs and happineſs of his thoughts on a thou-'ſand ſubjects, deſerves your Lordſhip's conſideration, 'more perhaps than any other, becauſe his manner and 'his ſubjects are more common to perſons of quality, 'and

(22) Felton on the Claſſics, p. 218.

(12) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. II. p. 25, 80.

(13) Parliamentary Regiſter, p. 192.

(14) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. II. p. 80.

(15) Aubrey's Hiſtory and Antiquities of Surry, Vol. V. p. 252.

(16) Collins's Supplement to the Peerage, Vol. V. p. 97.

(17) Original Poems and Tranſlations, by John Dryden, Eſq; Vol. II. p. 224.

(18) The Works of the Right Honourable Joſeph Addiſon, Eſq; edit. 1721. 4to. Vol. I. p. 142.

(19) See the Prologue to his Tragedy of Heroic Love.

(20) See the Prologue to the Jew of Venice, and the Epilogue to his Tragedy of Heroic love.

(21) Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. I. p. 8, 9, 10.

in which he ſtood at this court, and the many perſonal marks of favour he received from their Majeſties, added to the turn of his education, and the natural generosity of his temper, made Mr Granville paſſionately loyal in that ſeaſon of his life, when few, and he the leaſt of any, had learned to diſſemble (g). At the time of the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, he was with great difficulty reſtrained from taking arms; and at the Revolution he had a return of the ſame kind of political fever, in the firſt tranſports of which he wrote his father a letter, which without doubt the reader will be pleaſed to ſee. [illegible] After [illegible] Vol. II. p. 105.

(g) Collins's Supplement to the Peerage, Vol. V. p. 97, 98.

'and the affairs of a court. Mr Granville, my Lord, 'hath rivalled him in his fineſt addreſs, and is as 'happy as he ever was in raiſing modern compliments 'upon ancient ſtory, and ſetting off the Britiſh valour, 'and the Engliſh beauty, with the old gods and god-'deſſes.'—— In the preface to a ſubſequent edition, he ſays on the ſame ſubject.——'If I had ſeen my Lord 'Lanſdowne's poems in one view, I might have formed 'a juſter idea of the greatneſs of his genius, and the 'delicacy of his wit. For when I wrote theſe ſheets, 'they lay diſperſed up and down in the Miſcellanies; 'but ſome kind hand hath aſſembled the ſcattered ſtars, 'and added another lyre to the conſtellations.'

[C] *The reader will be pleaſed to ſee.*] This ſingular and zealous letter has been often printed, but perhaps the following quotation from the impartial memoirs of a very worthy gentleman (23), wrote in the country, and at the very time preciſely, when this letter was written, will render it better underſtood: 'At this time, 'ſays he, Lord Thomas Howard was Lieutenant of the 'Weſt Riding, a rigid Papiſt, and now gone ambaſſador 'to Rome. He had left but three deputies behind him, 'two of which alſo were Papiſts, and but two of the 'three were now in the country, while moſt of the 'gentry of Yorkſhire were come to the city, expecting 'to meet with writs for the choice of members. I 'therefore preſſed the High-Sheriff to give notice to 'ſome gentlemen, while I convened others for the 'next day, when Sir Henry Gooderick began a diſ-'courſe, which I ſeconded, to ſhew how little we were 'able to ſerve the King with the Militia, without a-'nother Lord Lieutenant, under whom we might law-'fully ſerve, meaning a Proteſtant, and at the ſame 'time we ſubſcribed a repreſentation of our caſe to his 'Majeſty. I was well aware, how very ungrateful 'this would be to him; but to obviate his diſpleaſure, 'I gave him private intelligence of the intention to 'prepare it, and begged of him to excuſe the concern 'I had therein, aſſuring him it was now abſolutely for 'his ſervice. In the midſt of this, comes down a ſpe-'cial meſſenger to purge the corporation, to put out 'the former Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and to ap-'point others, almoſt all Papiſts; but the commiſſion 'was ſo defective, and there were ſuch miſtakes in the 'execution of it, as fruſtrated the deſign. The next 'day I prevailed with the Lord Mayor to call a hall, 'upon which occaſion, I ſpoke to them a full half 'hour, and ſo convinced them of the evil arts which 'had been put in practice againſt me, and the great 'injuſtice done me, that they all ſeemed to be converts 'in my favour; and to add to what I had ſaid, I gave 'them up the keys, but made them own it as a cour-'teſy, and promiſe to reſtore them to me again, when-'ever I deſired it, for his Majeſty's ſervice. And now 'Lord Fairfax, a Roman Catholic, and Lord Lieute-'tenant of the North-Riding, being at York, obſerved 'to me, it could be for no good end that the Lords 'Devonſhire and Danby, were come down to the 'country, though the former pretended he was only 'come to view his eſtate, and the latter to drink the 'waters at Knareſborough. They were both of them 'frequently engaged in converſation at Sir Henry 'Gooderick's; and the firſt of them came to York, 'where I paid all imaginable civilities to him, and re-'ceived the ſame from him; the other I waited on at 'Sir Henry's, not once ſuſpecting that men of their 'high quality and great eſtate, could intend any thing 'prejudicial to the government, or dangerous to them-'ſelves, and indeed their outward behaviour was very 'decent and innocent. Two days afterwards I had an 'expreſs from Lord Preſton, the new Secretary of 'State, Sunderland, who was turned Papiſt, and had 'been the author of great miſchief ſince he had been 'near the King, being laid aſide, to acquaint me, that 'his Majeſty had given a very kind reception to our 'repreſentation on the part of the country; and that 'in compliance therewith, he had named the Duke of 'Newcaſtle to be Lord Lieutenant of all Yorkſhire, 'and his Grace coming to town ſoon after, appointed 'his deputies and militia officers, both horſe and foot. 'The King began now, tho' fatally too late, to be 'ſenſible of his error, in carrying matters to ſo enor-'mous a length, at the inſtigation of Popiſh counſels, 'and now reſtored ſeveral juſtices of the Peace in 'moſt counties, as alſo the old charters all England 'over; he now quits his hold of the Biſhop of Lon-'don, does juſtice to Magdalen college, and begins 'again to court the Church of England.' We may now proceed to the letter, which from the peruſal of this paſſage, may be underſtood in the moſt minute particulars, and perhaps, taken together, they will afford the juſteſt picture of the ſtate of the North of England at that great criſis, a thing not to be met with in any of our hiſtories, and yet very capable of inſtructing us in points of very great importance, and in particular ſhewing us how that great turn came to be ſo eaſily made; for King James had really ſubverted his own government, before he was attacked from abroad, and by a ſtrange mutability of counſels, diſabled his friends from acting when he was attacked. Theſe are the moſt curious and moſt intereſting parts of hiſtory; and yet, not to be written with any tolerable degree of certainty, but from ſuch memoirs, and ſuch letters as theſe, where affection filled the heart, and truth guided the pen.

(23) Memoirs of Sir John Rereſby, p. 274—277.

Mar, near Doncaſter, Oct. 6, 1688.

(24) To the Honourable Mr BERNARD GRANVILLE, at the Earl of Bathe's, St. James's.

(24) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 105.

'Sir,

'Your having no proſpect of obtaining a commiſſion 'for me, can no way alter or cool my deſire at this 'important juncture, to venture my life in ſome man-'ner or other, for my King and my country.

'I cannot bear living under the reproach of lying 'obſcure and idle in a country retirement, when every 'man who has the leaſt ſenſe of honour, ſhould be 'preparing for the field.

'You may remember, Sir, with what reluctance I 'ſubmitted to your commands upon Monmouth's re-'bellion, when no importunity could prevail with you 'to permit me to leave the academy. I was too young 'to be hazarded, but give me leave to ſay, it is glo-'rious at any age to die for one's country, and the 'ſooner the nobler the ſacrifice.

'I am now older by three years. My uncle Bathe 'was not ſo old, when he was left among the ſlain at 'the battle of Newbury; nor you yourſelf, Sir, when 'you made your eſcape from your tutors, to join your 'brother at the defence of Scilly.

'The ſame cauſe is now come round about again: 'the King has been miſled. Let thoſe who have miſ-'led him, be anſwerable for it: no body can deny but 'he is ſacred in his own perſon, and it is every honeſt 'man's duty to defend it.

'You are pleaſed to ſay, it is yet doubtful if the 'Hollanders are raſh enough to make ſuch an attempt: 'but be that as it will, I beg leave to inſiſt upon it, 'that I may be preſented to his Majeſty as one whoſe 'utmoſt ambition it is to devote his life to his ſervice, 'and my country's, after the example of all my an-'ceſtors.

'The gentry aſſembled at York, to agree upon the 'choice of repreſentatives for the county, have prepared 'an addreſs to aſſure his Majeſty they are ready to ſacri-'fice their lives and fortunes for him, upon this and all 'other occaſions; but at the ſame time they humbly 'beſeech him to give them ſuch magiſtrates, as may be agreeable

After things were ſettled, Mr Granville purſued his ſtudies, and gratified his taſte for poetry in the enjoyments of a private life. He was the younger ſon of a younger brother, and of courſe much reſtrained in point of fortune; and as matters were then ſituated with his family, had no reaſon to expect any favours from the adminiſtration (*i*). However, the hereditary prudence of his family, though it ſupplied not all deficiencies, yet covered all defects from public appearance; and his exact behaviour and correct œconomy prevented the world from diſcerning, that Providence, though indulgent in all other reſpects, had, to render that indulgence more beneficial, denied him riches ſuitable to the rank in which his birth had placed him. This was the more remarkable, becauſe, when he afterwards enjoyed an affluent income, that commendable œconomy was no more diſcerned, which had been the ornament of his youth; whereas, in moſt men, it is either an infirmity attending old age, or at leaſt a habit produced by experience. Being thus excluded from that circle of pleaſures in which young men are commonly immerſed, and, at the ſame time, debarred thoſe paſſages to fame, in which the martial diſpoſition of his family would have inclined him to tread, he ſtruck out amuſements of another kind, and though by a different road, reached the temple of Honour ſooner than moſt of his contemporaries (*k*). His dramatic pieces were of very different kinds, and written in very different manners; but they were all well received, and owed that reception to their intrinſic merit, as much as to the general eſteem and reſpect that all the polite world profeſſed for their author (*l*). They are, to ſay no more than truth, pieces that have often paſſed the preſs, without any diminution of that praiſe which they received upon the ſtage [*D*]. He was as true a judge of the powers

(*i*) Lives of Illuſtrious Men.

(*k*) See the Poem addreſſed to him by Mrs Elizabeth Higgons, in his own Works.

(*l*) Gildon's Supplement to La Grange's Account of the Dramatic Poets.

' agreeable to the laws of the land, for at preſent there ' is no authority to which they can legally ſubmit.

' They have been beating for volunteers at York, ' and the towns adjacent, to ſupply the regiments at ' Hull, but no body will liſt.

' By what I can hear, every body wiſhes well to the ' King, but they would be glad his miniſters were ' hang'd.

' The winds continue ſo contrary, that no landing ' can be ſo ſoon as was apprehended, therefore I may ' hope, with your leave and aſſiſtance, to be in readi- ' neſs before any action can begin. I beſeech you, ' Sir, moſt humbly and moſt earneſtly to add this one ' act of indulgence more, to ſo many other teſtimonies ' which I have conſtantly received of your goodneſs, ' and be pleaſed to believe me always, with the utmoſt ' duty and ſubmiſſion,

' Sir,

' Your moſt dutiful ſon,

' and moſt obedient ſervant,

' GEO. GRANVILLE.'

[*D*] *Which they received upon the ſtage.*] We have three plays of his, of which it is neceſſary to ſpeak ſeparately, and very diſtinctly, becauſe there are ſeveral circumſtances that are fit to be known in relation to them, which yet are not mentioned in his works.

1. The SHE GALLANTS, a *Comedy*, acted at the *Theatre Royal* in *Little Lincoln's Inn Fields*, 1696.

In the advertiſement originally prefixed to this Play, it is ſaid to be the *Child* of a *Child*, and it is urged in the way of apology for it, *that it was written at an age, when ſome perſons are but beginning to ſpell.* At firſt it met with applauſe, but a rumour being induſtriouſly propagated, that it was calculated to turn ſome great characters into ridicule (25), a formidable party was raiſed againſt it; notwithſtanding which, it was ſeveral times played with ſucceſs. The author always aſſerted, that the alluſions beforementioned were downright miſrepreſentations, and indeed, ſuppoſing the Play to be wrote in 1682 or 1683, or even two or three years later, the author muſt have been a *Prophet*, as well as a *Poet*, to have aimed his ſatire as it was ſuppoſed to be directed. Beſides, its original intention was private amuſement, and it was an unforeſeen accident that brought it upon the ſtage: ſo that in this, as it often happens, the piece was guiltleſs, it was the innuendo that made the libel; and the apprehenſions of falſe friends, which brought certain characters upon the carpet, for which the Play and it's author ſuffered, though in reality neither was to blame. Many years after, he corrected and gave it a new title, and then it was called,

(25) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. p. 123.

ONCE a LOVER, and ALWAYS a LOVER, a *Comedy*.

In the preface he obſerves, this is a *new building* upon an *old foundation*; and that taking it under examination ſo many years after it was written, he flatters himſelf to have made a *correct Comedy* of it. To juſtify this pains, he ſays, that he found it regular, the ſcene conſtant to one place, the time not exceeding the bounds preſcribed, and the action entire. He proceeds to point out the principal alterations that have been made, and concludes with the following remark (26). ' Whether this infant deſerved a *new coat*, or whether ' now he is provided with *one*, it may ſet him off *bet-* ' *ter*, is with all deference ſubmitted. An author flat- ' ters himſelf very ridiculouſly, if he can ſuppoſe it in ' his power to argue and reaſon the world into judging ' as he himſelf perhaps may do, of his own work.' In praiſe of this performance we find it ſaid (27), that it ' has a great deal more wit than the ſtage ' is generally uſed to; dialogue equalled by few, and ' more juſt ſatirical obſervations than moſt of our ' modern comedies.' Theſe, together with the commendations before given by the author, may be all true, but at the ſame time, it is as true, that there is ſcarce a ſingle ſcene, in which there are not expreſſions found, unworthy of him and of the Britiſh Stage; and for which, all the wit, humour, and vivacity with which they are mingled, cannot atone. Whatever is immodeſt is inexcuſable; we can never preſume that he has correction in his view, by whoſe writings the corruption of his audience is in any danger of being brought about; and if the true end of the ſtage be to expoſe and ridicule vice, it looks like defeating it, to introduce language and characters of the worſt ſort, in ſuch a manner as to make the moſt pleaſing impreſſions.

(26) See the Preface prefixed to this play, in Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. III. p. 1, 2.

(27) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. p. 123.

2. HEROIC LOVE, a *Tragedy*, acted at the Theatre Royal with great applauſe, 1696.

This was very juſtly eſteemed a capital performance, and as Mr Gildon (28) very truly ſays, it was an attempt to reſtore the antient manner of writing Tragedy at the expence of the modern. In it, Mr Granville obſerved the ſtricteſt rules of the antient drama; the action is ſingle, the ſcene is never varied, the time is the ſame with the repreſentation. All extravagance, all unneceſſary incidents are cut off; nothing can be more correct, or more free from what is called ſuſtian, than the diction of this piece. It is founded upon the Iliad, and is wrote according to the laws of Ariſtotle: It has been very juſtly commended, and moſt certainly ſhews an accurate judgment, very capable of curbing even the moſt exalted genius. It is however, to ſpeak the truth, as is our duty, rather free from faults, than abounding with beauties, and entertains one at leaſt, as much in the cloſet, as it could do on the theatre. But notwithſtanding this, we muſt allow it great merit, as it ſhewed what might be done, without having recourſe to improbabilities or to rant. It is in this light

(28) Supplement to Langbaine's Account of Dramatic Poets, p. 66.

powers of muſic as the harmony of numbers, and amongſt the ſmall number of poets, acquainted with the happy ſecret of combining both without injury to either. What he has written in proſe would have done him honour upon the ſubject as a critic; but what he has done in verſe does him ſtill more honour, as it ſhewed he was able to execute with ſpirit and vivacity, what his judgment taught him with the utmoſt correctneſs. The ſound, in reſpect to theſe compoſitions, was truly a comment upon the ſenſe, and one might have expected, that what he wrote in this ſtile, ſhould have carried the opera higher in Britain than even in Italy; but perhaps it has had contrary effect (m). His theory has been always acknowledged perſpicuous, noble, and juſt, but, like other great maſters, his practice upon trial has been found inimitable [E]. He was not one of thoſe fine eaſy writers

(m) See his Preface to the Britiſh Enchanters.

light that it muſt be conſidered, in order to juſtify the high praiſes given the author; and when conſidered in this light, it will effectually juſtify him, wrote as it is, with dignity and ſpirit, great beauty of ſentiment, and without any one of thoſe improprieties which have been objected to the Engliſh Tragedy; no diſtortion of hiſtory, no incredible fictions, no ſhedding of blood upon the ſtage, but all that decorum preſerved, which the ſtrict rules of criticiſm demand. It was introduced with all poſſible advantages (29); the Prologue was written by the Right Honourable Henry St John, Eſq; the Epilogue by Mr Bevil Higgons, and both are very fine pieces; but what did him the greateſt honour, were the numerous complements beſtowed upon his play after it appeared in print; and as great politicians ſometimes unite the moſt oppoſite intereſts, ſo our author drew the praiſes of parties, ſeldom heard in the commendation of the ſame thing, the ladies and the critics. But what muſt have given him the higheſt pleaſure, as it was the ſureſt proof of his ſucceſs, was the following incomparable poem of Mr John Dryden, which alone is ſufficient to fix his character with poſterity, and to ſecure his reputation as a poet, againſt all the attacks of ignorance or envy: a poem that does equal honour to him and to the author, and abounds with ſound ſenſe and concluſive argument, delivered with all the force of poetry, accompanied with all the harmony of numbers, and glowing with that diſintereſted friendſhip which great minds only feel, and which a great genius only could expreſs.

(29) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. p. 123, 124.

(30) To Mr. GRANVILLE,

On his excellent Tragedy, called, Heroic Love.

Auſpicious Poet, wert thou not my friend,
How could I envy, what I muſt commend!
But ſince 'tis nature's law, in love and wit,
That youth ſhould reign, and with'ring age ſubmit,
With leſs regret, thoſe lawrels I reſign,
Which dying on my brows, revive on thine.
With better grace an antient chief may yield
The long contended honours of the field,
Than venture all his fortune at a caſt,
And fight like Hanibal, to loſe at laſt.
Young Princes obſtinate to win the prize,
Tho' yearly beaten, yearly yet they riſe:
Old monarchs tho' ſucceſsful, ſtill in doubt,
Catch at a peace; and wiſely turn devout.
Thine be the lawrel then; thy blooming age
Can beſt, if any can, ſupport the ſtage,
Which ſo declines, that ſhortly we may ſee
Players and plays reduc'd to ſecond infancy.
Sharp to the world, but thoughtleſs of renown,
They plot not on the ſtage, but on the town,
And in deſpair, their empty pit to fill,
Set up ſome foreign monſter in a bill;
Thus they jog on; ſtill tricking, never thriving;
And murd'ring plays, which they miſcall reviving.
Our ſenſe is nonſenſe, thro' their pipes convey'd;
Scarce can a Poet know the play he made;
'Tis ſo diſguiſed in death: nor thinks 'tis he
That ſuffers in the mangled Tragedy.
Thus *Itys* firſt was kill'd, and after dreſs'd
For his own Sire, the chief invited gueſt.

(36) Original Poems and Tranſlations, by John Dryden, Eſq; Vol. II. p. 224.

I ſay not this of thy ſucceſsful ſcenes;
Where thine was all the glory, theirs the gains:
With length of time, much judgment, and more toil,
Not ill they acted, what they could not ſpoil:
Their ſetting Sun * ſtill ſhoots a glimm'ring ray,
Like ancient *Rome*, majeſtic in decay:
And better gleanings their worn ſoil can boaſt,
Than the crab vintage of the neighb'ring coaſt †.
This difference; yet the judging world will ſee,
Thou copieſt *Homer*, and they copy thee.

* Mr Betterton's company in Lincoln's-Inn-fields.

† Drury-lane Playhouſe.

3. The JEW of VENICE, altered from the MERCHANT of VENICE, written by *Shakeſpear*, 1701.

The profits of this Play were deſigned for Mr Dryden, but upon his death given to his ſon (31). The Prologue was ſpoken by the ghoſts of Shakeſpear and Dryden, and was written by Mr Bevil Higgons. It was well received then, and much eſteemed ſince. The chief merit of it is, that much of the original author is retained, and the alterations chiefly conſiſt in ſhortening the ſcenes, and diſpatching the buſineſs of the play with more veracity. To comply with the humour of the time, the Maſque of Peleus and Thetis was introduced, of which ſomething will be ſaid in the next note. If the Jew of Venice be more fit for the ſtage, the Merchant of Venice will be moſt eſteemed in the cloſet. The ſcene is Italy, and we ſee the grave and the comic manners of the Italians finely preſerved. The ſentiments are truly noble and nervouſly expreſſed; the morality is equally ſtriking and pleaſing; the characters ſtrongly marked, and yet extremely natural; the whole piece abounding with ſenſible reflections, and thoſe very capable of being applied in the common conduct of life. On the whole, we may affirm of this Play, that ſuch as underſtand it beſt will admire it moſt; and that though it may be rendered more faſhionable, yet it can never be ſo altered as to be improved. This was our author's ſenſe of the thing, as well as ours, and therefore it is not cenſure, but complement, when we ſubmit to it.

(31) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. III. p. 2, 11.

[E] *Has been found inimitable.*] We have in the text hinted the difficulty of ſettling the Chronology of our author's writings. He compoſed moſt of his poetical pieces when he was a perfect child; he reviewed, heightened, and improved them, in the middle part of of his life; he reviſed, corrected, and gave them the laſt touches, when his judgment was moſt mature. His poetic compoſitions of this kind, are but two.

I. Peleus and Thetis, a Maſque, originally introduced in the Jew of Venice.

The whole of this exquiſite performance is ſet to muſic The argument is, that Peleus being in love with Thetis, by the aſſiſtance of Proteus, obtains her favour; but Jupiter, being alſo in love with the ſame immortal beauty, takes her from him, and condemns Peleus to ſuffer endleſs pains on mount Caucaſus. There he has an opportunity of conſulting Prometheus, ſkilled in Aſtrology; upon whoſe prophecy, that the ſon born of Thetis, ſhould prove greater than his father, Jupiter deſiſts from his pretenſions, and Peleus with his conſent eſpouſes Thetis. The reader will allow us to juſtify what has been advanced in the text, by a ſhort quotation towards the cloſe of the Maſque.

(32) Prometheus to Jupiter.

Son of Saturn, take advice,
From one whom thy ſevere decree
Has furniſh'd leiſure to grow wiſe:
Thou rul'ſt the Gods, but Fate rules thee.

(32) Ibid. Vol. I. p. 151, 152.

[The

writers that compoſe a poem in a morning, but remarkably careful and curious about every thing he wrote; ſo that his verſes never appeared 'till they had undergone a ſevere examination; and even after they had received the ſanction of public applauſe, they were not free from his caſtigation; he thought he had a right to trim and prune the products of his imagination as long and as often as he thought fit, and it is certain that he exerciſed this right through his whole life (n). Like Ovid and Tibullus, his muſe was employed in tranſmitting the charms of beauty, as far as they can be tranſmitted by thoſe of poetry, to ſucceeding times. He began where Waller ended; and as he had conferred immortality on

(n) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. p. 125.

[The Prophecy]

Whoe'er th' immortal maid compreſſing,
Shall taſte joy, and reap the bleſſing;
Thus th' unerring ſtars adviſe:
From that auſpicious night, an heir ſhall riſe,
Paternal glories to efface,
The moſt illuſtrious of his race,
Tho' ſprang from him, who rules the ſkies.

Jupiter. [Apart]

Shall then the ſon of Saturn be undone,
Like Saturn by an impious ſon?
Juſtly th' impartial fates conſpire,
Dooming that ſon to be the ſire,
Of ſuch another ſon.
Conſcious of ills that I have done,
My fears to prudence ſhall adviſe,
And guilt, that made me great, ſhall make me wiſe.
The fatal bleſſing I reſign;
Peleus, take the maid divine *;
Jove conſenting, ſhe is thine;
The fatal bleſſing I reſign †.

* Giving her to Peleus.

† Joins their hands.

II. The BRITISH ENCHANTERS, or no MAGIC like LOVE: A *Dramatic Poem*, with Scenes, Machines, Muſic, and Decorations, &c.

Our author in a ſhort preface prefixed to this work, tells us (33), that, 'of all public ſpectacles, that which 'ſhould be called an Opera is calculated to give the 'higheſt delight. There is hardly any art but what 'is required to furniſh towards the entertainment, and 'there is ſomething or other to be provided, that may 'touch every ſenſe, and pleaſe every palate.' He obſerves, that the French Opera is perfect in the decorations, the dancing, and magnificence; the Italian excels in the muſic and voices, but the drama falls ſhort in both. An Engliſh ſtomach, he ſays, requires ſomething ſolid and ſubſtantial, and will never riſe ſatisfied from a regale of ſweetmeats. We have, ſays he, ſeveral poems under the name of Dramatic Operas, by the beſt hands; but the ſubjects, for the moſt part, have been improperly choſen: Mr Addiſon's Roſamond, and Mr Congreve's Semele, are rather Maſques than Operas. At the cloſe of his preface, he gives the following account of his own performance, which may be alſo ſtiled the hiſtory of it. 'The unities are reli-'gioufly obſerved: the place is the ſame, varied only 'into different proſpects, by the power of enchant-'ment: all the incidents fall naturally within the very 'time of repreſentation: The plot is one principal 'action, and of that kind, which introduces variety of 'turns and changes, all tending to the ſame point: 'the ornaments and decorations are of a piece with it, 'ſo that one could not well ſubſiſt without the other: 'every act concludes with ſome unexpected revolution, 'and in the end, vice is puniſhed, virtue rewarded, 'and the moral is inſtructive. Rhyme, which I would 'by no means admit into the dialogue of graver Tra-'gedy, ſeems to me the moſt proper ſtyle for repreſen-'tations of this heroic romantic kind, and beſt adap-'ted to accompany muſic. The ſolemn language of a 'haughty tyrant, will by no means become a paſ-'ſionate lover, and tender ſentiments require the ſofteſt 'colouring. The theme muſt govern the ſtyle, every 'thought, every character, every ſubject, of a diffe-'rent nature, muſt ſpeak a different language. An 'humble lover's gentle addreſs to his miſtreſs, would 'rumble ſtrangely in the Miltonic dialect; and the ſoft 'harmony of Mr. Waller's numbers, would ill become 'the mouths of Lucifer and Belzebub. The terrible 'and the tender, muſt be ſet to different notes of muſic. 'To conclude; this dramatic attempt, was the firſt 'eſſay of a very infant muſe, rather as a taſk at ſuch 'hours as were free from other exerciſes, than any way 'meant for public entertainment: but Mr Betterton, 'having had a caſual ſight of it many years after it was 'written, begged it for the ſtage, where it found ſo fa-'vourable a reception, as to have an uninterrupted 'run, of at leaſt forty days. The ſeparation of the 'principal actors, which ſoon followed, and the in-'troduction of the Italian Opera, put a ſtop to it's far-'ther appearance. Had it been compoſed at a riper 'time of life, the faults might have been fewer: How-'ever, upon reviſing it now at ſo great a diſtance of 'time, with a cooler judgment than the firſt concep-'tions of youth will allow, I cannot abſolutely ſay, '*ſcripſiſſe pudet*.' It remains, that we give a ſpecimen of his power in reſpect to numbers, which is the prerogative of our language, of the moſt extenſive influence, and which, notwithſtanding, is the leaſt underſtood. For this reaſon therefore, we will produce ſuch an inſtance; and if, for the ſhort time he is reading it, the reader will forget Mr Dryden's Ode upon St Cecilia's day, he will not be able to recollect a finer piece of Lyric Poetry in the Britiſh tongue.

(33) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. III. p. 155.

(34) Ode to DISCORD. (34) Ibid. p. 197, 198.

A ſingle voice,

When Love's away, then Diſcord reigns,
The Furies he unchains,
Bids Æolus unbind
The northern wind
That fetter'd lays in caves:
And root up trees, and plow the plains,
Old Ocean frets and raves;
From their deep roots the rocks he tears,
Whole deluges lets fly,
That daſh againſt the ſky,
And ſeem to drown the ſtars.
Th' aſſaulted clouds return the ſhock,
Blue light'ning ſinge the waves,
And thunder rends the rock.

Then Jove uſurps his father's crown,
Inſtructing mortals to aſpire;
The father would deſtroy the ſon,
The ſon dethrones the ſire.
The Titans to regain their right,
Prepare to try a ſecond fight;
Briareus arms his hundred hands,
And marches forth the bold gigantic bands.

Pelion upon Oſſa thrown,
Steep Olympius they invade;
Gods and giants tumble down,
And Mars is foil'd by Encelade.

Horror, confuſion, dreadful ire,
Daggers, poiſon, ſword and fire,
To execute the deſtin'd wrath conſpire:
The Furies looſe their ſnaky rods,
And laſh both men and Gods.
The chorus, repeat the laſt ſtanza.

on Lady Dorothea Sidney, under the name of Sachariſſa, ſo the Counteſs of Newbourg, who was Granville's Mira, will live as long as the Engliſh language (o). But as much he excelled in the amorous, he excelled alſo in other kinds of poetry, and had the genius and learning as well as the ſpirit and the turn of Ovid, as appears clearly from one of the moſt beautiful pieces of poetical criticiſm that is any where extant (p) [F]. At the acceſſion

(o) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. I. p. 63, 64.

(p) Ibid. p. 88.

[F] *That is any where extant.*] This performance is his Eſſay on Unnatural Flights in Poetry (35). The Earl of Mulgrave, afterwards ſucceſſively diſtinguiſhed by the titles of Normanby and Buckinghamſhire, had wrote an admirable piece, intitled, An Eſſay (36) on Poetry; the Earl of Roſcommon (37), had likewiſe written with the ſame title upon tranſlated verſe. Our author, to compleat the ſubject, wrote this third Eſſay, to ſhew that notwithſtanding all the notions of poetic liberty, whatever is abſurd, extravagant, or unnatural, can never be either ſublime or beautiful. He wrote likewiſe annotations to explain, to eſtabliſh, and to confirm his rules by examples. The following inſtances will give the reader an idea of his Poem (38).

(35) Ibid. p. 88.

(36) The Works of John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, Marquis of Normanby, and Duke of Buckingham, Vol. I. p. 127.

(37) Eſſay on tranſlated Verſe, by the Right Hon. the Earl of Roſcommon, Lond. 1680, 4to.

(38) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. I. p. 90, 91, 96, 97.

Thus poetry has ample ſpace to ſoar,
Nor needs forbidden regions to explore,
Such vaunts as his, who can with patience read,
Who thus deſcribes his hero ſlain and dead.
* ‘ Kill'd as he was, inſenſible of death,
‘ He ſtill fights on, and ſcorns to yield his breath.
The noiſy culverin, o'ercharg'd, lets fly,
And burſt unaiming in the rended ſky:
Such frantic flights are like a madman's dream,
And nature ſuffers in the wild extreme.
The captive canibal, weigh'd down with chains,
Yet braves his foes, reviles, provokes, diſdains,
Of nature fierce, untameable and proud,
He grins defiance, at the gaping crowd;
And ſpent at laſt, and ſpeechleſs as he lies,
With looks ſtill threat'ning, mocks their rage and dies:
This is the utmoſt ſtretch that nature can,
And all beyond is fulſom, falſe, and vain.

* Arioſto.

I needed not to have travelled ſo far for an extravagant flight, I remember one of Britiſh growth of the like nature.

See thoſe dead bodies, hence convey'd with care,
Life may perhaps return——with change of air.

But I chooſe rather to correct gently by foreign examples, hoping that ſuch as are conſcious of the like exceſſes, will take the hint, and ſecretly reprove themſelves: it may be poſſible for ſome tempers to maintain rage and indignation to the laſt gaſp, but the ſoul and body once parted, there muſt neceſſarily be a determination of action.

Quodcunque oſtendis mihi ſic incredulus odi.

I cannot forbear quoting on this occaſion, as an example for the preſent purpoſe, two noble lines of Jaſper Main's, in the collection of the Oxford verſes, printed in the year 1643, upon the death of my grandfather, Sir Bevil Granville, ſlain in the heat of action, at the battle of Lanſdowne. The Poet, after having deſcribed the fight, the ſoldiers animated by the example of their leader, and enraged at his death, thus concludes:

Thus he being ſlain, his *action* fought anew,
And the dead conquer'd, whilſt the living flew.

This is agreeable to truth, and within the compaſs of nature: it is thus only, that the dead can act.

(39) Ibid. p. 97, 98, 99, 100.

(39) Beauty's the theme, ſome nymph divinely fair
Excites the muſe, let truth be even there.
As Painters flatter, ſo may Poets too,
But to reſemblance muſt be ever true:
† ‘ The day that ſhe was born, the Cyprian Queen, † Corneille.
‘ Had like t'have dy'd, thro' envy and thro' ‘ ſpleen;
‘ The Graces in a hurry left the ſkies,
‘ To have the honour to attend her eyes;
‘ And love deſpairing in her heart a place,
‘ Would needs take up his lodging in her face.’
Tho' wrote by great Corneille, ſuch lines as theſe
Such civil nonſenſe ſure could never pleaſe;
Waller, the beſt of all th' inſpir'd train,
To melt the fair inſtructs the dying ſwain.

* Le jour qu'elle naquit, Venus bien qu' immortelle,
Penſa mourir de honte, en la voyant ſi belle,
Les Graces a l'envi deſcendirent des cieux
Pour avoir l'honeur d'acompagner ſes yeux,
Et l'amour qui ne pût entre dans ſon courage,
Voulut obſtinément loger ſur ſon viſage.

This is a lover's deſcription of his miſtreſs, by the great Corneille, civil to be ſure, and polite as any thing can be. Let any body turn over Waller, and he will ſee how much more naturally and delicately the Engliſh author treats the article of love, than the celebrated Frenchman. I would not, however, be thought by any derogatory quotation, to take from the merit of a writer, whoſe reputation is ſo univerſally and ſo juſtly eſtabliſhed in all nations; but I ſaid before, I rather chooſe, where any failings are to be found, to correct my own countrymen by foreign examples, than to provoke them by inſtances drawn from their own writings. Humanum eſt errare. I cannot forbear one quotation more from another celebrated French author. It is an epigram upon a monument for Francis the Firſt, king of France, by way of queſtion and anſwer, which in Engliſh is verbatim thus:

Under this marble, who lies buried here?
Francis the Great, a King beyond compare.
Why has ſo great a King *ſo ſmall a ſtone?*
Of that great King, here's but the heart alone:
Then of this conqueror, here lies but part,
No—here he lies all—for he was all heart.

The author was a Gaſcon, to whom I can properly oppoſe no body ſo well as a Welſhman: for which purpoſe, I am farther furniſhed from the forementioned collection of Oxford verſes, with an epigram, by Martin Lluellin, upon the ſame ſubject, which I remember to have heard often repeated to me, when I was a boy. Beſides, from whence can we draw better examples, than from the very ſeat and nurſery of the Muſes?

Thus ſlain, thy valiant anceſtor did lie,
When his one bark a navy did defy;
When now encompaſs'd round he victor ſtood,
And bath'd his pinnace in his conquering blood,
Till all the purple current dry'd and ſpent,
He fell and made the waves his monument:
Where ſhall the next fam'd Granville's aſhes ſtand?
Thy grandſire fills the ſea, and thine the land.

I cannot ſay the two laſt lines, in which conſiſts the ſting or point of the epigram, are ſtrictly conformable to the rule herein ſet down: the word aſhes, metaphorically, can ſignify nothing but fame, which is mere ſound,

accession of Queen Anne, he ſtood as fair in the general eſteem as any man of his age, which was about five and twenty. His father, who was juſt dead, had made ſome proviſion for him; and his uncle the Earl of Bath, who did not ſurvive him long, had alſo left Mr Granville a ſmall annuity, which, with the credit of his couſin, ſoon after created Lord Granville of Potheridge, engaged him to come into Parliament; and he was accordingly choſen for Fowey in the firſt Parliament of the Queen with John Hicks, Eſq; (q). Soon after he publiſhed, in conjunction with ſeveral other patriots, one of the orations of Demoſthenes, in order to excite a proper ſpirit in the nation againſt France; for, as an eminent writer obſerves, the Tories were at this time looked upon as ſincerely inclined to vigorous meaſures (r). This new ſpecimen of literature gained him many friends, at the ſame time that it added highly to his reputation, and is ſtill in very great eſteem [G]. His fortune received ſome improvement from an accident, in all other reſpects big with irreparable loſs, the death of his gallant brother Sir Bevil Granville, looked upon at that time as the riſing hopes of the family, who had given ſuch early proofs of magnanimity, as had diſarmed the rage of party, and, at the time of his deceaſe, was univerſally acknowledged to be a moſt deſerving officer, and a gentleman equally diſtinguiſhed by amiable and eſtimable qualities [H]. Mr Granville bore this blow of fortune with great ſteadineſs, and

(q) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. II. p. 239.

(r) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 114—134. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 314.

found, and can fill no ſpace either of land or ſea: the Welſhman, however, muſt be allowed to have outdone the Gaſcon. The fallacy of the French epigram appears at firſt ſight; but the Engliſh ſtrikes the fancy, ſuſpends and dazles the judgment, and may perhaps be allowed to paſs under the ſhelter of thoſe daring hyperboles, which, by preſenting an obvious meaning, make their way, according to Seneca, through incredible to true.

[G] *And is ſtill in very great eſteem.*] As few countries were ever bleſſed with more great men at one ſeaſon than this iſland at that time, we may obſerve, that in no period that can be aſſigned, there ever appeared a truer or a warmer ſpirit of liberty; it was to keep up this ſpirit, that ſome of our ableſt patriots thought it might be expedient to tranſlate ſome of the beſt orations of Demoſthenes, as containing the moſt perſwaſive arguments to animate the ſubjects of a free ſtate, to exert their utmoſt ſtrength in oppoſing the pernicious deſigns of an ambitious and overbearing neighbour; they thought it very fortunate, that as without any manifeſt abſurdity they might compare their own government to that of Athens; there was at the ſame time, ſo great and ſo apparent a likeneſs between the characters of Philip of Macedon, and Lewis the Fourteenth We know not whether it was choice or accident, that determined our author to the ſecond Olynthian; but whatever determined him, we may very boldly ſay, that he has tranſlated it with equal fidelity and beauty, and, without either forcing the ſenſe, or ſtraining the ſpirit, has rendered it as applicable to the ſubject, which was the common object of all the tranſlators, as could be expected or even deſired. It has been ſaid, that ſome of them made too free with a French tranſlator, conſidering the author's eloquence was to be turned againſt a French prince; this certainly was not Mr Granville's caſe, and to ſhew how admirably he did his part, and at the ſame time to ſhew how the good ſenſe, and ſound reaſoning of one age, may ſquare with the circumſtances of another, though at a great diſtance, we will preſume to give a few paragraphs, and appeal to the reader's own judgment, whether the advice given in them, may not be read with edification even in our age (40).

(40) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 121, 122, 123.

'What time ſo proper for action? what occaſion ſo 'happy? and when can you hope for ſuch another, if 'this be neglected? has not Philip, contrary to all 'treaties, inſulted you in Thrace? does he not at this 'inſtant ſtraiten and invade your confederates, whom 'you have ſolemnly ſworn to protect? is he not an implacable enemy? a faithleſs ally? the uſurper of provinces, to which he has no title or pretence? a 'ſtranger, a barbarian, a tyrant, and indeed what is 'he not? and yet, O ye mortal gods! when we ſhall 'have abandoned all things to this Philip; when by 'the indifference of ſome, by the treachery of others, 'we have as it were, added force and wings to his ambition, we ſhall yet make ourſelves a greater ſcorn to 'our enemies, by upbraiding and loading each other 'with the reproach. Each party, though equally 'guilty by their diviſions of the common calamity, 'will be imputing the miſcarriage to his neighbour; 'and though never ſo conſcious, every one will be excuſing himſelf, by laying the blame on another: as 'after the loſs of a battle, not a man that fled, but accuſes his companion, condemns his general, and ſeparately examined, no one takes ſhame to himſelf, 'each ſhifting the common diſgrace from one to 'another; but yet it is certain, that every individual 'man who gave ground, was equally acceſſary to the 'general defeat. The man who accuſes his companion, might have ſtood firm himſelf, had he pleaſed, 'and that which was a route, had then been a victory. 'Such is the pride and folly of parties overborn and 'ſway'd by perſonal prejudice; ſacrificing the public 'to private reſentment, and charging each other with 'miſcarriages, for which they are every one equally accountable. A manager for one ſide propoſes, he is ſure 'to be oppoſed by a manager for the other, not gently 'and amicably, but with heat, malice, and unbecoming reflection; let a third more moderate ariſe, his 'opinion is not to be received, but as he is known to 'be engaged in a party. What good can be hoped 'from ſuch a confuſion of councils, directed only by prejudice or partiality, in defiance to ſenſe and right 'reaſon? if no advice that is given is to be received, 'but as it ſuits the humours of a party, or flatters the 'diſtempers of the times, it is not his fault who ſpeaks 'honeſtly, but yours who reſolve to be deaf to all 'arguments that diſpleaſe you. In debates for the 'public, we are not to ſeek what will pleaſe, but what 'will profit. If our wiſhes exceed what we have 'means to accompliſh, we muſt contract our wiſhes, 'and confine them to what is in our power. Let the 'Gods have your prayers, to grant what is out of your 'reach, nothing is impoſſible to them: but we, who 'have only human means to act by, muſt be governed 'by circumſtances, doing as well as we can, and truſting the reſt to Providence.' The reader upon the peruſal will certainly concur with us, in opinion, that he could not have choſen a fitter oration than this; one more applicable to the end propoſed, or which alluded more clearly to the ſtate of the times; ſo that the advice of Demoſthenes, though he lived ſo many ages before, and at ſuch a diſtance from us, is brought directly home; and from the ſimiliarity of the conjunctures, his exhortations as properly adapted to the people of Britain then, as they were to the citizens of Athens when delivered.

[H] *Equally diſtinguiſhed by amiable and eſtimable qualities.*] We have before, mentioned Sir Bevil Greenville's receiving the honour of Knighthood from King James the Second, in the camp at Hounſlow, May 22, 1686, and his being afterwards ſent by his uncle the Earl of Bath, to the iſland of Jerſey. He was Lieutenant-Colonel of the Earl of Bath's regiment at the Revolution, became afterwards Colonel (41), and was at length promoted to the rank of Major-General, behaving upon all occaſions with equal ſteadineſs and courage; in the battle of Steenkirk, particularly, he ſignalized himſelf more than any officer in the army. This battle was fought on Sunday Auguſt 3d, 1692 (42), the army of the allies being commanded by King William, and that of the French, by the Marſhal Duke de Luxemburgh. The vanguard being oppreſſed by numbers,

(41) Lives of Illuſtrious Men, p. 350.

(42) Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 644.

and continued to dedicate his more ſerious hours to the ſervice of his country, and to ſpend his moments of leiſure with the Muſes, whom he courted with dignity and freedom, and not with that eagerneſs and fondneſs which render men pedants even in poetry. He continued to ſerve in the Parliaments called in the fourth and ſeventh year of the ſame Queen's reign. In the enſuing Parliament, choſen in the ninth year of the Queen, he was elected for the borough of Helſton, and alſo Knight of the Shire for the county of Cornwall, for which he ſerved (s). On the great change which happened in the autumn of 1710, he came into employment with his friends; and on Michaelmas-day was declared Secretary at War in the room of the late Earl of Orford, then Robert Walpole, Eſq; (t). He continued in this office for ſome time, and diſcharged it with great capacity. Towards the cloſe of the next year, he eſpouſed the Lady Mary, daughter of Edward Villiers, Earl of Jerſey, at that time the widow of Thomas Thynne, Eſq; from whom ſhe enjoyed a conſiderable jointure, and by whom ſhe was the mother of the late Lord Viſcount Weymouth (u). On the thirty-firſt of December, 1711, he was, in conſideration of the great and eminent ſervices of his anceſtors, and his own conſpicuous merit, created a peer of Great-Britain, by the title of Lord Lanſdowne, Baron of Biddeford in the county of Devon (w). Amongſt the numerous creations at that time, there was none that gave greater ſatisfaction to one ſide, or leſs offence to the other, than this. His Lordſhip was apparently the next male in that noble family, in which two peerages had extinguiſhed almoſt together. His perſonal merit was univerſally allowed, and, with regard to his political ſentiments, even thoſe who thought him moſt miſtaken, allowed him to be open, candid, and uniform, expreſſing himſelf frankly upon all occaſions, and ſhewing rather more warmth when in oppoſition to power, than when his notions ſeemed to receive a favourable colour from faſhion. He ſtood always high in the favour of Queen Anne, and with great reaſon, having upon every occaſion teſtified the greateſt zeal for her government, and the moſt profound reſpect for her perſon. We need not wonder therefore, that, in the ſucceeding year, he was advanced to the poſt of Comptroller of the Houſhold, and, on the 18th of Auguſt, ſworn of her Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy-Council (x). About that time twelve-month he became Treaſurer of the Houſhold (y), being ſucceeded in his former employment by Sir John Stonehouſe. His Lordſhip continued in this poſt during the remaining part of the Queen's reign, and 'till his Majeſty King George was pleaſed, on the 11th of October, 1714, to beſtow it upon the Earl of Cholmondeley (z). His connections with the tory miniſtry, and the generoſity of his diſpoſition, which would not allow him to deſert his friends in their diſtreſs, induced him to act with them at the beginning of the late reign, when we find his name amongſt thoſe Lords, who proteſted againſt the bill for attainting Henry Lord Viſcount Bolingbroke, and alſo againſt that for attainting James Duke of Ormond (a), unleſs they ſurrendered by a day certain. This ſteadineſs of his Lordſhip in the ſupport of his old friends, expoſed him, as he muſt foreſee it would, to many inconveniencies; for upon the inſurrections in Scotland and England, his Lordſhip, though he was one of thoſe who ſigned the proclamation (b) of the late King, upon the demiſe of her late Majeſty Queen Anne,

(s) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. II. p. 75, 84.

(t) Hiſtory of Europe for the year 1710, p. 571. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, Vol. II. p. 659.

(u) Hiſtory of Europe for the year 1711, p. 574. Lives of Illuſtrious Men, p. 350.

(w) Hiſtory of Europe for 1711, p. 479.

(x) Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, Vol. II. p. 722. Hiſtory of Europe for the year 1712, p. 132.

(y) Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, Vol. II. p. 735. (z) Hiſtorical Regiſter, Vol. II. p. 12.

(a) The Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, Vol. III. p. 17, 18.

(b) Hiſtorical Regiſter, Vol. I. p. 3.

numbers, and Count Solmes neglecting to ſupport them, out of envy to the Engliſh, and diſtaſte to the Prince of Wirtembergh, who commanded, and having at laſt ſent horſe inſtead of foot, expreſsly contrary to the royal orders, to their relief, his Majeſty, who foreſaw the conſequences of this ill conduct, exerted himſelf with the utmoſt vigour to repair it, though by this time the foot were a mile diſtant from the troops that were engaged, and had already ſuffered ſeverely. However, the King made all poſſible diligence to get the infantry up, ordering a brigade to march to the wood, and forming a line of battle in the plain, with ſuch foot as could come up. The eagerneſs of the ſoldiers to follow and engage the enemy was ſuch, that they put themſelves into ſome diſorder, and took more time to form their battallions, than could now be ſpared; ſo that before they could reach the wood, the vanguard and infantry of the left wing being overpowered by thirty battallions of the enemy, who charged them continually one after another, and by a freſh body of dragoons, brought up by Boufflers, they were forced to retreat in great confuſion, and to leave the wood to the enemies poſſeſſion. The Engliſh Life-guards owed their preſervation to the Daniſh Foot-guards; and a regiment of Lunenburgh, commanded by the Baron of Pibreck, being in diſorder upon the ſkirt of the wood, and the Colonel himſelf dangerouſly wounded upon the place, Sir Bevil Granville, who commanded the Earl of Bath's regiment, marched up to his relief, receiving the enemies fire, before he ſuffered his battalion to diſcharge. By this method he lodged himſelf in the narrow way near the wood, ordered his ſerjeants to carry off Baron Pibreck, and maintained his poſt till he was commanded to leave it by the Prince of Naſſau. The King enraged at the diſappointment of the vanguard for want of timely relief, expreſſed his concern, by often repeating theſe words, Oh my poor Engliſh! how they are abandoned! nor would he admit Count Solmes to his royal preſence for many months after. But conſidering the attack was not to be renewed without endangering the loſs of the army, Luxemburgh being conſiderably reinforced by Boufflers, and beſides the night drawing on, his Majeſty commanded a retreat, which was performed with admirable order, and without any great diſturbance from the enemy, who never durſt engage the Engliſh in the rear. After the death of King William, in the year 1703, we find Sir Bevil Granville advanced to be governor of Barbadoes, with a fixed ſalary of two thouſand pounds a year (43). He was extremely welcome to the inhabitants at his firſt arrival, though he had not long been there before diſputes aroſe, which were gradually carried to a very great height, and in conjunction with the warmth of the climate, had ſuch an operation on his health, that he ſollicited his re-call; and having obtained it, went on board an infected ſhip, and died in his paſſage home, September 15th, 1706 (44), in the flower of his age, unmarried, and univerſally lamented. He ſerved in Parliament for the Borough of Fowey, in the County of Cornwall (45), in the reign of King James; under that of King William, he was elected for Leſtwithiel (46).

(43) The Britiſh Empire in America, Vol. II. p. 63.

(44) Lives of Illuſtrious Men, p. 350. Le Neve's Monumenta Anglicana, p. 121.

(45) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. II. p. 139.

(46) The Parliamentary Regiſter, p. 137.

[illegible] yet was ſeized as a ſuſpected perſon, September 26, 1715 (*c*), and committed priſoner to the Tower of London, where he continued a long time. At this unfortunate juncture, the well intended officiouſneſs of one of his ſervants, deprived the world of ſeveral [illegible] pieces that had fallen from his pen, by haſtily committing to the flames (*d*) ſome papers, of which he had obſerved his Lord to be particularly careful. The loſs was irreparable, for his Lordſhip being tender of the productions of his youth, ſuffered no copies to be taken, 'till, by repeated corrections and improvements, he had reconciled them to his maturer judgment. He was at length diſcharged from his tedious impriſonment (*e*), February 8, 1717, when all dangers were over. His Lordſhip's being ſet at liberty was highly ſatisfactory to the polite part of the world, as he was a diſtinguiſhed patron of letters, and even cheriſhed in others, thoſe arts by which he had riſen himſelf into univerſal eſteem. We find him, in 1719, as vigorous as ever in the Houſe of Lords, as appears by his ſpeech (*f*) againſt repealing the act to prevent occaſional conformity, to which, in point of eloquence and ſpirit, there are very few harangues in our language that ought to be preferred. About three years afterwards, his Lordſhip, for the ſake of his health and for other reaſons, thought fit to go abroad, and continued out of the kingdom for ſeveral years (*g*). It was during this ſpace that the firſt volume of the Biſhop of Sarum's Hiſtory of his own Times was made public; and, as that work made a very great noiſe, it is no wonder that his Lordſhip peruſed it with attention; and finding the characters of the Duke of Albemarle and the Earl of Bath treated in a manner he thought they did not deſerve, his Lordſhip formed the deſign of doing them juſtice. This led him to look into the works of other Hiſtorians, more eſpecially thoſe of the Earl of Clarendon and Mr Archdeacon Echard; where, finding his great-uncle Sir Richard Greenvile more roughly treated, and his Lordſhip having in his hands memoirs capable of ſetting his conduct in a fairer point of light, he reſolved to follow the dictates of his duty and his inclination, by publiſhing his ſentiments upon theſe heads, and giving the world thoſe lights, which in reſpect to them they had long wanted (*b*). At his return to England in 1732, he made this work of his public, which was generally well received, as being written with great ſpirit, wonderful beauty of expreſſion, and, being full of new diſcoveries, gave the lovers of perſonal hiſtory infinite ſatisfaction. However, there wanted not ſome who thought themſelves obliged in honour to oppoſe his Lordſhip, for very particular reaſons: amongſt theſe, Mr Oldmixon (*i*) was the firſt; and though he was naturally of a very warm temper, embarked early in an oppoſite cauſe, and in ſome things had copied the authors his Lordſhip condemned; yet, upon this occaſion, he wrote with temper, made his Lordſhip great conceſſions, and contented himſelf with defending only a few points, and thoſe too not the moſt material in his Lordſhip's performance. The neareſt relation (*k*) of the deceaſed prelate looked upon himſelf as obliged to enter the liſts alſo with his Lordſhip; and though more might have been urged in his excuſe than for any other man in a caſe of this nature, if he had tranſgreſſed a little the rules of moderation, yet he really wants it not; his diſcourſe is written with great coolneſs and calmneſs, and, while he ſays every thing that it was in his power to ſay, and in the ſtrongeſt terms poſſible, there is nothing that has ſo much as an air of vehemence, much leſs of ill manners. Nay, this writer forbore making any attack, 'till his Lordſhip had anſwered his former antagoniſt, Mr Oldmixon, in a letter dated from Old-Windſor, Auguſt 22, 1732 (*l*), in which his Lordſhip made a full return of candour and civility. But in the ſpring of the ſucceeding year, his Lordſhip met with an opponent of a very different caſt, in Dr Colbatch (*m*), of Trinity-College Cambridge, who undertook to vindicate the memory of Mr Archdeacon Echard, in reference to his account of the marriage-treaty between Charles the Second and the Infanta of Portugal; and this he has done with great vigour and judgment, but at the ſame time with too much aſperity. He was a perſon perfectly well acquainted with the ſubject, as having reſided long in Portugal, and made the political affairs of that country his ſtudy. He was alſo a great maſter of argument, and thought himſelf at liberty to retort where it was in his power, any obſervation; to cenſure every eſcape in expreſſion; and to criticize his Lordſhip as an author, without paying too much regard to his quality. He had better fortune than either of his predeceſſors; he attacked the weakeſt part of his Lordſhip's book, and knowing the advantage he had, kept ſteadily to that ſingle point, without wandering into the other parts of the diſpute. His Lordſhip prudently declined an anſwer, and contented himſelf with having afforded the republic of letters an opportunity of ſeeing ſeveral points of Engliſh hiſtory thoroughly ſifted, and ſome new facts brought to light, which otherwiſe, in all probability, had been buried in oblivion [*I*]. His Lordſhip ſoon after took an opportunity of reviſing all his works,

(*c*) [illegible] Vol. III. p. 180.

(*d*) [illegible] of Europe, Vol. III. p. 822.

(*e*) [illegible] Regiſter, year 1717, Hiſt. p. 10.

(*f*) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. III. p. 188—195.

(*g*) See his Lordſhip's Preface to the firſt Volume of his Works.

(*b*) A Vindication of General Monk, Duke of Albemarle, from ſome calumnies of Dr Burnet, and ſome miſtakes of Dr Echard, in relation to the ſale of Dunkirk and the Portugal Match. A Vindication of Sir Richard Granvil'e, General in the Weſt for King Charles I. from the miſrepreſentations of the Earl of Clarendon and the Rev. Mr Archdeacon Echard. Both theſe are printed in his Lordſhip's Works, Vol. II. p. 135, 185.

(*i*) Reflections Hiſtorical and Political, occaſioned by a Treatiſe lately publiſhed, intitled, A Vindication of General Monk and Sir Richard Granville, &c. To which are added, A Reply to that part of it which relates to Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, and New Proofs of the miſrepreſentation and partiality in the Earl of Clarendon's and Mr Echard's Hiſtories, extracted out of the ſaid Vindication, and Rapin's Hiſtory of England, 1732, 4to.

(*k*) Remarks upon the Right Honourable the Lord Lanſdowne's Letter to the author of the Reflections Hiſtorical and Political, &c. as far as relates to Biſhop Burnet, 1732, 4to.

(*l*) A Letter to the author of Reflections Hiſtorical and Political, occaſioned by a Treatiſe in Vindication of General Monk and Sir Richard Granville, &c. by the Right Honourable George Granville, Lord Lanſdowne, 1732, 4to.

(*m*) An Examination of the late Archdeacon Echard's account of the Marriage-Treaty between King Charles II. and Queen Katharine, Infanta of Portugal, addreſſed to the Right Honourable George Granville, Lord Lanſdowne; by Dr Colbatch of Trinity-College in Cambridge, 1733, 4to.

[*I*] *Which otherwiſe, in all probability, had been buried in oblivion*] We have in the two foregoing articles, made ſuch abundant uſe of his lordſhip's writings, as clearly proves the aſſertion in the text, to which, for the ſatisfaction of the reader, we will ſubjoin ſome farther inſtances in this note. In reference to the loyalty of the county of Cornwall, our author has produced a very remarkable letter from King Charles the Firſt, dated from his camp at Sudley-Caſtle (47), September 10th, 1643, of which he informs us, that there is a copy hung up in almoſt every church and chapel in the county. In reference to Sir Bevil Greenvile, he has furniſhed us with much; in regard to Sir Richard Greenvile, with a great deal more; but ſtill there

(47) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 276, 277, 278.

works, in order to a new edition, which might be worthy of them and of his Lordſhip, a circumſtance that does him great honour, and which has contributed not a little to preſerve

there are ſome things wanting that would give us much farther lights upon this ſubject. Whitlocke has preſerved a circumſtance we meet with no where elſe, and though but a rumour, and a falſe rumour too, is of ſome conſequence to that gentleman's character. After the defeat of Eſſex in Cornwall, it was reported and believed, that the King had created that gentleman (48) Baron of Leſtwithiel, an undeniable evidence, that common fame attributed to him the honour of that action. We know not what is become of that relation which Sir Richard is ſaid not only to have written, but to have (49) printed and publiſhed, of his own conduct in the Weſt; and we are alſo in the dark as to the death of his only ſon; all that his lordſhip knew was, that he ſuffered for his father's principle (50); all we have been able to diſcover farther, is the time of his death, which was (51) March 8th, 1657-8. Many things relating to the Reſtoration we have already had occaſion to mention, and ſeveral more belong to other articles, which therefore it would be improper to mention here. But there is a fact with regard to King Charles's Queen Katherine, and her capacity of bearing children, which through his lordſhip's means has been ſtated in a pretty ſtrong light, and which for that reaſon ought not to be overlooked. In reference to this, his lordſhip ſays (52), 'as to the incapacity in the Infanta of bearing children, it was never proved nor acknowledged: on the contrary, I have heard many ladies of equal quality to the Ducheſs of Guadaloupa, ſome of them my near relations, who had the honour to attend upon her Majeſty's perſon from her firſt coming into England to her dying day, affirm it to have been a falſe imputation, and that ſhe was twice declared to be with child, is an undeniable proof of it.' This point is very fully explained by the following commentary of Dr Colebatch (53). 'Whether matters of this ſort be capable of proof, is more than I know; it is not likely they'll be acknowledged by the perſons concerned. It was cauſe ſufficient for the Chancellor to take the alarm; and to warn his maſter of the danger, in caſe the thing was believed upon any probable preſumption. Mr Echard I'm ſure hath dealt fairly with his reader, by acquainting him with what hath been alledged on one ſide and t'other, which he had for the moſt part from myſelf. He ſays very truly, that this ſuppoſed incapacity could not be imputed to the Infanta's age or country. I have ſeen a woman near Liſbon, with a child of her own in her arms, who ſeemed to be near fifty years; and upon my taking notice of it, was told, that women there, if they marry ſooner than thoſe of other countries, which is commonly the caſe, ſooner ceaſe to bear children, and not otherwiſe. So that if there was any truth in the report concerning the incapacity of this princeſs, it muſt, as the Archdeacon obſerves, be upon account of ſome peculiar infirmities of body. But ſuch a report there certainly was, and that before the marriage was compleated. Mr John Pollexſen, a countryman of your Lordſhip's, was a perſon ſo eminent in divers reſpects, that in all likelihood he was well known to your Lordſhip, and if ſo, he may have acquainted you with what I have heard from him myſelf; namely, that when the Earl of Sandwich came with a fleet to conduct the Queen to England, this matter was the common ſubject of diſcourſe among our merchants at Liſbon, and that they, he, Mr Pollexſen, being one of the number, remonſtrated to his Lordſhip, that the King was not like to have iſſue by his marriage. Poſſibly the report may have been confirmed if not raiſed by the Ducheſs of Guadaloupa, whoſe brother, the Duke of Aveiro, went over from Portugal to Caſtile (and ſhe with him as I ſuppoſe), about the time when the marriage was agreed upon. I am ſure Sir Robert told me, that being at Madrid when the news came thither of our Queen's miſcarriage, he waited on that lady to acquaint her with it, which having done, he added, that there being now cauſe to expect a future pregnancy, he hoped it would be attended with a more happy ſucceſs. But the Ducheſs, who had been acquainted with the Queen *from her infancy and in the nurſery*, (they are Sir Robert Southwell's own words) ſhaking her head, gave him to underſtand, that ſhe looked upon ſuch hopes to be altogether groundleſs——I have, as I told Mr Echard, ſeveral times heard the ſame thing affirmed by one lady, who had the honour of being allied to your lordſhip's family, and was the only Proteſtant of her rank and ſex that attended the Queen at Liſbon; I mean the Lady Wyche, who declared, that to her knowledge, her Majeſty was in a childbearing condition 'till after King Charles's death. I doubt not but that each of theſe ladies, had ſome particular reaſon on which to ground their opinion, ſo that great deference is due to the teſtimony both of the one and of the other. But I do not ſee how any difference in their quality, ſhould affect the credibility of their evidence on either ſide.' In proof however of ſo much of the fact, as that this matter, which ought always to have been kept ſecret, was very early the topic of diſcourſe, and occaſioned ſome very ſtrange reports in Portugal, as well as in England; we ſhall cite a paſſage of Sir Robert Southwell's letters, the rather becauſe it will give us a hint of thoſe, by whom ſuch ſtories were propagated, no doubt, with the pious intention of deſtroying gradually the Engliſh intereſt in every court in Europe. This letter of Sir Robert's is directed to Lord Arlington, and is dated December 2d, 1667. 'I would not omit to tell your Lordſhip of one queſtion which the Queen aſked me, which was, whether the Queen of England was not divorced from his Majeſty, which ſhe ſaid ſhe had heard; as alſo that the Ducheſs was in like manner from his Royal Highneſs, and all the children declared illegitimate. Your Lordſhip may imagine in what confuſion I was, to hear her diſcourſe on this ſubject, and the induſtry I uſed to efface theſe impreſſions; adding, for one conviction, the ſtrictneſs of the commands I had now newly received, to ſollicit the reſidue of the portion. Unto which her Majeſty preſently applied the diſcourſe, pleading the poverty of the kingdom more ſenſibly than one who had talked of her departure from it. But as to the report aforeſaid, concerning the Queen our miſtreſs, it is hardly credible how hotly it was diſcourſed in this town about ten days ago; and even that her Majeſty was already embarked, and it is now in like manner flown all over the kingdom; and though I do believe that ſome wild letters have, from the Portugueſe in England, been writ hither to this effect, yet I am ſure the French have fomented it with all the vigour they could (54).' An eminent prelate, having (55) reported in his hiſtory, that the Ducheſs of Portſmouth had told Mr Henley of Hampſhire, that ſhe believed King Charles the Second was poiſoned; Lord Lanſdowne, who was at Paris, where the Ducheſs of Portſmouth was living, procured the queſtion to be aſked her, whether ſhe had ever ſaid ſo to Mr Henley or not; to which the Ducheſs anſwered, that ſhe did not remember her being ſo much as acquainted with Mr Henley, which his Lordſhip looks upon as a clear confutation; whereas others look upon it as a mere evaſion, and that if there had been no truth in it, her Grace would peremptorily have denied the fact, inſtead of reflecting upon the memory of the prelate, which ſhe did in very coarſe terms. However, in reſpect to the fact of the King's death, his Lordſhip gives us his own ſentiments in the following words (56). 'As to the poiſoning part of the ſtory, it was always my opinion, and not ill grounded neither, that the King haſtened his death by his own quackery. The laſt year of his life, he had been much troubled with a ſore leg, which he endeavoured to conceal, and truſted too much to his own drugs and medicines. On a ſudden the running ſtopt, and it was then he was ſeized with his apoplexy: a common caſe, fatal the moment thoſe ſort of ſores dry up. There being ſo natural a way of accounting for his death, to what purpoſe then all theſe forced ſpeculations from ſtrained circumſtances? no one but the next heir could have any intereſt in it, and he never was ſo much as accuſed or ſuſpected. The Biſhop himſelf generouſly acquits him.' This was his Lordſhip's ſentiment, and carries in it great probability.

(48) Memorial's, p. 106.

(49) Wood's Faſti Oxonienſis, col. 194.

(50) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 204.

(51) Geſta Britannorum, p. 478.

(52) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 174, 175.

(53) Examination of the late Mr Archdeacon Echard's account of the Marriage-Treaty between King Charles II. and Queen Katharine, Infanta of Portugal, addreſſed to the Right Hon. George Granville, Lord Lanſdowne, p. 42, 43, 44.

(54) Letters of Sir Robert Southwell to the Duke of Ormond, &c. p. 352, 353.

(55) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 610.

(56) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 263.

ſerve a due deference and reſpect to his memory, which his many great talents and amiable qualities always ſecured, while living, to his perſon. He choſe to increaſe the value of his writings, by examining and correcting, rather than by multiplying them; he was his own Critic, and performed that office with the ſteadineſs of a judge, and without being at all biaſſed by the natural tenderneſs of an author for his own productions. He choſe to be known to poſterity in his literary character, and very juſtly; having diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſo many different kinds of writing, both in verſe and proſe. His Lordſhip had the misfortune to ſurvive his younger as well as his elder brother; and perhaps there is nothing more affecting in his Lordſhip's character, than that veneration which he had for ſome, and that tenderneſs which he had for all his family. Of the former, the reader has already ſeen many inſtances, and ſome alſo of the latter. But there are two letters, one to his couſin, the laſt Earl of Bath, in reſpect to his conduct in private life, the other to his nephew, Mr Bevil Greenvile, on his entering into Holy Orders (*n*), which it would have been an injury to his memory not to place in the notes, and therefore there the reader ſhall find them [*K*]. The

(*n*) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. III. p. 184—187. Vol. II. p. 283—285.

lity. Yet his Grace of Buckinghamſhire, an older man, and who had better opportunities of knowing, ſeems to think otherwiſe. His words are theſe (57). 'I would not ſay any thing on ſo ſad a ſubject, if I 'did not think ſilence itſelf would in ſuch a caſe ſig- 'ſy too much; and therefore, as an impartial writer, 'I am obliged to obſerve, that the moſt knowing and 'moſt deſerving of all his phyſicians, did not only believe 'him poiſoned, but thought himſelf ſo too not long af- 'ter, for having declared his opinion a little too boldly.' His Grace likewiſe does the ſame juſtice to his ſucceſſor. The Phyſician he mentions was Dr Short, a Papiſt, and the expreſſion he made uſe of was, that the King had not fair play for his life. A very honourable and judicious writer, has explained this in another ſenſe than that in which it has been commonly taken (58). 'It ſo fell out, that the very acceſs of the King's di- 'ſtemper was ſuch, as no poiſon or medicament in the 'world could produce or counterfeit, that is, an apo- 'plectic or epileptic fit, chooſe you whether, for in 'one of theſe the King was certainly at firſt taken. 'He cried out, and then falling back in his chair lay 'as one dead. The phyſician in waiting immediate- 'ly blooded him, and the following regimen was as in 'apoplectic caſes, his Majeſty's being preſumed to 'be that, to get him to wake, and then to keep him 'from ſleeping. One Dr Stokeham, an eminent phy- 'ſician in Covent-Garden, declared to me, that the 'phyſician that blooded the King, utterly miſtook his 'caſe; for his fit was not an apoplexy, but epileptic, 'and then all they did was ex diametro wrong For 'in that caſe, bleeding is little leſs than mortal, and 'the way is to let them doſe out the fit without diſtur- 'bance, and they will come to themſelves and be well; 'but the other courſe will ſooner make them mad than 'recover them' Hence he infers, that the natural conſtruction of Dr Short's words was, that the methods uſed, did him more hurt than good; and if he had been alone, and nothing at all done to him, nature had had it's courſe, which the Doctor might probably mean by fair play. We will venture to add, that theſe are the beſt accounts that are to be had of this matter, and taking them together we may be pretty certain of the truth. It was not the firſt or the ſecond fit of the kind the King had had, and recovered from by being let alone; but the circumſtance of drying up his leg (59) might probably make it more violent, which the accident of his being improperly treated rendered mortal. The reader will excuſe this ſhort digreſſion to which we were induced, that we might the better explain the great uſe of ſuch hiſtorical memoirs as thoſe are, which Lord Lanſdowne has publiſhed.

(57) Duke of Buckingham's Works, Vol. II. p. 82.

(58) Examen, or an enquiry into the credit and veracity of a pretended Compleat Hiſtory, by the Hon. Roger North, Eſq; p. 648.

(59) Welwood's Memoirs, p. 142.

[*K*] *And therefore there the reader ſhall find them.*] The firſt of theſe letters is the ſequel of that which the reader has already ſeen in the former article; it is addreſſed to the young Earl of Bath, and it contains our author's ſentiments of the conduct fit for a nobleman diſtinguiſhed by birth, bleſſed with a large fortune, and honoured with a ſingular mark of the royal favour, to purſue in his own country, upon a ſuppoſition, that with theſe advantages there can be but one thing left for him to render himſelf truly popular, not by meanly courting vulgar applauſe, but by conſulting the true intereſt of his country, and thereby joining the people's love to the ſovereign's choice. There is a freedom, there is an honeſty, in this letter which renders it invaluable; and there are ſo many occaſions continually occurring, to which it may be applied, and it will be peruſed here by ſo many to whom it as properly belongs, as to the noble perſon to whom it was addreſſed, that it cannot fail of doing continual ſervice.

(60) To WILLIAM-HENRY, Earl of BATHE, &c. at the camp in Flanders, September 22d, 1710. (60) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. III. p. 184—187.

'Every living creature, my dear lord, is entitled to 'offices of humanity: the diſtreſs even of an enemy 'ſhould reconcile us to him: if he thirſts give him 'drink; if he hungers give him food; overcome evil 'with good. It is with this diſpoſition I would have 'you enter into the exerciſe of that authority with 'which her Majeſty has honoured you over your coun- 'trymen. Let no body inſpire you with party preju- 'dices and reſentments. Let it be your buſineſs to re- 'concile differences and heal diviſions, and to reſtore, 'if poſſible, harmony and good neighbourhood amongſt 'them. If then there ſhould be any left to wiſh you 'ill, make them aſhamed and confounded with your 'goodneſs and moderation: Not that I would ever 'adviſe you to ſacrifice one hair of the head of an old 'friend to your family, to gain fifty new ones; but 'if you can increaſe the number by courteſy and 'moderation, it may be worth the trial.

'Believe me, my dear lord, humanity and genero- 'ſity make the beſt foundation to build a character 'upon: a man may have birth, and riches, and power, 'wit, learning, courage, but without generoſity, it is 'impoſſible to be a great man: whatever the rich and 'powerful may think of themſelves; whatever value 'they may ſet upon their abundance and grandeur, 'they will find themſelves but the more hated, and 'deſpiſed for the ill uſe they make of it. You ſhould 'look upon yourſelves but as ſtewards and truſtees for 'the diſtreſſed: your over-abundance, is but a depoſit 'for the uſe and relief of the unhappy: you are an- 'ſwerable for all ſuperfluities miſ-ſpent: It is not to be 'ſuppoſed, that Providence would have made ſuch di- 'ſtinctions among men; ſuch unequal diſtributions, but 'that they might endear themſelves one to another by 'mutual helps and obligations. Gratitude is the ſureſt 'cement of love, friendſhip, and ſociety.

'There are indeed rules to be obſerved, and mea- 'ſures to be kept, in the diſtribution of favours: we 'know who have both the power and inclination to do, 'but for want of judgment in the direction they paſs 'only for good-natured fools, inſtead of generous be- 'nefactors.

'My Lord —— will grudge a guinea to an honeſt 'gentleman in diſtreſs, but readily give twenty to a 'common ſtrumpet; another ſhall refuſe to lend fifty 'pounds to his beſt friend, without ſufficient ſecurity, 'and the next moment ſet his whole fortune upon a 'card or a die: a chance, for which he can have no ſe- 'curity. My Lord —— is to be ſeen every day at a 'toy-ſhop, ſquandering away his money in trinkets and 'baubles, and at the ſame time leaves his brothers and 'ſiſters without common neceſſaries.

'Generoſity does not conſiſt in a contempt of mo- 'ney, in throwing it away at random, without judg- 'ment or diſtinction, though that indeed is better than 'locking it up, for multitudes have the benefit of it: 'but in a right diſpoſition to proper objects in propor-

'tion

The gentleneſs of his nature, in liſtening to every application that was made to him in every ſtation of life; his willingneſs to oblige to the utmoſt of his power, and his condeſcenſion on ſome occaſions, which added luſtre to his good-nature, might be ſupported by various inſtances, if either neceſſity required, or the bounds of this article would permit (o). His candour in judging of the works of others (p), was the more extraordinary, conſidering the care he took of his own, for to them the ſeverity of his criticiſm was confined. But his generoſity in ſupporting, encouraging, and recommending men of genius, are qualities that muſt not be ſo ſlightly paſſed over. His friendſhip to Betterton and Dryden was always conſtant, and his expreſſions of it governed by their diſtreſs; for to them he gave the profits of his plays, which had never appeared upon the ſtage if their neceſſities had not required them (q). His affection and reſpect for Mr Wycherly, expreſſed in a letter, as is ſuppoſed, to Lord Viſcount Bolingbroke, ſhew his true ſenſe of merit in the ſtrongeſt and in the moſt agreeable light. His zeal in bringing the laſt great poet this country has produced with that credit on the public theatre, which is ſo neceſſary to give ſpirit and courage to a riſing genius, ought ever to be remembered with due praiſe [L]. The laſt years of his Lordſhip's life were ſpent in privacy and retirement. He

(o) See the Dedicat on to his Lordſhip, prefixed to the 2d Volume of Jacob's Lives of the Poets.

(p) See towards the cloſe of his Lordſhip's Eſſay on Unnatural Flights in Poetry.

(q) See his Lordſhip's Preface to the Britiſh Enchanters, and the Prologue to the Jew of Venice.

'tion to the merit, the circumſtances, the rank and 'condition of thoſe who ſtand in need of our ſervice

'Princes are more expoſed than any others to the 'miſplacing their favours: merit is ever modeſt, and 'keeps it's diſtance. The forward and importunate, 'ſtand always neareſt in ſight, and are not to be put 'out of countenance, nor thruſt out of the way. I 'remember to have heard a ſaying of the late King 'James, that he never knew a modeſt man make his 'way in a court. David Floyd, whom you know, being then in waiting at his majeſty's elbow, reply'd 'bluntly, pray, Sir, whoſe fault's that? the king ſtood 'corrected and was ſilent.

'If princes could ſee with their own eyes, and hear 'with their own ears, what a happy ſituation it would 'be both for themſelves and their ſubjects: to reward 'merit, to redreſs the injured, to relieve the oppreſſed, 'to raiſe the modeſt, to humble the inſolent: what a 'godlike prerogative! were a right uſe made of it.

'How happy are you, my dear lord, who are born 'with ſuch generous inclinations, with judgment to di'rect them, and the means to indulge them: of all men 'moſt miſerable is he, who has the inclination without 'the means. To meet with a deſerving object of com'paſſion, without having the power to give relief; of 'all the circumſtances in life, is the moſt diſagreeable: 'to have the power, is the greateſt pleaſure

'Methinks I ſee you ready to cry out——Good 'couſin, why this diſcourſe to me? what occaſion have 'I for theſe lectures? none at all, my dear lord, I 'am only making my court to you, by letting you ſee 'I think as you do.

'But one word more, and I have done.

'In truſt, intimacy, and confidence, be as particu'lar as you pleaſe: in humanity, charity, and bene'volence, univerſal.

'Be always ſincere, but at the ſame time always polite: 'be humble, without deſcending from your character; 'reprove and correct, without offending good man'ners: to be a cynic, is as bad as to be a ſycophant; 'you are not to lay aſide the gentleman with your 'ſword, nor to put on the gown to hide your birth and 'good breeding, but to adorn it.

'Such has been the malice of the world from the 'beginning, that pride, avarice, and ambition, have 'been charged upon the prieſthood in all ages, in all 'countries, and in all religions: what they are moſt 'obliged to combat againſt in their pulpits, they are 'moſt accuſed of encouraging in their conduct. It be'hoves you therefore to be more upon your guard in 'this, than in any other profeſſion. Let your exam'ple confirm your doctrine, and let no man ever have 'it in his power to reproach you with practiſing con'trary to what you preach.

'You had an uncle, Dr Dennis Granville, Dean of 'Durham, whoſe memory I ſhall ever revere; make 'him your example. Sanctity ſat ſo eaſy, ſo unaffect'ed, and ſo graceful upon him, that in him, we be'held the very beauty of holineſs: He was as chearful 'as familiar, and condeſcending in his converſation, as 'he was ſtrict, regular, and exemplary in his piety: 'as well bred and accompliſhed as a courtier; as re'verend and venerable as an apoſtle: he was indeed, 'in every thing apoſtolical, for he abandoned all, to 'follow his Lord and Maſter.

'May you reſemble him! may he revive in you! 'may his ſpirit deſcend upon you, as Elijah's upon 'Eliſha! and may the great God of Heaven, in guid'ing, directing, and ſtrengthening your pious reſolu'tions, pour down his beſt and choiceſt bleſſings upon 'you.

'You ſhall ever find me, dear nephew, your moſt 'affectionate uncle, and ſincere friend, &c.'

LANSDOWNE.

To my Nephew Mr Bevill Granville, *upon his entering into Holy Orders* (61).

(61) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 283, 284, 285.

'When I look upon the date of your laſt letter, 'I muſt own myſelf blameable for not having ſooner 'returned you my thanks for it.

'I approve very well of your reſolution of dedicating 'yourſelf to the ſervice of God: you could not chooſe 'a better maſter, provided you have ſo ſufficiently 'ſearched your heart, as to be perſuaded you can ſerve 'him well: in ſo doing, you may ſecure to yourſelf 'many bleſſings in this world, as well as a ſure expec'tation in the next.

'There is one thing which I perceive you have not 'yet thoroughly purged yourſelf from, which is flat'tery: you have beſtowed ſo much of that upon me 'in your letter, that I hope you have no more left, 'and that you meant it only to take your leave of ſuch 'flights of fancy, which, however well meant, often'er put a man out of countenance than oblige him.

'You are now become a ſearcher after truth: I ſhall 'hereafter take it more kindly, to be juſtly reproved by 'you, than to be undeſervedly complimented.

'I would not have you underſtand me, as if I re'commended to you a ſour Preſbyterian ſeverity; that 'is yet more to be avoided. Advice, like phyſic, 'ſhould be ſo ſweetned and prepared, as to be made 'palatable, or nature may be apt to revolt againſt it.

Beſides the Reverend Mr Bevil Granville, to whom this Letter is addreſſed, Colonel Bernard Granville, his lordſhip's younger brother, who was alſo Lieutenant governor of Hull, had by his wife Mary, daughter of Sir Martin Weſtcomb, conſul at Cadiz, Bernard his ſon and heir, and two daughters, *Mary* and *Anne* (62).

(62) Collins's Supplement to the Peerage, Vol. V. p. 100

[L] *Ought ever to be remembred with due praiſe.*] The length of this letter, prevents our tranſcribing it, but the latter part of it which reſpects Mr Pope, and which ſhews that this noble perſon was among the number of his firſt patrons, and who, together with Mr Wycherley, introduced him to this other Mæcenas, runs in the following terms (63). 'He ſhall bring with 'him, if you will, a young poet, newly inſpired in the 'neighbourhood of Cooper's Hill, whom he and Walſh 'have taken under their wing, his name is Pope, he is 'not above ſeventeen or eighteen years of age, and 'promiſes miracles: if he goes on as he has begun in 'the paſtoral way, as Virgil firſt tried his ſtrength, we 'may hope to ſee Engliſh poetry vie with the Roman, 'and this Swan of Windſor, ſing as ſweetly as the 'Mantuan.'

(63) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 113.

All the world knows in what terms Mr Pope addreſſed this great man in the opening of his Windſor Foreſt, and therefore it is unneceſſary to repeat them; but with

had certainly talents enough to have raiſed him to the higheſt offices, and friends enough to have reconciled him to any party; but the mortifications he had met with in the middle part of his life, checked his ambition, and he had ſeen enough of the world to deſpiſe it. Yet he was not ſoured to a degree of becoming ſplenetic or cynical enough, either to refuſe or to be ungrateful for royal favours. The late Queen having honoured him with her protection, the laſt verſes he wrote were to inſcribe two copies of his poems, one of which was preſented to her Majeſty, and the other to the Princeſs Royal, Anne, now Princeſs Dowager of Orange (*r*). His Lordſhip deceaſed at his houſe near Hanover-Square, January 30, 1735, in the ſixty-eighth year of his age (*s*). By his only wife, Lady Mary Villiers, who died a few days before him (*t*), he had no iſſue male, ſo that in him the title of Lanſdowne became extinct. He had, however, by her Ladyſhip, four daughters, viz. Anne; Mary married on the 14th of March, 1729-30, to William Graham of Platten, near Drogheda in the kingdom of Ireland, who deceaſed (*u*) in the month of November, the ſame year with his Lordſhip; Grace married the 29th of March, 1740, to Thomas Foley, jun. Eſq; ſon and heir of Thomas Foley, Eſq; Member of Parliament for Hereford; and Elizabeth (*w*).

(*r*) Lord Lanſdowne's Works, Vol. III. p. 263, 264.

(*s*) London Magazine, Vol. IV. p. 99.

(*t*) Hiſtorical Regiſter, Vol. XX. p. 10.

(*u*) Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. V. p. 681.

(*w*) Collins's Supplement, Vol. V. p. 100.

At length we have finiſhed our memoirs of this antient and noble family, upon whom, having dwelt more copiouſly than upon almoſt any other, it may not be improper to acquaint the public with the reaſons. In the firſt place, there are few families that have produced perſons more illuſtrious than this, and thoſe in very different kinds, ſeamen, ſoldiers, ſenators, ſtateſmen, and poets. In the next place, in treating their perſonal hiſtory, we have been obliged to ſtate and examine ſome very curious and intereſting facts in our civil hiſtory, which, to ſpeak the truth, is the greateſt ſervice that performances of this nature can render to the republic of letters. We may add to theſe two reaſons, that we were in poſſeſſion of many materials; and though we will not pretend to ſay by any means, that we have erected a monument worthy of ſo many great men, yet ſure we have ſpent our time very ill, if we have not done ſomewhat towards contenting the reader. We ſaw that moſt of theſe materials had lain too long unuſed, and that, certain circumſtances conſidered, it might not be impoſſible they might continue in the ſame broken and diſtracted ſtate, at leaſt during our times, upon which we could not help reflecting with regret. Laſtly, the males of the eldeſt line being extinct, we thought it more immediately our duty, as in the caſe of the Dudley's, to interpoſe in time, and to uſe our utmoſt endeavours to ſave from oblivion all the circumſtances we could draw together, relative to this race of heroes: theſe which are our true and only motives, cannot but be thought ſufficient to prove, that what we have done in this reſpect, is perfectly conſiſtent with the nature and plan of our work; and it would give us great pleaſure, if we could render the ſame juſtice to other noble families under the like circumſtances.

with the private letter that accompanied that public inſcription, the world may not be ſo well acquainted; and therefore, from its pertinence to our purpoſe, we muſt beg leave to bring it to their notice (64).

(64) The Works of Alexander Pope, Eſq; edit. 1737, Vol. VI. p. 57, 58.

To my Lord LANSDOWN.

Binfield, Jan. 10, 1712.

'I thank you for having given my Poem of Windſor 'Foreſt, it's greateſt ornament, that of bearing your 'name in the front of it. 'Tis one thing, when a 'perſon of true merit permits us to have the honour of 'drawing him as like as we can; and another, when 'we make a fine thing at random, and perſuade the 'next vain creature we can find, that 'tis his own like-'neſs, which is the caſe every day of my fellow-ſcrib-'lers. Yet, my Lord, this honour has given me no 'more pride than your honours have given you, but it 'affords me a great deal of pleaſure, which is much 'better than a great deal of pride; and it indeed 'would give me ſome pain, if I was not ſure of one 'advantage, that, whereas others are offended, if they 'had not more than juſtice done 'em; you would be 'diſpleaſed if you had ſo much, therefore I may ſafely 'do you as much injury in my words, as you do your-'ſelf in your own thoughts. I am ſo vain as to think 'I have ſhewn you a favour in ſparing your modeſty, 'and you cannot but make me ſome return for preju-'dicing the truth to gratify you: this I beg may be 'the free correction of theſe verſes, which will have 'few beauties, but what may be made by your blots. 'I am in the circumſtance of an ordinary painter; 'drawing Sir Godfrey Kneller, who by a few touches 'of his own, could make the piece very valuable. I 'might then hope, that many years hence, the world 'might read in conjunction with your name, that of,

'Your Lordſhip's, &c.'

We will cloſe this note with a juſt ſtroke of cenſure on his Lordſhip and his writings, by his Grace the Duke of Buckinghamſhire and Normanby (65).

(65) Duke of Buckinghamſhire's Works, Vol. I. p. 191.

When Buckingham came, he ſcarce car'd to be ſeen,
Till Phœbus deſir'd his old friend to walk in;
But a laureat Peer had never been known,
The Commoners claim'd that place as their own.

Yet if the kind God had been ne'er ſo inclin'd,
To break an old rule, yet he well knew his mind:
Who of ſuch preferment, would only make ſport;
And laugh'd at all ſuitors, for places at Court.

Notwithſtanding this law, yet Lanſdown was nam'd,
But Apollo with kindneſs, his indolence blam'd;
And ſaid he would chuſe him, but that he ſhould fear
An employment of trouble he never could bear.

E

GREGORY [JAMES] an eminent Mathematician, was born in 1639 (*a*), at Aberdeen in Scotland (*b*), where he likewiſe received his education. He made a good proficiency in the Latin tongue at ſchool, but being chiefly inclined to the mathematics, it was not long before the ſucceſs of his application to theſe ſciences diſcovered a genius ſuperior to moſt, and not much, if at all, unequal to the beſt of his time. This happened

(*a*) He died in 1675, at the age of 36. See note (*w*).

(*b*) In the title page of his *Optica Promota*, and of his *Geometriæ pars univerſalis*, he ſtileshimſelf *Abredonenſis Scot.*

pened to be in the interval between Des Cartes and Sir Isaac Newton; when having the advantage of those improvements that had been made by the former, he struck a considerable part of that dawning light into the sublimer geometry, or geometry of curves, which preceded the rising of the latter. At the age of twenty-four years he acquired the distinguishing title of a first inventor, by his reflecting Telescope [*A*]; the construction of which was published in 1663, in his treatise intituled, *Optica Promota* (c), *seu abdita radiorum reflexorum & refractorum mysteria geometrice enucleata; cui subnectitur Appendix subtilissimorum Astronomiæ problematôn resolutionem exhibens* (d). Leaving Scotland in a year or two after this, he came to London, in order to get his instrument executed by some able hand; and the work was performed according to the description given in the book, by the most skilful artist of that time (e). Notwithstanding this it did not succeed [*B*]; and though our author imputed the miscarriage chiefly to his own want of skill in the technical part (f), yet he declined the trouble of improving himself therein. Intent upon the study of speculative Geometry, he had taken up a resolution to make a tour to Italy, where mathematical learning chiefly flourished at that time (g), and hastening thither he seems to have fixed his residence at Padua, which University was then in high repute. Here pursuing a hint suggested by his own thoughts, he pushed the method of exhaustions into several new discoveries. The first of these was the invention of an infinitely converging (b) series, for the areas of the circle and hyperbola [*C*], which he printed at Padua in 1667,

(c) At the 59th Prop.

(d) This piece is ranked with Dr Barrow's Optical Lectures, and the two authors quoted together, as the best writers upon the subject, by Dr Smith, in the 2d Vol. of his Optics, Remarks, p. 44. Lond. 1738, 4to.

(e) His name was Reive, he made better refractors than either Durni or Campani. Derham's Phil. Experim. p. 390.

(f) Phil. Transf. No. 83.

(g) Dominic, Cassini, Riccioli, Ricci, Renaldini, Stephano de Angelis, Manfredi, Ballaldi, Borelli, to name no more, were all alive at this time.

(b) He was the first who gave such series that denomination. Vid. Epist. Wallisii ad Leibnitium, Apr. 6, 1697, in Commercio Epistol. Jo. Collins, &c. No. LXXV.

[*A*] *He acquired the distinguishing title of a first inventor by the reflecting telescope.*] His only competitor in this invention, Sir Isaac Newton, tells us himself (1), That the first thought of such a telescope was indeed suggested to him by his discovery of the different refrangibility of the rays of light, but not till 1666; and that when he resumed this subject in 1668, he had Mr Gregory's book before him (2). In this book we find the particular remark which first put our author upon contriving his invention, was an inconvenience he foresaw from an hyperbolic (3) object-glass, which if sufficiently broad to receive light enough into a telescope that shall magnify very much, must, he observes, of consequence be very thick, and that then the clearest glass would hinder too much of the light from being transmitted (4). As this telescope is made at present with several alterations and improvements, we shall have but a very imperfect idea of the original invention, without seeing a description, which therefore it will be proper to insert in the author's words. Having described two other sorts, together with their defects, he proceeds thus: 'Tertium autem genus nulla habet incommoda & omnes priorum generum proprietates habere potest (5), &c. The third sort (which, from it's value, we may very well call a golden one) has no inconveniences, and may have all the properties of the other sorts, provided the lenses and specula be rightly disposed, that is, if the last images, and the last but one, be produced by specula, and the rest by lenses: we shall therefore here, for example, describe a telescope of this most perfect kind. Let there be a parabolical concave speculum most exquisitely polished, near (6) whose focus is placed a small elliptic concave speculum, having a common focus and common axis with the concave parabolic speculum, and let it be fixed in that situation: now the said focus of that elliptic speculum must be very near to it's vertex, and the other focus of it must be very far from that in the common axis, produced beyond the parabolic speculum; and through the vertex of the parabolic speculum must be made a round hole, in which hole must be placed a tube, having the same axis with the specula, and big enough to receive the rays of a visible reflected from the elliptic concave speculum, and let it be continued a very small matter beyond the farther focus of that speculum, and there let a lens of chrystal convex, towards the specula, with the convexity of a conoid, and the density of the chrystalline (7) [of the eye] be fixed, whose exterior focus must be the same with (that just mentioned) the further focus of the elliptic concave speculum, and must be plane towards the eye, and likewise have the same common axis as the specula and the tube.' After the description he concludes thus: 'This will be the way to make an excellent telescope for *presbytæ*; for distant objects seen through the tube, will appear very distinctly magnified, very near in the ratio of the distances of the vertices from the common foci, and enlightened in the same manner as a visible would be, when seen under such an angle, provided the diameter of what produces the last image be big enough to suffer the uvea of the eye to be filled with the rays: and how that may be done, we have taught in the scholium of the 51st of this book.' By this description it appears, that the rays from the object pass on the outside, or without the margin, of the lesser speculum to the concave face of the larger speculum, which reflecting them to the lesser, that returns them through a hole in the middle of the larger, to the eye-glass, placed behind the larger speculum. But here the construction is general, being built only upon theory, which was carried no farther than to the figures of the specula and lens. The particular magnitudes and distances of each are left to be determined by trial, or experience; and what was done in that way will be seen in the following remark.

(1) In Phil. Transf. No. 80.

(2) Ibid. No. 83.

(3) As was proposed by Des Cartes.

(4) Optica Promota, prop. 59.

(5) Ibid. p. 93.

(6) His words are *in cujus foco*.

(7) In the original it is *densitatis chrystallinæ*.

[*B*] *Being attempted by Mr Reive, it did not succeed.*] Our author, speaking in his Optics of these instruments says, *De mechanica horum speculorum & lentium ab aliis frustra tentata, ego in mechanicis minus versatus nihil dico:* whence Sir Isaac Newton inferred, that there had been trials made of these telescopes, but in vain; 'And, continues he, I am informed that about seven or eight years since (8), Mr Gregory himself, at London, caused one of six foot to be made by Mr Reive, which I take to have been according to the aforesaid design described in his book, because, though made by a skilful artist, yet it was without success (9).' To this Mr Gregory answered (10), That as to the words cited (by Mr Newton) he spoke there only of the hyperbolic and elliptic glasses and speculum, which were attempted in vain. 'As for my experiment, continues he, with Mr Rives (11), he could not polish the large concave [or object speculum] upon the tool; and I not knowing any advantage of the catoptric telescope above the dioptric, save only the shortnes, and similitude betwixt the circle and parabola (which is greater than that betwixt the circle and hyperbola), imagined that this great defect in the figure [being spherical] wold easilie counterbalance these two pettie advantages. Upon this account, and being about to go abroad, I thought it not worth the pains to truble myself anie farther with it, so that the tube was never made; yet I made some trials, both with a little concave and convex speculum, which wer but rude, seing I had but transient views of the object, being so possessed with the fancy of the defective figure, that I wold not be at the pains to fix everie thing in it's due distance.' Had not our author here given us his reasons, it would have appeared a little surprizing, that for the sake of his own invention, he did not make some trials himself to bring his metals to their desired form, especially when we consider that some of the greatest mathematicians at this time were employed in grinding glasses with their own hands *, in order to reduce them to true conoidical forms.

[*C*] *He found an infinitely converging series, &c.*] This series is thus constituted: he proposes the terms of it to proceed by pairs, as A and B, C and D, E and F, &c. so that the difference betwixt A and B exceeds the

(8) The letter whence this extract is taken, is dated May 4, 1672. Phil. Transf. No. 83.

(9) Sir Isaac apprehended it had been made with very great diligence and curiosity. See No. VII. in the Appendix to Dr Gregory's Optics, edit. 1735.

(10) In a letter dated Sept. 26, the same year. See the said Appendix No. IV.

(11) Mr Cox another famous glass-grinder at that time, assisted in this trial. Ibid. p. 212.

* Mr Reives, the Optician abovementioned, was instructed in the *manual* operation by Sir Paul Niel, Sir Christopher Wren, and Dr Goddard. Phil. Experim. by Derham, ubi supra.

[illegible] 4to, with the following title, *Vera circuli & hyperbolæ quadratura in propria sua por-[illegible] specie inventa & demonstrata à Jacobo Gregorio, Scoto*; but he took off only a few [illegible] for the use of himself and his friends (*i*), apparently with a view of having their [illegible] in a matter intirely new, before he should put it into the hands of the Public. [illegible] others, he sent one copy to Mr John Collins, who communicated it to the [illegible] Society (*k*), and having received the commendations of Lord Brounker and Dr [illegible] *D*], it came abroad in 1668 (*l*), with an answer to such objections as either had [illegible] such as he could conceive might be, made against it. This answer was inserted [illegible] preface to another piece annexed to the former, intituled, *Geometriæ pars univer-[illegible] [illegible]rviens quantitatum curvarum transmutationi & mensuræ*. Wherein he first of any [illegible], exhibited a method for *the transformation of Curves* (*m*). Mr Collins read like-wise [illegible] account of this treatise to the Royal Society [*E*] before it was published, and our

(*i*) [illegible] Phil. Trans. No. 33. [illegible] GORY [illegible]

[illegible] design to be dropt. Phil. Trans. No. 35.

(*l*) The impression contained 500 copies, printed (not at Venice as he had before signified, but) at Padua, with the privilege of the States of Venice. See the title-page of the book, and Gen. Dict. ubi supra.

(*m*) In the xith Prop. of the book. Cardinal Cusa, in the XVth century, published a treatise with this title, *De transmutationibus geometricis*, where he frequently speaks *de transformatione curvarum*, but proceeds no farther than from the consideration of polygons, to give some right-lined figures nearly equal to the circle. Inter Opera ejus, p. 951, & seq. Basil, 1565, fol.

the difference between C and D; and after the same manner that C and D are formed by an analytical operation from A and B, so E and F are formed from C and D, and so on continually; by which means the difference continually lessening, becomes less than any given quantity, and if the series be continued in infinitum, quite vanishes, and the two terms become equal, either of which is the quantity sought. He mentions also another form of converging series, consisting of simple terms, to which the foregoing may be reduced. Thus: let A, B, C, D, E, &c. be such a series, and of such a nature, that the third term C is compounded in the same manner from A and B, as D is from B and C, and so on. And let the difference of the antecedent A and B, be always greater than that of the immediately subsequent B and C, &c. This series continually approximates as the former, and therefore if continued in infinit. *the last term is the quantity required*. To explain this a little more particularly, he shews, for instance, that any sector of the circle, hyperbola, or ellipse, is the termination of a converging series, whose two first terms are A and B, whereof A is a triangle which as to the circle or ellipse is inscribed but as to the hyperbola is circumscribed to the said sector, and B a trapezium, which contrariwise as to the circle or ellipse is circumscribed, but as to the hyperbola is inscribed to the said sector; the two second terms are $\sqrt{AB}$ and $\frac{AB}{A+\sqrt{AB}}$; the two third terms are in like manner derived from the two second, as these are from the first, and so on infinitely. Hence it is evident, that Mr Gregory grounded his method upon that of Archimedes, wherein curves are considered as their inscribed and circumscribed polygons, whose difference decreases as their number of sides is increased. The use of this remark will be seen in the sequel, where something more shall be said concerning the nature of these series and their approximations. It is sufficient in this place to take notice of what the present occasion particularly suggests, viz. the manifest incongruity of our author's expression, in talking of the last or final term of an endless and infinite series, and declaring the circle to be equal to the last inscribed or circumscribed polygon in such a series. However, it may be said in his defence, that it is a negligence that seems not altogether unpardonable, in a point which no ways affects the truth or legality of his series, wherein he pretends expresly to nothing beyond an approximation as near as you please. We shall see in remark [*G*], that Sir Isaac Newton, in speaking of our author's method, did not scruple to use his words. In short, it was a manner of expression, which in his time had obtained a kind of establishment by custom, and which seems to have crept into the acceptance and even favour of the first modern improvers of the sublime Geometry, by representing them as having in some measure penetrated into infinity. But we have lately seen the bad consequence of this foible, concerning which consult the article of [MACLAURIN].

[*D*] *Having the commendations of Lord Brounker and Dr Wallis.*] In their account of it to the Royal Society (12), they observe that it was ingeniously and mathematically written, that it contained a new method analytical for giving the aggregate of an infinite or indefinite converging series, from which ground a method was taught of squaring the circle, ellipse, and hyperbola, by an infinite series; and lastly, that by the same method, from the hyperbola, the author had calculated both the logarithms of natural numbers, and the numbers from the logarithms; that he found the logarithms of all primitive numbers under 1000 by one multiplication, two divisions, and one extraction of the square root; but for greater prime numbers much more easily. Dr Halley long afterwards shewing a method of deducing the logarithms (without the help of the hyperbola) from Sir Isaac Newton's binomial theorem (13), thought it requisite to advertise the reader (they are his words) that there is a small mistake in this last part of our author's work, at prop. 48, where in giving the computation of Lord Neper's Log of 10 to 25 places, he errs in the 18th figure, 'As I was assured, says the Doctor, upon my own examination of the number, for being desirous to be satisfied how this difference arose, I took the no small trouble of examining Mr Gregory's work, and at length found, that in the inscribed polygon of 512 sides, in the 18th figure, there was a 0 instead of a 9, which being rectified, and the subsequent work corrected therefrom, the result did agree to a unit with our number. And this, concludes he, I propose, not to cavil at an easy mistake in managing of so vast numbers, especially by a hand that has so well deserved of the mathematical sciences, but to shew the exact coincidence of two so very different methods of making logarithms, which might otherwise have been questioned.' The whole tenor of this remark by Dr Halley, shews the high esteem which he had of the latter part of our author's piece now under consideration, whence no one will doubt of it's real worth; and as to the former part, we are assured by Mr Collins (14), that the area of the hyperbola had not been given before by any man; and that gentleman therefore thought it of such importance as to deserve a particular explanation, which he accordingly gave of it, concluding with a remark of it's use in the business of gauging.

[*E*] *Mr Collins read an account of this treatise to the Royal Society.*] Besides what is mentioned above, this account relates from the preface, that our author, observing the defects of algebra to be most manifest in the mensuration of curved quantities, proposes in some measure to supply them, by the transmutation of curves, that is from some essential property of one figure, thereby to give a method of changing it into another figure equal thereto that hath known properties, and of that into another, and so forward, until at last you change it into some known quantity. And he modestly saith, That his own treatise hath so far pursued this method, that it refuseth no particular figure yet considered by geometers.—That to divide an angle in any given ratio, or square the circle organically, there is no way easier than by the common *linea quadratix*, the properties whereof are elegantly handled by *Leotand*, in *Cyclomathia*, Lugd. 1663, 4to.—That all things concerning logarithms, and the composition of ratio's, may be performed by help of a curve line, drawn through the tops of a rank of lines in continual proportion, standing as perpendiculars, on a right line and at equal distances *, which, says he, ought not to be accounted *ageometrical*, because not performed by the sole aid of ruler and compass; as he suggests to be well observed by *Car. Renaldini*, in *Geometria sua nova, dum tractat de novis illis lineis quæ Medicæas appellat*: and for the confirmation

(12) Phil. Trans. No. 33. dated March 16, 1668.

(13) Ibid. No. 216.

(14) In the same paper with the account of Brounker and Wallis just cited.

* That is, by the logarithmic curve.

our author, probably at his motion, being about the ſame time choſen a member of that body (*n*), communicated ſoon after, an account of the diſpute that had then lately happened between Riccioli, ſupported by Manfredi, and Stephano de Angelis, about the motion of the earth [*F*]. Informing the Society, that notwithſtanding the great name and aſtronomical merit of Riccioli, yet his arguments againſt that motion were as little eſteemed in Italy as elſewhere. In the mean time a copy of the *vera circuli-quadratura* having fallen into the hands of Mr Huygens, that (*o*) gentleman, who had wrote upon this

(*n*) In the title to the account of the diſpute between Manfredi and Stephano de Angelis, he is ſtiled F. R. S.

(*o*) See his *Theoremata de Quadratura Hyperbolæ Ellipſis & Circuli, &c.* Leyden 1651. Alſo *De Circuli magnitudine inventa, &c.* Ibid. 1654, 4to.

confirmation of this, our author demonſtrates, that no cubic equation that is irreducible to a quadratic, can be reſolved by the ſole aid of ruler and compaſs, or the interſection of a circle and a right line.—From the preface this account proceeds to the argument of the book itſelf, obſerving that it contains theſe ſeveral heads, (1.) The menſuration of ſundry ſolids, with general methods to that purpoſe, concerning which the author ſaith, p. 123, *Totus namque Archimedis tractatus de ſphera & cylindro facile demonſtratur ex hujus 3, ad modum hujus 46, & aliquot ſequentium; liber de conoidibus & ſphæroidibus, & tota Lucæ Valerii doctrina ex hujus 21. Tota Guldini, Johan. de la Faille & Andr. Tacquetti doctrina ex hujus 35, & aliquot ſequentium.* And as a corollary to prop. 62, he cubeth or meaſures either of the ſegments of a parabolic conoid cut with a plain parallel to the axis, which may be applied to the gauging of a caſk part out (15). (2.) The menſuration or plaining of the ſurfaces of divers ſolids and ſpiral ſpaces, unknown to antiquity, and not treated of by any modern authors till of very late years, from whom the author differs in his method; particularly he finds a circle equal to the ſurface of a parabolical or hyperbolical conoid [ſpindle], reſembling a cup or bowl when the revolution is about either axis, prop. 46, 49, and to that of a parabolical hour-glaſs, or ſolid, when the revolution is about a touch-line paſſing through the vertex, p. 52. To that of a long and broad [oblong and oblate] ſpheroid, p. 47, 48, and in prop. 67, he finds the ſurface of any ſegment of a cone. Laſtly, he ſhews in general, prop. 36, the ſurface of every round ſolid to be equal to a rectangle whoſe baſe is the circumference of the figure, by the rotation whereof the ſolid is begot; and the height to be equal to the circumference which the center of gravity of the perimeter of the figure deſcribes. (3.) He gives a method for ſtraitning of curved lines in the firſt ſix propoſitions, and in particular he finds a right line equal to a parabolic curve, p. 51. (4.) There are divers optic propoſitions towards the end of the book, concerning the imperfection of the eye and the confuſion of the ſight; the apparent magnitude of the ſun low and high; the tails of comets; what proportion the earth's illumination, by the moon at the full, bears to it's illumination by the ſun; and a like compariſon between the ſun and ſirius; that viſion by aid of a teleſcope or microſcope is not deceitful; and an obſervation of the likeneſs between the earth and the moon (16).

(15) Which is called in practice the gauging of a caſk.

(16) Phil. Tranſ. No. 35. dated May 18, 1668. The titles of his ſeveral heads are, (1.) *De ſiderum ſcintillatione & magnitudine apparente.* (2.) *Quod ſol ſit realiter & formaliter calidus.* (3.) *De ſolis humilis & ſublimis magnitudine apparente.* (4.) *De viſibilium pictura ſub tecto obſcuro.* (5.) *De cometarum caudis.* (6.) *De ſtellarum fixarum diſtantia.* (7.) *Quod viſio ope teleſcopii vel microſcopii non ſit fallax.* 8.) *Quod omne diviſibile ſit in infinitum diviſibile.* (9.) *De obſervatione ſimilitudinis inter terram & lunam.*

In the propoſition concerning the tails of comets, Mr Gregory maintains a comet to be a kind of humid body, emitting it's proper vapours, always wandering about the æther, and retaining almoſt the ſame ſituation in reſpect to the ſun; which is alſo the opinion of Hevelius (17), who thinks the tail produced much after the ſame manner, namely, that the thinneſt parts of the atmoſphere of a comet are rarefied by the force of the heat, and from the fore part and each ſide of the comet are driven towards the parts turned from the ſun. And then, according to our author's opinion, the half of the comet which is turned from the ſun, and never warmed or inlightened by it, has very groſs and very opaque vapours, which being continually ſupplied or fed with the vapour-like matter of the comet, and no way diſſolved, by reaſon of the weak and oblique light of the ſun, grow to an immenſe height, and every way reflect the ſun's rays, which are not ſtrong enough to expel the exhalations. This opinion of Mr Gregory agrees ſo far with that of Sir Iſaac Newton, that he believed the tail of a comet to be nothing elſe but a very thin vapour, which the heat or nucleus of the comet ſends out by reaſon of it's heat.

(17) See his Cometograph. p. 430.

In the next propoſition concerning the diſtance of the fixed ſtars, Mr Gregory having rightly obſerved, That this diſtance could not be determined by obſervations made in different places of the earth's orbit, ſince the diameter of this orbit could not be found to bear any ſenſible proportion to that diſtance, he propoſes to meaſure it by an optical method, wherein he firſt ſhews how to find the ratio which the earth's illumination by the ſun bears to it's illumination by the moon or any of the planets, and likewiſe to it's illumination by any fixed ſtar of the firſt magnitude. Then chuſes a fixed ſtar of nearly the ſame brightneſs with ſome planet, when it is at the full, in which caſe the earth is equally illuminated by theſe two ſtars. Whence the mutual diſtances of the ſun, earth, and planet, at the time of the abovementioned obſervation, together with their magnitudes being known, the ratio of the illumination of the earth by the ſun and by the fixed ſtar becomes known. But the illumination of the earth by the ſun, to the illumination of the ſame by a fixed ſtar equal to the ſun and equally lucid, is well known, by the manner in which light is diffuſed, to be in the duplicate ratio of the fixed ſtar from the earth to the diſtance of the ſun from the ſame: wherefore the ratio between the diſtances of the fixed ſtar and the ſun from the earth is known, and conſequently the diſtance itſelf of a fixed ſtar from the earth is known. By this rule Mr Gregory propoſes, for inſtance, to find the diſtance of the fixed ſtar Sirius. But the ſuppoſition of the ſun's diſtance being known, and that likewiſe of it's being equal in magnitude to Sirius, upon which poſtulata the rule is founded, are both ſo uncertain, that this method was never in any eſteem by the learned in Aſtronomy, notwithſtanding it was, after our author, further improved in ſome meaſure by the celebrated Mr Huygens, in his *Coſmotheoros*.

[*F*] *An account of the diſpute—about the motion of the earth.*] This account was taken from the books printed on each ſide, and is in ſum as follows: Riccioli, in his *Almageſtum Novum*, pretended to have found out ſeveral new demonſtrative arguments againſt the motion of the earth; but theſe being all grounded upon ſome of the phænomena of gravity in falling bodies not rightly underſtood, were fully anſwered by his antagoniſt. To go over the particulars in a matter ſo well known at this time of day, might juſtly be thought tedious; we ſhall therefore only obſerve, that a great part of the debate was about the nature of the line deſcribed by a falling body [viz. from the tower of Bononia], a point not well underſtood by any of the diſputants. Mr Hooke, many years afterwards, endeavoured to ſhew (18) ſuch a line would not be a ſpiral, but an eccentrical elliptoid in caſe of no reſiſtance, and ſuppoſing reſiſtance an eccentric ellipti-ſpiral, which, after many revolutions, would reſt in the center at laſt. He likewiſe obſerved, that the fall of the body would not be directly eaſt (as was then generally thought) but to the ſouth-eaſt, and more to the ſouth than the eaſt. Upon this laſt particular it may not be amiſs to take notice of an experiment mentioned by Stephano de Angelis, in his Reply to Manfredi, which, he tells us, (as related to him by a Swede) had been made with all due circumſpection by Des Cartes, to prove the motion of the earth. The experiment was: he cauſed to be erected a cannon perpendicular to the horizon, which being 24 times diſcharged in that poſture, the ball fell 22 times towards the weſt, and only twice towards the eaſt.—It is intimated that Riccioius called his arguments, againſt the earth's motion from the effects of gravity, *new* ones. In that appellation he alludes to another and a much better argument, which he had brought before, being grounded upon the obſervation that the fixed ſtars had no [ſenſible] parallax (19). This was thought ſo formidable an objection, that to ſatisfy it was one motive of Mr Flamſtead's undertaking to find whether theſe ſtars had any parallax or no. But the reader will ſee more of this matter elſewhere (20).

(18) In a diſcourſe read to the Royal Society in December 1679. Life of Dr Hooke, p. 22. by R. Waller.

(19) Gregory's Aſtron. lib. iii. prop. 55. ſchol.

(20) In the article MOLYNEUX [SAMUEL]

[*G*] *A*

[illegible] though in a different way, with distinguished perspicuity, observing the perplexed and intricate nature of our author's invention, took notice of some imperfections in his book, whereby the legitimacy of his method in some things was called in question, and at the whole censured as useless and unfit for practice. This occasioned a dispute between them. Gregory, thinking his reputation injured, did not spare warmly to resent it, and at the same time explained and supplied what had been objected to as obscure or defective in his work (p) [G]. I do not find that his doctrine of the transmutation of curves

(p) Our author's book, together with the papers on both sides in this controversy, were printed *inter Hugenii Opera varia*. Leyden 1724, 4to.

[G] [illegible]] In this dispute Mr Huygens conveyed his animadversions, which were written in [illegible] of the Journal des Sçavans (21), our author made use of the Philosophical Transactions (22) to carry his two defences drawn up in the same language. In the first of these he acknowledges the justice of his antagonist's remark, in asserting the example in his 10th proposition to be no converging series; excusing himself by alledging, that he had tried it only in the first and second terms, without considering that the third coincided with the first; and having explained and defended the other things objected to, he concludes in these terms, *Gratias ago nobilissimo Hugenio quod meas examinare dignatus est hinc enim mihi data est occasio illas fusius explicandi & confirmandi Hugeniana methodus quadrandi circulum sitne præstantior mea, experientiæ relinquo judicandum: quod enim nostra hyperbolæ quadrandi illi etiam innotuerat, de hoc nihil habeo quod dicam, nisi quod mihi gratuler inventa mea ipso Hugenio non æstimari indigna.* This was civil, and he seems to have entertained hopes of putting an end thereby to the controversy. But Mr Huygens printing a Vindication of his Examen, occasioned our author to send a Reply, wherein he further explains some things; and having complained of the severity of Mr Huygens as unreasonable, he concludes thus, *Ad reliqua ab Hugenio publicata cum a nostro instituto sint aliena nihil dico, nisi quod ipsi Hugenii dicta, non obstante exactissima sua, ut ait, materiæ hujus examinatione, a meæ appendiculæ (23) factis, ni fallor, longe superentur.* Mr Oldenburg, then publisher of the Philosophical Transactions, introduced this Reply of our author with the following preamble. 'The first occasion of the letters on this 'subject was given in the Journal des Sçavans of 'July the 2d, to which a civil return was made in 'No 37 of these tracts, which have been judiciously 'animadverted on in another Journal des Sçavans of 'November 12, 1668. It was thought agreeable here 'to make public what Mr Gregory hath since imparted 'therein, out of a desire expressed by him farther to 'elucidate that controversy; which how satisfactory it 'is we leave the intelligent to judge, professing that 'we are no farther concerned in this contest, than to 'let the sagacious reader know the proceedings there 'of, by referring him on one side to the French Jour-'nals, and to these papers on the other: which as it 'is intended to be done without any animosity or of-'fence, so we desire the candid reader will pardon us 'for directing him thus much by this dispute, from 'what else he might justly expect in these philosophi-'cal occurrences.' A representation so much in favour of his antagonist as is here given, did not fail to kindle Mr Gregory's resentment, who having also been disturbed farther on this head by Mr Oldenburg and others, unburthened himself to his friend Mr Collins, in a letter dated Jan. 6, 1670, where he writes thus: 'In April last I had an answer to Mr Oldenburg's que-'ries from Mr Bruce, but being accidentally at Edin-'burgh at that time, and seeing the Philosophical 'Transactions [No. 44.] of February last, I was alto-'gether discouraged, by the lines prefixed to my an-'swer to Mr Huygens, from entertaining any such cor-'respondence. I have since received an answer to the 'same queries from one Mr Gordon, but am not so 'much a Christian as to help those who hurt me. I 'don't know, neither do I desire to know, who calleth 'in that preface Huygenius's animadversions of No-'vember the 12th, 1668, *judicious*; but I would ear-'nestly desire that he would particularize (if he ben't 'an ignorant) in what my answer which is contradic-'tory to Huygenius's animadversions is faulty: for in 'geometrical matters, if any thing be judicious, it's 'contradictory must be nonsense. I don't know what 'need there was of any apology for inserting my an-'swer, but to compliment Huygenius, and violently, 'if it be possible, to bear down the truth. I imagine 'such actions below the meanest member of the Royal 'Society: *however, I may have permission to call to 'an account in print the penners of that preface.* I 'hope you will excuse my freedom in this particular, 'which concerneth me so near —I intreat you to ad-'vertise me upon what account my books are suppressed 'in Italy.' I don't find that Mr Gregory ever put this threat into execution; it is not impossible that the warmth of his zeal for his own series might be much abated, by the letters he received at this time from Mr Collins (24), with an account and some specimens also of those of Sir Isaac Newton, who therein it was seen had actually effected that which our author was with irreconcileable stiffness contending against Mr Huygens to be utterly impossible, that is, the ratio of the diameter of a circle to the circumference expressed in a series of simple terms independent of each other, and intirely freed from the magic vinculum of surds, in which they had till then been indissolubly held (25). Upon the whole, it must not be dissembled that Mr Gregory had not the better in this controversy; his method indeed was true, but so involved and tedious, as not to be easily understood, and absolutely irreducible to ordinary practice. Mr Leibnitz, who was far from being an enemy to his fame, having passed a handsome compliment to his memory in 1676, the year after his death, observes that the treatise now under consideration was very deficient. *Vellem, inquit ille, Gregoriana omnia conservari, fuit enim his certe studiis promovendis aptissimus, cæterum ejus demonstrationi editæ de impossibilitate quadraturæ absolutæ circuli multa haud dubie desunt* (26). Sir Isaac Newton also, in his celebrated letter of the same year, hints the tediousness of this method in respect of the calculus. His words are, *Quinetiam beneficio ejusdem methodi [mei] possunt series ad omnes figuras efformari Gregorianis ad circulum & hyperbolam editis affines, hoc est quarum ultimus terminus exhibebit quæsitam aream. Sed calculum hic onerosiorem nolim lubens subire* (27). The truth is, complication, tediousness, and intricacy, were faults complained of in all his series. Dr Halley having asserted his just merit as the first inventor of a certain remarkable demonstration observes, however, that it was performed not without a long train of consequences and complications of proportions, whereby the evidence of the demonstration is in a great measure lost, and the reader wearied before he attains it (28). 'Tis true, he made several improvements in his method during this controversy with Mr Huygens. In his first essay, the approximations, as is seen in remark [C], were made by a series of right-lined to the quadrature of curve line planes: he now proceeded to the invention of some linear ones, for the rectification of curve lines, among which the following specimen, extracted from his Second Answer to his antagonist, was sent, as a proof how far he had then advanced his method, to Mr Leibnitz by Mr Collins, who takes notice that Mercator's Logarithmo-technia had been published before *. Put r for the radius of a circle, d for half the side of the inscribed square, and e for the difference between them. Then the semiperipehery will be equal to

$$2d - \frac{e}{3} - \frac{e^2}{90d} - \frac{e^3}{756d^2} - \frac{4rr}{23e^4} - \frac{}{113400d^3} - \frac{}{260e^5} - \frac{}{748400d^4}$$

&c. in infinit. Notwithstanding the advantage hinted as above by Mr Collins, the intelligent reader, upon sight hereof, will perceive that our author's series, as he declares himself, still deserved the name of surds, that is, quantities held within a vinculum, from which he

(21) For July and November 1668.

(22) No. 37 and 44, for July 1668, and Feb. 1669, reckoning the year to commence on the 1st of January, as is done by Mr Gregory below, in citing this last number.

(23) He means his tract, entitled *Appendicula ad veram circuli & hyperbolæ quadraturam*, in his *Exercitationes Geometricæ*, which were then printed, this letter being dated December 15, 1668.

(24) Commer. Epist. J. Collins, &c. No. XIV. to XX. inclusive.

(25) The chief part of this dispute turned upon several mistakes asserted by Huygens to be made by our author in his Demonstration (as he called it) of the absolute impossibility of the analytical quadrature of the circle; but at the same time his expressions shew that he thought it could not be reduced to an equation by infinite series without surds. See more in the article Dr WALLIS.

(26) Commer. Epist. No. LIII.

(27) Ibid. No. LIX.

(28) The Analogy of the Meridian Line to a Scale of Logarithmic Tangents, &c.

* Com. Epist. No XXXVI. *In the Treatise here mentioned was inserted Lord Brouncker's series and a demonstration of it.*

curves met with any antagoniſt in his life-time; yet after his death, his right to this invention was twice invidiouſly attacked, but as often defended by Dr David Gregory, who has put the juſtice of his claim beyond all diſpute [*H*]. In this treatiſe he gave a general rule for the direct and inverſe method of Tangents, which ſtands upon the ſame principles with that of Fluxions, and differs not much from it in the manner of application (*q*) [*I*]. In April, this year, Lord Brounker having produced his *Series for ſquaring the hyperbola* (*r*), a demonſtration of it was ſoon after given by Mr Mercator in the *Logarithmo-techia*, whereupon our author, before the end of the year, publiſhing his *Exercitationes Geometricæ* [*K*], did therein improve and enlarge Mercator's diſcovery, and gave a geometrical demonſtration of it by means of ſumming up the ſecants of a circular arch. In this piece he likewiſe firſt of any one demonſtrated the meridian line to be analogous to a ſcale of logarithmick Tangents of the half complements of latitude [*L*], and

(*q*) *Ab iiſdem initiæ principiis* (Fluxionum methodo non multum abludebat, &c) are Dr John Keil's words. Com. Epiſtol. No. LXXXI.

(*r*) In Phil. Tranſ. No. 36.

was not then able to extricate them. Inſomuch that there was no advancing a ſingle ſtep forward in the approximation without recurring back to the firſt term, and taking in the whole ſeries from the beginning. This, together with their ſlow convergency, chiefly occaſioned that tedioufneſs which we have ſeen objected to them, and which rendered them unfit for practice.

[*H*] *Dr David Gregory put the juſtice of his claim beyond all diſpute.*] In the Memoirs of the Royal Academy at Paris for the year 1693, the Abbot Gallois aſſerted, That Mr James Gregory (as well as Dr Barrow) ſtole this propoſition from Monſ. Roberval (29). Dr David Gregory thought this aſſertion ſufficiently refuted by obſerving, That his uncle had publiſhed his book at Padua in the year 1668, (and Dr Barrow his geometrical lectures in 1674) which though Mr Roberval muſt needs get a ſight of before he died in 1675, yet he never complained of any injury done him. This anſwer was publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 214. Ten years afterwards, the ſame calumny was revived by the abbot, in the ſaid Memoirs for the year 1703, wherein he maintained that the transformation of curves was invented by Roberval, and was known in Italy before the year 1668: for that Torricelli, who died in 1647, had teſtified in his letters, that it was communicated to Roberval; and, therefore, as it is intirely the ſame with his, it is very probable, ſays he, that Mr Gregory, when upon his travels in Italy, might learn it from the Italians; that, for the reſt, Mr Roberval lived a retired life, and loved his eaſe, and conſequently might either not know, or, if he did know it, not be diſpoſed to give himſelf the trouble of engaging in a controverſy. To this Dr Gregory replied (30), That there was no literary proof that Torricelli communicated this invention to the Italians; that it was not at all likely, that the letter pretended to be wrote by him to Roberval 60 years before, ſhould lie hid in Mr Roberval's treaſures all that time; that Mr Roberval was ſo far from living retiredly, and being unactive, that it was well known he conſtantly attended the aſſemblies of the Paris Academicians at the time when Mr Gregory's book was publiſhed, and was a very active member in thoſe meetings; conſequently it was not likely either that he ſhould have heard nothing of Mr Gregory's inventions, which were then celebrated in France, and particularly known to Mr Huygens, another member of the Royal Academy, who was this very year eagerly diſputing againſt (31) him; and if he did know it, his buſy temper would not have ſuffered him to conceal the injury. Upon the whole, from theſe circumſtances, added to the identity of the method aſcribed to Roberval, with that of Mr Gregory, this defender lets the world ſee where the charge of plagiariſm ought fairly to be laid. And it is obſervable, that this invention, and it's uſe for reducing the conic ſections to infinite ſeries by diviſion, ſeems evidently to be firſt hinted to Mr Leibnitz by a ſight of our author's performances (32); and the method being communicated to Sir Iſaac Newton, he declared that it was new to him, and more than he expected, after three ways of attaining his ſeries, which he had himſelf diſcovered *.

(29) A very eminent mathematician, and one of the ſeven who conſtituted the firſt meeting of the Paris Academy, in June 1666. Du Hamel's *Regiæ Scientiarum Academiæ Hiſtoria, &c.* lib. 1. Long after his death a method for the transformation of curves exactly the ſame with Mr Gregory's was publiſhed under his name, in the Memoirs of that academy for 1692.

(30) In Phil. Tranſ. No. 308.

(31) See the preceding remark.

(32) Commer. Epiſt. No. LI.

* Ibid. No. LV.

[*I*] *Stands upon the ſame principles with that of fluxions*, &c.] We do not mean that Mr Gregory conſidered geometrical lines as generated by continual motion, after the manner of fluxions, nor that he deduced his ſeries as Sir Iſaac did, from the extraction of roots, for it is certain he did not; on the contrary, his method is founded on the continual biſection of an arc, and his equations here are reduced into infinite ſeries, by the tranſformation of curves, but both methods are built, as to their demonſtrative force, upon the ſame principle with that of exhauſtions (33). And in the application it is evident, that Sir Iſaac in his analyſis, while he is inveſtigating any truth, makes uſe of the ſuppoſition of an infinitely little quantity, as is done by Mr Gregory (and the ſame liberty is likewiſe aſſumed by Dr Barrow); but Mr Gregory, in expreſſing this infinitely little quantity by the letter *o*, (34) came nearer than Dr Barrow did (who repreſented it by the letters *a* or *e*) to the way of notation in the method of fluxions, where the ſame letter *o* in the buſineſs of inveſtigation is uſed in the ſame ſenſe, and in the application too of this letter there is little difference between the two methods; for if inſtead of Mr Gregory's *o*, we put Sir Iſaac's $\dot{x}$, we ſhall fall into the forms of the method of fluxions: and indeed as far as Mr Gregory's (and alſo of his rival Dr Barrow's) rule extends, his inverſe method of tangents is the ſame thing with Sir Iſaac's. The great difference lies in the different extent of the two methods in their application: for neither did Mr Gregory nor Dr Barrow ever know how to extend their methods beyond the bounds of firſt fluxions, nor were they able to apply it to ſuch algebraical expreſſions as were involved either in ſurds or fractions; whereas Sir Iſaac was far from being ſtopt within theſe limits.

(33) Viz. That thoſe quantities are to be deemed equal, which differ leſs than by any quantity that can be aſſigned.

(34) Probably borrowed from Mr Fermat, who had uſed it before. See his treatiſe De Maxim. & Minim. printed in a collection of Mathematical pieces at Paris, 1693. fol.

[*K*] *Exercitationes Geometricæ.*] This book contains the following articles: (1.) *Appendicula ad veram circuli & hyperbolæ quadraturam.* (2.) *N. Mercatoris quadratura hyperbolæ geometrice demonſtrata.* (3.) *Analogia inter lineam meridianam planiſpherii nautici & tangentes artificiales geometrice demonſtrata, ſeu quod ſecantium naturalium additio efficiat tangentes artificiales.* (4.) *Item quod tangentium naturalium additio efficiat ſecantes artificiales.* (5.) *Quadratura conchoidis.* (6.) *Quadratura ciſſoidis.* (7.) *Methodus facilis & accurata componendi tangentes & ſecantes artificiales.*

[*L*] *Demonſtrated the analogy of the meridian line to a logarithmic ſcale*, &c.] Dr Halley obſerves (35), That 'the meridian line conſiſting of the ſum of the ſecants of latitude, though called Mercator's, was undoubtedly Wright's invention, as he has made it appear in his preface to his Diſcovery of certain errors in Navigation, &c. that it was diſcovered by chance, and appears to be firſt publiſhed by Henry Bond, as an addition to Norwood's Epitome of Navigation, about 100 years ſince; that *the meridian line was analagous to a ſcale of logarithmic tangents of the half compliments of the latitude*; that the difficulty of proving the truth of that propoſition ſeemed ſuch to Mercator, that he propoſed to wager a good ſum of money againſt whoſo ſhould fairly undertake it, that he ſhould not demonſtrate either that it was true or falſe; and that Mr Collins holding a correſpondence with the moſt eminent mathematicians of the age, did excite them to this enquiry: whereupon the firſt that demonſtrated it was the excellent Mr James Gregory, in his Exercitationes Geometricæ.' The Doctor likewiſe in another place (36), having by a method of his own found this ſeries,

$$\frac{2x}{z} + \frac{2x^3}{3z^3} + \frac{2x^5}{5z^5}, \text{ \&c.}$$

and recommended it as converging very faſt, and therefore very proper for the practice of making the logarithms, obſerves that it was invented and demonſtrated in the hyperbolic ſpaces, analogous to the logarithms, by the excellent Mr James Gregory, in his Exercitationes Geometricæ

(35) Analogy of the Meridian Line, &c. printed in *Miſcellanea Curioſa*, Vol. II. London 1727. ad edit. in 3 Vols 8vo.

(36) Phil. Tranſ. No. 216.

[*M*] *Profeſſor*

and he extended his method of infinite series to the menſuration of ſome mechanical curves, as the Conchoid and Ciſſoid of the Ancients. In 1670 he was appointed Profeſſor of Mathematicks in the Univerſity of St Andrews in Scotland [*M*]. It was then cuſtomary in that country, for people of all ranks to apply to theſe Profeſſors for the ſolution of any difficulties they met with in the Sciences; ſo that the buſineſs which this occaſioned, beſides the reading of public lectures twice a week, left our author but little time after this promotion, to purſue ſuch hints as were contained in his papers, towards further improvements. Yet that little time was not loſt, for Dr Barrow's Geometrical Lectures being publiſhed this year, Mr Gregory, on peruſing it, found out a general method of drawing Tangents to Curves geometrically, without any previous calculation, and drew it up in twelve propoſitions (*s*). The ſame year alſo having received ſeveral of Sir Iſaac Newton's Series from Mr Collins, he repaid the favour with ſeveral of the like kind diſcovered by himſelf (*t*). One of theſe being ſent among others, ſeveral years afterwards, to Mr Leibnitz, that eminent genius was ſo greatly pleaſed with it's elegancy, that he put it into an arithmetical dreſs, and then adopted it as an invention of his own [*N*]. But Mr Gregory was ſo fully convinced of the ſuperior excellency of Sir Iſaac Newton's method, by the ſpecimens he had received from Mr Collins, that in a great meaſure he dropt the purſuit, and never could be prevailed with afterwards to publiſh any thing in the way of infinite ſeries [*O*]. In 1672, he was involved

(*s*) Com. Epiſt. No. XVI.

(*t*) Ib. No. XX.

[*M*] *Profeſſor at St Andrews in* 1670.] This is collected from the following extract of a letter he wrote to Mr Collins, May 17, 1671, wherein he expreſſes himſelf thus: 'I am now much taken up, and have 'been ſo all this winter paſt, both with my public lectures, which I have twice a week, and in reſolving 'doubts, which ſome gentlemen and ſcholars propoſe 'to me. This I muſt comply with, nevertheleſs that 'I am often troubled with great impertinencies, all 'perſons here being ignorant of theſe things to admiration; ſo that I have but little time to ſpare in 'thoſe ſtudies my genius leads me to (37).'

(37) General Dictionary, ubi ſupra.

[*N*] *Mr Leibnitz gave it out for his own invention.*] Mr Gregory's is a general ſeries, exhibiting the length of the arc of a circle from the given tangent. Thus $a = t - \frac{t^3}{3r^2} + \frac{t^5}{5r^4} - \frac{t^7}{7r^6} + \frac{t^9}{9r^8}$, &c. where a = the arc, r the radius, and t the tangent. This Mr Leibnitz applies to one particular caſe, where a being put for an arc of 45°, the tangent becomes equal to the radius, or $t = r$, whence ſuppoſing (as uſual) $r = 1$, Mr Gregory's general form goes into this, $a = 1 - \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{5} - \frac{1}{7} + \frac{1}{9}$, &c. and ſince 4 times the arc of 45° = the ſemicircumference, the area of the circle (= to the ſemicircumference × into the radius) will be equal to this laſt-found ſeries taken four times. Now as the ſquare of the diameter (putting unity for the radices as here) is = 4, if both terms be divided by 4, their proportion will be as unity is to the laſt-found ſeries. *Unde*, to uſe Mr Leibnitz's own words, *poſito quadrato circumſcripto* 1, *erit circulus* $\frac{1}{1} - \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{5} - \frac{1}{7} + \frac{1}{9}$, &c. *quæ expreſſio haud dubie omnium poſſibilium ſimpliciſſima eſt, maximeque efficiens mentem* (38). It is true this was an eaſy ſtep to take from the ground of Mr Gregory's theorem, yet it muſt be allowed that Mr Leibnitz was the firſt that took it; and it is obſervable, that almoſt all the improvements that were made in the analyſis by infinite ſeries before Sir Iſaac Newton, grew by ſuch ſmall advances as this of Mr Leibnitz, where in viewing any particular invention, if we conſider what had been already done for the inventor's uſe, one is not ſo much ſurprized that it was made at the time, as that it was not made before. Nor would Mr Leibnitz have loſt the merit of this little improvement, had he not induſtriouſly concealed his prior knowledge of the improvement of his precurſor Mr Gregory, which was much greater; but this he diſſembled till the year 1716, when not long before his death he made a confeſſion of it to the counteſs of Kilmanſegg *. After all the rapturous extaſy into which Mr Leibnitz was tranſported at the firſt ſight of this ſeries, ſo beautiful in it's ſimplicity, yet Sir Iſaac Newton, whoſe ſuperior good ſenſe was never deluded by the mere ſhew of an outſide form, where there was very little or no real uſe, treats this ſame elegant ſeries, by reaſon of the ſlowneſs of it's convergency, with ſome degree even of contempt (39). Having ſhewn that it is no more than one particular inſtance of a general theorem found by him before Mr Gregory's invention of it, he proceeds to give other ſeries as examples of the ſame theorem, which, ſays he, perhaps you will not diſlike, becauſe they are not inferior to your's in the point of ſimplicity, and at the ſame time converge quicker, as $1 + \frac{1}{3} - \frac{1}{5} - \frac{1}{7} + \frac{1}{9} + \frac{1}{11} - \frac{1}{13} - \frac{1}{15}$, &c. *Sed ego, inquit, rem aliter æſtimo. Illud enim melius quod utilius eſt, & problema minore labore ſolvit. Sic quamvis hæc æquatio* $x^3 - x = 1$ *appareat ſimplicior hacce* $44 - 24\sqrt{\frac{21}{25}} - \sqrt{20} = \sqrt{20}$; *tamen in confeſſo eſt poſteriorem revera ſimpliciorem eſſe, propterea quod radicem ejus y geometra facilius eruit, & ob hanc rationem ſeries pro obtinendis arcubus circuli, vel (quod eodem recidit) pro obtinendis ſectoribus conicarum ſectionum, pro optimis habeo, quæ componuntur ex poteſtatibus ſinuum. Nam ſi quis vellet per ſimplex computam* (40) *hujus ſeriei* $1 + \frac{1}{3} - \frac{1}{5} - \frac{1}{7} + \frac{1}{9}$, &c. *colligeri longitudinem quadrantis ad viginti figurarum loca decimalia, opus eſſet* 5,000,000,000 *terminis ſeriei circiter, ad quorum calculum milleni anni requirerentur & res tardius obtineretur per tangentem* 45 *graduum* (41), *ſed adhibito ſinu recto* 45 *graduum quinquaginta quinque vel ſexaginta termini hujus ſeriei* $\sqrt{\frac{1}{2}} \times 1 + \frac{1}{12} + \frac{3}{160} + \frac{5}{896}$, &c. *ſufficerent, quorum computatio tribus, ut opinor, vel quatuor diebus abſolvi poſſet.* Upon the whole, ſo particular a regard for our author's performances, as is conſtantly ſhewn by Mr Leibnitz, is apt to ſuggeſt an apprehenſion that there was ſome particular cauſe for it. This is certain, that Mr Gregory, as we have already obſerved, in his firſt method ſuppoſes the chord of a curve to be biſected to infinity, ſo that after an infinite biſection the inſcribed polygon might be ſaid to coincide with it. And it is no injury I conceive to Mr Leibnitz, to ſuppoſe him particulary inclined to this method (which indeed is raiſed out of that of Archimedes) and fond of every notable production from it at this time, ſince he afterwards grounded his own differential method upon the ſame *poſtulatum*, viz. that the infinitely ſmall elements are right lines, or that a curve is a polygon of an infinite number of ſides.

(39) Commerc. Epiſt. No. LX.

(40) That is, without any compendia made uſe of to ſhorten the work.

(41) Sir Iſaac reduces it to a ſeries which converges very ſwiftly, by ſome improvements of his own.

(38) Commerc. Epiſt. No. LII.

* Recenſio libri qui inſcriptus eſt Commerc. Epiſt. p. 15. edit. 1722.

[*O*] *Could not be perſuaded to publiſh any thing in the way of infinite ſeries.*] In a letter to Mr Collins, Feb. 15, 167$\frac{2}{3}$ (42), our author writes thus: 'As to Mr 'Newton's general method, I am in ſome meaſure poſſeſſed of it, I think, as well with regard to mechani'cal as geometrical curves; however, I thank you for 'the ſeriſes you ſent, pleaſe to accept theſe in return.' He then proceeds to give ſeveral ſeries for the circle, ellipſe,

(42) Com. Epiſt. No. XX.

volved in the univerſal aſtoniſhment that ſtruck the learned world upon the firſt news of Sir Iſaac Newton's diſcoveries in the nature of light; and though he was very ſenſible of the change made thereby in every branch of Optics, yet he readily yielded to the experiment

ellipſe, and hyperbola, and concludes thus: 'Your 'kindneſs in moving me to publiſh my things is very 'obliging, as is alſo the promiſe of your aſſiſtance on 'that occaſion. But I ſhould be loth give ſo much 'trouble, neither have I any thoughts of publiſhing 'any thing, except my quadrature of the circle re-'viſed, with ſome trifling additions.' Again, to the ſame purpoſe, Mr Collins, in a letter to Mr Strode, dated July 26, 1672 (43), having informed *that* gentleman that both Mr Newton and Mr Gregory had a deſign to publiſh ſome improvements in the method of infinite ſeries, ſays that Mr Gregory did not anticipate Mr Newton, the firſt inventor; and the ſame thing is repeated by Mr Collins, in another letter to Mr Oldenburg, dated April 15, 1675 (44), to be communicated to Mr Leibnitz. The ſame friend, in a letter alſo to Mr Oldenburg, dated June 14, 1676, after our author's deceaſe (45), intimates that the reaſon of his backwardneſs in this matter was his opinion of the ſuperior excellency of Sir Iſaac Newton's method in theſe terms: *Hujus [Newtoni] methodi ea eſt præſtantia ut cum tam late pateat, ad nullam hæreat difficultatem. Gregorium autem alioſque in ea fuiſſe opinione arbitror, ut quicquid uſpiam antea de hac re innotuit, quaſi dubia diluculi lux fuit ſi cum meridiana ſua claritate conferatur.* The ſame year Mr Collins, at the requeſt of ſeveral gentlemen of the French Academy, drew up an account, which he alſo ſent to Mr David Gregory, brother to Mr Gregory, of his inventions, extracted from the letters he had received from him (46). Among theſe there is one very extraordinary improvement mentioned in the method of ſeries, which though it had been much deſired by Mr Collins, and was promiſed by Mr Gregory, yet never ſaw the light. This was a way of finding the roots of affected equations by infinite ſeries. Upon that ſubject we have the following obſervations, in a letter of our author already cited, of February 15, 167⅞: 'As to my method of finding the 'roots of all equations, one ſeries produces only one 'root, but there are an infinite number of ſeries for 'every root. Indeed there is ſome difficulty in be-'ginning the ſeries right, and in diſtinguiſhing to what 'root it belongs; but of this matter you may perhaps 'hear further from me hereafter. You need not ſcruple 'to communicate any thing I ſend you, for I am little 'concerned whether they come out in mine or ano-'ther's name.' Again, in 1671, he writes thus: 'As 'to the matter of equations, either in taking away 'what terms may be taken away, or reducing all equa-'tions, when it is poſſible, to pure equations, or find-'ing their limits, or reducing all of them to infinite 'ſeries, I may entertain you [Mr Collins] with theſe 'things more at length afterwards. For your intelli-'gence ſhewing me that ſo many perſons of vaſt learn-'ing were upon that ſubject, hath engaged me to look 'over my notes to theſe purpoſes, where I find great 'improvements can be made.—I reſolve, when the 'college riſeth, to apply myſelf ſeriouſly to the doc-'trine of equations.' And that in ſome meaſure he executed this reſolution, appears from what he wrote the year after to the ſame correſpondent; for having ſent him a ſolution of the famous Keplerian problem by an infinite converging ſeries (47), which he obſerves might be much exacter for the uſes of Aſtronomy than any table of ſines, he goes on to acquaint him, that thoſe infinite ſeries have the ſame ſucceſs in equations which they have in other problems, only that becauſe in equations there are many indetermined quantities, the ſeries become exceedingly tedious, but abundantly ſimple, when theſe are determined. In 1675 Mr Collins informs Mr Leibnitz (48), that our author had with great pains prepared an infinite ſeries, to be applied in general to the reſpective powers of any affected equation whatſoever that ſhould be propoſed, ſo that the meaneſt algebraiſt, being furniſhed with this treaſure, may be able preſently to prepare any ſeries for the finding of any root of a propoſed equation, as ſoon as he knows on which ſide of the known limit the root will fall; but, ſays he, Mr Gregory has not communicated this method to us. Mr Collins alſo obſerves, that by this method, without the help of logarithms, you may raiſe any number to any power, even *per ſaltum*; and, on the other hand, from any given power, how much ſoever affected, you may find the root, or any medium aſſigned between it and unity. Not long after this letter to Mr Leibnitz, Sir Iſaac Newton likewiſe received one from Mr Collins upon the ſame point, intimating withal, that the publication of this method was deferred in reſpect to Sir Iſaac, as appears by his anſwer, wherein he aſſures Mr Collins, That for his part he had never applied the doctrine of infinite ſeries to extract the roots of affected equations in numbers, and therefore that Mr Gregory's method, though he knew nothing of it, yet could not interfere with his, or if it did, he could wiſh the public might not be hindered from enjoying a thing of ſo much value. We find alſo by Sir Iſaac's letter, that Dr Pell had intereſted himſelf in this affair (49). Is it not now a little ſurprizing, that after all this buſtle not the leaſt ſpecimen of any ſuch thing by Mr Gregory ſhould ever appear in public? Indeed Sir Iſaac Newton obſerves, in the letter abovementioned, That as far as he knew any thing of infinite ſeries, he accounted it of no great advantage for reſolving affected equations in numbers; and Mr Leibnitz mentions ſeveral difficulties which to him at leaſt appeared inſuperable in this project. Is it not then moſt probable, that either our author *did* not live long enough to compleat his deſign, or elſe left his papers ſo confuſed, and his thoughts ſo obſcurely expreſſed, that neither Mr Collins nor Dr Pell, nor any other of the guardians of his fame, were able to unravel them?

Since the writing of this remark, we have met with a paſſage in a treatiſe wrote by a perſon (50), as appears, very well affected to Mr Gregory's reputation, which confirms our conjecture. Sir Iſaac Newton, in his celebrated letter to Mr Oldenburg, of Oct. 4, 1676 (51), has the following paſſage. *Sub eo tempore* [1671] *Jacobus Gregorius ex unica quadam ſerie e meis quam D. Collinius ad eum tranſmiſerat, poſt multum conſiderationem (ut ad Collinium reſcripſit) pervenit ad eundem methodum, & tractatum de ea reliquit, quem ſperamus ab amicis ejus editum iri, ſiquidem pro ingenio, quo pollebat, non potuit non adjicere de ſuo nova multa, quæ rei mathematicæ intereſt, ut non pereant.* Here we have Sir Iſaac giving a very candid teſtimony (grounded upon a letter of Mr Collins) that our author had diſcovered a method of quadratures of the ſame ſort with his own, and had likewiſe wrote a treatiſe of it. But notwithſtanding this, as well as the other appearances already mentioned, yet it is more than probable that Mr Gregory left no ſuch treatiſe behind him. And, indeed, had there been any ſuch, no doubt it would have been publiſhed by his nephew Dr David Gregory, who ſucceeded to the poſſeſſion of his uncle's papers. But he declared that no ſuch method could be found in them (52). In the year 1736, theſe papers being then in the cuſtody of Dr David Gregory, Canon of Chriſt Church in Oxford, were peruſed by Mr Stewart and another Gentleman, with the hopes (as Mr Stewart ſays) of finding ſome ſuch treatiſe as that mentioned by Sir Iſaac Newton, but they could diſcover no ſuch thing among theſe papers, though they ſaw ſeveral curious *ones* upon particular ſubjects which are not in print. On the contrary, ſome letters they ſaw made it evident, that our author had not compiled any treatiſe containing the foundations of this general method a very ſhort time before his death. So that all that can be known about his *method*, can only be collected from his letters publiſhed in the Commerc. Epiſtolic. and the Short Hiſtory of his Mathematical Diſcoveries, compiled by Mr Collins above taken notice of. And hence Mr Stewart conjectures, that the principles of his method were few and ſimple, which he could eaſily retain in his mind, and apply as occaſion offered; and I am much miſtaken, continues he, if they have not been [were not] the ſame, or nearly the ſame, with thoſe of Sir Iſaac Newton's method. This he collects too from the letters already mentioned, and having cited ſeveral extracts from

(43) Ibid. No. XXIV.

(44) Ibid. No. XXXVII.

(45) Ibid. No. XLV.

(46) Ibid. No. XLVII.

(47) Probably not much different from that which is printed in Dr David Gregory's Aſtronomy, Vol. I. lib. iii. prop. 4. octavo edition; as alſo in his Exercitatio Geometrica, edit. 1684, 4to.

(48) Comm. Epiſt. No. XXXVI.

(49) Gen. Dict. Vol. VII. p. 787.

(50) Mr John Stewart, Profeſſor of Mathematics at Aberdeen.

(51) Comm. Epiſt. No. LVII.

(52) See the following article.

experimental evidence on which the truth of that theory is founded [P]. But at the same time, with respect to the reflecting Telescope, he disputed with Sir Isaac the force of his reasons for constructing it in a different way from that of his own [Q]. In the course of this dispute, our author described a reflecting glass-mirrour for burning, which was then approved by Sir Isaac, and such I am informed are at this time very commonly made [R]; and had he lived to Sir Isaac's age, he might have seen his own telescope,

from him concludes upon the whole, that the method used by Mr Gregory after the year 1670, was in effect the same with that of Sir Isaac Newton (53). In this conclusion Mr Stuart must be understood to mean nothing more, than that after Mr Gregory had seen some of Sir Isaac's series, he improved his own method thereby, so as to produce several of the same kind, that is, such as consisted of simple rational terms separated from each other; and it is only in this sense that he is said by Mr Collins * to have used Sir Isaac's method after 1671.

(53) Sir Isaac Newton's two Treatises of the Quadrature of Curves, and Analysis by Equations of an infinite number of terms, p. 329. Lond. 1745, 4to.

* Com. Epist. No. XXXVI.

[P] *He readily yielded to Sir Isaac's theory of Light and Colours.*] In a letter to Mr Collins, dated Apr. 9, 1672, he writes thus: 'I am much obliged to you for 'those excellent improvements of learning you advertise me of. I was exceedingly surprized with those 'experiments of Mr Newton, they will cause great 'changes throughout all the body of Natural Philoso-'phy by all appearance if the matter of fact be true, 'which I have no ground to question. I would gladly 'see what Mr Hooke says against the doctrine raised 'upon them (54).' No doubt Mr Gregory embraced Sir Isaac's theory the more readily, as by those *discoveries* (they are our author's own words) [55] *he had made the catoptric telescopes preferable to the dioptric*; whereas before he was aware of no other advantage in the former, but that of their being shorter than the latter, and consequently more handy and manageable (56).

(54) General Dictionary, Vol. V. p. 525.

(55) See No. IV, in the Appendix to Gregory's Optics, ubi supra, p. 203.

(56) See remark [B].

[Q] *He disputed the preference of his telescope against Sir Isaac.*] Not long after Sir Isaac had sent his new telescope to the Royal Society, Mr Gregory having an account of it wrote his thoughts thereof in a letter (57) to Mr John Collins from Aberdeen, in these terms. 'It is like indeed that Mr Newton his telescope may 'have an advantage above that which I mention'd in 'my *Optica Promota*, because the eye glasse is so near 'the plain mirroir, yet the obliquity of the mirroir 'hindreth someqt; nevertheless my telescope hath one 'advantage also verie considerable; for the same con-'cave mirroir, togither with the same plane convex 'eye glasse, may give the same object mirroir any de-'fired charge, &c. Your humble and obliged servant, 'J. Gregory.' At the same time Mr Cassegrain published a description of a catadioptric telescope as his own invention (58), which he pretended had three advantages above Sir Isaac's; alledging, (1) That the mouth or aperture of the tube may be of any bigness, and consequently you may have many more rays upon the concave speculum than upon that of Mr Newton's. (2.) The reflection of the rays will be very natural, since it will be made upon the axis itself, and therefore more vivid. (3.) The vision of it will be so much the more pleasing, in that you shall not be incommoded by the great light, by reason of the bottom's hiding the whole face. In answer to this, Sir Isaac shewed the disadvantages of Mr Cassegrain's construction (which he observed was not unlike that (59) of Mr Gregory's) in these particulars: (1.) That there would be more light lost by reflection from the convex speculum than from the oval plane [in his own telescope], since light is most copiously and most obliquely reflected. (2.) That the convex would not reflect the rays so truly as the oval plane, unless it were of an hyperbolical figure, which is incomparably more difficult to form than a plane, and if truly formed, yet would only reflect those rays truly which respect the axis. (3.) The errors of the said convex would be much augmented by the too great distance, through which the rays reflected from it must pass, before their arrival at the eye-glass; for which reason he had placed his eye-glass as near as possible to the oval plane, without obstructing any useful light in it's passage to the object metal. (4.) The errors of the object metal would be more augmented by reflection from the convex than from the plane, because of the inclination or deflexion of the convex on all sides from the points, on which every ray ought to be incident. (5.) For these reasons, an extraordinary exactness is requisite in the figure of the little convex, which was much more difficult to give than in greater pieces of metal. (6.) Because the errors at the perimeter of the concave object metal, caused by the sphericalness of it's figure, are much augmented by the convex, it will not with distinctness bear so large an aperture, as in the other constructions. (7.) By reason that the little convex conduces very much to the magnifying virtue of the instrument, which the oval plane doth not, it will magnify much more in proportion to the sphere, on which the great concave is ground, than in the other design, and so magnifying objects much more than it ought to do in proportion to it's aperture, it must represent them very obscure and dark, and also confused, by reason of it's being overcharged; nor is there any convenient remedy for this, for if the little convex be made of a larger sphere, that will cause a greater inconvenience by intercepting too many of the best rays; or if the charge of the eye-glass be made so much shallower as is necessary, the angle of vision will thereby become so little, that it will be very difficult and troublesome to find an object; and of that object, when found, there will be but a very small part seen at once (60). After this Mr Gregory in a letter (61) to Mr Collins from St Andrews, Sept. 23, 1672, replied to Sir Isaac's animadversions upon Mr Cassegrain's telescope, looking upon it as his own disguised; and proposes to use a plane speculum, instead of his concave or Cassegrain's convex, '*and then says almost the whol* '*disadvantages evanishe, except onlie the third, and for* '*that there is an advantage as considerable if not more,* '*in that the distance between the two specula groweth* '*almost the one half les* (by which means his telescope 'would be still shorter than Sir Isaac's by almost a half) '*and therefore the errors of the larger concave ar also* '*diminished upon the plane speculum by one halfe*' Nevertheless he thinks a little concave or convex worth trying, because different charges may be then given to the telescope with the same eye-glass, which he thinks impracticable in Sir Isaac's. Sir Isaac's answer to these objections was sent to Mr Collins, which he communicated to Mr Gregory, who seems thereby convinced, that an oblique reflection is preferable to a direct one (62), but does not conceive how Sir Isaac can alter the charge of his telescope without changing the eye-glass. Sir Isaac in his next letter (63) gives an account of his manner of varying the charge in his telescope, by making use of a glass prism with two convex surfaces and a flat one, instead of his small plane mirrour. He also shews how the aperture of the eye-glass ought to be limited in Mr Gregory's telescope, and for his own he lays all the stress of magnifying upon the eye-glass. Mr Gregory in his last letter (64) to Mr Collins on this subject, commends Sir Isaac's way of the varying the charge of his telescope, but thinks it liable to some errors, owing to the refraction of the rays at their entrance into and emersion out of the convex surfaces of the little prism. He thinks it not worth while to look on terrestrial bodies with excellent telescopes, because they magnify the particles of the atmosphere as well as the object. But for celestial bodies he proposes a thin plate with a small hole in it to be placed in the focus of his eye-glass next to the eye, to intercept all the spurious rays (65); and concludes with asserting, that if it appears by trials that common microscopes (that is, microscopes with two or three glasses) can be brought to exceed all improvements of a single lens, then it will follow from thence, that his telescope will exceed Sir Isaac Newton's.

(57) It is dated Aug. 6, 1672. See Appendix to Gregory's Optics ubi supra, No. III.

(58) In the Memoirs of the Academy at Paris, No. VIII. for the year 1672.

(59) This differed from Mr Gregory, only in having the lesser speculum convex instead of concave.

(60) Phil. Trans. No. 83.

(61) No. IV. in the Appendix above cited.

(62) In this letter, dated March 7, 1673, his words are, I am almost convinced that oblique reflection causeth more light than the direct, but I am not fully perswaded that it is more regular. No. VI.

(63) No. VII.

(64) From St Andrews, May 13, 1673. Appendix, No. VIII.

(65) Without which, as it has appeared since in practice, this telescope would be of no use.

[R] *He invented a burning glass.*] See his letter above-cited, of March 7, 1673, No. 6, where he writes thus: 'Mr Newton's discourse of reflection puts me in 'mind of a notion I had of burning-glasses several years 'ago, which appears to me more usefull than subtile. 'If there be a concave speculum of glasse, the leaded 'convex furface having the same center with the con-'cave (or, to speak preciselie, albeit perchance to lit-'tle more purpose) let the radius of the convexitie be 'c, the thickness of the glasse *in axis tranſitu f*, the 'radius of the convexitie equal to $\frac{9c^2+18cf+5f^2}{9c+5f}$, 'this speculum sal have the foci of both the furfaces in 'the

teleſcope, by the help of ſome improvements in regard to the workmanſhip taken from his competitor, brought to great perfection; inſomuch that it is at preſent generally preferred, and chiefly in uſe (*u*) [*S*]. But his life was cut ſhort in December 1675, at the age of thirty-ſix years (*w*). He died in his profeſſorſhip at St Andrews, which was all the preferment he ever obtained. For notwithſtanding the great talk of a deſign that was once taken up by the French Academicians to recommend him for a penſion to the Grand Monarch; yet the whole affair ended in a meer compliment, as it was underſtood by Mr Gregory himſelf, when the news reached his ears [*T*]. He ſeems, indeed, not

(*u*) Particularly the ſmaller ſort for viewing land-objects.

(*w*) Communicated by Mr Short the celebrated Optician, who had it from Sir Robert Stewart, ſome time Profeſſor of Natural Philoſophy at Edinburgh.

' the ſame point, and not onlie that, but all the rays ' which are reflected betwixt the two ſurfaces ſal in ' their egreſſe come *quam proxime* to the common fo- ' cus. The making of ſuch an ſpeculum requireth not ' much more airt than an ordinar plane glaſſe, ſeing ' great ſubtilitie is not neceſſar here: ſo that I believe ' they who make the plane miroir glaſſes, wold mak ' one of theſe three foot in diameter, for four or five ' L. ſt. or little more: for I have ſeen plane glaſſes al- ' moſt of that bignes ſold even here for leſs money. ' Now ſeing (as Mr Newton obſerveth) that all reflect- ' ing metalls loſe more than $\frac{1}{4}$ of their rayes, this con- ' cave glaſs, even *cæteris paribus*, wold have an great ' advantage of a metall one; for certainlie an exactlie ' poliſhed thin miroir glaſſe of good tranſparent mater, ' after a few reflexions, doeth not loſe $\frac{1}{4}$ of the rayes, ' and upon other accounts this hath incomparable ad- ' vantages, ſeing it is more portable, free from tar- ' niſhing, and, above all, hardlie $\frac{1}{20}$ of the value. ' The great uſefulneſs of burning concaves, this being ' ſo obvious, and as yet (for ot I know) untouched ' by anie, makes me jealous, that there may be in the ' practiſe ſome fallacie. Ye may communicate this to ' intelligent perſons, and eſpecially to Mr Newton, aſ- ' ſuring him that none hath a greater veneration for ' him, admiring more his great and ſubtile inventions ' than his and

Your Humble Servant,

J. Gregorie.

' If you pleaſe to let me hear with the firſt convenience ' what may be judged the reſult of this burning con- ' cave: for I am as much concerned to be undeceived, ' if ther be any inſuperable difficultie, as to be informed ' of an moſt ſurprizing ſucceſs. I have ſpoke of it to ' ſeverals here, but al wer as ignorant of it as my- ' ſelf, &c.

To this Mr [Sir Iſaac] Newton returned the following anſwer (66).

(66) Ibid. No VII.

' The deſign of the burning ſpeculum appears to me ' very plauſible, and worthy of being put in practice. ' What artiſts may think of it I know not; but the ' greateſt difficulty in the practice that occurs to me is, ' to proportion the two ſurfaces ſo, that the force of ' both may be in the ſame point, according to the ' theory. But perhaps it is not neceſſary to be ſo cu- ' rious; for it ſeems to me that the effect would ſcarce ' be ſenſibly leſs, if both ſides ſhould be ground to the ' concave and gage of the ſame tool.'

[*S*] *The Gregorian teleſcope is now chiefly in uſe.*] Notwithſtanding Mr Gregory (as we have ſaid) publiſhed his invention ſo long ago as 1663, and was followed by Sir Iſaac in leſs than ten years, yet both lay almoſt uſeleſs till the year 1719, when theſe Reflecting Teleſcopes were firſt brought to a uſeful degree of perfection by Mr Hadley, Vice-Preſident of the Royal Society, Sir Iſaac Newton's firſt, and Mr Gregory's ſoon after. The inſtruments he then made were about 5 feet 3 inches long. He preſented one of the firſt ſort to the Royal Society, with a deſcription both of the inſtrument and the apparatus for managing it, in 1723, (67) and of the other in 1726 (68). The great difficulty in Mr Gregory's form was the conoidical figures of his ſpecula and eye-glaſs, in every attempt to form and poliſh which there was found inſuperable difficulties. Wherefore, inſtead of theſe, Mr Hadley made uſe of ſpherical ſurfaces (as Sir Iſaac Newton had done) which by ſeveral experiments were found to anſwer the purpoſe in practice as well, he ſays, as the other; and, to prevent the object being coloured at the edge of the aperture, he introduced a double eye-glaſs (69), inſtead of the ſingle one propoſed by Mr Gregory; whoſe remark, concerning the advantage of his inſtrument for long-ſighted perſons, called *preſbytæ*, was improved alſo by Mr Hadley, who, by means of a ſkrew fixed to the arm of the little concave, to remove or bring it forward upon occaſion, fitted this Teleſcope not only for common eyes, but made the rays which enter the eye to converge a little for the *preſbytæ*, or diverge for the *myopes*, or ſhort-ſighted perſons. And he obſerves that theſe teleſcopes were eaſier to manage than thoſe of Sir Iſaac's form. After Mr Hadley, theſe teleſcopes were further improved by Mr Short, a very ingenious Optician then at Edinburgh, who about 20 years ago, inſtead of metal ſpecula, applied ſpherical glaſſes quickſilvered over on the convex ſide (70). His ſpeculums of this kind were made ſo true, as to give the image perfectly diſtinct (71). However, finding the light in theſe glaſs ſpeculums fainter than he expected, he applied himſelf to improve thoſe of metal, which he made of ſeveral focal diſtances, as of 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, and 15 inches. This laſt, by experiment, was found to magnify 60 times in diameter, and, by the time of the tranſits of the ſtars over the viſible area, to take in an angle of 19 min. at the naked *eye*; therefore the magnified angle of viſion was $60 \times 19' = 19°$. But in this conſtruction of Mr Gregory's form, the angle of aberrition being two or three times greater than thoſe of Sir Iſaac Newton, would cauſe an intolerable degree of indiſtinctneſs, were it not diminiſhed by correcting the ſpherical figure of the larger ſpeculum, and inclining it towards a *parabola* (72); which Mr Short (now at London) takes conſtant care to do. Some uſeful tables for conſtructing Mr Gregory's teleſcope, are given both by Mr Hadley (73), and by Dr Smith (74), and theſe teleſcopes are now made in ſuch perfection, that one of five feet is equivalent to the beſt refracting ones of 123, ſo that nothing ſeems to be wanting, only the contrivance of ſuch a micrometer as can be uſefully applied to them. This we are told by Dr Deſaguliers ſome artiſts were endeavouring to do in 1735 (75). But no ſuch micrometer has been hitherto compleated, and the advantage of the preſent micrometer is ſo much greater in the Dioptric Teleſcope than in the reflecting ſort, that the former is ſtill uſed for aſtronomical obſervations. However, a micrometer applicable to the reflectors was invented by the late ingenious Mr G. Graham, ſome time before his death; and ſince that, another of a better contrivance has been very lately ſo well adapted to them by Mr Dollond of London, as even to give them the advantage of the refractors in this reſpect *. Several obſervations for a trial were made with both the mentioned inſtruments, by Mr Short and Dr Bevis, in 1753; an account of which may be ſeen in the Philoſophical Tranſactions for that year. And while I am writing this, Mr Dollond informs me, that this year 1755, he ſent one of his to Mr Bradley at Oxford, with inſtructions how to manage it, at the Profeſſor's requeſt, from whom he has lately received an account, that he found it to anſwer much better than Mr Dollond had out of modeſty promiſed; and that for inſtance, he had taken the diameter of the Sun's diſk with it to a ſecond. So that there ſeems to be ſome grounds to expect, that as to all the purpoſes of the micrometer, aſtronomical obſervations will be made more accurately with this improvent by the reflecting, than can now be done by the refracting teleſcope

(67) Phil Tranſ. No. 376.

(68) Appendix to Gregory's Optics, p. 250, &c. ſeq. & Plate iv. fig. 7.

(69) Either both *plano-convex*, or that next the eye rather a *meniſcus* or *concavo-convex*. Ibid. p. 253.

(70) *As was firſt recommended by* Sir Iſaac. See his Optics, p. 94.

(71) One of theſe of 15 inches focal diſtance was in the hands of the Duke of *Argyle*, with which it was eaſy to read in the Phil. Tranſ. at the diſtance of 230 feet.

(72) Sir Iſaac Newton alſo mentions this figure as the beſt if it could be obtained. Phil. Tranſ. No. 80.

(73) In the Appendix to Gregory's Optics, p. 253, 254, 288.

(74) In his Optics, Vol. II. Remarks, p. 105.

(75) Appendix to Gregory's Optics, p. 255.

* Beſides being eaſier managed, they are made upon a larger ſcale, and may be uſed in all directions of the Teleſcope.

[*T*] *When the news reached his ears.*] The ſtory ſeems to be this, Mr Vernon, an Engliſh gentleman ſtudious in the mathematics, being at Paris in 1671, fell frequently into the company of the French Academicians. Among whom the converſation ſometimes turned upon the improvements lately made by Mr J. Gregory. In one of theſe interviews, ſome of the French gentlemen, knowing that their Monarch had then formed a deſign of granting honorary penſions to learned foreigners, propoſed to recommend our author to his Majeſty on that occaſion; and Mr Huygens being in company did not think proper directly to oppoſe it, though, he ſaid, he had reaſon to think himſelf diſobliged by Mr Gregory, on account of the controverſy then between them (76). Soon after ſeveral of thoſe members wrote about this affair to Mr Oldenburg, Secretary of the Royal Society at London, deſiring him to acquaint that Society with it, as alſo that their Monarch was diſpoſed to allow penſions to one or

(76) See remark [*H*].

two

not to be endued with an ambitious turn of mind, his temper being ſuch as diſpoſed him to enter with high delight into the little amuſing occurrences of a college life [*U*]. After his deceaſe his papers came into the hands of Dr David Gregory, who publiſhed the moſt material of them in a treatiſe mentioned in the following article.

two learned Engliſhmen whom they ſhould recommend. But as no anſwer was ever made to that propoſal, the Royal Society declining, for many reaſons (too obvious to mention) to concern themſelves about it, here that deſign dropped, and our Profeſſor's projected penſion dropped with it. In the mean time Mr Collins (as his manner was) with great pleaſure acquainted our author with what he had heard from Mr Vernon at Paris. But Mr Gregory (who had been abroad) ſaw more clearly into the full and true meaning of the French compliment, as appears by his very ſenſible and modeſt anſwer in theſe terms. 'I have not ſo much vanity, 'ſays he, as to perſuade myſelf that you are ſerious, 'having never heard any thing relating to that before. 'I have ſufficient experience of the uncertainty of things 'of that nature before now, which maketh me, ſince 'I came to Scotland, however mean and deſpicable my 'condition may be, to reſt contented; and ſatisfy my-'ſelf with this, that I am at home in a ſettled condi-'tion by which I can live. I have known many learn-'ed men, far above me upon every account, with 'whom I would not change my condition (77).'

[*U*] *Highly delighted with the little occurrences of a college life.*] In 1672, our author wrote a ſmall tract in octavo, entitled; *The great and new Art of weighing Vanity; or a Diſcovery of the Ignorance and Arrogance of the new Artiſt, in his Pſeudo-philoſophical writings. To which are annexed, ſome Tentamina de motu penduli & projectorum.* The book is publiſhed under the name of Patrick Mathers, Arch-Beadle of the Univerſity of St Andrews. In a letter to his friend Mr Collins, our Profeſſor gives an account of the particular occurrence which furniſhed his profeſſorial dignity with an occaſion of writing this arch piece of drollery. 'There is, ſays he, one Maſter Sinclair, that writ 'the *ars magna & nova*, a pitiful ignorant fellow, who 'has lately written horrid nonſenſe in hydroſtatics, and 'againſt Mr Boyle, for weighing water in water; and 'has in print abuſed Mr Sanders, a maſter in the Uni-'verſity here, a perſon very knowing in the Mathema-'tics, and who is reſolved to get the beadle of the Uni-'verſity to write againſt him; and upon this account hath 'deſired me to write to you for *Stevinus*'s mathematics, 'which I intreat you to ſend. We reſolve to make ex-'cellent ſport with him (78).'

(77) General Dictionary, ubi ſupra.

(78) Idem ibid.

GREGORY [DAVID], nephew of the preceding, had his birth June 24, 1661 * at the ſame place where he received the firſt rudiments of his learning, and was afterwards put to the college there, whence, in order to compleat his education, he was removed to Edinburgh, and applying cloſely to his ſtudies, was in a few years admitted to the degree of Maſter of Arts, or Doctor in Philoſophy (*a*). Being well fitted for mathematical ſtudies by the natural ſubtility of his genius (*b*), he ſoon became *ſenſible of the advantage* given him that way in his uncle's papers (*c*), and early made *himſelf maſter of the improvements* he found therein, in the method of infinite ſeries. Theſe he publiſhed with ſome additions of his own under the title of *Exercitatio Geometrica de dimenſione figurarum, ſive ſpecimen* methodi *generalis dimetiendi quaſvis figuras* [*A*], in 1684 at Edinburgh in 4to. not

* See the inſcription upon his monument below.

(*a*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 225.

(*b*) Dr Smith ſtiles him *Subtiliſſimi ingenii Mathematicus.* Vita Edw. Bernardi in vitis illuſtrium virorum, &c, p. 47. Lond. 1704, 8vo.

(*c*) Several of theſe had been communicated by Mr John Collins to our author's father Mr David Gregory. Com. Epiſt. No. XLVII.

[*A*] *Exercitatio geometrica de dimenſione curvarum &c.*] It would be but little ſatisfaction to the reader to be ſent for an account of this treatiſe to the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 163, ſince that paper, no leſs than the book itſelf, is ſo ſcarce as very rarely to be met with, and is omitted in all the abridgements, as not falling within the compaſs of their deſign. We ſhall therefore inſert the ſubſtance of that account: and the rather, becauſe it will be found of uſe towards clearing up a point controverted in the preceding article, of ſome importance to the character of Mr James Gregory. For having taken notice of his piece, printed at Padua in 1667, *de vera circuli et hyperbole quadratura*, and exhibited the particular conſtruction of the infinitely converging ſeries invented by him for thoſe quadratures, and having diſcourſed of ſome other things relating to the ſame, and to other ſuch like approximations. It proceeds in obſerving, 'that another method '(different from the former) had been publiſhed the 'year following, (viz 1668) by Nic. Mercator in his '*Logarithmotechnia* for ſquaring the hyperbola by an 'infinite ſeries, proved alſo and demonſtrated by James 'Gregory apogogically, or by a *deductio ad abſurdum* '[the only kind of demonſtration of which ſuch qua-'dratures are capable]: but that a general me-'thod for ſuch caſes was yet wanting. That about the 'beginning of the year 1670, he [James Gregory] 'underſtood from Mr Collins, that Mr Newton of 'Cambridge had before that time a general method 'of quadratures; whereof, as an inſtance, Collins ſent 'him an example of ſuch a ſeries, accommodated to a 'circular zone, *That* James Gregory *was in purſuit* '*of a like method of infinite ſeries, but was prevented* '*by death; and except ſome particular examples left* '*nothing in his papers yet come into his* [David Gre-'gory's] *hands, that might declare his method and way* '*of finding ſuch examples.* That himſelf therefore, '[David Gregory] doth in his treatiſe make it his bu-'ſineſs to explain a method, which may ſuit ſuch ex-'amples of his uncle aſſuming the *doctrine of indiviſi-'bles, and the arithmetic of infinites*, as already known 'and received by Geometers as ſufficiently demon-'ſtrated; and applies it to particular caſes in this man-'ner. Suppoſe a ſtraight line, or the axis (called *X*) 'of a curve cut into parts infinitely ſmall, and the re-'ſpects of each part *L*, (which he calls elementum) or 'ſmall part of the curve, which is to be meaſured, an-'ſwer to each of theſe particles of *X*, or at leaſt ſome-'what ſo near the values of *L* that the difference may 'be neglected, as when a ſhort ſubteuſe or tangent is 'taken as coincident with a curve, he doth according 'to the doctrine of infinites collect the aggregate of all 'ſuch *L*'s, which aggregate is the magnitude ſought. 'Of this he gives divers examples in the parabola, hy-'perbola, ellipſe, ſpiral, cycloid, conchoid, ciſſoid, and 'ſome other curves, as to their areas or curve lines, or 'ſolids and curve ſurfaces made by the rotation of them, 'or otherwiſe derived from them, and propoſing diverſe 'expedients or preparative obſervations, by diviſion 'and extraction of roots in ſpecies, for reducing of im-'plicated quantities when need requires into infinite 'ſeries, thereby rendering them capable of having the 'method of infinites applied to them; he concludes, 'with expreſſing his hopes and expectations, that Mr 'Newton's method to this purpoſe long ſince invented, 'but they not yet publiſhed, ſhortly may be made 'public.' From this account, the intelligent reader will eaſily perceive, that our author's method in this treatiſe is nothing elſe but that of Dr Wallis and Dr Barrow, extended to ſome more caſes than had been done before, by the help of his uncle's papers; and ſo much of Sir Iſaac Newton's method as was to be found among them. However, it is apparently on account of ſuch an improvement, that ſeveral years afterwards in a letter to Dr Wallis (1), he ſpeaks of the method in this tract as his own, in the following terms. *Methodus mea cujus ope ſeries deteguntur, quibus infinite numero curvæ et ſpatia iis contenta et rectis, nullius methodi hactenus cognite legibus ſubjecta menſurantur.* And hence an obſervation occurs, which ſeems not unſeaſonable in this place; that it was uſual among the Mathematicians in thoſe times, to give any method the title of general, for finding the dimenſions of all curves whatſoever, when there was laid down a rule in general terms for that purpoſe, comprehending all curves in an algebraical expreſſion, notwithſtanding any number of caſes whatſoever

(1) Dated July 21, 1692, inter Wallifii Opera, Vol. II. p. 351.

not long after he had been promoted to the mathematical chair in that univerſity (*d*). In the execution of this office he was the firſt who introduced the Newtonian Philoſophy into the ſchools (*e*) [*B*], and he read lectures with great applauſe 'till 1691; but after the breaking up of the college for the long vacation that year, he left Scotland and went to London (*f*); where he was introduced to Sir Iſaac Newton, then intent upon bringing his theory of the moon to a greater perfection (*g*). That great man according to his native modeſty and candour preſently conceived a good opinion of our author's ſkill in his profeſſion, and admitted him afterwards to ſome ſhare of his friendſhip. He likewiſe recommended him to Mr Flamſtead [*C*], who gave him all the aſſiſtance that lay in his power in the affair that had brought him to England. This was a view of the Savilian Profeſſorſhip of Aſtronomy at Oxford, in which preferment he ſucceeded Dr Edward Bernard, who reſigned it this year (*h*). Upon that occaſion he was firſt admitted of Baliol-College, and incorporated Maſter of Arts of that univerſity on the eighth of February, and was created Doctor of Phyſic the eighteenth of the ſame month (*i*), He had been choſen into the Royal Society ſoon after his arrival at London, and to ſhew that he was no unworthy member of that body, he ſent them *a ſolution of the geometrical enigma* [*D*] which they had

(*d*) We have no account of the exact time when he obtained this place, but none of his lectures yet publiſhed were read before 1684, and he was then only 23 years of age.

(*e*) See Whiſton's Life by himſelf, Vol. I. p. 32. Lond. 1753.

(*f*) The college does not riſe 'till Midſummer, and he was at London in the latter end of July. See Remark [*B*].

(*g*) This appears from ſeveral letters wrote by Sir Iſaac about that time, for which ſee his article.

(*h*) See more of this matter in the article of Dr HALLEY.

(*i*) Wood's Faſti ubi ſupra, whoſe account being miſtaken by Dr Deſguliers, he tells us our author was admitted to the rectory of Brightwell near Wallingford in Berkſhire this year. Preface to Dr Gregory's Elements of Catoptrics, &c. p. 3. Lond. 1735. 8vo.

whatſoever might be produced, to which no practicable method of applying the rule for uſe was either taught or known. Laſtly, after a declaration ſo full and expreſs, as we ſee here of David Gregory, that his uncle did not live to diſcover Sir Iſaac Newton's method of infinite ſeries, nor any general method like it, and left nothing in his papers intimating what way he found ſome particular examples therein, it is a little ſurpriſing that Mr Stuart, if he had ſeen this declaration, ſhould entertain any hopes of finding ſuch a method among theſe papers; was it not rather a handſome pretence made uſe of, in order to procure a ſight of thoſe papers, in hopes of meeting, as he tells us he actually did meet, with ſome things which would be acceptable to the public (2). We find Dr David Gregory mentioning Sir Iſaac Newton's ſeries for ſquaring the circular zone, which was ſent to his uncle about the beginning of the year 1670; and it is remarkable, that it was then ſo much above every thing he comprehended in this way, that after having in vain endeavoured by comparing it with ſeveral of his own, and combining them together to diſcover the method of it, he concluded it to be no legitimate ſeries; till being aſſured of his miſtake by his friend Mr Collins, after almoſt a whole year's indefatigable pains ſpent therein, he diſcovered at laſt, that it might be deduced from one of his own upon the ſubject of the logarithms, wherein he had given a method of finding the number to a given logarithm, or of turning the root of any pure power into an infinite ſeries; and in the ſame manner, viz. by comparing and combining his own ſeries together, or elſe by deduction therefrom he diſcovered ſeveral more of Sir Iſaac's, as well as others like them (3), in which he daily became more ready by continual practice; and this ſeems to have been the utmoſt he ever actually attained in the progreſs towards diſcovering any univerſal method for thoſe ſeries. For to ſpeak ingenuouſly, he was not of a temper to conceal ſuch a diſcovery, as is evident from the haſte he was in to print his book, *De vera circuli & hyperbolæ quadratura*.

(2) See remark [*O*] in the preceding article.

(3) See Com. Epiſt. No. XV, XVII, XVIII, XIX, and XX. Mr Leibnitz alſo about the ſame time ſeems to have copied this method of James Gregory's. Ibid. No. XXX, & Recenſio lib. &c. p. 13. edit. 1722.

[*B*] *He firſt of any one introduced the Newtonian Philoſophy into the ſchools.*] This is aſſerted upon the authority of Mr William Whiſton, which in ſuch a point will not be controverted. That gentleman informs us (4), that after he had taken holy orders in 1693, returning to the college, he went on with his own ſtudies there, particularly the Mathematics and the Carteſian Philoſophy, which was alone in vogue at that time. 'But, continues he, it was not long before I with immenſe pains, but no aſſiſtance, ſet myſelf with the utmoſt zeal to the ſtudy of *Sir Iſaac Newton*'s wonderful diſcoveries in his *Philoſophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica*, one or two of which lectures I had heard him read in the public ſchools, though I underſtood them not at all at that time. Being indeed greatly excited thereto by a paper of Dr Gregory's, when he was Profeſſor in Scotland, wherein he had given the moſt prodigious commendations to that work, as not only right in all things, but in a manner the effect of a plainly divine *genius*, and *had already cauſed ſeveral of his ſcholars to keep acts, as we call them, upon ſeveral branches of the Newtonian Philoſophy*; while we at Cambridge, poor wretches, were ignominiouſly ſtudying the fictitious hypotheſes of the Carteſian.'

(4) Memoirs of his life, p. 32. Vol. I. edit. 1753.

[*C*] *Sir Iſaac conceived a good opinion of our author's ſkill, and recommended him to Mr Flamſtead.*] Among Mr Flamſtead's papers, there is a letter of Sir Iſaac to him, dated Auguſt 10, 1691, wherein having obſerved, that he had intended, together with ſome other friends, to have given Mr Flamſtead a viſit at Greenwich about a fortnight before, but upon enquiry found he was not there. He proceeds thus, '*The bearer 'hereof Mr Gregory, Mathematical Profeſſor of Edinburgh-college in Scotland, intended to have given you a 'viſit with us; you will find him a very ingenious 'perſon, a good mathematician worthy your acquaintance:*' and afterwards expreſſing his deſire to have the obſervations which Mr Flamſtead ſhould make of Jupiter and Saturn, for four or five at leaſt of the enſuing years: he continues, '*but I had rather have 'them for the next twelve or fifteen years; if you and 'I live not long enough, Mr Gregory and Mr Halley 'are young men* (5).'

(5) This whole letter is inſerted under remark [*D*] of our author's article in the General Dictionary.

[*D*] *A ſolution of the geometrical enigma.*] This enigma was ſent from Italy by way of challenge, in the following terms: 'Among the venerable monuments 'of ancient learned Greece, there is ſtill in being, and 'for ever will endure, a moſt auguſt temple dedicated 'to divine geometry of a circular ichnography, which 'is covered by a cupola perfectly hemiſpherical within; but in this, there are the equal areas of four 'windows diſpoſed about and above the baſe of the 'hemiſphere, of ſuch a configuration and of ſo much 'ingenuity, that theſe being taken away, the remaining curve ſuperficies of the cupola adorned with curious moſaic work, is capable of a true geometrical 'quadrature: now it is required, which is that quadrable part of the curved hemiſpherical ſuperficies, 'which is like a diſtended nautical ſail: and by what 'art or method the geometrical architect found it; 'and laſtly, what quadrable geometrical plane it is 'equal to?' the problem was ſent from Florence, by a perſon who ſtiled himſelf *D. Pio Lifci puſtillo Geometra*, to *Mr Bridgman* at London, and by him to Dr *Wallis*, in a letter dated Auguſt 30, 1692. The doctor preſently found it to be nothing more than the quadrature of Hippocrates's Lunula, and ſent his ſolution to the Royal Society, who publiſhed the whole in their Tranſactions No. 196. But ſoon after there appeared an Italian treatiſe written by the propoſer of the enigma, on the formation and menſuration of all vaults and cupola's, dedicated to the Grand Duke of Tuſcany, wherein having converted his former problem into this, *upon the ſuperficies of a hemiſphere, to aſſign a portion equal to a given ſquare*, he gave an ingenious and ready conſtruction of it. This piece coming to the hands of our author, he conſidered the whole, and not only found that the Florentine ſail was equal to four figures of right ſines of the quadrantal arch, and that the periphery of the ſuperficies was equal alſo to the ſame, and that the parabolical Roman boat like cupola, was equal to the Florentine veli form one; but in general, that the conſideration of the figures of right ſines (the parts of which are eaſily turned into ſquares) was ſufficient to the demonſtration of all thoſe things, which were delivered concerning other ſolids wrought by the turning lathe, or perforated by a cylinder, and their ſuperficies mentioned in that treatiſe by the author, who now giving the two initial letters of his name V. V. Dr Gregory interprets theſe to ſignify Vincentio Viviani

had received from Florence, and published in the Transactions for the year 1693 (k). Two years after that he printed his *Elements of Optics* at Oxford [E], and in 1697 he gave

(k) No. 207.

vianj *, the last disciple of Galilæo and Mathematician to the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

* [illegible] *De Maximis & Minimis*, [illegible] several times referred to by our author in his Elements of Optics.

[E] *His Elements of Optics.*] The title is *Catoptricæ & Dioptricæ sphæricæ Elementa*, Oxon. 1695, 8vo. In the preface he informs us, that these elements are the substance of some of his public lectures at Edinburgh eleven years before. In the book he considers these branches of optics, chiefly with a view to the construction of telescopes, and particularly the two reflecting ones, that of his uncle James Gregory and Sir Isaac Newton, giving the preference to the latter. He has brought his design into a small compass, and the demonstrations being very neat and easy, the book was in so much esteem, that several geometrical demonstrations as well as analytical calculations purposely omitted for the sake of brevity, were supplied after his death in a second edition published in 1705, 8vo, by Dr William Brown, Physician at Lynn-Regis in Norfolk (6), with the recommendation of William Jones, Esq; and Dr Desaguliers; and this last gentleman published a third edition in 1735, 8vo, with an appendix, containing an account of the Newtonian and Gregorian Telescopes, together with Mr Hadley's tables for constructing each of them; and likewise, several letters which passed between Sir Isaac Newton and Mr Gregory, in defence of their respective constructions: upon reviewing a piece finished with so much geometrical elegance, one cannot help being a little chagrined to find any of the rubbish of the old vanity of philosophizing mingled in the foundation. Surely the dignity of the science of Optics is sufficiently preserved in resting the proof of a few simple properties of light wholly upon experiments, without suggesting any further demonstration of the cause of such properties, from a supposed fitness in the nature of things, made apparent as is pretended by certain ill established physical rules, and ill applied geometrical reasoning. Thus for instance, *that from every lucid point in a medium, that is homogeneal, rays are diffused in right lines*, is assumed as a property of light, not only on account of it's being simple enough, and confirmed by experiments, but also because such lines are the *shortest*. The doctor expressly declares, that in laying down his *postulata* he followed *Kepler*. Let us see then how that remarkable optical writer introduces the same property in his celebrated treatise, intitled *Paralipomena ad Vitellionem*, which is particularly quoted more than once in the piece now under consideration. The fourth proposition of the first chap. is drawn up in the following terms. '*Lineæ ejaculationum lucis rectæ sunt, dicuntur* '*radii*,' which he expounds or demonstrates thus, '*Nam diximus attelari a luce figuram sphærici. Ejus* '*vero genesis vera geometrica consistit in æqualitate in*-'*tervallorum, per quæ punctum medium in superficiem di*-'*ditur. Ille vero sunt rectæ lineæ, quod si curvis lex* '*uteretur nulla esset indidendo æqualitas, nihil igitur* '*simile sphærico. Idem etiam hoc modo probatur, seu* '*potius declaratur: motus diversi sunt fines. Aut enim* '*natura affectat unitatem partium, aut separationem*, '*utrumque sit per motum rectum compendiosissime. Namque* '*quia quo brevius quæque distant hoc magis unita intelli*-'*guntur, & rectæ sunt omnium linearum inter eadem* '*puncta brevissimæ, motum ergo qui unit res ut motum* '*ponderum ad terram chalybis ad magnetem in linea* '*recta fieri necesse est, alias non omnes partes ad eundem* '*finem tenderent, sed in medio itinere alicubi, quod erat* '*uniendum alteri deflectet ab hac unionis affectatione.* '*Eadem de contrario motu separationis, qui in rebus na*-'*turalibus violentus dicitur, intelligenda sunt. Nam ei* '*etiam contrarius motus unitionis motui competit, rectus* '*igitur, quia recto non nisi rectus contrarius.*' In English thus, 'Prop. *The lines in which light is eja*-'*culated are right ones, called rays.* Demonst. '*We have shewn that the spherical figure is attract*-'*ed by light. But the true geometrical genesis of* '*that, consists in the equality of the intervals through* '*which the middle point is propagated to the superficies.* '*And these intervals are right lines. For if the law ob*-'*served curves, there would be no equality in the pro*-'*pagation. Therefore no figure is comparable to the sphe*-'*rical. The proposition is also proved or rather ex*-'*pounded in this manner The ends of motion are diffe*-'*rent For nature affects either a conjunction or a sepa*-'*ration of parts, each of which is effected most com*-'*pendiously by a streight forward or rectilinear motion.* '*For as things are observed to be so much more united* [i. '*e. to be so much nearer together*] *as the distance between* '*them is lesser, and right lines are the shortest of all be*-'*tween the same points; hence it becomes necessary, that* '*the uniting motion, as that of weights to the earth, of* '*steel to the magnet, &c.* (7) *should be made in a right* '*line, otherwise all the parts would not tend to the* '*same end; but that which was to be united to another*, '*would somewhere in the mid-way deflect from this* [*in*-'*stinctive*] *affectation of unity. The same reasoning* '*likewise holds in the contrary separating motion, which* '*in natural things is called violent. For to this there* '*is adapted a suitable contrary motion to the uniting* '*one, and consequently a streight forward motion, be*-'*cause* [*by a known rule in logic*] *only streight to streight* '*is contrary.*' This will be allowed, I suppose, to be perfectly in the sublime way, but even this dwindles infinitely, when we read the passage here referred to concerning the proof of the spherical figure of light. 'Tis in the beginning of chap. I. intitled, *Lucis Origo*, and runs in the following terms. '*Primum omnium* '*rerum natura Deum Conditorem, quantum quæque* '*suæ essentiæ conditione potuit, representare debuit.* '*Nam cum conditor sapientissimus omnia studuerat quam* '*optima ornatissima præstantissimaque efficere, nihil se* '*ipso melius ornatiusque nihil præstantius reperit. Prop*-'*terea cum corporeum mundum, agitaret animo formam* '*ei destinavit sibi ipsi quam simillimam. Hinc ortum* '*totum quantitatum genus, & in eo curvi rectique discri*-'*mina, præstantissimaque omnium figura, sphærica su*-'*perficies. Nam in ea formanda lusit sapientissimus* '*Conditor adorandæ suæ Trinitatis imaginem. Hinc cen*-'*tri punctum est sphærici quædam quasi origo, superficies* '*puncti intimi imago & via ad id inveniendum, quæque* '*infinito puncti egressu ex seipso usque ad quandam om*-'*nium egressuum æqualitatem gigni intelligitur, puncto* '*se in hanc amplitudinem communicante, sic ut punctum* '*& superficies densitatis cum amplitudine commutata pro*-'*portione, sint æqualia: hinc est undique punctum inter* '*& superficiem absolutissima æqualitas, arctissima unio*, '*pulcherrima conspiratio, connexus, relatio, proportio*, '*commensus. Cumque tria sunt plane centrum superficies* '*& intervallum, ita tamen unum sunt, ut nullum ne* '*cogitatu quidem abesse possit quin totum destruatur.*— '*First of all, the nature of things ought to represent* '*God their Maker, as much as every one is capable, by* '*the condition of it's essence; for when the omniscient* '*architect had studied to frame all things upon the very* '*best, the most beautiful, and most excellent model, he* '*found nothing better, nothing more beautiful, nothing* '*more excellent than himself. Whereupon meditating* '*the corporeal world in his mind, he decreed it a form* '*most like to himself. Hence sprung the origin of all kinds* '*of quantity, and in them the discriminations of curve* '*and right-lined forms, and particularly that which is* '*the most excellent figure of all, the spherical superficies.* '*For in forming this figure, the all-wise builder alluded* '*to the image of his own most adorable Trinity. Hence* '*the central point is the fountain head as it were of the* '*spherical form, the superficies being the image of that* '*inmost point, and the way to find it, is conceived to be* '*generated by the infinite egression of that point out of* '*itself, even to a certain equality of all the egressions*, '*that* [*central*] *point communicating* [*diffusing*] *itself* '*into this amplitude; in so much, that the centre and* '*superficies, by a commuted proportion of the density with* '*the amplitude are equal. Where it comes to pass*, '*that between this point and the superficies, there is* '*every way the most absolute equality, the closest union*, '*the most beautiful conspiration, connexion, relation*, '*proportion, commensuration. And as the center, su*-'*perficies, and interval between, are evidently three*, '*yet are they so perfectly one, that none of them can be* '*wanting separated, or even in thought, without de*-'*stroying the whole.*' Having thus profoundly demonstrated that the world was made round after the image of the Triune-God; he slides with great ease and dexterity into the inference, that light must necessarily be cast in the same mould; these are his words in English: '*This then being the image of the corporeal world*, '*what wonder is it, that light, the most excellent thing* '*in the world, is made after the same image? Where*-'*fore the Sun is in the center of the world, and diffusing* '*this*

(6) The Doctor has also added an introduction, shewing the discoveries made by catoptrics and dioptrics, and an account of microscopes and telescopes from Mr Huygens; together with some observations made in the former by himself, where among other things he tells us, he once saw one of the eels which swim in vinegar big with four young ones, which being put into a tub of water, it was in some hours delivered, and every one afterwards swam by itself. p. 77, 78.

(7) This rule is proved by Kircher (who also follows Kepler), because the spider in forming his web which is circular makes it up of streight threads. *Anacampticæ artis, pars secunda, Theorem* I. in a piece intitled *Ars Magna lucis & umbræ*, Vol. II. Rome 1646, fol.

gave the firſt demonſtration of that curve, which is well known ſince by the name of the *catenaria*

'*this principle called light every where* in orbem '*equally, all things conſequently which participate light* '*imitate the Sun.*' This he calls *the geometrical nature of light*, and from hence he demonſtrates ſeveral propoſitions from *Euclid*, *Alhazen*, and *Vitellio*, juſt in the ſame metaphyſical way as thoſe authors had done before him. Thus philoſophized that eminent mathematician. And though Dr Gregory ſeems * to have been very ſenſible both of the vanity and prophane inſolence of ſuch reſearches into the *nature* of light; yet beſides the inſtance already mentioned, we find him proceeding after the example of this maſter, in the idle attempt to eſtabliſh *it's properties* upon geometrical reaſoning as antecedent to experiments. In this ſpirit he concludes his introduction with the two following propoſitions which are aſſumed for axioms becauſe they agree both with geometrical reaſoning and experiments. 'Axiom 1. *A ray of light* falling perpendi 'cularly upon a reflecting ſurface, either proceeds di- 'rectly forward, or is reflected back upon itſelf For 'ſince the direction of the ray to the inflecting ſurface, 'is of all that can be drawn from the radiant point 'either the *leaſt*, if the inflecting ſurface be a plane, 'or perhaps where this circumſtance is wanting the '*greateſt*, and in both caſes a determinate and *only one* 'of it's kind, the ray will ſtill perſiſt in the ſame di- 'rection, either proceeding forward or returning 'backward. For there are innumerable right lines in- 'clined to this *only one* in any given angle, no one of 'which can conſequently claim to itſelf the direction 'of the ray with greater juſtice than the reſt. Axiom '2d is, that every inflexion is made in a ſurface that is 'perpendicular to the inflecting ſurface For ſince 'this ſurface (called the plain of inflection) is either the '*leaſt* or *greateſt* of all that can be produced through 'the radiant point to the inflecting ſurface, and con- 'ſequently an *only one*; the propoſition is demon- 'ſtrated in the ſame manner as the former.' To refute this pretended demonſtration by a juſt one, would be to run trifling after our author, and in this point making him a greater compliment than he deſerves, ſince nothing can be more evident than that theſe abſtract geometrical conſiderations a *determinate* line, and *only one* of it's kind, either the *leaſt*, or the *greateſt*, that can be drawn, &c have no manner of phyſical efficiency at all; and notwithſtanding theſe, a perpendicular ray might be either reflected or refracted in any other direction, or even be intirely abſorped and loſt in the ſeveral inflecting bodies. In ſhort, this viſionary art of demonſtrating the properties of light, is learned in the ſame ſchool with the juſt mentioned demonſtration of Kepler concerning it's nature; and as that repreſents the Almighty creating light in the geometrical form of a ſphere after his own image diſplayed in the Trinity, whence it is inferred to be geometrical in it's nature; ſo this ſuppoſes the ſame all-wiſe artiſt in giving to light ſome of it's properties, to have been determined by geometrical conſiderations, whence it is concluded to be likewiſe geometrical in it's properties; and thus the ſcholar's preſumption is a copy of the maſter's arrogance, though indeed but a faint one. For to ſpeak ingenuouſly, this argument à priori to prove the properties, beſides that it riſes not to ſuch a daring height, is rather inſinuated by our author, than openly avowed, as Kepler had done in demonſtrating the *figure* of light; and in the application, we find the Doctor ſometimes declaring no more in expreſs terms, than that the action of light, as diſcovered by experiments, is frequently reducible to the rules and reaſonings of geometry, or that ſome geometrical conſiderations are applicable thereto. A ſound and ſober ſenſe enough, and which comprehends all that is neceſſary to the plan of a mathematical treatiſe of optics. But he was plainly too much devoted to his maſter's manner, to confine himſelf always within theſe limits. For inſtance, under his firſt propoſition, that *from a plane ſurface, the angles of incidence and reflection are equal*, having in compliance to that manner demonſtrated (as he calls it) or rather expounded it geometrically, he could not forbear ſuperadding another ſpecimen of the argument *à priori*, as a farther proof of the propoſition. It is introduced in the form of a *ſcholium*, where he obſerves, that in laying down this law of reflexion, great reſpect is had to the *maximum* and *minimum*. For that by making the mentioned angles equal, the ſum of the incident and reflected rays becomes a *minimum*, that is leſs than the ſum of any others drawn from the ſame points, to any other point of the reflecting plane, and *vice verſa*, or this is the ſhorteſt paſſage from the radiating to the radiated point For, ſays he, it is requiſite that it's courſe ſhould be the ſhorteſt of all, becauſe *nature ever acts by the moſt eaſy and expeditious methods* But, as he goes on, if the reflexion be from a curve ſurface, the aforementioned ſum of the rays (or perhaps their difference) is ſometimes a *maximum*. For mathematicians know how near the relation is between a *maximum* and a *minimum*, between the ſum and the difference, and how eaſy the tranſition is from one to the other. That is, whether the ray is found to take the ſhorteſt or the longeſt, or any middle courſe between them, ſtill nature therein ever acts by the moſt eaſy and expeditious method. What egregious trifling! but there was no other poſſible way of keeping up the ſemblance of an argument, *à priori*, to ſuit with the fact, ſince in reflexions from curve ſurfaces, the ray is frequently obſerved to paſs through ſeveral intermediate diſtances between the leaſt and the greateſt. Yet ſo fond is he of the argument from this unmeaning law of nature, that in paſſing to dioptrics, he triſles with it at the entrance (8) exactly in the ſame manner, demonſtrating with the like waſte of geometry, that *nature acts in the eaſieſt and quickeſt way*, whether the rays paſs in proportion ſlower as the refracting media are denſer, which he then, after *Barrow* and *Fermat*, imagined they did contrary to Des Cartes's opinion; or faſter, as Sir Iſaac Newton diſcovered by experiments to be really the caſe. But ſuch a ridicule was the unavoidable conſequence of carrying geometry beyond it's proper ſubject Our author however is countenanced in taking up this maxim, chiefly upon the authority of Mr Leibnitz, who maintained the ſame in print a few years before theſe lectures were read at Edinburgh in 1684 (9), aſſerting that both the direct reflected and refracted motion of light, might thereby be accounted for to a degree of mathematical exactneſs. This is propoſed by him, firſt to be determined in plain ſurfaces, and then to be accommodated to concave and convex ones, by conſidering the planes that are tangents to thoſe ſurfaces. Hence in plain or ſimple optics, the direct ray proceeds from the point illuminating to the point illuminated, in the ſhorteſt direct way, (the ſame medium continuing all along) that is, in a ſtreight line. In catoptrics, the angle of incidence and reflection are equal. In dioptrics, the ſines of the angles of incidence and refraction are to each other reſpectively, as the reſiſtance of the mediums Here to find the radiated point the courſe muſt be taken ſuch, *that the way which the ray takes may be of all ways the eaſieſt*; but now in different mediums, the difficulties of the way or progreſs are in a ratio compounded of the length of the way, and of the reſiſtance of the medium. Whence by arguing mathematically, he finds the ſine of incidence in air, will be to the ſine of refraction in glaſs, as the aſſumed ratio of the reſiſtance in glaſs, to the reſiſtance in air. This is Mr Leibnitz's theory, who tells us further, that the catoptrical demonſtration, which he gives, was inſiſted on by *Ptolemy* and other Ancients, and is extant in *Heliodorus Lareſſæus*, and elſewhere. But had he proceeded the leaſt ſtep further than he did, to accommodate this principle to concave and convex ſurfaces, as he talked of doing at firſt, he might ſoon have perceived the inſufficiency of it, and that a ray takes ſeveral other courſes from one point to another beſides the ſhorteſt. As to the dioptrical demonſtration, where Leibnitz ſays the difficulty of the way which the ray makes, will as be the rectangle under the length of that way and an aſſumed ratio, his notions of difficulty and reſiſtance are not eaſy to be underſtood. In all known caſes, the motion of a body and the reſiſtance it ſuffers, do conſtantly decreaſe together, action and re-action being always equal, and therefore the difficulty of the way can ſcarce be rightly expreſſed by the rectangle under that way, and a conſtant reſiſtance; but be the difficulty and reſiſtance what you pleaſe, no doubt they muſt be nothing at all in vacuo, and therefore the eaſieſt way for a ray to paſs from a given point in any reſiſting medium into a vacuum, is to go in a perpendicular to the refracting ſurface, as being the ſhorteſt way through any difficulty or reſiſtance whatſoever; which being quite over at the reflecting ſurface, it may then take any

* See the beginning of his Introduction.

(8) Prop. XI. and Prob. annexed.

(9) In a tract publiſhed in the Lipſic Acts for 1682, p. 185, which is quoted with approbation by Mr Molineux in his Dioptrics, p. 192. Lond. 1692, 4to.

catenaria [*F*], or the curve that is formed by a chain faſtened at each end. In conſidering that property of this curve whereby all the parts ſupport each other, he fell firſt of any one

any other courſe in vacuo, without any further difficulty; and, on the contrary, in returning back from the vacuum into the denſe medium, it muſt take the ſhorteſt courſe through the ſame perpendicular as before. And thus, when the ſun ſhines on the atmoſphere, all his rays would be refracted into lines tending to the earth's center, as being the ſhorteſt and eaſieſt way through the atmoſphere; and then we ſhould ſee the ſun exactly over our heads in all places and at all times. But what wonder is it, that ſtrange conſequences ſhould follow from an arbitrary hypotheſis. I ſhall only obſerve further (10), that all theſe theories for reſolving reflection and refraction of light before Sir Iſaac Newton's, do alſo ſuppoſe that it ſtrikes upon bodies, and is reſiſted by them, which yet has never been proved by any deductions from experience. On the contrary, it appears by Mr Molyneux's and Mr Bradley's obſervations upon the parallax of the fixed ſtars (11), that their rays are not at all impelled by the rapid motion of the earth's atmoſphere, nor by the object glaſs of the teleſcope through which they paſs; and by Sir Iſaac Newton's theory of refraction, which is grounded upon experience only, it appears, that light is ſo far from being reſiſted and retarded by refraction into any denſe medium, that it is ſwifter here than in vacuo, in the ratio of the ſine of incidence in vacuo to the ſine of refraction into the denſe medium, and vice verſa (12). We ſee Sir Iſaac was careful to take the rule obſerved by nature from experience, and from that alone, as the only method of diſcovering it; and we have been the more ſtudious to expoſe this idle way of attempting to reduce the properties of light from metaphyſical rules, *à priori*, (which we ſee retained by our author after Sir Iſaac Newton had ſhewn him a better, even upon this very ſubject *) becauſe it was indeed a long time the bane of all improvements in the ſcience that depended upon experimental inquiries. And of this there is a remarkable inſtance in the treatiſe now under conſideration, where Dr Gregory ſpeaking of the fundamental theorem of dioptrics, that *the ſine of the angle of incidence is in a given proportion to the ſine of the refracted angle*, having obſerved that the invention of it by *Des Cartes*, was only a ſmall ſtep from that of *Snellius*, that *the ſecants of thoſe angles were in a given proportion*, ſubjoins the following remark. 'Since we have happened to ſpeak of *ſecants*, it is 'worth the taking notice how near the inquiſitive 'Kepler was towards finding out this theorem, who at 'Prop. V. and VI. Chap. IV. *Paralipom. ad Vitellionem*, lays down thoſe ſecants for the reſpective 'meaſure of refractions.' Thus the ſcholar always ſtudious to promote the honour of his maſter. But it is at leaſt equally worth notice, that Kepler was apparently averted from the diſcovery, by employing his eyes too much in looking after the cauſes, inſtead of conſidering and examining the facts and phænomena of refractions. In his fourth chapter here referred to, which is intitled, *De menſura refractionum*, notwithſtanding he ſets out with obſerving, that all our knowledge upon this ſubject proceeds from experience. Sect. I. yet he immediately applies himſelf to the cauſes of refractions, as the only proper method to ſettle their juſt meaſure. Sect II his words are, *Cauſa refractionum eſt denſitas & obliquitas incidentiæ junctim*. The denſity of the medium, and obliquity of the incidence, are jointly the cauſe of refractions. For, continues he, that denſity is one cauſe I have proved *à priori* in Prop. the 14th, Chap I *Et quod incidentia concurret ad cauſam ſupra quoque, Prop.* 20. *Chap I à priori deducere ſum conatus*, and in Prop 20. Chap I. I have likewiſe endeavoured to prove à priori, that incidence concurs to that cauſe. This *lemma* being compleated, *that there are two, and only two, cauſes of refractions*: the buſineſs of apportioning to each cauſe it's due ſhare in producing the effect, becomes the ſubject of ſeveral propoſitions, of which the 6th is as follows: *Angulorum incidentiæ ſecantes concurrere ad menſuram refractionum qui conſtituuntur ad ſuperficiem in medio denſiori.—The ſecants of the angles of incidence concur to the meaſure of refractions made at the ſurface of a denſer medium*; that is, theſe ſecants are (not as our author repreſents the whole and adequate meaſure but) the meaſure, as he explains himſelf, of that part only which is owing to the ſuppoſed increaſe of the reſiſtance from the denſity in proportion to the increaſe of the obliquity of incidence; the other part, ariſing ſimply from the denſity being in proportion to the angles of refraction. Theſe are his words, *Si medium ipſum cauſa ſuæ denſitatis conſideraretur ſolitarie, anguli refractionum proportionales fierent angulis incidentiæ, ſed cum lux obliquius incidit major ſit reſiſtentia ab eoſem medio quam in rectiori incidentiâ reſpectu ipſius etiam medii Duæ cauſæ refractionum ſolæ concurrunt, ergo altera cauſa eſt inclinationibus proportionalis, altera creſcit cum ſecantibus inclinationum*, Prop 2, 3, & corol. In ſhort, it was a meer miſtake that led Kepler to apply the ſecants for any part of the meaſure of refractions For having obſerved, after his maſter Tycho, that the angles of refraction increaſed faſter than they ſhould do, by the meer obliquity of incidence, eſpecially near the horizon in the atmoſphere *, if that was uniformly denſe, as he by miſtake ſuppoſed it to be, and his geometry teaching him that the ſecants of theſe angles increaſed in the like manner, he applied theſe ſecants to that part only of the increaſed refraction, which for want of conſide ing and examining the ſtate of the atmoſphere he imagined to ariſe from the meer obliquity of incidence.—But if Dr Gregory has exceeded the bounds of ſtrict juſtice in favour of Kepler, he has fallen as much ſhort of thoſe bounds in the caſe of Des Cartes; whom he repreſents upon this occaſion in his dioptrics, aſſerting a flat contradiction to ſome other parts of his works Cartes, ſays he, taking up the ſame theorem, that the ſine of the angle of incidence is in a given proportion to the ſine of the refracted, and (though in other caſes he affirms the propagation of light to be inſtantaneous) would have it in his dioptrics, that a ray of light is carried with a greater celerity, &c But in juſtice he ſhould have informed his readers, that this eminent philoſopher had provided a general ſalvo for any ſuch ſeeming inconſiſtency in the following remark. *Haud difficulter credi poteſt actionem aut propenſionem ad motum, quam jam dixi pro lumine habendam iiſdem legibus cum ipſo motu obnoxiam eſſe* † It is not hard to conceive that the action or propenſion to motion, which I have ſaid is to be taken for light, ſhould be ſubjected to the ſame laws with motion itſelf.

[*F*] *He gave the firſt demonſtration of the* catenaria.] In order to a right notion of our author's merit in this point, it will be neceſſary to run over the following ſhort hiſtory concerning the firſt invention of the *catenaria*. This curve was ſought after in Galileo's time, but nothing done in it till Mr James Bernoulli, of Baſil, had diſcovered the method of Mr Leibnitz's *analyſis, or calculus differentialis*. Soon after which, he applied by the mediation of his brother John Bernoulli (who had already entered pretty far into theſe matters) to Mr Leibnitz, requeſting him to conſider, whether by the ſame analyſis it was not poſſible to arrive at the ſolution of ſome problems which were difficult, and had been attempted by others without ſucceſs; and in particular the curve which a chain will form, ſuppoſing it flexible every where. [*This Galileo imagined to be the parabola, though they did not know that he had engaged in the enquiry.*] Mr Leibnitz accordingly, as he ſays himſelf, conſidered this point and executed it; but inſtead of publiſhing his ſolution, he encouraged Mr Bernoulli likewiſe to undertake it. His ſucceſs was undoubtedly the occaſion that the two brothers [Bernoullies] applied themſelves with great vigour to it, and that the younger John Bernoulli, (who was afterwards profeſſor of mathematics at Groninghen) had the honour of ſucceeding intirely in the diſcovery. In the mean time Mr Leibnitz obſerving to them, that to be able to gain this by means of what he had communicated of his analyſis, ſhewed an extraordinary ſagacity and application. The two brothers were very ambitious to diſtinguiſh themſelves upon the method of Mr Leibnitz, ſo that it was from this beginning upon the catenaria, that they found how to make a proper uſe of the *calculus differentialis*; after which they were capable of proceeding much farther. Thus far Mr Leibnitz (13). Two years after the publication of Dr Gregory's performance, ſome animadverſions were made upon it by Mr Bernoulli, who among other things aſſerted the firſt diſcovery of the catenaria to Mr Leibnitz and himſelf (14). Theſe were immediately anſwered by our author, who acknowledges the claim

(10) From Dr Smith's Optics, Vol. II. in the remarks, Art. 413.

(11) See Phil. Tranſ. No. 406.

(12) Principia Mathematica, lib. I. prop. 95.

* Ibid. & ſeq.

* His fourth and fifth propoſitions are, *Refractionum anguli creſcunt majoribus rationum incrementis, quam obliquitas incidentiæ. Et refractiones creſcunt circa horizontem præ ipſarum incrementorum proportionibus.*

† Carteſ. Dioptr. p. 23. edit. 1649, 4to.

(13) In a letter to Mr Bernard, publiſhed in the Nouvelles de la republique des lettres, for November 1706. Art. iii.

(14) In the *Acta Eruditor. Lipſiæ*, for February 1699.

one upon the diſcovery, that this figure inverted is the form of a true and legitimate arch or *fornix*; whence he obſerves, that when arches of other forms are ſupported, it is becauſe in their thickneſs ſome *catenaria* is included (*l*). But his moſt celebrated performance appeared in 1702, intituled, *Aſtronomiæ Phyſicæ & Geometricæ Elementa* [G]. As this piece was

(*l*) Ibid. No 231. prop. ii. cor. 6. This property is tranſferred from our author into the Builder's Dictionary, and taken notice of likewiſe by other writers upon Architecture, but I do not find that any regard is had to it in practice.

claim of thoſe gentlemen to the firſt ſolution of the problem; but ſince it was communicated by them without any demonſtration, he aſſerts his right of precedence in that part, which he declares is all the merit that he pretended to (15). Our author addreſſed this tract to Dr Aldrich, Dean of Chriſt Church in Oxford, and it was inſerted in the *Miſcellanea Curioſa* (16), as one of the nobleſt diſcoveries, that had been at that time preſented to the Royal Society.

(15) Phil. Tranſ. No. 259, for Dec. 1699.

(16) Vol. II. Lond. 1706. in 3 vols 8vo.

[G] *Aſtronomiæ Phyſicæ & Geometricæ Elementa.*] The chief and the moſt uſeful part of his deſign in this treatiſe, is to explain Sir Iſaac Newton's geometry of the centripetal forces, as far as his diſcoveries in aſtronomy were built upon it, and to throw the aſtronomical part of the *Principia* into a new form, wherein the dryneſs of the geometrical part ſhould be relieved with hiſtorical accounts properly interſperſed concerning the ſtate of this ſcience before Sir Iſaac's time, both in that and the phyſical part (17). The uncouth abſurdity that is ſeen in the philoſophical opinions, not only of *Kepler* and *Carteſius*, who preceded that æra, but even of *Leibnitz*, *Bernoulli*, and others, the moſt celebrated for their knowledge in theſe matters, who were contemporary with Sir Iſaac, is very entertaining, at the ſame time that it ſerves to diſplay to great advantage, the ſuperior abilities of that firſt founder of the true ſyſtem of the heavens. It is by means likewiſe of theſe hiſtories which inform us of the actual advances that were made in this ſubject, previous to his diſcoveries, that we come to a juſt knowledge of his real merit. But our author ſeems to ſtretch the point a little too far, when in this view he attempts to trace the phyſical part of Sir Iſaac's aſtronomy up to the original of that ſcience, and thinks he has diſcovered, that the moſt ancient philoſophers knew that the celeſtial bodies gravitate towards each other, and are retained in their orbits by the force of gravity, nay that they were alſo apprized of the particular law or rule of that force. Thus, becauſe *Anaxagoras*, and his ſcholars *Archelaus* and *Euripides*, called the *ſun and ſtars fiery or red hot ſtones, or iron, or gold*, and ſuppoſed *the moon to be of an earthy ſubſtance*, while his maſter Anaximenes maintained *the ſtars to be of a fiery nature*, and that there are *certain terreſtrial bodies that are inviſible carried together about them* (18). Hence the Doctor would ſeem to infer, that they underſtood theſe to be ſo many ſyſtems like that of the ſolar, and each ſupported by gravity. And ſince *Anaximenes* received his notions from *Anaximander*, as this laſt did his from *Thales*, the founder of the Ionic philoſophy, he will have it that *Thales* himſelf ſpread this opinion of gravity among his ſect; whence, ſays he, it ſpread itſelf through the *Italic* philoſophy. And indeed the argument in favour of the Pythagoreans, brought to evince that they had ſome conception of the celeſtial bodies gravitating to each other, ſtands upon the ſame ground as the former, viz. That it was affirmed by thoſe philoſophers, that *every ſtar is a world in the infinite ætherial ſpace, wherein are contained earth, air, and æther* (19), and that *the moon was not only of a like nature with the earth, but inhabited as our earth is, though by animals of a larger ſize, and furniſhed with the ſame kind of plants, though much more beautiful than ours* (20). Now an impartial enquirer will be apt to aſk, where lies the hint in all theſe expreſſions of any mutual gravitation among theſe bodies. On the contrary, the wiſdom of theſe Ancients has not the leaſt appearance of being grounded upon any juſt reaſoning from analogy, as the Doctor's argument requires, but was the genuine growth of a narrow knowledge, which with regard to celeſtial matters ſuggeſted nothing better than a meer jumble of conceits, and theſe taken from what they found immediately before them on this earth where they were fixed, and where they ſaw no appearances of any ſuch mutual gravitation; notwithſtanding it be true enough what our author obſerves, that it is from this principle of gravity, that all bodies do actually gravitate mutually to each other, a conſequence which was not diſcovered till long after the original of aſtronomy. However the argument from *Lucretius*, it muſt be owned, carries a more promiſing countenance, and therefore deſerves to be particularly conſidered. The philoſopher's words cited by the Doctor, are:

(17) There is an account of it in Phil. Tranſ. No. 283. It was publiſhed likewiſe in 4to. and tranſlated into Engliſh by Edmund Stone, F. R. S. The ſecond edition of which was printed in 1726 in 2 vols 8vo. with the addition of Dr Halley's Synopſis of the Aſtronomy of comets.

(18) Laërtius in Anax. & Democritus. Plato in Apolog. Socratis. Stobæus Ecl. Phyſ. c. 25. Plutarch. de placitis philoſoph. lib. ii. c. 13 & 20.

(19) Plutarch, c. 13.

(20) Ibid. c. 30.

> Suppoſe they all had bounds, ſuppoſe an end,
> Then bodies which by nature muſt deſcend,
> And from eternity purſu'd the race,
> Had long e'er this time reach'd the loweſt place (21).

(21) Creech's Lucretius, lib. I. ver 986, & ſeq.

This is one of his arguments to prove his doctrine, that nature is infinite and the only Deity, viz. from the abſurdity of a contrary ſuppoſition, that it ſhould be finite, ſince in that caſe as bodies naturally deſcend, the place or center to which their deſcent is directed, would be at ſome finite diſtance from them, and therefore by eternally deſcending, they muſt have reached that center long ago, and ſo the world, i. e. the ſyſtem of the world, would have been deſtroyed, which we ſee it is not. But now as nature is infinite, there can be no ſuch point or center for them to deſcend to, by which means they remain in their proper places. The force of this reaſoning is, that in finite ſyſtems, where there is a center, bodies naturally deſcend; but nature being infinite and without a center, they do not naturally deſcend, that is, they have naturally no tendency to a center, or no principle of gravity from nature. Thus notwithſtanding Lucretius talks very well concerning the action of gravity upon earth (22), yet with regard to the mundane ſyſtem he denies both the action and the principle. And indeed to ſuppoſe him, as the Doctor does, aſſigning an adequate cauſe in the mutual gravitation of theſe bodies, for ſupporting his infinite worlds or ſyſtems, is making him a better reaſoner than his words imply. Having after this manner proved that the Ancients had a notion of the heavenly bodies gravitating to each other, he proceeds to ſhew with equal ſucceſs, that theſe ſame Ancients did not only think this was performed by the power of the whole matter in the terreſtrial globe attracting all things to itſelf, and not by virtue of any point, as a center in the earth to which heavy bodies tended; but likewiſe underſtood, that the gravity towards the whole earth, reſulted from the gravity toward each ſingle part of it. But here he has left the Ancients firſt mentioned, and deſcends as low as Plutarch, who undoubtedly was well acquainted with the Ptolemaic ſyſtem, and clearly intimates his opinion, that the other planets and the ſun alſo gravitate toward the earth (23); but ſtill has ſaid nothing in the places cited by our author, whence it can be fairly inferred that he had any ſuch thought as this of the mutual gravitation of the celeſtial bodies to each other, unleſs he meant by it no more than a tendency of all the reſt to the earth, as the center of the ſyſtem, whereby indeed they do conſequentially tend to each other, or to meet together by a tendency of all the reſt to one. But our author goes yet a great way farther, and aſſerts that even the exact rule of this mutual gravitation, or the duplicate proportion in which the force of gravity decreaſes in receding from the ſun, was not unknown to Pythagoras. This he finds in the old ſtory told by Macrobius (24), who relates the manner in which that philoſopher found out the harmonic proportion of muſical ſtrings, viz. by obſerving the variety of ſounds acute and grave, made by a ſmith's hammers in proportion to their weights; whence having found, that the weights which generate tones in ſtrings of an equal thickneſs, are reciprocally as the ſquares of the lengths of thoſe of an equal tenſion, producing the ſame ſound in a muſical inſtrument; he afterwards applied this proportion to the heavens, and from thence learned the harmony of the ſpheres. And by comparing theſe weights with the weights of the planets, and the intervals of the tones produced by the weights with the intervals of the ſpheres; and laſtly, the lengths of the ſtrings with the diſtances of the planets from the center of their orbs; he underſtood, *as it were* (theſe are the Doctor's words) by the harmony of the heavens, that the gravity of the planets toward the ſun (according to whoſe meaſures the planets move) was reciprocally

(22) Lib. i. ver. 415, and lib. ii. ver. 178, and ver. 228.

(23) In his tract *De facie in orbe lunæ*, the paſſages which are too long to be inſerted here may be ſeen in the Doctor's preface.

(24) In Somn. Scipion. lib. ii. c. 1.

was wrote to explain and defend that part of Sir Iſaac Newton's Philoſophy, ſo our author's merit in the performance received it's moſt diſtinguiſhed luſtre from the particular atteſtation given to it by that incomparable perſon, who communicated to him his Theory of the moon (*m*), after he had improved it into ſo great an exactneſs, as thereby to correct Mr Flamſtead's beſt obſervations (*n*). The following year our Savilian Profeſſor publiſhed at Oxford an edition in folio of Euclid's works in Greek and Latin [*H*]. The undertaking had been begun by his predeceſſor Dr Bernard (*o*), as the beſt ſpecimen that could be given of that noble deſign he had formed of printing the works of all the antient Mathematicians. And in purſuit of the ſame deſign our author engaged not long after with his colleague Dr Halley to publiſh Apollonius's Conics, but was prevented from compleating his ſhare of the work (*p*) by his death, which happened on the tenth of October 1710, being then retired to Maidenhead in Berkſhire in the pariſh of Bray, where his body was probably interred, being not carried to Oxford. But a handſome marble monument with an inſcription (*q*) [*I*] is erected to his memory in St Mary's church there. He was ſucceeded in

(*m*) He has likewiſe interſperſed ſeveral ingenious inventions by Dr Halley, who in his turn commends our author's explication of Sir Iſaac's method to conſtruct the orbit of a comet by three accurate obſervations. *Synopſis of the Aſtronomy of comets, verſus finem.*

(*n*) Schol. to prop. xxix. lib. iv.

(*o*) See his article in this work, Vol. II. p. 754.

(*p*) Our author's ſhare was to prepare the four firſt books for the preſs, the materials of which were among his predeceſſor's manuſcripts. Ibid. rem. [*F*], coll. 2 No XV. See alſo more of this undertaking in Dr Halley's article.

(*q*) In this monument, if I miſtake not, the ſculptor has executed Shakeſpeare's hint in two figures, repreſenting Patience ſmiling at Grief.

cally as the ſquares of their diſtance from the ſun. Thus argues our Profeſſor, whereas the utmoſt that can fairly be inferred from this application by Pythagoras, of the muſical to the ſolar ſyſtem is, that he fancied the reſpective weights of the planets independently, to be proportional to the weights which produce harmonic ſounds, but without once thinking of any gravitation of the planets towards the ſun. 'Tis true indeed, that if *Pythagoras* really held what is ſince called the Copernican ſyſtem (25), he muſt believe that the planets in their motion *reſpected* the ſun; but there is no good reaſon to think he ever went ſo far as to imagine that this *reſpect* was cauſed by gravity. Our author himſelf has ſhewn in the firſt book of his treatiſe (26), that a different cauſe from that of gravity was aſſigned for the production of the harmonical meaſures by *Des Cartes*. It avails nothing to ſay, that Des Cartes's vortices are by no means a cauſe adequate to the effect, ſince neither is it pretended that Pythagoras demonſtrated gravity to be ſuch a cauſe: any aſſertion of that kind muſt needs be very far from our author's thoughts, whoſe chief view in theſe hiſtories (and in that of Pythagoras among the reſt) is to ſhew, that no-body was able to effect that before Sir Iſaac Newton. 'Tis true the decreaſe of the force of gravity in proportion to the increaſe of the diſtance, is a neceſſary conſequence of the harmonic meaſures in the planets, and ſeems, at this time of day at leaſt, not very difficult to conjecture, nay was actually ſuppoſed long before Sir Iſaac Newton's time. But yet as Pythagoras never, that we know, expreſsly made the conjecture, ſo neither is there any likelihood, that he ever thought of the conſequence. Even *Kepler* (who firſt founded the harmonic meaſures of Pythagoras upon aſtronomical obſervations) explains the ſeſquialterate proportions from other principles than that of the duplicate ratio of gravity (27). Nay, if we may believe our author, he was ſo far from attributing this to the action of gravity, by which the planets tend towards the ſun, that he ſuppoſes there is a natural *ſluggiſhneſs* in the planets to *all* motion, which inclines them by reaſon of their matter to continue where they are (28). In reality, all this which makes up the main of our author's preface muſt not be looked on as a philoſophical eſſay, but as a popular diſcourſe, and in that light it would appear well enough, had it not been prefixed to a treatiſe ſtrictly mathematical. However, ſo much muſt be ſaid in his favour, that in aſcribing ſuch a degree of knowledge in the law and direction of that force, which ſupports the Philolaic ſyſtem to the firſt founders of it, he is preceded by Galileo (29), who aſſerts ſomething like it of *Plato* from ſome paſſages in his *Timeus*, and another in *Diogenes Laërtius* (30) in Platone, which are to this effect. *Theſe* [the celeſtial bodies] *at firſt were moved in a confuſed and irregular manner, but when they were duly adjuſted and rightly ſettled, then the world was eſtabliſhed by God in juſt order and proportion.* Again, *he gave it a motion altogether agreeable to it's nature as a body (that is a direct one).* And a little farther, *therefore he afterwards made it continue it's courſe in a circle.* Here indeed we find the divine philoſopher aſſerting that the mundane ſyſtem was eſtabliſhed at firſt upon ſuch motions direct and circular, as were agreeable to the nature of the great bodies which compoſe it. But to what particular principles in that nature theſe motions are agreeable, there is not I apprehend the leaſt intimation; nor can Plato, I am perſuaded, be diſcerned herein to point at gravity, for inſtance, as the immediate cauſe of the circular courſe by any other light, than that which ſprings intirely from the diſcerner's fond prepoſſeſſions.

(25) A late writer obſerves, that it is more than probable that Pythagoras was not the inventor of the ſyſtem which goes under his name, but that it grew up by degrees after wards among his followers. Coſtard's Letters to M. Folkes, Eſq; concerning the riſe and progreſs of Aſtronomy, p. 120, & ſeq. Lond. 1746, 8vo.

(26) Prop. 71 to 75 inclusive.

(27) Ibid. prop. 67. lib. i.

(28) Idem ibid. prop. 66.

(29) In his Coſmical Syſtem.

(30) Theſe are inferred into our author's preface.

[*H*] *He publiſhed an edition of Euclid's works.*] This edition contains the following pieces. (1.) *Elementorum libri* XV. (2.) *Data cum præfatione Marini.* (3.) *Introductio Harmonica.* (4.) *Sectio Canonis.* (5.) *Phænomena.* (6.) *Optica.* (7.) *Catoptrica.* (8.) *De divisionibus Liber.* (9.) *De levi et ponderoſo, fragmentum.* In the preface, after a ſhort ſummary of Euclid's life, ſuch as could be extracted from the Ancients, who as he obſerves ſeem by the little they have ſaid of him, to have thought it needleſs, if not ridiculous, to give a particular account of a man whom every body knew. The Doctor proceeds to inform his reader, that, agreeable to his plan of the life, he has inſerted into this collection every thing that had been aſcribed by any conſiderable mathematician to that author. He has here alſo given a particular deſcription of each, notwithſtanding he was very ſenſible that ſome of the pieces are ſpurious; concerning which he has given us his opinion, among others condemning the Catoptrics eſpecially as a mean performance, not at all ſuitable to Euclid's character (31). He had in another place before (32), taken notice of one egregious miſtake therein (33). Kepler had alſo animadverted (34) upon part of the ſame miſtake contained in theor. 16. as well as the 17th and 18th, which is alſo inſerted from him by our author, though without naming him in cor. 2. prop. 2. as follows: In a plain ſpeculum, the image of any radiant point is ſeen in that place where the reflected ray, which paſſes through the center of the eye, meets with the perpendicular let fall from the radiant point upon the ſpeculum; whence, though every part of the ſpeculum, except that which reflects the ray be covered or taken away, the image would nevertheleſs be viſible; and if that point of the ſpeculum be covered, though all the reſt be open, the image will not be ſeen. Kepler obſerves farther, that the axiom, upon which Euclid builds the contrary doctrine, that the image is ſeen in the perpendicular from it to the ſpeculum is true enough, but falſely applied, through a perſuaſion of the real aſcent of the image along that perpendicular, which, ſays he, differs not much from the *ſpecies intentionales* of Ariſtotle. And Dr Smith remarking another miſtake in the ſame piece, makes the following animadverſions upon the whole, 'conſidering, ſays he, 'that catoptrics were known and cultivated by the Ancients long before dioptrics; 'tis ſurprizing they could 'not account for burning by reflexion from a concave 'metal. Euclid in catoptric. prop. ult. ſays, the center of a catoptric concave metal is the burning point, 'becauſe all the rays which paſs through that point 'are returned directly back (and the ſame is ſaid by 'Vitellio, lib. 9. prop. 37). But as the ſun's diameter 'is ſo ſmall, theſe rays are but very few, and the conſequence would be, that a very broad ſpeculum would 'burn no better than a very narrow one, which is contrary to experience. It is found, continues he, from 'this and many other blunders in that book, that 'Euclid the geometer was not the author of it, and alſo that the Ancients made very groſs experiments (35).'

(31) There is an account of this book in Phil. Tranſ. No 289.

(32) In his Elements of Catoptrics, prop. 7.

(33) In Theor. 17 and 18.

(34) Paral. ad Vitell. cap. iii. part 2.

(35) Remarks, art. 93, at the end of Vol. II. of Smith's Optics.

[*I*] *A monument with an inſcription.*] The inſcription is in theſe terms:

P. M.
DAVIDIS GREGORII M. D.
Qui
Aberdenia natus Jun. 24. 1661.

in the Savilian profeſſorſhip by Mr John Caſwell, A. M. of Hart-Hall (*r*) now Hertford-College in Oxford. He left a widow and ſeveral children; and his eldeſt ſon David Gregory, D. D. was firſt a ſtudent, and is now a Canon of Chriſt-church, and was appointed Regius Profeſſor of Modern Hiſtory in that univerſity at the inſtitution thereof by King George I. Beſides the Commentary upon Sir Iſaac Newton's *Principia* mentioned below (*s*), our author left a Treatiſe upon Fluxions; another of Trigonometry both plane and ſpherical; and a third upon Mechanics and Hydroſtatics. He publiſhed in his life-time ſeveral papers in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, the chief of which are taken notice of above; the ſubjects of the reſt may be ſeen in remark [*K*]. Since his death there has been publiſhed in an Abridgment of the ſame Tranſactions (*t*) a ſmall tract, intitled, *E prælectionibus de motu a Davide Gregorio in academia Edinburgenſi Matheſeos Profeſſore dictatis, An. Dom.* 1686. And in 1745 Mr Colin Maclaurin, a ſucceſſor of our author in the mathematical chair at Edinburgh, publiſhed another piece of his in 8vo, with the title of *A Treatiſe of Practical Geometry in three parts, tranſlated from the Latin with additions* [*L*]; the ſecond edition of which, printed alſo at Edinburgh, came out in 1751, 8vo.

(*r*) Ayliffe's Catalogue of the Savilian Profeſſors, in his State of the univerſity of Oxford.

(*s*) In remark [*K*].

(*t*) Vol. VI. by Martyn and Eames in the chapter of Mechanics.

In Academia Edinburgenſi
Matheſeos Prælector Publicus
Deinde Oxonii
Aſtronomiæ Profeſſor Savilianus
Obit Oct. 10. A. D 1710
Ætatem Illi heu brevem Natura conceſſit
Sibi Ipſe longam prorogavit
Scriptor Illuſtris.
Deſideratiſſimo Viro
ELIZABETHA UXOR.
M. P.

We choſe to inſert the whole (which is ſhort) as a pattern worthy of imitation, where full juſtice is done to all the diſtinguiſhed merit of the deceaſed, without any of that fulſome flattery which ſo often diſgraces theſe monumental inſcriptions.

[*K*] *An account of the reſt.*] Theſe are, (1.) *A ſcheme of the phaſes with his obſervations on the ſun's eclipſe, Sept.* 13, 1699. No. 256. (2.) *Some improvements relating to the quadrature of the parts of Hippocrates's Chius's Lunula, in a letter to Dr Wallis,* No. 259. *for December* 1699. (3.) *A paper de* ORBITA CASSINIANA, No. 293, *for Sept. and Oct.* 1704. This was a very eccentric elliptical curve that had been aſſigned by that celebrated aſtronomer, in his treatiſe on *the origin and progreſs of aſtronomy*, for the orbit which a planet deſcribes about the ſun placed in one focus, ſo that the angles at the other focus are proportional to the times. The invention was ingenious, and thereby Caſſini intended to ſupport the common opinion at that time after Copernicus againſt Kepler, that there was a point within the orbits of the planets, round which they deſcribed equal angles in equal times. Our author had conſidered this Caſſinian curve in his *Elements of Aſtronomy* (36), and ſhewn after Mercator (37) ſeveral reaſons why it could not be retained in that ſcience, as it neither agrees to the obſervations of the heavens, becauſe of the brevity of it's ſhorter axis, nor do phyſical reaſons correſpond, ſince for the deſcription of this, a centripetal force toward the ſun is required, greatly deviating from that which nature makes uſe of. But now having conſidered the ſubject ſtill farther, he found that this curve muſt neceſſarily be thrown out of aſtronomy for another moſt irrefragable reaſon, viz. it's abſolute impoſſibility. 'It being impoſſible, ſays he, 'that any ſpecies of this figure can be deſcribed by a 'planet, ſo that the angles at the other focus where 'the ſun is not, may be proportional to the times. 'For thus the area deſcribed by the radius that carries 'the planet, would not be proportional to the time. 'For it is not true, that increaſing the angle of one 'focus by equal increments, the increments of the area 'made at the other, at the ſame time, will alſo be 'equal, as I thought not long ago;' and to demonſtrate the truth of this diſcovery, is the buſineſs of the paper here mentioned.

(36) Lib. iii. prop. 8.

(37) Phil. Tranſ. No. 59.

[*L*] *A Treatiſe of Practical Geometry,* &c.] In the preface, dated at the College of Edinburgh May 1, 1745, Mr Colin Maclaurin tells us, that this treatiſe was compoſed in Latin about ſixty years before by our author, then profeſſor of mathematics at Edinburgh, where it has been conſtantly taught ſince that time, immediately after Euclid's elements and the plain trigonometry, as proper for exerciſing the ſtudents in the application of geometry to practice. He obſerves alſo, that ſeveral additions had been made to the treatiſe to render it more uſeful at this time. Some of theſe additions are expreſsly ſaid to be taken from a manuſcript of Sir Robert Stewart, Profeſſor of Natural Philoſophy in the ſame college (38); the reſt are probably made by Mr Maclaurin. One of theſe laſt is inſerted at Prop. 7. Part II. where our author having proved the proportion of the ſquare of the circle, to that of the diameter, to be nearly as 14 to 11, adds the following words: *If greater exactneſs be required, you may proceed to any degree of accuracy, for the ſquare of the diameter is to the inſcribed circle, as* 1 *to* $1 - \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{5} - \frac{1}{7} + \frac{1}{9} - \frac{1}{11} + \frac{1}{13}$, *&c. in infinitum.* Now this ſeries was firſt diſcovered by his uncle James, as is mentioned in his article (39), where we have particularly ſhewn from Sir Iſaac Newton, the exceeding ſlowneſs of it's convergency, which rendering it of *no* uſe in practice, we have alſo inſerted another ſeries produced from it, by ſome improvements of Sir Iſaac, which converges very quick. To the ſame purpoſe is the following remark to this paragraph of our author, which then had not fallen under our obſervation. 'This *ſeries*, ſays the re-'marker, *will be of no ſervice for computing the circle* 'accurately *without ſome further artifice, becauſe it* 'converges *at too ſlow a rate.*' Upon the whole it is ſomewhat ſurprizing, that our author's knowledge in the nature of infinite ſeries ſhould be ſo very imperfect, as this inſtance gives room to ſuſpect it was, at the time of his reading theſe lectures in the college at at Edinburgh, and after he had publiſhed his *Exercitatio Geometrica*. But his knowledge in this branch of analytics, it ſeems, was never thought to be very great by ſome good judges. Mr Cotes, for inſtance, about the time of his writing the preface to the ſecond edition of Sir Iſaac Newton's *Principia*, ſpeaks ſlightly of our author's abilities upon this point in a letter to Mr Collins, where mentioning his own differential method of interpolation (40), he writes thus, Dr Gregory, in Lib. V. Prop. XXV. of his Aſtronomy, refers his reader to a book of Gabriel Mouton, De obſervationibus diametrorum ſolis & lunæ apparentium (41). Though I do not much rely upon the Doctor's recommendation, yet, &c. To conclude, we learn from Mr Flamſtead, that our author's countrymen gave out, that he had found a great many errors in Sir Iſaac's *Principia* (42). If ſo, it may help us to gueſs what kind of a commentary that is, which was found among the Doctor's papers after his death.

(38) For inſtance the greateſt part of the table in p. 53 and all intirely from p. 54 to 67.

(39) In remark [*O*].

(40) Printed at the end of his *Harmonia menſurarum*, publiſhed by Dr Smith in 1722, 4to.

(41) See the whole letter in Gen. Dict. Vol. IV. p. 444.

(42) See notes upon a letter from Dr Wallis, ibid. Vol. X. p. 100.

P

GRESHAM, the ſurname of an antient, worthy, and opulent family, derived, as that moſt learned Antiquary Sir Henry Spelman tells us, from a town ſo called in the hundred of North-Erpingham, or Orpingham, in the county of Norfolk (*a*), from whence many eminent and honourable perſons have deſcended (*b*) [*A*]. John Greſham of Greſham flouriſhed under

(*a*) Poſthumous Works, p. 152.

(*b*) Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. III. p. 113.

[*A*] *From whence many eminent and honourable perſons have deſcended*] In the introduction to a very curious and accurate pedigree of the Greſhams, in the poſſeſſion of the late Sir Marmaduke, and now in that of

under the reigns of Edward the Third and Richard the Second (c). His ſon James Greſham ſettled at Holt in the ſame county, about four miles from Greſham, and was Lord of the Manor of Eaſt-Beckham (d). He married Margaret, the daughter of William Billingford, of Blackford, Eſq; by whom he had a ſon named John, who reſided at Holt (e), and married Alice, the daughter of Alexander Blyth of Stratton, Eſq; with whom he had a large fortune, by the demiſe of her three brothers, who all died without iſſue (f). By this lady he had four ſons; William, who ſucceeded to the family eſtate at Holt, and who was the laſt of the Greſhams who made it the place of his reſidence (g) [B]; Thomas, who entered into Holy Orders, and became Rector of South-Reppes in Norfolk, Prebendary in the Church of Winton, and Chancellor of Lichfield (h), to whom, if to any of this family, a certain very extraordinary ſtory is thought to refer (i) [C]. Of the younger ſons, Richard and John, we ſhall ſpeak more particularly in the following articles.

(c) Pedigree of the family, in the hands of Sir Charles Greſham, Bart.

(d) Le Neve's M.S. Vol. II. p. 297.

(e) Pedigree of the family.

(f) Engliſh Baronetage, Vol. III. p. 114.

(g) Stowe's Survey of London, Vol I. B. i. p. 260.

(h) Willis's Survey of Cathedrals.

(i) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 1.

of Sir Charles Greſham, the preſent Baronet; we are told that this family was at once ſeized in Norfolk of thirty-five manors; in Suffolk of five; in Cambridgeſhire of one; in Kent of three; in Suſſex of two; in Surry of nine; in Middleſex of two; in Somerſet of two, in Derbyſhire of three; in Yorkſhire of nine; and of twelve granges, and ſeveral other *willatæ*, and conſiderable poſſeſſions in the ſame county, and of three manors in the Biſhopric of Durham, as appears by ſeveral letters-patents, fines, deeds enrolled, inquiſitions *poſt mortem*, wills and private evidences now in the hands of ſome of that family. And out of which family, within the compaſs of an hundred and fifty years laſt paſt, there has been one Baronet, nine Knight Bachelors, whereof one knighted in the field; one Baronet's wife, and nine Knight's wives of the name and family of Greſham, and have iſſued from them in that time, two Viſcounts, ſeven Baronets, twenty-four Knights, two Counteſſes, five Baroneſs's wives, and twenty-two Knight's wives (1). Particulars honourable in themſelves, and uſeful alſo in the circumſtance of preſerving the memory of them.

(1) From the pedigree of the family.

[B] *Who made it the place of his reſidence.*] This gentleman, who was ſtiled William Greſham of Holt, in the county of Norfolk, Eſq; married Ellen, the widow of one Mr Copeland, and the daughter of Richard Bodley, by whom he had iſſue two daughters, both named Alice, one of whom married Mr March, and the other Mr Middleton (2). Their father ſold this eſtate to his younger brother Sir John Greſham, founder of the family at Titſey, as we ſhall ſee hereafter; and the year after he had parted with his eſtate, viz. 1547, William Greſham departed this life (3). But notwithſtanding this, ſome branches of the Greſham family ſtill remain in Norfolk.

(2) Viſitation of Norfolk, M.S. in Caius-College, Cambridge.

(3) From the Pedigree of the family.

[C] *Is thought to refer.*] This very ſtrange ſtory we have from that famous traveller George Sandys, Eſq; and therefore it is juſt the reader ſhould ſee it in that light in which he thought proper to place it, ſpeaking of Strombolo and other iſlands in the Mediterranean, in which there are burning mountains, he proceeds thus: 'Theſe places (ſays he) and ſuch like, are commonly affirmed by the Roman Catholics to be the jaws of Hell, and that within, the damned ſouls are tormented. It was told me at Naples by a countryman of ours, and an old penſioner of the Pope's, who was a youth in the days of King Henry, that it was then generally bruited throughout England, that Mr Greſham, a merchant, ſetting ſail from Palermo (where there then dwelt one Anthonio called the Rich, who at one time had two kingdoms mortgaged unto him by the King of Spain) being croſſed by contrary winds, was conſtrained to anchor under the lee of this iſland. Now about mid-day, when for certain hours it accuſtomedly forbeareth to flame, he aſcended the mountain with eight of the ſailors, and approaching as near the vent as they durſt, amongſt other noiſes they heard a voice cry aloud, *Diſpatch, Diſpatch, the rich Anthonio is a coming.* Terrified herewith they deſcended, and anon the mountain again evaporated fire. But from ſo diſmal a place they made all the haſte that they could, when the winds ſtill thwarting their courſe, and deſiring much to know more of this matter, they returned to Palermo, and forthwith enquiring of Anthonio, it was told them that he was dead; and computing the time, did find it to agree with the very inſtant that the voice was heard by them. Greſham reported this at his return to the King, and the mariners being called before him, confirmed by oath the narration. In Greſham himſelf, as this gentleman ſaid (for I no otherwiſe report it) it wrought ſo deep an impreſſion, that he gave over traffic, diſtributing his goods a part to his kinſfolks, and the reſt to good uſes, retaining only a competency for himſelf, and ſo ſpent the reſt of his life in a ſolitary devotion (4).' The learned hiſtorian of this family, who has likewiſe copied this relation, aſſigns his reaſon in theſe words. 'It is not ſaid that this Mr Greſham went into Orders, but only that he retired from ſecular affairs. However as the ſtory ſuits with the time of Thomas Greſham, who died in the year 1558, for that reaſon I have placed it here (5).' We have ſaid in the text, that if this ſtory related to any of this family, it muſt be to him. But it is more probable that the tale, ſuch as it is, was rather fathered upon John Greſham, merchant of London (6), who reſided long in thoſe parts, and in whoſe favour King Henry wrote a letter to John, King of Portugal, dated from his court at Waltham, October the 15th, 1531, deſiring that juſtice might be done to him againſt one Diego Perez, a ſubject of his Majeſty of Portugal. Some ſtories of the like kind have been propagated with great boldneſs of Mount Hecla in Iceland, and an appeal made to the inhabitants for the truth of them, which it might be well preſumed by thoſe who made it, would never reach their ears; but unluckily it did, and offended them ſo much, as to produce a natural and general hiſtory of this country, written under the direction of it's Biſhop, in which the lye is in direct terms given to all theſe reports, only it is admitted that the waves of the ſea impelled by boiſterous winds, creep through the caverns at the bottom of this mountain, with a hollow murmuring noiſe, that a fanciful mind might miſtake for mourning (7).

(4) Sandys's Travels, b. iv. p. 194. Clarke's Mirror, chap. xxxiii. Wanley's Hiſtory of the little World, b. vi. chap. xix.

(5) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 2.

(6) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 96.

(7) Brevis Commentarius de Iſlandia, per Arngrimum Ionum, ſect. vii.

E

GRESHAM [Sir RICHARD], an eminent Merchant, a great promoter of trade, and a worthy member of the city of London (a). He was the third ſon, as we have already ſhewn, of John Greſham of Holt, in the county of Norfolk, Eſq; by Alice, the daughter of Alexander Blyth, of Stratton, Eſq; (b). It does not appear at what time he was born; but his father being deſirous that he ſhould have an opportunity of enriching himſelf by his own induſtry, placed him as an apprentice with Mr John Middleton, Merchant of London, in the reign of King Henry the Seventh (c); and the firſt date that occurs with regard to his tranſactions, is that of his being admitted to the freedom of his company, which was in 1507 (d). He married, not long after he was ſettled in buſineſs, Audrey, the daughter of William Lynne, of Southwick in Northamptonſhire, Eſq; who lived with him to the twenty-eighth of December, 1522; and at her deceaſe was interred in the church of St Lawrence Jewry (e): after which he married one Mrs Taverſon, a widow, whoſe maiden-name was Worpfall, with whom he ſpent the remainder of his life (f). He was very fortunate in the management of his commerce abroad, by which he acquired great wealth, and purchaſed conſiderable eſtates in land in different counties. He was

(a) Stowe, Holliſhed, Grafton.

(b) Pedigree of the family.

(c) Le Neve's M.SS. Vol. II. p. 297.

(d) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 2.

(e) Stowe's Survey of London, b. iii. p. 46.

(f) Pedigree of the family.

was also Agent for King Henry the Eighth in foreign parts, chiefly for the management of money-affairs, during his wars abroad, which engaged him to visit Antwerp and other places; and in this office he gained so high a reputation for abilities and integrity, that he was continued in that employment through this whole reign, and so long as he lived under that of Edward the Sixth (*g*). His favour at court, and his credit in the city, kept an equal pace, so that in 1531, being chosen Sheriff of London (*h*), he received the same year the honour of knighthood from King Henry the Eighth (*i*) He signalized himself while in office by an application to Sir Thomas Audeley, then Lord Privy-Seal, for procuring two grants; one for the general benefit of commerce, in which he happily succeeded, and the other for the particular honour and emolument of the city of London, which as he wisely contrived, so his son Sir Thomas nobly atchieved (*k*). The first respected the liberty of banking, then granted by patent, which he represented to his Lordship as a great hardship and inconveniency, shewing at the same time how necessary it was, that all Merchants, foreigners as well as subjects, should be allowed to exercise exchanges and re-changes, without any restraint for the benefit of trade, and as the most effectual means for the preventing the exportation of specie out of the kingdom; and this he requested might be done by the King's issuing his royal proclamation for that purpose, and this it appears was attained (*l*) [*A*]. While he was yet in this office, James Bainham, Esq; of the Temple, was, through the spirit of persecution which reigned in that time, delivered into his custody, and committed to Newgate, and was afterwards carried to Smithfield and burnt as a Heretic, April 30, 1532 (*m*). The hospital of St Thomas of Acon, or Acars, being surrendered into the King's hands, October 21, 1538, it was, by the means of Sir Richard Gresham, purchased by his company, and has been since known by the name of Mercers Chapel in Cheapside (*n*). In 1537 he executed the high office of Lord-Mayor of London with great spirit and dignity (*o*); and shewed upon that occasion, as far as any prudent man could think it proper to shew in such perilous times, his favourable sentiments for the Protestant Religion, and his steady concern for the interests of the city he governed, by demanding of the King certain religious foundations, which about

(*g*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 265.

(*h*) Grafton's brief Chron. fol. 129. b.

(*i*) Pedigree of the family.

(*k*) See the article of GRESHAM [Sir THOMAS].

(*l*) Grafton's Chronicle, fol. 129. b.

(*m*) Fox's Acts and Monuments, edit. 1610. p. 939.

(*n*) Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 200.

(*o*) Grafton's brief Chronicle, fol. 143. b.

[*A*] *And this it appears was attained*] They are much mistaken, who believe that in ancient times there was no care taken by the government of foreign trade, or that it was in those days either precarious or insignificant (1). On the contrary, it was the great object of our King's and of our Parliament's consideration. They went for a long series of time upon this maxim, *that* Commerce *could not be beneficial to a country, unless it was carried on* uniformly *and under proper* regulations (2). Upon this principle the notion of a staple was founded, at what time is not easily assigned, but certainly before the reign of Henry the Third, since from his time down to Henry the Seventh, we meet with a multitude of laws on this subject (3). This word staple was applied to the principal commodities of this island, such as *wool*, leather, lead, *tin*, cloths, butter, cheese, &c. The ports from whence these commodities might by law be transported, viz. London, Hull, Boston, Bristol, Southampton, Newcastle, &c. were stiled staple ports, the laws made for the direction of trade, by those who managed it, were called Staple Laws, and the principal magistrates of this society were the Mayor and Constable of the Staple; this was then reputed, instead of a restraint upon trade; the only method for preserving it's freedom, since all the King's subjects that would bring their goods to the staple, and conform themselves to the laws and ordinances thereof, might be admitted *merchants*. At these staples the King's customs were duly collected and paid into the Exchequer twice a year. By the Mayor and Constable of the Staple, the rate of exchange was settled according to certain tables posted up at Dover and elsewhere, that no frauds might be committed by suffering either our commodities or our money from passing into foreign countries for less than their real value. In those days there was no such thing as bankers. It was King Edward the Third, who may be justly stiled our English Justinian, settled these points by various good laws, and caused those tables to be set up, declaring the true value of the several species of coin in all countries, the inhabitants of which, had any dealings with his subjects (4). In his time there was not only a mint in the Tower of London, but in several other places, as at Canterbury, Kingston upon Hull, Newcastle, Bristol, and Exeter. The King had also his exchanger, who had his deputies in the several ports, and these made whatever remittances were necessary, value for value, with a very small allowance; and when any want of money was perceived in the kingdom, orders were sent to the Mayor of the Staple to procure a certain proportion of the value of goods exported to be paid in Bullion, which was afterwards sent to the nearest mint (5). In process of time things took another course, and the Lombards coming over and settling in that street which still bears their name, drew most of this business into their hands, but managed it in such a manner, as turned very little to the account of the English merchant; and therefore, after various acts of parliament made in the reign of Henry the Seventh, to remedy these mischiefs, but with very small effect, this new method was fallen upon in the reign of his son, to confine the business of banking to those who should be empowered by the King's Patent (6). This, instead of curing the old, brought in new evils, of which Sir Richard Gresham complained to the Lord Privy-Seal, putting him in mind that Bartholomew-fair was near at hand, when by taking off this restraint, a great many cloths and kersey's might be sold that would be otherwise left in the makers warehouses (7). He farther observes, that the factors were about to proceed to Bourdeaux, and to purchase wines, and that if things remained as they were, in all probability they would take gold with them, which might be prevented, by issuing such a proclamation as he desired; he adds upon this head, that what he wrote was purely to discharge his conscience out of duty to the King, and for the benefit of his subjects, by promoting the exportation of our commodities, laying it down as a maxim, that merchants can no more be without their exchanges and re-changes, than ships in the sea without water. He then passes to the house for merchants to meet in, which it was intended should be built in Lombard-street, the expence of which he calculates at two thousand pounds, and desires the King's letters may be addressed to Sir George Moneux, to dispose him to sell certain houses upon the ground of which this building might be erected; and for the money, he thought he could collect one thousand pounds before he was out of his office. In a postscript to this letter, which is dated July 5th, (1531) he tells this great minister that he had received his letter, by which he understood it to be the King's desire, that the Monastery of Walsingham should be dissolved, and assures his Lordship, that he had wrote to the Prior to further that design; he adds a request, that he might be permitted to purchase from the Crown certain lands which had been part of the Bishopric of Norwich, at the rate of twenty years purchase, provided the sum of one thousand pounds, advanced to the Duke of Buckingham by order of Cardinal Wolsey, on the King's account, were taken in part, and some of these lands were granted him about twelve years afterwards, as the reader will be informed in the text (8).

(1) Misselden's Circle of Commerce. Malyne's Lex Mercatoria. Hakluyt's Voyages.

(2) Malyne's Maintenance of Free Trade, A. D. 1622, 8vo.

(3) Madox's History of the Exchequer, p. 532.

(4) Stat. 27. Edward III.

(5) Malynes's Lex Mercatoria, P. III. chap. i.

(6) The Maintainance of Free Trade, p. 95.

(7) Ward's Lives of Gresham Professors. Appendix, No I.

(8) Batisford in Com. Suffolk.

[*B*] *In*

about that time were diſſolved, not for himſelf or his family, but for the reception of lame and diſeaſed perſons, that were burthenſome to this corporation, as the reader may ſee more at large, the nature of the ſubject requiring it, in the notes [*B*]. The ſame year he had a grant from the Heralds Office to him and his poſterity for additions to his arms, which grant has been ſince publiſhed (*p*). In 1541, Sir Richard and Sir John Greſham, Knights, were put into the commiſſion for herefies done in the city and dioceſe of London, in virtue of that ſanguinary law, ſo well known to poſterity by the title of *the Six Articles* (*q*). His favour with his maſter was ſo great, his ſervices ſo many and acceptable, and his intereſt ſo conſiderable, that he obtained ſeveral grants of abbies and abbey-lands to a very large amount. In the thirty-ſecond year of that King, he had the ſite of the famous abbey of Fountains, or *de Fontibus*, in Yorkſhire, formerly belonging to Monks of the Ciſtertian order (*r*); in the thirty-fifth, of the hoſpital of Carbroke in the county of Norfolk, to himſelf and Sir Richard Southwell; and the ſame year he had the hoſpital or præceptory of Batisford in the county of Suffolk, granted to himſelf alone (*s*). In the thirty-ſeventh of the ſame King, he had, in conjunction with Richard Billingford, a grant of the houſe of the White-Friers, between the weſt gate and the ſide of the river Tyne in Newcaſtle; as alſo the religious houſe of Walknol near Pandon-Gate in the ſame town (*t*); and in the thirty-eighth year of the ſame monarch's reign, the priory of Benedictine Monks at Hoxne or Hoxon in the county of Suffolk (*u*). His ordinary place of reſidence was at Bethnal-Green near London, where dying on the 21ſt of February, 1548, his corpſe was removed to the church of St Lawrence Jewry, and there ſome years afterwards a tomb with an inſcription was erected to his memory (*w*), which remained ſtanding 'till the Fire of London in 1666, when that church was conſumed. He left iſſue by his firſt wife, as the pedigree of the family bears, two ſons and two daughters; but the monumental inſcription, if faithfully copied ſays, three ſons and one daughter (*x*). A very judicious author prefers the pedigree, and we yield willingly to his judgment in that reſpect (*y*). His ſons then were Sir John Greſham, of whom ſome particulars are preſerved at the

(*p*) Miſcellanies, hiſtorical and philological, p. 175.

(*q*) Fox's Acts and Monuments, p. 1096.

(*r*) Tanner's Notitia Monaſtica, p. 653. Monaſt. Anglican. Tom. I. p. 733.

(*s*) Tanner's Notitia Monaſtica, p. 522, 350.

(*t*) Ibid. p. 397, 398.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 563.

(*w*) Stowe's Survey of London, book III. chap. iii. p. 46.

(*x*) In this inſcription the names are William and Margaret.

(*y*) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 3.

[*B*] *In the notes*] It is very remarkable that this letter is not directed either to the Chancellor or the Lord Privy-Seal, who at this time had great power in matters of this nature, but to the King himſelf, which is a clear proof of the great intereſt he had with that monarch, to whom otherwiſe he would not have addreſſed it. His hearty zeal for the public ſervice, which he ſollicits with as much earneſtneſs as he could poſſibly have done any ſuit of his own, and his good ſenſe in urging the moſt proper arguments for obtaining his purpoſe, render this letter one of the moſt remarkable pieces extant, with reſpect to his perſonal hiſtory, thus it runs (9):

(9) Bibl. Cot. Cleopatra, E. 4.

'Moſt redoubted puiſſant and noble prince, my 'moſt dread beloved and natural ſovereign lord, I your 'poor humble and obedient ſervant, conſidering and 'ever more and more perceiving by your virtuous be'ginnings and charitable proceedings in all your cauſes, 'your perſon and Majeſty Royal, to be the elected and 'choſen veſſel of God: by whom not alone the very 'and true word of God is and ſhall be ſet forth, and 'according to the truth and verity of the ſame; but 'alſo to be he whom God hath conſtituted and or'dained to redreſs and reform all crimes, offences, and 'enormities, being repugnant to his doctrine, or to the 'detriment of the commonwealth, and hurt of the 'poor people being your natural ſubjects; and further 'to foreſee and vigilantly to provide for the charitable 'reformation of the ſame, which thing hath, and yet 'doth encourage me; and alſo my bounden duty o'bligeth me in ſpecial, being moſt unworthy your 'Lieutenant and Maior of your City Royal of London, 'to inform and advertiſe your moſt gracious Highneſs, 'of one thing in ſpecial, for the aid and comfort of 'the poor, ſick, blind, aged, and impotent perſons, 'being not able to help themſelves, nor having no 'place certain where they may be refreſhed or lodged 'at, till they be holpen and cured of their diſeaſes and 'ſickneſſes.

'So it is moſt gracious Lord, that near and within the 'city of London, be three hoſpitals or ſpittals, com'monly called St Mary Spittal, St Bartilmew's Spittal, 'and St Thomas's Spittal, and the new Abby of Tower 'Hill; founded of good devotion by auncient faders, 'and endowed with great poſſeſſions and rents, only 'for the relief, comfort, and helping of the poor and 'impotent people, not being able to help themſelves, 'and not to the maintenance of Chanons, Prieſts and 'Monks to live in pleaſure, nothing regarding the mi'ſerable people lying in every ſtreet, offending every 'clean perſon paſſing by the way, with their filthy and 'naſty favours.

'Wherefore may it pleaſe your merciful goodneſs, 'enclined to pity and compaſſion for the relief of 'Chriſt's very images, created to his own ſimilitude; 'to order by your high authority as ſupreme head of 'this Church of England, or otherwiſe by your ſage 'diſcretion, that your Maior of the City of London, 'and his brethren the Aldermen for the time being, 'ſhall and may for henceforth have the order, diſpoſi'tion, rule, and governance, both of all the lands, te'nements, and revenues appertaining and belonging to 'the ſaid hoſpitals and every of them, and of the mi'niſters which be, or ſhall be within every of them. 'And then your Grace ſhall plainly perceive, that 'where now a ſmall number of Chanons, Prieſts, and 'Monks, be found for their own profit only, and not 'for the common utility of the realm, a great number 'of poor, needy, ſickly, and indigent perſons ſhall be 'refreſhed, maintained, and comforted, and alſo 'healed and cured of their infirmities frankly and 'freely, by Phyſicians, Surgeons, and Potecaries; 'which ſhall have ſtipend and ſalary only for that pur'poſe. So that all impotent perſons not hable to la'bour, ſhall be relieved; and all ſturdy beggars not 'willing to labour, ſhall be puniſhed.

'For the which doing, your Grace ſhall not alonely 'merit highly towards God, but ſhew yourſelf to be 'more charitable to the poor, than your noble proge'nitor King Edgar, founder of ſo many Monaſteries, 'or King Henry III. renewer of Weſtminſter, or 'King Edward III. founder of the new Abby, or 'King Henry V. founder of Shene; but alſo ſhall 'have the name of Conſervator, Protector, and De'fender of the poor people, with their continual 'prayer for your health, wealth, and proſperity, long 'to endure.'

Your humble and moſt obedient ſervant,

RYCHARD GRESHAM.

What reception this letter met with, we are no where informed, but from it's conſequences we may gather, that it made a great impreſſion upon the King's mind, ſince towards the end of his life, he ſhewed a deſire that theſe hoſpitals ſhould be put into the hands of the city; which in the reign of his ſon, with reſpect to three of them, it may be not without the interpoſition of Sir Thomas Greſham, was actually brought about upon eaſy terms, which ought to be remembred to the honour of him, who firſt formed the project of preſerving them for that good purpoſe which they have ſince anſwered (10).

(10) Stowe, Strype, Maitland.

the bottom of the page [C]; Sir Thomas Greſham, of whom in a ſubſequent article; and the daughters, Margaret married to Sir John Thynne of Longleate, from whom the noble family of Weymouth are deſcended (z); and Elizabeth, who died unmarried the ſame year with her father (a). As for his widow, Dame Iſabella Greſham, ſhe deceaſed in the year 1565 (b).

(z) Collins's Peerage, Vol. III. p. 317.

(a) Le Neve's M.SS. Vol. II. p. 297.

(b) Pedigree of the family.

[C] *At the bottom of the page*] We find in the pedigree of the family, but few particulars relating to this gentleman, which is the reaſon that we have choſen to digeſt theſe in a note. He was born in the year 1518, and brought up to buſineſs under his father (11). He was knighted by the Duke of Somerſet, Lord Protector, September the 28th, 1547, upon the memorable victory gained over the Scots in Muſſelburgh-field (12), and admitted a member of the Mercers company in 1550 (13). In the reign of Queen Mary, he is thought to have complied with the times, of which this is reported as an inſtance, that in 1556, twenty-two perſons being ſent out of Eſſex to London, in the month December, in compliance with the proclamation againſt heretics, in order to their examination before Dr Edmund Bonner, then Biſhop of London; the populace as they paſſed through the ſtreets ſhewed ſuch evident tokens of compaſſion, or as the prelate underſtood of approbation, that he ſent Sir John, who happened to be with him, to complain of this terrible inſult to the then Lord-Mayor and Sheriffs, with which, whatever his private opinion might be, it was certainly prudent in him to comply. The matter in truth was no more than this, that numbers who abhorred perſecution and had a charitable tenderneſs for perſons of good fame and credit, expoſed to ſuch ill uſage for obeying the dictates of their conſcience, went out of town to meet the poor ſufferers, and to comfort them, which being a circumſtance very few choſe to communicate, and there being alſo many of this diſpoſition, their attendance ſwelled in ſuch a manner, that by the time they entered London, their train was grown to a thouſand men, which Biſhop Bonner thought ſhould have been prevented by the vigilance of the city magiſtrates (14). A certain hiſtorian adds the title of alderman, to that of Sir John Greſham (15), which if it had been ſo, would have rendered him a very improper meſſenger; but the truth is, that Sir John Greſham, Knight and Alderman, had been about two months dead, and therefore this muſt have been his nephew (16). He married Frances, the daughter and heir of Sir Henry Thwaites, of Lownd in Yorkſhire, who ſurvived him twenty years. By her he had his only daughter Elizabeth, who married Sir Henry Neville (17), Knight, gentleman of the bed-chamber to King Edward VI. who made him very large grants of Church lands, which were reſumed by Queen Mary, and reſtored to him by Queen Elizabeth; by the daughter of Sir John Greſham, he had a ſon Henry, whoſe lineal deſcendants are ſtill in poſſeſſion of their anceſtor's eſtates in Berkſhire. Dame Elizabeth Neville, died November the 6th, 1573, and her mother, Dame Frances Greſham, in October 1580. E

(11) Pedigree of the family.

(12) Le Neve's M.SS. Vol. II. p. 291.

(13) Pedigree of the family.

(14) Fox's Acts and Monuments, p. 1863.

(15) Oldmixon's Hiſtory of England, p. 266.

(16) See his monumental inſcription, and Stowe, Holinſ. Stryp.

(17) Morgan's Sphere of Gentry, lib. II. c. vi. p. 57.

GRESHAM [Sir JOHN], a very eminent Merchant, a beneficent patron to learning, and a moſt worthy magiſtrate in the city of London. He was the youngeſt ſon of John Greſham of Holt, in the county of Norfolk, Eſq; beforementioned, and ſucceeded his brother Richard as an apprentice to Mr John Middleton (a). He was admitted a member of the worſhipful company of Mercers in 1517, and by his great induſtry in trade acquired a very large fortune (b). This ſingular ſucceſs put it into his power to purchaſe ſeveral fair eſtates in the county of Norfolk, as alſo the manor of Titſey in the county of Surry, which had been granted by King Henry the Eighth to Sir John Bourchier, Knight of the Garter, and Lord Berners, who dying without heirs male, his daughter Catherine married Edward Knyvet, Eſq; from whom it was purchaſed by Mr Greſham (c). In 1537, his elder brother Sir Richard Greſham being then Lord-Mayor, he ſerved the honourable office of Sheriff of London, and was the ſame year knighted (d). He afterwards purchaſed from his eldeſt brother, William Greſham, Eſq; the capital meſſuage of Holt in the county of Norfolk, as appears by a deed, dated October 14, 1546 (e). In the ſucceeding year, Sir John Greſham himſelf was choſen Lord-Mayor of London (f). There had been an antient immemorial cuſtom, of cauſing what was called the marching watch to parade through the city at Midſummer, which, on account of ſeveral very expenſive muſters, made at the King's command ſome years before, had been forbidden in 1539 (g), and had ever ſince been laid aſide; but Sir John Greſham revived this pompous ſhew in his mayoralty, and appointed it both on the eve of St John the Baptiſt and on that of the Apoſtle St Peter, cauſing it to be executed both times with the utmoſt ſplendour (h). It was laid aſide again the very next year, and a ſtanding watch, for the ſecurity of the city, ſubſtituted in it's room. In the charter granted by King Philip and Queen Mary, for incorporating the Merchants concerned in the Ruſſia trade, and for eſtabliſhing and ſecuring their privileges, he is the firſt named to be of their Court of Aſſiſtants (i), which does him no ſmall honour, conſidering, that as this has been one of the moſt profitable, ſo it is alſo one of the beſt regulated companies ever erected in this nation. But though this may ſeem a mark of reſpect, yet he ſuffered in this reign a conſiderable loſs, by the reſuming of the manor of Weſterham in the county of Kent, which had been granted to him on the diſſolution of the abbey of Weſtminſter by King Henry the Eighth. It was however reſtored by Queen Elizabeth to his family (k). As he was a perſon of great generoſity and magnificence, he was alſo ſtrictly pious, and much diſpoſed to encourage uſeful learning. With this view he reſolved to convert the antient manſion houſe of his family into a free-ſchool, and endowed it with the manor of Holt Hales, and all it's members. By an indenture bearing date October the 16th, 1556, he ſettled the revenues and government of this ſchool upon the worſhipful company of Fiſhmongers in London, by whom it has been managed with ſingular integrity and reputation to this time, and is now in a very flouriſhing condition (l) [A]. This proviſion was very happily made, ſince he

(a) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 4.

(b) Baronetage of England, Vol. III. p. 12.

(c) Aubrey's Antiquities of Surry, Vol. III. p. 12.

(d) Grafton's Brief Chronicle, fol. 134.

(e) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 4.

(f) Grafton's Brief Chronicle, fol. 143.

(g) Stowe's Survey of London, b. i. p. 256.

(h) Maitland's Hiſtory of London, p. 152.

(i) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 269.

(k) Philpot's Vil. Cant. p. 359.

(l) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 4.

[A] *And is now in a very flouriſhing condition.*] It was not eaſy for this worthy perſon to deviſe a method more ſignificant of his love for learning, than by converting the ancient ſeat of his family into that of the Muſes, and ſettling for it's ſupport that eſtate, which for this purpoſe he acquired by purchaſe; an undertaking

he died that day fev'nnight on which this indenture was executed viz. on the twenty-third of October (m), of what in thoſe days was ſtiled a burning ague, which ſeems rather to have been a kind of malignant fever, which in the ſpace of ten months had carried off ſeven Aldermen, five of whom had been Mayors, and ſeems now to have been at it's greateſt height, ſince in this month there died likewiſe Sir John Champney, Alderman and Skinner, who was but juſt out of his mayoralty; Sir Henry Hobblethorn, Merchant-Taylor of London, who had been likewiſe Lord-Mayor; Sir John Oliff, Surgeon to King Henry the Eighth, who had been Sheriff of London, and would have been Mayor if he had lived 'till the next year, beſides many other perſons of diſtinction (n). At the time of his demiſe, we find this worthy perſon thus entitled, viz. Sir John Greſham, Knight, Mercer and Merchant of the ſtaple at Calais, Merchant-Adventurer, late Mayor and Alderman of London (o). He was interred with great funeral ſolemnity at the church of St Michael Baſſiſhaw, not only his houſe but the ſtreet being hung with black cloth. The funeral ſermon was preached by the famous Dr Nicholas Harpsfield, after which there was an extraordinary fiſh dinner, to which all who came were admitted (p). By his laſt will he left many charitable legacies, which are deſervedly remembred to his honour [B]. At the ſame time we mention this, it may not perhaps be thought trivial to obſerve, that it was in thoſe days thought not a little ſtrange, that two ſons of the ſame man ſhould be Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Mayors of London (q). This Sir John Greſham had two wives; the firſt was Mary, daughter of Thomas Ipſwell, Eſq; by whom he had five ſons and ſix daughters, viz. William Greſham of Titſey, Eſq; of whom and of whoſe poſterity ſomething more will be ſaid at the bottom of the page (r) [C]. John Greſham of Fulham in Middleſex and Mayfield in Suſſex, Eſq; Edmund Greſham of Thorp-Market in the county of Norfolk, Eſq; but as for the other two their names are not known. As for his daughters, Mary married Sir Thomas Roe, by whom ſhe became the mother of another Sir Thomas Roe; Helen, to William Udall of Hampſhire; Urſula, who became the wife of Thomas Leveſon, or Luſon, in Kent, Eſq; Cicely, to German Cyoll, a Spaniard;

(m) Pedigree of the family.

(n) Stowe's Survey of London, b. i. p. 263.

(o) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 308.

(p) Willet's Synopſ. Papiſm. p. 1224.

(q) Stowe's Survey of London, b. i. p. 263.

(r) Pedigree of the family.

taking ſo full of beneficence and piety, that it ſeems to have merited the peculiar protection of Providence. In this famous free-ſchool of Holt, proviſion is made for the inſtruction of thirty boys of that county in grammar learning, to be choſen by the aſſignees of the company (1). And by the appointment of the founder, the maſter was to have twenty pounds, and the uſher ten pounds a year ſalary. But that of the maſter has been ſince increaſed to thirty pounds a year. He has likewiſe a large and commodious houſe, with liberty to take as many other ſcholars or boarders as he pleaſes. There is alſo a writing maſter and an uſher, the former of whom has ten pounds, and the latter ſix pounds thirteen ſhillings and four-pence a year, both of them appointed by the upper maſter. And ſuch has been the generoſity of the governors, that in the year 1729, they purchaſed a library conſiſting of the beſt claſſic writers, with a handſome pair of large globes, to near the value of an hundpounds, for the uſe of the ſchool. The preſent maſter is Mr John Holmes, who has recommended himſelf to the public by his Latin and Greek Grammars, and by ſeveral other uſeful and practical treatiſes, which not only do him honour, but thoſe alſo by whoſe choice he was fixed in that place which he ſo worthily fills, and in a manner ſo ſuitable to the donor's intention.

(1) Ward's Lives of the Profeſſors, p. 4. Mr Holmes's Dedications.

[B] *Which are deſervedly remembred to his honour.*] We have given a brief account in the text of this great man's burial, which ſeems to have been beyond the ſtandard of thoſe times, as we find it recorded by more than one author, but the deſcription by John Stowe, may perhaps ſeem not unworthy the reader's notice (2).

(2) Stowe's Survey, b. i. p. 258, 267.

'He was buried with a ſtandard and a penon of arms, 'and a coat armour of damaſk, and four penons of 'arms, beſides an helmet, a target, and a ſword, 'mantles, and the creſt, a goodly hearſe of wax, and 'ten dozen of penſils, and twelve dozen of eſcutcheons. 'He gave an hundred black gowns of fine cloth unto 'poor men and women; he had four dozen of great 'ſtaff torches, and a dozen of great long torches; he 'gave moreover an hundred of fine black gowns, two 'unto the preſent Mayor, and the old Mayor, likewiſe 'other to Sir Rowland Hill, and to Sir Andrew Judd, 'and to the Chamberlain, to Mr Blackwell, to Mr 'Common-Hunt and his man; to the porter that belonged to the Staple, and to all his farmers and his 'tenants. The church and the ſtreets were all hung 'with black, and arms in great ſtore, and on the morrow three goodly maſſes were ſung; one of the 'Trinity,' another of our Lady, and the third of Requiem.' In reſpect to his charitable legacies, he gave ten pounds to the poor of every ward in London, which are twenty-four in number; and to one hundred and twenty poor men and women, to each three yards of cloth for a gown, of eight or nine ſhillings a yard; to maids, marriages, and the hoſpitals in London, above two hundred pounds (3).

(3) Willet's Synopſ. Papiſm. 1224.

[C] *At the bottom of the page.*] William Greſham of Titſey, in the county of Surry, Eſq; married Beatrix, daughter of Thomas Guybon, of Lynn in Norfolk, Eſq (4); by whom he had Sir William Greſham of Titſey, Knight, as alſo Sir Thomas Greſham of Titſey, who for want of iſſue male, became heir to his brother; he married Mary, widow of Mr Walſingham (5), and by her had iſſue three ſons, Sir John Greſham of Titſey, who died without iſſue; Sir Edward Greſham, and Thomas (6). Sir Edward Greſham, Knight, married Mary, daughter to Mr Clark, by whom he had a ſon Thomas, whom he diſinherited, and who left no male iſſue (7). Sir Edward's ſecond lady was Mary, widow of Mr Wright, by whom he had Marmaduke Greſham of Titſey, Eſq (8); who was advanced to the degree of a Baronet by Letters Patents under the Great-Seal, bearing date July 31, 1660, in the twelfth year of King Charles the Second (9); he married Alice, daughter of Dr Richard Corbet, Biſhop of Norwich, by whom he had ſix ſons and three daughters, all of whom, except thoſe hereafter mentioned, died without iſſue (10). His ſecond ſon, Sir Edward Greſham, Baronet, married Martha, daughter of Sir John Maynard, Knight, Serjeant at Law, of Gunnerſbury in the county of Middleſex, but dying without iſſue male, he was ſucceeded in his title and eſtate by his brother Sir Charles Greſham, Baronet, who married the daughter of Mr Godfrey, and had by her three ſons and five daughters (11). He died in the month of April, 1718, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. Sir Marmaduke Greſham, Baronet, his eldeſt ſon, married Anne, daughter of William Hoſkins, of Barrow-green near Godſtone, in the county of Surry, by whom he left two ſons and a daughter, dying at Bath, January 2d, 1741-2 (12). His eldeſt ſon Sir Charles Greſham is the preſent Baronet, and is poſſeſſed of the ſeats and eſtates of his anceſtors, at Lympſfield and Titſey in Surry, and near Weſterham in Kent. Before we cloſe this note, it will be proper to obſerve, that Charles, the fifth ſon of Sir Marmaduke Greſham, the firſt Baronet, who was bred in Trinity-College, Oxford, upon the reſignation of Mr King, was unanimouſly choſen Rhetoric Profeſſor in Greſham College, Auguſt 20th, 1686, being at that time a perſon in great reputation for his learning and abilities; upon the 30th of November, 1688, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal-Society, and in 1696, he married Mary, the daughter of Dr Godfrey, of Ongar in Eſſex, which obliged him to quit his profeſſorſhip, and in 1699, he withdrew himſelf from the Royal-Society (13). E

(4) Aubrey's Antiq. of Surry, Vol. III. p. 13.

(5) Baronetage of England, Vol. III. p. 126.

(6) Pedigree of the family.

(7) Baronetage of England, Vol. III. p. 126.

(8) Philpot's Vill. Cant. p. 359.

(9) Julii 31. 12 Car. II. A. D. 1660.

(10) Baronetage of England, Vol. III. p. 126.

(11) Pedigree of the family.

(12) Baronetage of England, Vol. III. p. 126.

(13) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 331.

Spaniard; Elizabeth, to James Elliot; the name of the youngeſt is not mentioned (s). His ſecond wife was Katherine, the widow of Edward Dormer of Fulham, in the county of Middleſex, Eſq; and daughter to Mr Sampſon, who ſurvived him, and died in the year 1578 (t). Beſides the principal houſe of the Greſhams of Titſey, there ſprang two other families of conſiderable note from this Sir John Greſham, one in Surry, the other in Norfolk (u). His ſecond ſon, John Greſham, of Fulham in Middleſex and Mayfield in Suſſex, married Elizabeth, daughter and heireſs of Edward Dormer of Fulham, by whom he had two ſons who married, and one who died a bachelor. The eldeſt of theſe, Thomas Greſham of Fulham, had for his ſecond wife, Judith, the daughter of Sir William Garrard, by whom he left two ſons; John Greſham ſettled at Albury in Surry, and left no iſſue male (w); and James Greſham, who lived at Haſlemere in Surry, and was ſtiled from his great knowledge of the hiſtory of his country, by way of eminence, the Antiquary (x). We find his name in the liſt of thoſe who were to have been honoured with the order of the Royal Oak, after the Reſtoration, and he at that time had an eſtate of eight hundred pounds a year (y); he married Anne, daughter of Sir Robert More of Loſely in Surry, but left no male iſſue; he died in 1687 at the age of twenty-two (z), Edmund Greſham, the third Son of Sir John, ſettled at Thorp-Market in Norfolk, and having married Joan, the eldeſt daughter of Alderman Hind of London, had by her a ſon and three daughters, and died in 1586 (a). His only ſon was Sir Richard Greſham of Thorp-Market, who married Anne, daughter of Thomas Crofts of Saxmundham in the county of Suffolk, by whom he had a ſon and two daughters (b). Beſides this, there is a more antient family of the Greſhams in Norfolk, ſeated at Wilſingham-Parva, deſcended from William Greſham, Eſq; ſecond ſon of James Greſham of Holt, Eſq; who was the grandfather of Sir Richard Greſham, mentioned in the laſt article, and of Sir John Greſham, of whom we have been ſpeaking (c).

(s) Baronetage of England, Vol. III. p. 113.

(t) Pedigree of the family.

(u) Baronetage of England, Vol. III. p. 113.

(w) Aubrey's Antiquities of Surry, Vol. IV. p. 33.

(x) Pedigree of the family.

(y) Baronetage of England, Vol. IV. p. 337.

(z) Aubrey's Antiquities of Surry, Vol. IV. p. 33.

(a) Pedigree of the family.

(b) Account of antient families in Norfolk.

(c) Pedigree of the family.

GRESHAM [Sir THOMAS], an eminent Merchant of London, Agent for King Edward VI. Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, in the Low-Countries, and a glorious benefactor to the public. He was the younger ſon of Sir Richard Greſham, Knight, Alderman, Sheriff, and Lord-Mayor of London, the nephew of Sir John Greſham laſt mentioned, and the younger brother of Sir John Greſham, Knight, who received that honour in Muſſelborough-Field. He was born at London in 1519 (a), and having attained the rudiments of learning under proper maſters, he was removed to Gonville-Hall in Cambridge, where he ſpent ſome years in his ſtudies (b); notwithſtanding which, he reſolved, as trade had been ſo fortunate in the hands of his family to embark therein; for which his father had made proviſion, by binding him apprentice to his uncle Sir John Greſham; in conſequence of which prudent meaſure he was admitted a member of the Mercers Company in 1543 (c). In a ſhort time after this he married his wife Anne, the widow of William Read, of Fulham in the county of Middleſex, Eſq; and the daughter of William Fernley, of Weſtcreting in the county of Suffolk (d). He ſeems to have lived at home, and to have purſued the buſineſs of a Merchant with great diligence during the life of his father, and had very probably a view of ſucceeding him in his employment of managing the King's money affairs at Antwerp, a matter of great conſequence, ſince the time of King Henry the Eighth, whoſe ambition had drawn him into great difficulties both at home and in foreign parts; for here he had been obliged to debaſe his coin, and had run there into great debts, which were heightened by exorbitant uſury as well as by a variety of artifices, which were familiar to the dealers in money in thoſe times (e). It appears, however, that Mr Greſham was diſappointed in his expectations; for, upon the demiſe of his father, Sir William Danſell was appointed the King's Agent at Antwerp, by thoſe who had the direction of public affairs in the minority of Edward the Sixth (f). But his management was ſuch, that the King finding himſelf under great difficulties ſent for him home, in order to enquire more ſtrictly into the nature and amount of his debts; but Sir William thinking Antwerp the ſafer place declined his return (g); and upon this, amongſt other Merchants, Mr Greſham was ſent for to Council, and his opinion aſked about the management of theſe affairs, which he delivered ſo freely and clearly, that a reſolution was immediately taken, without any ſuit of his, to ſend him thither; and he was accordingly ſent in the cloſe of the year 1551, according to our ſtyle as it then ſtood, or in the beginning of the ſucceeding year as we now write (h). He found this a very perplexed and troubleſome buſineſs, and attended with circumſtances equally oppreſſive and diſhonourable. The King owed very large ſums of money to different perſons, for which he not only gave his own ſecurity under the broad ſeal of England, but likewiſe joined that of the city of London; and after doing all this abroad, entered into recognizances to indemnify the city at home (i). The intereſt was very high, ſeldom under ten per cent. ſometimes twelve; beſides which, other great advantages were taken, by varying the exchange, to the great prejudice of the nation, and by conſtraining the King to take jewels or goods at their own prices, to his extreme detriment (k). All theſe obſtacles Mr Greſham had to ſtruggle with, beſides ſome oppoſition the propoſals he made met with from ſome of the Council at home, who it is probable did not clearly conceive his meaning (l). For he ſeems at firſt to have ſought the confidence and good opinion of the uſurers he had to deal with, by following the practice of his predeceſſors, and recommending their goods to a good market (m), at the ſame time that he offered a ſcheme to be ſecretly managed

(a) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 6.

(b) Annales de Gonville & Caius.

(c) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 6.

(d) Pedigree of the family.

(e) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 325.

(f) Wheeler's Treatiſe of Commerce.

(g) Memorial of T. Greſham.

(h) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 324.

(i) King Edward VIth's Journal. Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 318.

(k) King Edward VIth's Journal.

(l) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 325. from Greſham's Letters.

(m) Idem ibid.

managed at home for diſcharging the King's debts, and bringing him out of them gradually, without feeling any of thoſe difficulties with which payments had been formerly embarraſſed, and this was by receiving twelve or thirteen-hundred pounds a week from the Exchequer, which Mr Greſham took up daily in bills at Antwerp in his own name, ſo that the remittances were made without ſinking the exchange; and thus in the ſpace of about two years, he diſcharged this monſtrous loan, raiſed the King's credit ſo high, that he might have borrowed whatever ſums he would, and at the ſame time rendered a very great ſervice to the nation (n) [A]. In the courſe of this negotiation, he had frequent occaſion to meddle with political affairs, as well as thoſe immediately committed to his charge, through the application of the Emperor's ſiſter, then Regent in the Low-Countries, as well as of the King his maſter, ſo that he made at leaſt forty journies to and from Court, during the remainder of that ſhort reign (o). It is certain that this ſervice of his was very acceptable to the young Monarch; who, as it appears from the moſt authentic memorials, thoſe under his own hand, looked at leaſt as carefully into theſe matters himſelf, as any of the Privy-Council, and in all probability was the beſt ſupport Mr Greſham had in bringing his wiſe project to bear (p). As a mark of his favour, about three weeks before his death, the King granted him one hundred pounds a year to him and his heirs for ever, promiſing him at the ſame time a more ſuitable reward, adding theſe remarkable words, *You ſhall know that you have ſerved a King* (q). He obtained beſides this in the courſe of that reign, the grant of a houſe of Grey-Friers, in the county of Carmarthen (r); and in the very laſt year of it, the reverſion of Weſtacre, a Priory of Black-Canons, in the county of Norfolk, after the demiſe of Mary, Ducheſs of Richmond, to whom King Henry VIII. had granted it, of the value of about three hundred pounds a year (s). But notwithſtanding his good ſervices, and the loſs of all his furniture coming by ſea from Antwerp, he was removed from his poſt of agent in that city for the Crown, without any reaſon aſſigned (t). Mr Greſham however was not of a diſpoſition to ſit ſtill and ſuffer without ſpeaking, on the contrary, he remonſtrated to the Queen roundly, what he had done for the Crown while worn by her brother, of which ſhe reaped all the advantage; he repreſented the loſſes he had ſuſtained, and hinted the hardſhip he laboured under in being ſhut out from her Royal preſence and favour, who had brought her brother out of his difficulties, while he ſaw ſome careſſed and preferred who had no ſmall hand in bringing him into them (u). At the ſame time he made a tender of his ſervice to the Queen, and deſired her favour with reſpect to a debt that was due to him of four hundred pounds from the Duke of Northumberland. This method though a little unuſal, had a good effect, and he was ſoon after reſtored again to his poſt, in which he remained during the reſt of her reign (w), and towards the cloſe of it was obliged to borrow money in a manner, and upon terms that muſt have been very diſagreeable to him, ſince he was obliged to give fourteen per cent. excluſive of brokerage, and at the ſame time a collateral ſecurity (x). The only favour that it appears he received during this reign, was the grant of an hoſpital at Maſſingham-Parva in Norfolk, which had been united to the priory of Weſtacre, which was in his hands before (y). Queen Elizabeth at her acceſſion found things at home and abroad in a very broken and diſtreſſed condition, which imputing rather to the circumſtances of the times, and the conſequences of her ſiſter's marriage, than to the want either of integrity or ability in her miniſters, ſhe retained as many as it was poſſible of them in her ſervice (z). Amongſt theſe was Mr Greſham, whom ſhe immediately employed in providing and buying up arms, beſtowed upon him the honour of knighthood, and engaged him

(n) Memorial of T. Greſham.

(o) King Edward's Journal. Strype's Memorials, and that of T. Greſham.

(p) Haynes's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 132. compared with the King's Journal.

(q) Memorial of T. Greſham.

(r) Tanner's Notitia Monaſt. p. 703.

(s) Idem ibid. p. 362.

(t) Memorial of T. Greſham.

(u) Aſſerted in the ſame Memorial.

(w) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. P. 371, 486.

(x) Cotton's Diſcourſe of a foreign war, p. 56.

(y) Tanner's Notitia Monaſt. p. 362.

(z) Camden. Annal. p. 26. Stowe, Holinſhed, Speed, Strype, Burnet, &c.

[A] *Rendered a very great ſervice to the nation.*] We learn moſt of theſe particulars with great certainty from Mr Greſham's own memorial hereafter mentioned (1). In that he informs us, that at the time he was appointed agent, the King owed two hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds Flemiſh, that the exchange was ſunk ſo low as ſixteen ſhillings Flemiſh for a pound ſterling; that the intereſt was ten per cent. and the loſs by exchange a great deal more, beſides the additional impoſition of jewels and goods, which under ſuch circumſtances could not well be avoided. But by the method that Mr Greſham adviſed, and in conſequence of his advice, the Duke of Northumberland ordered to be purſued, and that twelve hundred and twenty pounds ſhould be paid to his aſſigns every week (2); the remittances were made with ſo much care and addreſs, that the exchange was raiſed to twenty, and even to two and twenty ſhillings, and at theſe rates the King's debts were diſcharged, by which one hundred thouſand pounds were ſaved to the nation. This wiſe practice of his was alſo felt in the price of commodities, by which he computes the nation could not profit leſs than four hundred thouſand pounds. Another advantage was, that the money which had been carried out, was brought back again. It raiſed the King's credit highly abroad, ſo that from being undervalued and treated with an air of diffidence and contempt, which the bankers at Antwerp would uſe even to their own ſovereign, he came to be reſpected in the higheſt degree, ſo that he might have borrowed what ſums he pleaſed. In the performance of theſe ſervices, Mr Greſham often ſtretched his own credit, and kept up the exchange at his proper riſk, by which he loſt two or three hundred pounds at a time more than once; and on a particular occaſion took up fifty thouſand pounds for the King's ſervice. If it had not been for this management, the debt might have been continued and growing, and would have ſwelled to fifteen hundred thouſand pounds by the time in which he made this repreſentation. But after all, it was the young King's ſcheme of retrenching in his expences, and taking various methods, ſuch as keeping the lead in his own hands, by Mr Greſham's advice; ſelling ſuperfluous church plate, putting penal laws in force, and commuting all felonies for money, &c. which arts were of Northumberland's deviſing, that enabled him to comply punctually with thoſe weekly payments, as this was the grand inſtrument for removing this incumbrance (3). One or two particulars more we muſt not omit, the merchants of the Hanſe or, as called here, of the Steel-yard, for ſome miſconduct, received a ſevere check, and this was ſo acceptable to the merchants of the Staple, that they lent King Edward forty thouſand pounds (4) at one time, which ſeems to have been Mr Greſham's firſt experiment of ſerving the crown in the way of voluntary loans by it's own ſubjects, and from the facility with which this was done, Mr Greſham entertained hopes of all that he afterwards accompliſhed (5).

(1) This Memorial, which on account of it's length is omitted here, the reader may find printed at large by Dr Ward in his Lives of the Greſham Profeſſors, p. 8.

(2) Haynes's Collection of State-Papers, &c. Vol. I. p. 132.

(3) See the King's Journal, and the ſecond volume of Strype's Memorials.

(4) King Edward VIth's Journal, October 3, 1552.

(5) See farther in note [E].

him to borrow a ſum of money for her at Antwerp, upon the ſecurity of the city of London, for obtaining of which, ſhe directed her letters to the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, and thereupon her Majeſty's requeſt was very readily granted (*a*). The conduct of Sir Thomas Greſham in this and in other points of the like nature, ſeems to have been ſo acceptable to the Queen his miſtreſs, who was an excellent judge of men's abilities, and knew how to employ them in the way moſt to her advantage; that it is probable ſhe advanced him about this time to the higheſt charge of which a perſon in his ſtation was capable, by conſtituting him her merchant (*b*). That he was ſo afterwards, is on all hands acknowledged (*c*), and that he became ſo early, appears extremely probable for ſeveral reaſons; it was about this time that he built his ſpacious and magnificent houſe in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, which is ſtill remaining, which as a judicious writer well obſerves, he muſt have been moved to erect, by his thinking it neceſſary to place himſelf in a ſituation moſt convenient and ſuitable to his character, which ſhews that he muſt have altered his condition, and have acquired a ſettlement at home (*d*). Accordingly in 1562, we find that Sir Thomas Smith, who was ſent into France to execute a commiſſion of great importance on the part of the Queen, had his credit upon him, which makes it highly likely that he was then the Queen's merchant (*e*). It is alſo certain that the care of borrowing money abroad, was committed to William Herle, as appears by his inſtructions dated Auguſt 16th, in the year laſt mentioned, upon the ſecurity of the city of London as before (*f*). In 1563, the Ducheſs of Parma then Regent for King Philip in the Low-Countries, under pretence of the plague which then raged in England, prohibited the bringing of Engliſh commodities to Antwerp, though the real cauſe of that ſtrange ſtep was an act of parliament paſſed a ſmall time before, for prohibiting pins, knives, hats, girdles, ribbons, and other ſmall manufactures, from being brought into this kingdom, our own people by the encouragement of ſome eminent Engliſh merchants, and amongſt them Sir Thomas Greſham, having lately ſet them up (*g*). But it being quickly found that the inhabitants of Antwerp ſuffered more by this prohibition than the ſubjects of England; a negotiation was ſet on foot the next year for reſtoring things to their former ſtate, in which, as Sir Thomas Greſham had no ſhare, it amounts to a full proof, that except in extraordinary caſes his agency in thoſe parts was at an end (*h*). In 1564, he loſt, to his great affliction his only ſon Richard Greſham, whoſe corps was interred in the church at St Helen's (*i*), and Sir Thomas, like a wiſe man, to alleviate the ſenſe of his private misfortunes, elevated his thoughts beyond the narrow ſphere of a family, and reſolved to place his future ſatisfaction in things of a public nature. This in all probability induced him to revive that glorious deſign which firſt entered into the mind of Sir Richard Greſham his father, of building a Burſe or public edifice in which the merchants might aſſemble, without being expoſed to the injuries of wind and weather, as in Lombard-ſtreet where they had hitherto met (*k*). He therefore made his intentions known to the city, that if they would procure him a proper piece of ground at their charge, he would erect ſuch a ſtructure at his own expence (*l*), which offer was thankfully accepted and punctually performed [*B*]. Sir Thomas had ſcarce entered upon the execution of this grand

(*a*) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 11.

(*b*) See Holinſhed, Stowe, and Speed.

(*c*) Camden. Annal. p. 223.

(*d*) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 11.

(*e*) Strype's Life of Sir T. Smith.

(*f*) Cotton's Diſcourſe of a foreign war, p. 56.

(*g*) Wheeler's Treatiſe of Commerce, p. 39, 40.

(*h*) Camden, Stowe, Strype, &c.

(*i*) Stowe's Survey, edit. 1603. p. 174.

(*k*) Lambard's Dictionary, p. 174.

(*l*) Stowe's Survey, edit. 1720. b. ii. p. 135.

[*B*] *Which offer was thankfully accepted, and punctually performed.*] The beſt account we have of this matter is from John Stowe, and indeed we need not wiſh a better; for in matters relating to this capital, and which happened in his own time, none could be more diligent in obſerving, or more faithful in recording. His words are theſe (6): 'In the year 1566, certain 'houſes upon Cornhill, and the like upon the back 'there of in the ward of Broad-ſtreet with three allies; 'the firſt called Swan alley, opening into Cornhill; 'the ſecond called New-alley, paſſing through out of 'Cornhill into Broad-ſtreet ward, over againſt St Bar-'tilmew-lane; the third called St Chriſtopher's-alley, 'opening into Broad-ſtreet ward, and into St Chriſto-'pher's pariſh, containing in all fourſcore houſeholds, 'were firſt purchaſed by the citizens of London, for 'more than three thouſand five hundred thirty-two 'pounds, and were ſold for four hundred ſeventy eight 'pounds, to ſuch perſons as ſhould take them down, 'and carry the ſtuff from thence; alſo the ground or 'plot was made plain at the charges of the city, and 'then poſſeſſion thereof was by certain aldermen in the 'name of the whole citizens, given to Sir Thomas 'Greſham, Knight, agent to the Queen's highneſs, 'thereupon to build a Burſe or place for merchants to 'aſſemble in at his own proper charges; and he, on 'the ſeventh of June, laying the firſt ſtone of the foun-'dation, being brick, accompanied with ſome alder-'men, every of them laid a piece of gold, which the 'workmen took up, and forthwith followed upon the 'ſame with ſuch diligence, that by the month of No-'vember in the year 1567, the ſame was covered with 'ſlate, and ſhortly after fully finiſhed. This noble 'building was a long ſquare with walks on every ſide, 'ſupported by pillars of marble, after the manner of 'the famous burſe at Antwerp, and not at all inferior 'to it in any reſpect, either of utility or magnificence; 'the upper part of this edifice was divided into ſhops, 'which were let out by Sir Thomas at a yearly rent. 'The ſize of theſe ſhops was ſeven feet and a half 'long, and five feet broad, which being ſo ſmall, it 'often happened that the ſame perſon rented more 'than one of them. And there were likewiſe at firſt, 'other ſhops fitted up in vaults below, but theſe being 'found very inconvenient by reaſon of their dampneſs 'and want of light, the vaults were ſoon let out to 'other uſes. The upper ſhops were in all one hundred 'and twenty, twenty-five on the eaſt ſide, and twenty-'five on the weſt, on the ſouth ſide thirty-five and an 'half and thirty four and an half on the north, which 'when the others were laid aſide, paid one with ano-'ther a rent of four pounds ten ſhillings a year upon 'leaſes of twenty one years. The perſons placed in 'them by Sir Thomas, were of different trades, chiefly 'young men of ſmall fortunes but induſtrious, who by 'their diligence brought great buſineſs to their ſhops, 'and employed ſome thouſands of poor people in 'working our manufactures.' Dr Ward has cauſed a very fine print of this ſtructure to be inſerted in his work, engraved from a draught made the very year it was finiſhed, on which was the following inſcription (7). *Porticum hanc* Londinenſem, *quam tanto artificio triennii ſpatio hic abſolutam vides, a fundamentis aere ſuo extruendam curavit*; Thomas Greſhamus *eques, ad Regiæ urbis ornamentum, et uſum publicum.* Anno 1566, *die* 7, *menſis* Junii But this glorious ornament of the capital of the Britiſh empire, could not reſiſt the powerful flames of that dreadful conflagration in 1666, yet was ſpeedily rebuilt by the city and the Mercers company, with a magnificence worthy of their truſt, of the public uſe for which it was deſigned, and the place in which it ſtands. We are told, and that from good information,

(6) Stowe's Survey of London, edit. 1598. p. 150.

(7) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 12.

grand deſign, when the Queen's affairs called him abroad. For in the ſame year 1566, he was ſent over to Antwerp to take up money for her Majeſty, which he did, to the ſum of fourteen thouſand ſix hundred ſixty-ſeven pounds ſix ſhillings and eight pence Flemiſh, payable at Antwerp the twentieth of February following. And there was then prolonged from the 20th of Auguſt, the ſum of thirty-four thouſand three hundred eighty-five pounds thirteen ſhillings and four pence Flemiſh, due likewiſe from the Queen, and payable the twentieth of February. Theſe ſums amounted together to forty-nine thouſand and fifty-three pounds. And in December the ſame year, there was another debt of the Queen's prolonged, being the ſum of eight thouſand five hundred thirty-two pounds Flemiſh, for ſix months (*m*). This muſt have been a matter of neceſſity, and in a particular manner convenient to the Queen's ſervice, who wanted to make uſe of that money abroad; for otherwiſe Sir Thomas Greſham would hardly have been employed therein, ſince it was directly againſt his own principle, that it was more for the Queen's honour, and at the ſame time much more for her advantage, to borrow of her own ſubjects than of foreigners, and upon which principle he had actually procured a loan three years before (*n*). It is not however either impoſſible or improbable, that by ſtating and prolonging theſe debts in the manner before mentioned, he had in view the gaining time to ſettle ſome means for paying and diſcharging them, as a neceſſary foundation for the Queen's borrowing upon eaſy terms at home for the future (*o*). His great building in Cornhill, was proſecuted with ſuch diligence, that in the month of November 1567, it was covered with ſlate, and ſoon after was in a manner finiſhed (*p*). On the thirteenth of September 1568, Cardinal Chaſtillion, who retired out of France for the ſafety of his perſon, landed at Tower-wharf, where, by a ſecret order from the Queen, he was received by Sir Thomas Greſham, and conducted to his own houſe with the Biſhop of Arles, who came over in his company, and the next day the Cardinal in his ſhort cloak and rapier by his ſide, rode with Sir Thomas and other perſons of diſtinction to the French church, to ſhew his approbation of the Proteſtant Religion, from thence to the Burſe as it was then called in Cornhill, then to St Paul's church, and ſo back again to Sir Thomas Greſham's houſe in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet to dinner (*q*). On the 20th of the ſame month, the Cardinal was conducted with all poſſible marks of honour to Court, where he had an audience of the Queen, and was very graciouſly received, which induced him to remain in England as long as he lived (*r*) [*C*]. There appears to have been more than ordinary notice taken of this foreigner, and we are aſſured that he made a very grateful return; for in about

(*m*) Idem ibid. p. 286.

(*n*) Cotton's Diſcourſe of foreign wars, p. 56.

(*o*) Stowe's Survey, b. i. p. 286.

(*p*) Idem ibid. b. ii. p. 135.

(*q*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 177. Stowe's Annals, p. 662. Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 238.

(*r*) Stowe's Annals, p. 662. Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 239.

formation, that the expence of this moſt ſuperb ſtructure, fell little, if at all, ſhort of four-ſcore thouſand pounds, which is a high and glorious inſtance of the wealth and ſpirit of the citizens of London.

[*C*] *As long as he lived.*] As we have been obliged to mention the coming over of this prelate, and ſome circumſtances of that honourable reception which he met with here, it may probably gratify the reader's curioſity to know who he was, why he came hither, and how he came to end his days by poiſon at Canterbury, a crime to which this country has been in a great meaſure an utter ſtranger (8). His name was Odet de Chatillon, a man of great quality by birth, and brother to Admiral Coligni, bred to the Church in his youth, and preferred by the influence of his family to the Biſhoprick of Beauvais and to a Cardinal's hat (9). He became notwithſtanding all this a Proteſtant, and was once very near loſing his life by a tumult of the people, on account of his celebrating the Communion in his own palace upon Eaſter-day, inſtead of being preſent at Maſs in his own cathedral as they expected (10). He was a man of a very high ſpirit, and being provoked by ſome aſperſions, as if he meant to trim between both parties, and to cloſe with that which happened to prevail, he laid aſide his robes, wore a ſecular dreſs, and took the title of Count de Beauvais, that all the world might ſee he was not aſhamed to own himſelf a Proteſtant (11). However it is reported, that being informed the Pope had excommunicated and deprived him of his dignity, he reſumed his Cardinal's habit, and was actually married in it to Elizabeth de Loſe (12). Afterwards perceiving his party betrayed in France, and his life in danger, he retired to the coaſts of Normandy; and at length finding no other way to ſecure himſelf from his enemies, diſguiſed as a ſailor embarked for England (13). How he was received here, and what important ſervice he rendered the Queen, the reader has ſeen in the text (14); but it is alſo very certain, that he was highly zealous in promoting the marriage between Monſieur and her Majeſty (15), which was equally acceptable to the Proteſtants in France, and to the Papiſts in England, both being perſuaded they ſhould have found their advantage in it (16). We are told in a certain ſecret hiſtory, that upon this occaſion, and out of zeal for this match, the Cardinal let the Queen know, the Earl of Leiceſter gave out that ſhe was contracted to him, which leſſened her reputation abroad, and reſtrained the addreſſes of foreign princes, and to this his death is aſcribed (17). It happened at Canterbury, in 1570, as he was returning to France on the invitation of his brother the Admiral, then reconciled to the Court; and it does not appear that there was much ſuſpicion of poiſon at that time. But two years afterwards a domeſtic of his being executed at Rochelle for another offence, he voluntarily confeſſed that he had poiſoned his maſter, with circumſtances that put the matter out of doubt (18). If the reader ſhould ſuppoſe that the Queen was never in earneſt as to this match, and that her miniſtry were privy to this, and conſequently the Earl of Leiceſter, under no temptations to commit ſuch a crime upon that account, he may conſult the authorities referred to in the margin, which may incline him to ſuſpend his judgment in that particular (19). On the other hand, if it ſhould be ſuppoſed more reaſonable to believe the powerful enemies of the Cardinal in France, took this method to be rid of him; it is but doing juſtice to obſerve, that they had provided another method, which was that of the maſſacre at Paris, which followed immediately after, and in which his brother the Admiral was involved, as he probably would have been, if he had not died in England (20). Yet having entered thus far into this matter, we muſt alſo let the reader know, that amongſt the libels publiſhed and diſperſed by the partizans of the court of Spain, in the Low-Countries, there was one in which it was objected, that Queen Elizabeth's friendſhip was fatal to all who relied upon it, and the names of ten or twelve noble perſons are mentioned to prove this, and amongſt theſe Cardinal Chaſtillion (21). An anſwer was penned to this by an eminent Miniſter of State, which is yet preſerved, and therein it is aſſerted, that though the cardinal was poiſoned in England, yet it was by ſubornation and practice of ſome in France, as was confeſſed by the criminal when taken and executed at Rochelle; which it is not eaſy to conceive would have been alledged, if the man's confeſſion had not been a thing notorious (22). It muſt be admitted that this is far from being a clear account of the matter; but if it be a true one, it is all that we pretended to give, and the moſt inquiſitive reader perhaps will ſcarce be able to find a better (23).

(8) Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 335.

(9) Maimbourg Hiſtoire du Calviniſme, p. 199.

(10) Thuan. Hiſt. ſui Temp. lib. xviii.

(11) Davila Hiſtoir. liv. iii.

(12) P. Daniel Hiſtoire de France, tom. viii. p. 493.

(13) Brantome dans l'Eloge de M. Tavannes.

(14) Camdeni Annal. Elizabethæ, p. 175, 176.

(15) Memoires de Maiſ ou de Coligni, p. 351.

(16) Camden, Stowe, Speed.

(17) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, edit. 1641, 12mo. p. 20.

(18) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 239.

(19) Camden. Annal. Elizabethæ, p. 147, 148, 149. Earl of Leiceſter's Letters to Sir Francis Walſingham.

(20) Memoires de la Reine Marguerite, liv. i.

(21) Written by a Jeſuit under a fictitious name.

(22) M.SS. Burghleian.

(23) Stowe, Strype, Camden.

[*D*] *Who*

about ſix weeks time after his arrival, a large ſhip of Biſcay, together with four pinnaces, which the Spaniards call Aſſabres, were chaſed into the harbour of Plymouth, where they received protection (s). There was on board the large ſhip, a very conſiderable ſum in ready money, amounting to above two hundred thouſand piſtolettes, which as the money of the King of Spain, was demanded by his embaſſador Don Giraldo Deſpes, who being informed that it was brought on ſhore for ſecurity, became very uneaſy about it (t); the Cardinal Chaſtillion in the mean time informed the Queen, that this money did not belong to his Catholic Majeſty, but was in truth the property of ſome Genoeſe merchants, from whom the King of Spain had taken it by force, and meant to ſend it to the Duke of Alva in the Low-Countries, where he was in great want of money. Secretary Cecil therefore being apprized by Sir Thomas Greſham, of the great benefit that would reſult to the Queen by cauſing this money to be coined, adviſed her Majeſty to take this bold ſtep, and to acquaint the Spaniſh miniſter, that ſhe would be anſwerable to thoſe whoſe money it really was, give them ſecurity for it, and a compenſation for the loan of it, or would reſtore it when it ſhould be made appear that it actually belonged to the King of Spain (u). Proper ſecurity was accordingly given, the conſent of the Genoeſe obtained, and Sir Thomas Greſham, to countenance a ſtep which he took to be ſo much for the nation's ſervice, ſent to the Tower five ſacks of Spaniſh royals, to be coined for the Queen's uſe, each ſack weighing nine hundred ſeventy-two pounds eleven ounces (w): this bold but very judicious proceeding was attended with very ſurprizing conſequences at home and abroad, for the Duke of Alva was no ſooner acquainted with it, than he cauſed the Engliſh merchants at Antwerp to be arreſted, and all their effects to be ſeized; to retaliate which, the Queen had recourſe to the ſame extremities here in reſpect to the Spaniards, notwithſtanding there wanted not ſome amongſt her miniſters, who under the ſpecious pretence of a due regard to equity and the laws of nations, were for reſtoring the money, and throwing the whole blame upon Sir William Cecil, who, very narrowly eſcaped (x) [D]. The then ſituation of affairs might well affect even ſo great and grave a miniſter as Cecil, in a very high degree; he knew that the publick demands would require a ſupply of money, beyond the produce of the Queen's ordinary revenue; he likewiſe knew that the aſſiſtance uſually procured from Antwerp, was no longer to be expected; and he was not the leſs diſturbed at theſe conſiderations, from his being thoroughly perſwaded, that if any miniſter accident fell out, it would be wholly aſcribed to his counſels (y). Being under this dilemma he ſent for Sir Thomas Greſham, and communicated to him theſe difficulties which he laboured to remove, by ſhewing him, that if ſhe punctually adhered to her promiſes, the Queen's neceſſities might as eaſily and with much greater credit, be ſupplied at London by her own merchants, than at Antwerp by foreigners, who could have no view in any thing they did but their private advantage (z). To this many objections were made by that wary miniſter, to which Sir Thomas Greſham gave at leaſt probable ſolutions, as appears from a very curious account of this conference, which is ſtill extant, and which will remain a laſting and unqueſtionable monument of this gentleman's wonderful abilities, and honeſt exertion of them for the ſervice of his country (a) [E]. But when he had carried his point with the

(s) Wheeler's Treatiſe of Commerce, p. 41.

(t) Stowe's Annals, p. 662. Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 176, 177.

(u) Stowe's Survey, b. i. p. 286. Camden. Anhal. Eliz. p. 176. Wheeler's Treatiſe of Commerce, p. 41.

(w) Stowe's Survey, b. i. p. 287.

(x) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 176, 177. Stowe's Annals, p. 662. Wheeler's Treatiſe of Commerce, p. 41.

(y) Life of William Lord Burleigh.

(z) Stowe's Survey, b. i. p. 286.

(a) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 15.

[D] *Who very narrowly eſcaped.*] In another part of this work, we have repreſented this advice as proceeding entirely from Sir William Cecil, and expoſing him to more danger than almoſt any other ſtep in the courſe of his long adminiſtration; we mean not to contradict this fact here, but to explain it (24). The Queen took the advice of Secretary Cecil; Secretary Cecil might well take the advice in things that fell within the ſphere of his knowledge, of Sir Thomas Greſham. It is very probable that Cardinal Chaſtillon might acquaint his friend Sir Thomas, that this money did not belong to the King of Spain, but to the merchants of Genoa. This we ſay is very probable, but that he perſwaded ſome of the Genoeſe to conſent that it ſhould be coined, and that he ſent new Spaniſh money of his own to be coined likewiſe is very certain; but it is not quite ſo probable that he knew Secretary Cecil's reaſons for perſwading the Queen to ſtop that money, which were chiefly three, and becauſe they are not clearly ſet down elſewhere, we ſhall expreſs them here (25). In the firſt place, ſome of the greateſt perſons in England and of the Queen's council, ſuch as the Lord High-Treaſurer (Winchester), the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Northumberland, Arundel, and Leiſter, were inclined to ſecure their own greatneſs, by having an heir apparent to the Crown, as much in their intereſt as the reigning Queen, which induced them to think of procuring the Queen of Scot's right to be acknowledged, and to keep fair with the King of Spain, to whom moſt of theſe great men were under perſonal obligations, which was quite contrary to Cecil's ſcheme of politics, and to his miſtreſs's inclinations. The ſecond was, that the Duke of Alva, at this very time had his agents in England to ſurvey the coaſts, examine the harbours, and give him all other lights for facilitating an invaſion whenever it ſhould be neceſſary. Theſe two motives were ſufficient to determine the Secretary to detain this money, in order to diſappoint his deſigns; and the third reaſon which induced him to follow Greſham's advice was, the foreſight he had of what the conſequences muſt be of this ſtep when taken, amongſt which there was none more apparent than this, that it would put it out of the Queen's power to borrow any more money at Antwerp; which conſideration might have hindered this proceeding, notwithſtanding the two former reaſons, if the borrowing the ſilver and coining it, had not removed this objection, with all which no doubt he acquainted the Queen, who for that reaſon remained firm to him, and delivered him from thoſe who would otherwiſe have taken occaſion from hence to deſtroy him (26). We find that there never was any miniſter more diligent, more ſollicitous in his enquiries into the true intereſts of this nation, with reſpect to manufactures, foreign commerce, coin, exchanges, eſtabliſhing new companies, and other things of the like nature than Sir William Cecil, afterwards Baron of Burleigh, and in making himſelf maſter of theſe points, which he did to a great degree; there is no doubt, that he received a great part of his information from Sir Thomas Greſham, whoſe merit in this reſpect, as it was very great, ſo it ought to be known to poſterity, which is all that is here intended (27).

[E] *For the ſervice of his country.*] The paſſage referred to in the text is ſomewhat long, and the language none of the beſt; but notwithſtanding this, it is clear, curious, and to the purpoſe. Beſides it is the beſt juſtification that we can offer for what is advanced in the foregoing note, *and therefore* we cannot but recommend it to the reader's ſerious peruſal (28). 'Secretary Cecil, ſays John Stowe, who then managed 'the

(24) See the article of CECIL [WILLIAM].

(25) Life of William Lord Burleigh, 4to. 1738. p. 47.

(26) Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, Vol. I. p. 15.

(27) Strype, Stowe, Ward.

(28) Stowe's Survey of London, edit. 1720. b. i. p. 286.

the Secretary, and had procured leave to propoſe the intended loan to the Merchant-Adventurers, he found himſelf not a little deceived in the event. For they, inſtead of debating this matter with that ſerioufneſs and ſecrecy a thing of ſuch conſequence required, referred it for their own ſecurity probably to a general aſſembly, and the buſineſs being agitated by the confuſion incident to a common-hall, was with little conſideration and leſs decency rejected. Sir Thomas Greſham immediately applied himſelf to the Secretary, and propoſed a means of getting over this difficulty, which was by procuring a letter from the Privy-Council to that potent Company of Merchants, repreſenting the matter to them, and the miſtake of which they had been guilty, both roundly and rationally, as the reader may ſee at the bottom of the page (*b*) [*F*]. This had it's effects, for ſeveral aldermen

(*b*) Stowe's Survey, b. i. p. 286.

' the Exchequer, feared that the merchants ſhould not ' have money enough to carry on the trade, as they ' would have had if all were open with Antwerp. And ' the Queen owing much money to the merchants and ' to her creditors abroad, ſhe intended out of the cuſtoms of cloth to have repaid them, which ſhe feared ' therefore would fall ſhort, the trade being removed ' to a new place. Theſe doubts the Secretary imparted to Sir Thomas Greſham; who knowing well ' the ſtate of trade and of the merchants, told the Secretary, that, in his opinion, he needed not to make ' any doubt of that ſeeming difficulty, viz. of the ' Queen's payment of her creditors, if ſhe ſaw her merchants well paid in London their firſt payment, which ' was half of her debt to them For by that time the ' other money ſhould be payable here to her ſaid merchants, they ſhould have both plenty of money at ' Hamburgh and here He aſſured him the goods that ' our merchants had ſhipped from Hamburgh hither, ' were well worth one hundred thouſand pounds and ' better. And the ſhipping that they made now hence ' with our commodities, was richly worth two hundred ' thouſand pounds and better. For that there would ' be above thirty thouſand pounds worth of cloths, ' the cuſtoms whereof would be worth to the Queen, ' at the leaſt ten thouſand pounds, which would diſcharge, he ſaid, that debt, if the Queen pleaſed. ' And whereas the Secretary's greateſt care was, that our ' merchants ſhould not have money enough for to buy ' up our commodities; Greſham told him, he needed ' not doubt of it, conſidering the great vent they had at ' Hamburgh already, and were like to have. Therefore he humbly beſeeched the Secretary, for the ſtay ' and advancing of the Queen's credit, that this ' ſmall payment agreed upon already at Hamburgh, ' might be paid, conſidering that he had written before to the ſaid creditors, that they ſhould have a ' payment made there now this Auguſt; which payment he ſaid, would not a little advance her Highneſs's honour and credit. And how much her Highneſs's credit had ſtood her in ſtead beyond the ſeas for ' ready money, it was now too tedious and long a matter to trouble him withal. But that if he were able ' to perſuade the Queen's Majeſty, and him the Secretary, he would have that matter above all other ' things cared for, aſſuring him that he did know for ' certain, the Duke d'Alva was more troubled with the ' Queen's great credit, and with the vent of her commodities at Hamburgh, than he was with any thing ' elſe, and quaked for fear, as Greſham expreſſed it. ' Which, as he ſaid, was one of the chieſeſt things that ' let and hindered, that the Duke could not come by ' the tenth penny that he then demanded for the ſale ' of all goods any kind of way in the Low-Countries, ' which Greſham believed would be his utter undoing. ' He adviſed therefore, that the Queen would in this ' time uſe no ſtrangers, but her own ſubjects, whereby ' he and all other Princes might ſee what a Prince of ' power ſhe was. And by this means there was no ' doubt but that her Highneſs ſhould cauſe the Duke of ' Alva to know himſelf, and to make that end with ' the Low-Countries, that her Majeſty would herſelf, ' what bruit ſoever was there ſpread abroad to the contrary. And ſeeing he was entered ſo far, as he proceeded with the Secretary concerning the Queen's ' credit beyond the ſeas, wherein he had travailed this ' twenty years; he added, that by experience, in ' uſing our own merchants, he found great honour accrued to the Prince, and alſo great profit to the merchants and to the whole realm, whatſoever ſome of ' the merchants ſaid to the contrary. For when our ' Prince ought her own mere merchants ſixty or eighty ' thouſand pounds, then they knew themſelves, and ' were daily ready to ſerve as good, cheap as ſtran-

' gers did, which he would wiſh again in ſuch time ' of extremity to be uſed, for that he knew our mer' chants were able to do it, becauſe the debt is divided ' into many men's hands, and by no means can hinder ' them having intereſt.' This homely detail of a private conference between the Queen's great miniſter and Sir Thomas Greſham, does equal credit to both their memories; it ſhews that the miniſter, though as able a man as any of that time, was very far from having a ſelf-ſufficient conceit of his own abilities, and as far from placing an implicit confidence in the perſon he conſulted. He knew he wanted information, and he knew where he might ſeek it, but he likewiſe knew that it was fit to ſift it; and which is ſtill more than all the reſt, after he had ſought and ſo ſifted, he could be ſteady in putting the counſel he had received and approved in execution (29). It ſhews that the merchant was far from being mercenary, or from ſeeking to add to his own wealth, without conſidering from whence that addition muſt come. He knew how to conſult his private intereſt upon proper occaſions, and he knew when the intereſt of the public ſo required, that it ought to give way. In fine, it ſhews that both the miniſter and the merchant acted in this great affair from a principle of public ſpirit, and whenever we diſcover this, we may admire and applaud, but we can never wonder at the great things which ſuch men do. Public ſpirit is the Philoſopher's-ſtone, in matters of ſtate, the ground upon which, if a political Archimedes will ſtand, he may move the world.

(29) See the article of CECIL [WILLIAM].

[*F*] *At the bottom of the page.*] We have the account of this tranſaction alſo from the ſame authority, and that the reader may form a juſt notion of it, it is requiſite to give it likewiſe in his own words (30).

(30) Stowe's Survey of London, edit. 1720, b. i. p. 287.

' But this refuſal the Queen's council reſented much, ' and cauſed the Secretary to ſend a letter to the mer' chants, importing how this offer of the Queen's was ' a matter of great grace and favour, not much uſed ' before this time by any Prince, and therefore in right ' to have been very thankfully received. That this ' practice of theirs looked as though they were utterly ' careleſs of the Queen's honour, to make a hall mat' ter of it: and undiſcreetly deviſed, contrary to all ' former uſage, to make an open queſtion in a com' mon hall, with a peremptory refuſal by holding up ' of their hands, without firſt giving a probable cauſe ' of their ſo doing: a uſage unmeet for the Prince's ' cauſe: and the good offer of her Majeſty generally ' rejected, not only by the youth whom they the el' ders were commonly wont to blame to the Council for ' all diſorders in their aſſemblies, but by themſelves alſo ' the heads. The Council added, that they muſt not ' think that ſuch a dealing would be paſt over, as pre' chance as they had thought. But before they meant to ' diſcloſe the ſame to the Queen, they thought good to ' impart thus much unto them. Not that they cared ' for their payment of any money there (at Hamburgh) ' for her Majeſty; but that they (the Council) would ' firſt know how they could anſwer the ſame: and ' then they would proceed to ſuch remedy, as ſhould ' ſeem meet to them, and give them cauſe hereafter to ' to think that they could, and muſt, for her Majeſty, ' be anſwerable to all manner of perſons, according as ' they ſhould deſerve well or ill in the ſervice of her ' Majeſty and the realm. Finally, that the matter ' was ſuch, that they could not overpaſs, without im' parting to them, either to lay before them their ' great overſight, or to require for diminution of their ' conceit againſt them, ſome declaration of their doings ' to be otherwiſe than they appeared: where hereto' fore they had many times dutifully made payment of ' ſums of money for her Majeſty, on the other ſide of ' the ſeas: which had alſo been readily and juſtly re' paid them. And ſo doing, they did but the duty of ' honeſt

men and eminent merchants having duly weighed what was aſked, as well as what the conſequences might be of their refuſal, conſented in the months of November and December to lend her Majeſty ſeveral ſums of money, to the amount in the whole of ſixteen thouſand pounds for ſix months, at the rate of ſix per cent (c). For theſe ſums the Queen gave them reſpectively ſeparate bonds, and likewiſe accuſtomed bonds to diſcharge them of the ſtatute of uſury. When this term was expired, the money was continued for ſix months more, paying ſix per cent. again and brokerage, with which all parties were well ſatisfied (d). There is good reaſon to believe that the Queen did not meaſure the importance of this ſervice by the ſums borrowed, but by the facility of the method, and the conſequences with which it might be probably attended; and of this ſhe gave as clear and conſiſtent evidence as thoſe who had rendered her this ſervice could deſire (e). For on the twenty third of January 1570, the Queen attended by her nobility came from Somerſet-houſe, and entering the city by Temple-Bar, paſſed through Fleet-ſtreet, Cheapſide, and ſo by the North ſide of the Burſe, to Sir Thomas Greſham's houſe, in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, where ſhe dined. After dinner her Majeſty returning through Cornhill, entered the Burſe on the South ſide, and after ſhe had viewed every part thereof above ground, eſpecially the pawn, which was richly furniſhed with all ſorts of the fineſt goods in the city, ſhe cauſed the ſame Burſe by a herald and trumpet to be proclaimed the Royal-Exchange, and ſo to be called from thenceforth and not otherwiſe (f). We uſe here the words of honeſt John Stowe, but Mr Camden has more elegantly expreſſed it in his Annals (g). The deſign of this was to ſhew, that the ſtructure Sir Thomas Greſham had erected, was to ſupply the place of the change at Antwerp, to be thence forward the centre of commerce, the ſeat of mercantile intercourſe, where all that had been formerly done by the Lombards, was to be tranſacted between our own ſubjects and ſtrangers, ſignifying that the trade of England was now able to go alone, to ſupport itſelf and ſupply the Crown, and that this noble edifice was therefore properly entitled, *Excambium Regium*, i. e. THE ROYAL-EXCHANGE (h). After this mark of favour to her merchant, ſhe in a few days gave the like token of her grateful approbation of her miniſter's ſervices, by creating Sir William Cecil, Baron of Burleigh, and expreſſing her reaſons in the preamble to his patent, which events we have learned from the judicious Camden, to conjoin as ſpringing from the ſame cauſe, the Queen's perſuaſion, that ſhe was now an independent Princeſs, and to expect her ſupport only from Divine-Providence and the loyal affections of her ſubjects (i). Theſe are the genuine honours of thoſe two great men, and if with reſpect to Sir Thomas Greſham, they have, to pleaſe vulgar fancies, received ſome ſtrokes of fabulous varniſh, which cannot be maintained by authentic hiſtory, it is very excuſable [G]. In 1572, the Queen being

(c) A liſt of the perſons who lent is preſerved in Stowe.

(d) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 15.

(e) Stowe's Annals, p. 668. Holinſhed's Chron. p. 1224.

(f) Stowe's Survey, b. ii. p. 135.

(g) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 223.

(h) Malyne's Lex Mercatoria, b. iii.

(i) Le Neve's M.SS. Vol. II. p. 286.

'honeſt ſubjects. And yet were always both thanked 'and favoured for the ſame.' There were indeed ſome circumſtances that did not a little exaggerate this conduct of theirs. They were ſo far from giving Sir Thomas Greſham a denial, that though they ſhifted and doubled a little, yet at length they ſeemed ſo well diſpoſed, that he communicated to them from the Queen, how ſhe intended by ſome previous payments to aſſiſt them in rendering her this ſervice. They had never acquainted Sir Thomas with thoſe difficulties they apprehended in the execution of this ſcheme, in order to their being removed, and that without making this experiment, they had preſumed to communicate a propoſal of this high nature to their whole body, from whom it ought to have been concealed, if it could not have been brought to bear. On the other hand, certain circumſtances might be alledged on their behalf; the method of managing this buſineſs was entirely new, and conſequently the leſs underſtood by them. They had but juſt opened a correſpondence at Hamburgh, and they were very apprehenſive of giving the inhabitants any diſtaſte or diſtruſt, and the ſtate of publick affairs had not been ſo dark ſince the opening of the Queen's reign; a foreign war being apprehended; a rebellion broke out in the North; and the Queen's miniſters at variance amongſt themſelves (31). We may from hence gather the reaſons why ſo ſmall a loan, after all this ſtir, was ſo kindly accepted; Sir Thomas Greſham knew that all beginnings are difficult, and that in the hands of able men, even great deſigns have little of difficulty in them, except in their beginnings.

(31) Camden, Stowe, Strype.

[G] *It is very excuſable.*] There is a traditionary report, that the timber of which this fabric was built, was firſt framed and made in every reſpect fit to be ſet up, at Battiſford, near Ipſwich in Suffolk; this is referred to in an hiſtorical Play, conſiſting of two parts, the former of which repreſents the troubles of the Princeſs Elizabeth, under the reign of her ſiſter Queen Mary; and the latter, the building of the Exchange, and the famous victory over the Spaniſh fleet in 1588, where Sir Thomas is introduced ſpeaking to the Sword-Bearer, in the following manner (32).

(32) London, printed for Nat. Butler, 1623, 4to.

Tell them I wait here in the Mayor's Court;
Beneath, in the Sheriff's Court *my workmen wait,*
In number full an hundred; *my* frame *is ready,*
All only ſtay their pleaſure, *then out of hand,*
Up goes my work, *a* credit *to the* land.

This was well enough calculated to pleaſe a vulgar audience, and we may rely upon it was invented for that purpoſe. It would however be a very difficult if not impracticable taſk, to aſſign the exact time when it was firſt opened for the uſe of the merchants. There is indeed a very clear account in Stowe's Annals (33); but then the dates are ſtrangely inconſiſtent, he fixes the laying the firſt ſtone the ſeventh of June 1566, and ſays, it was opened in November the next year, retaining it's title of the Burſe till the Queen came thither the January following. But in the margin he places that January in the thirteenth of her reign, and in the year 1571, beginning the year with the firſt of that month. In another work of his, it is ſaid to have been ſlated only in 1567, and finiſhed ſooner. But the moſt probable and authentic account of the matter, is in the Latin inſcription on the draught before cited, where it is expreſsly aſſerted to have been three years in building, and conſequently it was not finiſhed till the ſummer of 1569, or it may be not till November in that year, and then putting 1569, for 1567, in Stowe's account of this matter in his Annals, and rectifying the laſt date in the text, by that in the margin, the whole will be very conſiſtent and probable. Yet there is reaſon to believe that the merchants met there before the ſhops and every thing in it was entirely finiſhed, ſince Sir Thomas Greſham carried Cardinal Chatillon thither in 1568. As to the change of it's name from the *Burſe of London* to the *Royal Exchange*, upon Queen Elizabeth's viſit to Sir Thomas Greſham, it is as well aſcertained as any hiſtorical fact can be (34). But in reſpect to Sir Thomas Greſham's drinking up a pearl of great price diſſolved in wine to the Queen's health at this feaſt, we may well regard it as another ſtroke of fanciful tradition, which is thus expreſſed in the play before mentioned.

(33) Stowe's Annals, p. 668.

(34) Stowe, Holinſhed, Camden.

Here

being determined to make a progreſs in the ſummer, judged it expedient not to leave the capital of her dominions and her ſeat of empire, without ſome extraordinary mark of her attention and concern, and therefore ſhe appointed a committee of nine moſt reſpectable perſons, of whom Sir Thomas Greſham was one, to confer and conſult with the ordinary magiſtrates at ſtated times; and of this her royal pleaſure (*k*), ſhe gave notice to Sir Lionel Ducket, then Lord-Mayor, in a letter worthy the reader's peruſal [*H*]. This method

(*k*) Stowe's Survey, b. v. p. 434, 435.

Here fifteen hundred *pound at one clap goes,*
Inſtead of ſugar, Greſham *drinks this* pearl,
Unto his Queen and Miſtreſs: pledge it Lords.

We have another circumſtance from a panegyric on this great man by one of his own profeſſors, relating to a great ſervice he did to the Proteſtant cauſe by a loan which he procured at Antwerp on his own credit, which at that time diſabled the Spaniards from proſecuting ſome great deſign, that muſt have been fatal to the Dutch, which is not to be collected from or reconciled to hiſtory. The author's words are theſe (35). *Cum ab* Hiſpanis *quodam anno graviter periclitantibus opitulari regina vellet grandique pecunia ad eam rem opus eſſet rationem excogitavit* Greſhamus, *qua levi diſpendio negotium conficeret: omnem nempe argentariam menſam quæ* Antverpiæ *erat ſuo nomine mutuatus* Hiſpanorum *nervos in eum annum incidit*; Belgis *vero reſpirandi tempus hoſtemque ſimul debilitandi præſtitit.* As there was no open war begun in his time, the only turn that can be given to this paſſage, is to ſuppoſe, that it has a reference to his procuring the ſtay of that vaſt maſs of ſilver which was to have been tranſported to Antwerp in 1560, and which, if the Duke of Alva had received, he would very probably have put it out of the power of the Dutch to have reſented their ill uſage, or to have defended their liberties (36). Another traditionary tale is very clearly refuted, ſo far as it regards Sir Thomas Greſham, by the hiſtorian of the Charter-houſe (37). 'It is now a well known truth, 'that Sir Francis Walſingham, upon notice that the 'King of Spain had written a letter to the Pope, with 'an account of the true deſign of his mighty prepara'tion and to beg his bleſſing upon it, got a copy of 'this letter out of the Pope's cabinet, by the help of a 'Prieſt his ſpy, and ſent thence the firſt certain intelli'gence of the dreadful Spaniſh Invaſion; and that 'thereupon, but conſummate ſtateſman prevented it 'for a whole year, by procuring our merchants to 'gather up the exchequ'r bills of the bank of Genoa, and 'to draw the money out of it, juſt as King Philip had 'procured bills upon the bank to ſet his fleet out to ſea, 'which being thereby neceſſity proteſted, there was 'no remedy but patience, and to wait the arrival of 'his plate fleet from the Indies for the neceſſary ſup'plies. And in the mean time England prepared for 'the reception of this invincible Armada, and attacked 'it in its approach ſo vigorouſly, that at it was ſoon put 'to flight, and only ſome ſhattered remnants regained 'the coaſt of Spain. It is a current tradition, that Sir 'Thomas Greſham was the chief aſſiſtant in this mer'cantile affair: but it is moſt certainly a vulgar error, 'for Sir Thomas Greſham died in 1579; but if tradi'tion will be allowed of any force, it is ſtrong at Char'ter houſe that it was Mr Sutton, and there is this 'great probability to ſupport it, that he was at that 'time the chief and richeſt merchant in London.' But after all, perhaps the tradition at Charter-houſe, is no better founded than that with reſpect to Greſham. The ſtory is told by Dr Welwood (38), and Biſhop Burnet (39), and the latter is pleaſed to inform us, that it was judged too high a ſecret of ſtate to be truſted to Camden, though by the way there is great reaſon to believe that his Annals were in a great meaſure digeſted by the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, and the ſecret could not well be too high for him. The ſuppoſed ſource of this tradition is a hearſay from the great Earl of Cork, in which there muſt have been ſome miſtake. It is indeed a well known truth, that the Spaniſh expedition was deſigned a year before, and was prevented by the merchants of London, but in a very different manner. At their expence a ſtrong ſquadron, in thoſe days it might be called a great fleet, for it conſiſted of thirty ſail of ſtout ſhips, was fitted out under the command of Sir Francis Drake, who ſailing to the coaſt of Spain, burnt the ſtoreſhips that were provided for this expedition, as Sir William Monſon tells us of his own knowledge (40), and as we find it in Camden and other hiſtorians (41); which being a matter of fact out of all controverſy, can never be brought to conſiſt with this tradition of ſtopping the King of Spain's credit at Genoa.

(35) Oratio habita in Collegio Greſhamenſi à Rogero Meredith, ineunte anno 1673, cum juriſprudentiam effet prælecturus. Append. x to Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 74.

(36) Grotii Annal. Belgic. lib. ii.

(37) Bearcroft's Account of Thomas Sutton, Eſq; and of his foundation in Charter-houſe, p. 11.

(38) Memoirs of the moſt remarkable Tranſactions in England, p. 9, 10.

(39) Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 313.

(40) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, in the expedition of this year 1587.

(41) Camden, Annal. Eliz. p. 551. Stowe's Annals, p. 743.

[*H*] *In a letter worthy the reader's peruſal.*] This progreſs of the Queen's laſted from July, to the latter end of September, in which ſpace ſhe viſited the Lord Burleigh, the Lord Keeper Bacon, the Earl of Leiceſter, and others of her nobility, which was the reaſon of her addreſſing this letter to the Lord-Mayor of London (44).

(42) Maitland's Hiſtory of London, p. 157.

To the LORD-MAYOR of London.

'Right truſty and well beloved, we greet you well. 'Although we doubt not but that by the authority you 'have as Lord-Mayor of our city of London, with the 'aſſiſtances and advices of your brethren of the ſame; 'you may, and will ſee our ſaid city well governed, 'and by our good and faithful ſubjects, ordered and 'continued in quietneſs as other your predeceſſors and 'yourſelf have commonly done; yet for the ſpecial 'care we have for our ſaid city, and weale of our good 'ſubjects, thinking it convenient for your own eaſe to 'have you aſſiſted by other perſons of great truſt, wiſ'dom, and experience, during this time of our progreſs 'and abſence in remote parts from thence; and eſpe'cially that no diſorder ſhould ariſe in the ſuburbs or 'other places adjoining to the city out of your juriſ'diction, we have for that purpoſe made choice of the 'moſt Reverend Father in God, the Archbiſhop of 'Canterbury, the Biſhop of London, Lord Went'worth, Sir Anthony Cook, Sir Thomas Wroth, Sir 'Owen Hopton, Sir Thomas Greſham, Dr Wilſon, 'and Thomas Wilbraham, and have appointed that 'they, or ſome convenient number of them ſhall join 'with you, to deviſe by all good means, from time to 'time as occaſions may give cauſe, for quiet order to 'be continued in our ſaid city, and among our ſubjects, 'and to prevent and ſtay diſorders both there and in 'other parts near to the ſame, being out of your juriſ'diction. For which purpoſe, and for the better under'ſtanding of our deſire and intention, we have cauſed 'our Privy-Council to confer with ſome of the afore'named perſons, as you ſhall underſtand by them. 'Willing and requiring you (when you ſhall meet to'gether, or ſome of them with you) for the better do'ing thereof, to agree upon ſome certain place and time 'once every week, or oftner, as caſes may require, 'and there to meet for the due execution of our good 'meaning and pleaſure.'

There was however at the bottom, ſomething more deſigned by this commiſſion, than barely to keep things in that order in which they were. All hiſtorians agree, that luxury prevailed at this time very ſtrongly throughout England, and the truth of this might be eaſily proved from the ſermons preached to reform it; from the plays written to expoſe it, and from the laws made to ſuppreſs it. But it ſeems all would not do, the Queen herſelf loved ſtate and magnificence; ſome great men about the court availing themſelves of this pretence, puſhed things to exceſs, bad examples being infectious; this diſpoſition ſpread gradually, and mixing itſelf with that variety of ill humours which then diſturbed the body politic, broke out frequently in acts detrimental to private peace and property, and ſometimes injurious to the public tranquillity. The Lord-Keeper Bacon, had taken a note of theſe things, and had ſilently conſulted with ſome very able men how they might be corrected with ſafety, the conſequence of which was, that as all reformation creates uneaſineſs and diſquiet, it would be the ſafeſt way to do what was to be done in the abſence of the Court (43). The time was now come when that reſolution was to be carried into action, and as it was foreſeen, that extraordinary prudence would be neceſſary to manage ſuch an affair with ſpirit and temper, her Majeſty was adviſed to appoint this ſtanding committee for the ſupport and aſſiſtance of the ordinary magiſtrates; and as this ſcheme was happy in it's

(43) Stowe's Survey of London, edit. 1720. b. v. p. 745.

method anſwered her expectations ſo well, that it was afterwards purſued upon every like occaſion. In 1573, the vigilance of the Queen's miniſtry, and the prudence and punctuality of the Queen's merchant, ſufficiently appeared in the diſcharge not only of her own bonds, but of the obligations of her father and her brother that were yet ſtanding out, to the univerſal joy of the citizens, as the learned Camden tells us (*l*); and thereby ſuch a baſis of credit eſtabliſhed, as laſted throughout her reign, and enabled her to triumph over the open force and ſecret fraud of all her enemies. The deſires of this excellent and fortunate perſon therefore were thoroughly ſatisfied with reſpect to the temporal bleſſings of wealth and fame, ſo that his thoughts were chiefly confined to the proſpect of futurity, and the means of rendering that uſeful to the public, which his want of legal iſſue gave no private family any claim to inherit. He had given a ſhining proof of his zeal for commerce in building the Royal-Exchange; he was deſirous of affording poſterity as illuſtrious a mark of his affection for learning, by converting his dwelling-houſe in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet into a college (*m*). He knew from his own experience, in how great a degree the lights of ſcience aſſiſt an enterprizing genius, and how difficult, nay impracticable, a thing it is to attempt the contrivance and execution of any extenſive deſign, without a reaſonable degree of theoretical as well as practical knowledge; and that the children of the citizens of London might not be deficient in this reſpect, be put to inconvenient expence to attain it, or compelled to ſeek theſe uſeful acquiſitions at too great a diſtance, he deviſed this new nurſery of the Muſes, and reſolved that the revenues ariſing from his firſt public foundation, ſhould go to the maintenance of the ſecond, and that the ſame truſtees ſhould have the care of both (*n*). While he had this deſign in view, he was addreſſed to by the Vice-Chancellor and Senate of the Univerſity of Cambridge, who by their public orator Mr Richard Bridgewater, wrote him an elegant Latin letter, to remind him of a promiſe made by him, as they had been informed, to give them five hundred pounds, either towards building a new college, or repairing one already built (*o*). This letter was dated the 14th of March 1574-5, and it is probable that Sir Thomas might formerly have intimated ſome ſuch intention, but afterwards changed his mind when he came to enlarge his deſign, of which it is likely they were ſoon ſatisfied. For upon the 25th of the ſame month, that letter was followed by another, in which no mention is made of the five hundred pounds; but they acquaint him with another report that he had promiſed the Lady Burghley, both to found and endow a college for the profeſſion of the ſeven liberal ſciences. The only place as they obſerve proper for ſuch a deſign, was either London, Oxford, or Cambridge. They endeavour to diſſwade him from London, leſt it ſhould prove prejudicial to the two Univerſities (*p*). And they hope he will not make choice of Oxford, ſince he was himſelf bred at Cambridge, which might preſume upon a ſuperior regard from him on that account. At the ſame time they wrote another letter to the Lady Burghley, in which they earneſtly requeſt that ſhe will pleaſe to uſe her intereſt with him, to fix upon Cambridge for the place of his intended college (*q*). But theſe letters had not the deſired effect, for he perſiſted in his reſolution to ſettle it in his houſe at London. And accordingly by an indenture quadrupartite, dated the 24th of May 1575, revoking all former indentures, he made a diſpoſition of his ſeveral manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, with ſuch limitations and reſtrictions, particularly as to the Royal-Exchange and his manſion-houſe, as might beſt ſecure his views with regard to the uſes for which he deſigned them. This indenture was ſoon followed by two wills, one of his goods, and the other of his real eſtates. The former of theſe bears date July the fourth (*r*) enſuing, whereby he bequeathed to his wife, whom he makes his ſole executrix, all his goods, ready money, plate, jewels, chains of gold, with all his ſtock of ſheep and other cattaile within the realm of England, and ſeveral legacies to his relations and friends, and to all his ſervants, amounting in the whole to upwards of two thouſand pounds, beſides ſome ſmall annuities. The other will was dated the day following, by which he declared his laſt purpoſe and intention concerning all the eſtates mentioned and contained in the ſaid indenture, very fully expreſſed his mind with relation to his deſigned college, and made an handſome and generous proviſion for the poor (*s*) [*I*]. There is no doubt, that matters of ſuch vaſt importance,

(*l*) Annal. Eliz. p. 273.

(*m*) Fuller's Worthies, Norfolk.

(*n*) As appears from his laſt Will.

(*o*) Papers relating to Greſham College.

(*p*) See theſe letters printed and publiſhed at large in Dr Ward's Appendix to the Lives of Greſham Profeſſors.

(*q*) See that curious letter as before directed.

(*r*) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 19.

(*s*) Fuller's Worthies, Norfolk.

it's contrivance, it was admirable in it's effects. Fleetwood, who was Recorder of London, a bold active and reſolute man, managed the judicial part with great ſpirit and vivacity; and there is an extract of a letter of his extant, written to one of the miniſtry with his accuſtomed freedom, in which he attributes the ſucceſs they had met with in ſearching all diſorders to the bottom, and treating them with a ſeaſonable ſeverity, to the Court's being at a diſtance. We have good reaſon to believe that what was now done, was very pleaſing to the Queen and her miniſters, by their ſteady adhering to this meaſure, as often as occaſion offered; and it is no ſmall honour to the memory of Sir Thomas Greſham, that in a buſineſs of ſuch conſequence, and where ſagacity was the only recommendation of ſuch as were to be truſted, he was conſtantly employed.

(44) This, with many other papers of importance, are to be found in Stowe's Appendix.

[*I*] *And made an handſome and generous proviſion for the poor.*] By this his laſt will and teſtament, he declares (44), that after the expiration of the particular uſes, eſtates, and intereſts for life, and in tail created by his deed, dated the 20th of May, in the ſeventeenth year of Queen Elizabeth, ſhall be determined; he grants the Royal-Exchange, with all it's appurtenances, one moiety thereof to the Lord-Mayor, Commonalty, and Citizens of London; and the other moiety to the Warden and Commonalty of the Myſtery of Mercers in the ſaid City of London, for the term of fifty years. He farther directs, that when the ſaid moiety ſhall come into the hands and poſſeſſion of the Mayor, Commonalty, and Citizens of London, they ſhall by half-yearly portions, at the feaſts of Lady-day and Michaelmas, pay the reſpective ſums of fifty-pounds per annum, to each learned and ſufficient lecturer in Divinity, Aſtronomy, Muſic, and Geometry; and they were farther to diſtribute the ſum of fifty-three pounds ſix ſhillings and eight-pence unto eight alms-folks, by them and their ſucceſſors, to be appointed to inhabit his eight almshouſes in the pariſh of St Peter the Poor, that is to ſay, the

importance, and in which at the ſame time he had ſo deep an intereſt, muſt have occupied his mind in a great degree; and yet we find him in 1576, in the company of William Lord Burleigh, Mr Secretary Walſingham, Richard Martin, Eſquire, Maſter of the Mint, and ſeveral other perſons, ſome diſtinguiſhed by their high quality, all by their extenſive capacities and eminent integrity, in a ſtrict enquiry into the nature of foreign exchanges, under a royal commiſſion, from which they made many uſeful diſcoveries (*t*), though it is ſaid, that after all they came to no concluſion; the ſame year as a great Antiquary informs us, he procured another loan for his ſovereign from her ſubjects, which was probably intended for the relief and aſſiſtance of the Dutch (*u*). In the month of November this year, Antwerp was ſurprized and ruined by the Spaniards, who contrary to the law of nations, put the Engliſh houſe and merchants to ranſom, and effectually deſtroyed that great mart of Europe; ſo that if through the foreſight and vigilance of Sir Thomas Greſham, a method had not been deviſed for raiſing money upon any emergency, the ſack of this city might have been infinitely more prejudicial to this nation than it was (*w*). In the next year 1577, he finiſhed his beautiful ſeat and all the improvements he had thought fit to make in Oſterly Park near Brentford, which he meant for a place of retirement near town, to which he might withdraw as often as a day or two might be ſpared from public or private buſineſs. In building and adorning this agreeable villa, Sir Thomas diſplayed, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, a kind of mercantile magnificence (*x*). This edifice which was built of brick, large, convenient, and thoroughly finiſhed, ſtood in the midſt of a pleaſant park, marked out and impaled at his expence, well wooded and furniſhed with ſeveral curious fiſh ponds, and through which the little river Brent travelled gently to meet the Thames; and for grandeur, there was near the houſe a heronry, with various contrivances to allure thoſe kind of birds thither, and to keep them fixed to their habitation when they were there. Yet in the midſt of theſe ſcenes of ſplendour and amuſement, there was ſomething alſo of buſineſs; for beſides a corn, there was alſo a paper and an oyl mill upon this river, which being new manufactures, it is probable Sir Thomas was deſirous of having them under his own eye; and it may be, that out of the produce of theſe mills, a good part of theſe improvements might be defrayed (*y*). At all events it ſhewed the evenneſs of his temper, and that his prudence was not impaired by years, or corrupted by proſperity. There is a whimſical ſtory told of him, to ſhew with what facility and vigour he proſecuted any deſign to which he applied his mind. It is this, Queen Elizabeth having been once very magnificently entertained and lodged there by Sir Thomas, found fault with the court before it, as being too large, and ſaid it would appear better if divided with a wall in the middle. He took the hint, and to ſhew his complaiſance

(*t*) Malines's Maintenance of Free Trade, and Lex Mercatoria.

(*u*) Cotton's Diſcourſe of foreign Trade, p. 58.

(*w*) Strada, Grotius, Stowe, &c.

(*x*) Norden, Speculum Brit. Mid. p. 35.

(*y*) MS. Remarks upon Norden

the ſum of ſix pounds thirteen ſhillings and four pence annually, to each of them quarterly; and alſo to the poor priſoners in Newgate, Ludgate, the King's Bench, the Marſhalſea, and the Compter in Wood-ſtreet, or whereſoever that Compter may be moved, the ſum of ten pounds to each of them by quarterly payments, ſo long as they ſhall hold and poſſeſs the ſaid moiety of the Royal-Exchange and it's appurtenances. He alſo charges the Warden and Commonalty of the Myſtery of Mercers and their ſucceſſors, to pay the ſum of one-hundred and fifty pounds half yearly, at the rate of fifty pounds per annum, to each of the three lecturers to be by them appointed to read in Law, Phyſic, and Rhetoric, in his ſaid dwelling-houſe; and farther, that they ſhall beſtow and expend one hundred pounds annually, in and about a feaſt or dinner for the whole company of the ſaid corporation, to be had and made in the Mercers-hall of the ſaid city of London, at every quarter day, the ſum of twenty-five pounds; and ſtill farther, the ſaid corporation ſtands charged to give and diſtribute to the poor perſons and priſoners in the hoſpitals of Chriſt Church, St Bartholomew's, Bethlehem, the hoſpital in Southwark, and the Poultry Compter, ten pounds annually to each, at four quarterly payments, for ſo long time as they ſhall hold and poſſeſs the moiety of the ſaid Royal-Exchange with it's appurtenances. He alſo deviſes to the Mayor and Commonalty of London and their ſucceſſors, the ſaid eight alms-houſes, empowering them to place in each of them one poor or impotent perſon; he alſo deviſes to the Lord-Mayor and Commonalty of London, and to the Wardens and Commonalty of the myſtery of Mercers, his manſion-houſe with the gardens, ſtables, and all and ſingular other the appurtenances in the pariſh of St Helen's and St Peter the Poor, upon truſt, to place therein the ſeven lecturers before mentioned, who are there to inhabit, ſtudy, and read the ſaid ſeveral lectures, and are to be unmarried when choſen, and are ſo to remain while they continue in poſſeſſion of the ſaid lecture. He recommends it to the city and to the corporation, to procure within the ſaid ſpace of fifty years, a licence from the Crown, to hold the premiſes deviſed to them by his will for ever, diſcharging the truſts repoſed in them. He further declares, that in conſideration of ſuch charges and wardſhip, livery and primier ſeizin, as at the time of his deceaſe ſhall happen to be due to the Queen's Majeſty, ſhall be paid and borne by Sir Henry Neville, Knight, or the heirs male by him begotten on Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Greſham, Knight, and while living heir apparent to Sir Thomas, he wills and diſpoſes to them, their executors or aſſigns, the manors of Mayghfield and Wadhurſt, with their appurtenances; but if his couſin Sir Henry Neville, or the heirs of him and Dame Elizabeth, ſhall not bear the charges beforementioned, then the premiſes ſhall remain as the reſidue thereafter limited; and this reſidue he wills and diſpoſes to his loving wife Dame Anne Greſham, and to her heirs and aſſigns for ever, to uſe and diſpoſe of the ſame at her pleaſure. The cloſe of this will is very remarkable, and is expreſſed in the following words. 'Requiring amongſt all other things, 'that all my debts, legacies, and other duties what-'ſoever by me due, given, limited, or bequeathed to 'any perſon, or with hould from any perſon, ſhall be 'fully performed, ſatisfied, and paid and recompenced, 'as the caſe in law, right, equity, or conſcience ſhall 'require. In which behalf I do wholly put my truſt 'in her, and have no doubt but ſhe will accompliſh the 'ſame accordingly, and all other things as ſhall be requiſite or expedient for both our honeſty's fames and 'good reports in this tranſitory world, and to the profit of the common weale, and relief of the careful and 'true poor, according to the pleaſure and will of Almighty God, to whom be all honour and glory, for 'ever and ever, Amen. In witneſs whereof, I the 'ſaid Sir Thomas Greſham, have written this will all 'with myne own hand, and to each of the eight leaves 'have ſubſcribed my name, and to a labell fixed thereunto; all the eight leaves have ſet to my ſeal with 'the Graſhopper, the fifth day of July, in the ſeventeenth yere of the reign of our ſovereign Lady Queen 'Elizabeth, and in the year of our Lord God, Anno '1575.'

By me THOMAS GRESHAM.'

plaiſance to her Majeſty, immediately ſent for workmen from London, who in the night built up the wall with ſuch privacy and expedition, that the next morning the Queen to her great ſurprize, found the court divided in the manner ſhe had propoſed the day before (z). Whatever ſatisfaction Sir Thomas might take in this retreat, he made it nothing more, but continued to paſs ſo much of his time in the city, as was requiſite for the diſcharge of his buſineſs of every kind, amongſt which he reckoned the receiving and entertaining foreigners of diſtinction who came to viſit England, and to pay their reſpects to the Queen his miſtreſs, accordingly on the twenty-ſecond of January 1578, we find that when Prince John Caſimir, brother to the Elector Palatine, a Proteſtant Prince, who had done great ſervice in the Low-Countries, landed at the Tower at night, he was received by many of the moſt diſtinguiſhed nobility, the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and principal citizens, who conducted him by torch-light to the houſe of Sir Thomas Greſham, where he was received with the ſound of trumpets and other muſical inſtruments, commodiouſly lodged, and magnificently entertained (a). His highneſs did not remain in England long, but in that ſpace was elected Knight of the Order of the Garter, and had ſeveral and very rich preſents made him by the nobility; the Queen herſelf gave him two gold cups very richly wrought, of the value of three hundred pounds a piece; but as ſhe was naturally frugal, it was with ſome difficulty that Secretary Walſingham determined her to this act of generoſity (b). This proved one of the laſt public tranſactions of Sir Thomas's life, at leaſt of which any memorial remains, for on ſaturday November the 21ſt, 1579, coming between ſix and ſeven in the evening from the Exchange to his own houſe, he fell down ſuddenly in his kitchen, and being taken up was found ſpeechleſs, and ſoon after died (c). Thus was this eminent man removed in a manner unexpected, and at an age when he was capable of being further ſerviceable to his country for ſeveral years, for he was not ſixty one years old at his deceaſe. By his death many large eſtates in ſeveral counties of England, amounting at that time to the yearly value of two thouſand three hundred pounds and upwards, came to his Lady who ſurvived him. His obſequies were performed in a very ſolemn manner, being attended by an hundred poor men, and the like number of poor women, whom he had ordered to be cloathed in black gowns of five ſhillings and eight pence a yard, at his own expence (d). The charges of his funeral amounted to eight hundred pounds. His corps was depoſited in a vault at the North-eaſt corner of the church, which he had before provided for himſelf and family. Over the vault is a large and curious marble tomb; on the ſouth and weſt ſides of which are his own arms, argent a chevron, ermin between three mullets ſable pierced, and on the north and eaſt ſides they are impaled with thoſe of his lady, argent a bend or, on which are three bucks heads caboſſed. The tomb is fenced round with a ſtrong rail, and other ornamental iron work (e). The arms of Sir Thomas, together with thoſe of the city of London and Mercers company, are likewiſe painted in the glaſs of the eaſt window of the church above the tomb. There was no inſcription upon the tomb till the year 1736, when for the information of the inhabitants, the following words taken from the pariſh regiſter, were cut on the ſtone that covers it by order of the church-wardens. *Sir* Thomas Greſham, *Knight, was buried December the 15th* 1579 (f). His creſt was a GRASSHOPPER, which he uſed for his ſeal, and was then placed on the four angles of the Royal-Exchange, as it is now upon the pinacle of the tower on the ſouth ſide (g). He had promiſed the inhabitants of St Helen's pariſh an handſome ſteeple to their church, in conſideration of the ground taken up by his tomb, but his ſudden death prevented the performance of that promiſe. By an inventory of the goods at his houſe in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, taken after his deceaſe, they are ſaid to have amounted to a thouſand one hundred twenty-ſeven pounds fifteen ſhillings and eight pence. He had alſo another houſe at Weſtacre in Norfolk, where the effects were valued at a thouſand ſix hundred fifty-five pounds and a ſhilling (h). But his chief ſeat ſeems to have been at Mayghfield in Suſſex, one room of which was called the Queen's chamber, and the goods and chattles belonging to it, were eſtimated at ſeven thouſand five hundred fifty-three pounds ten ſhillings and eight pence (i). This ſhews that his riches were great, but the reputation with which he acquired them greater, and the uſes to which they were applied, greateſt of all [K]. He appears from the ſtatues and pictures that

(z) Fuller's Worthies, Norfolk.

(a) Stowe, Strype, Speed, &c.

(b) Stowe's Annals. Strype's Annals.

(c) Holinſhed's Chronicle, p. 1310. Stowe's Annals, p. 686. Ward's Lives of of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 26.

(d) Stowe's Annals, p. 686.

(e) Stowe's Survey, b. ii. p. 106.

(f) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 27.

(g) See the concluſion of his Will in note [I].

(h) Stowe's Survey, edit. 1598. p. 133.

(i) Sir Thomas Greſham's Journal, MS.

[K] *And the uſes to which they were applied greateſt of all.*] As very few perſons have been more favoured in this world by Providence, in the purſuit of that courſe of life to which he was called, than this worthy gentleman Sir Thomas Greſham, ſo very few have employed the good things of this life, either living or dying, in a manner more generally approved by his contemporaries, or applauded by poſterity, than he has done. If we trace him through the courſe of his life, we ſhall find him filling every ſtation decently, and not at all given either to under or over-act his part; content with what Providence allotted him; not eager in obtaining, yet punctual in performing the duties of any office that he obtained; active and vigilant in the ſervice of the Crown, but contriving at the ſame time how the nation might be ſerved likewiſe. A citizen without ambition; a patriot without ſpleen or private views; no lover of pomp, yet living with decent ſplendour; a grateful and generous maſter; a kind friend; a patron of learned men, as Mr Fox acknowledges, who knew it from experience (45). Hugh Goughe, in his dedication to him of the *Off-ſpring of the Houſe of* OTTOMAN, where he is very copious in his praiſes; and Richard Rowland's, more frequently called Verſtegan, in a book he likewiſe addreſſed to him called, *The Poſt of the World*. Theſe were men differing in their ſentiments, and very diſtant in their religions; yet all aſſiſted by, and all admirers of, Sir Thomas Greſham, who was bountiful to merit where-ever he found it. As Sir Thomas was a generous benefactor to the public in his life time, and more ſo at his death, ſo he managed his donations with ſuch diſcretion, as left no room for his relations to complain. It is very probable that his wife Dame Anne, brought him a large fortune; and this being in the early part of his life, might induce him to think, that he was bound to make a ſuitable return

(45) In the Latin Life prefixed to his Acts and Monuments.

that are ſtill preſerved of him, to have been a man of a ſweet and ſerene aſpect, and of a comely and graceful perſon (*k*); he was undoubtedly a man of learning, as well as perfectly acquainted with living languages, and that mixed and general knowledge which is of ſo great uſe in the right conduct of life. His abilities were early ripe, for we find him entered into active life, and not only embarked in buſineſs, but in negotiations of ſtate by that time he was turned of thirty; and after he was once employed by the Crown, which was purely the effects of his merit, he maintained himſelf in favour in times moſt difficult, and in Courts acting from very different views (*l*); in his manners he was ſo polite, that he was choſen to entertain thoſe foreigners of diſtinction, on whom the Court was deſirous that a ſtrong impreſſion ſhould be made in favour of the Engliſh nation. His merit as a merchant was very great, and he applied that ſkill and experience which he derived from his own extenſive concerns in commerce, to promote the welfare of the nation, for which his zeal was ſo great, that he was deſervedly eſteemed an eminent patriot, in an age when that beſt of characters was far from being rare (*m*). His praiſes might be carried farther and higher, and might be ſupported by the authorities of Camden, Evelyn, and other great men, if his actions did not render all helps of this ſort unneceſſary [*L*]. What deſerves to be particularly remembred is, that we have not received from any of the writers of his times, and they were times in which men wrote freely, that tends any way to his diſadvantage, except that in his youth he was of an amorous complexion, as appears from his having had a natural daughter by a woman at Bruges, whom he beſtowed honourably in marriage on Nathaniel Bacon, Eſq; ſecond ſon to the Lord Keeper, to whom ſhe brought a fortune of two hundred and eighty pounds a year in lands, ſituated in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk (*n*). He married as we before obſerved, Anne, the widow of Mr Read of Fulham, who ſurvived him many years, and who not long after his death, having ſome diſputes with Sir Henry Nevile, who married her huſband's niece and heir at law, theſe were

(*k*) See his picture in Mercers Hall, and his ſtatue by Doſtnall.

(*l*) See ſeveral paſſages in King Edward's Journal and his own Memorial in Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors.

(*m*) See Bacon's Felicity of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; her character by Bohun; and Naunton's Fragm. Regalia.

(*n*) See the particulars in Ward's Appendix to the Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, No. II.

turn to her; and beſides, it appears from the deed of ſettlement to which his will refers, that her conſent was neceſſary; the children of Sir Henry Nevile, who were his heirs at law, had likewiſe their ſhare. His only child Anne, married into the honourable family of the Bacon's, to which his wife was alſo allied by marriage; Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the great Seal, having married for his firſt wife, Miſtreſs Jane Fernely her youngeſt ſiſter (46), ſo that Nathaniel Bacon, Eſq; who married her huſband's daughter, was her nephew. This Mr Bacon, had by Mrs Anne Greſham, three daughters (47), who were his coheirs, all married to gentlemen of as great figure as any in the county of Norfolk, viz Anne the eldeſt, to Sir Roger Townſhend of Raynham, and brought the Stiffkey eſtate into that family; the ſecond, Elizabeth, married Sir Thomas Knyvet of Aſhwellthorpe; and the youngeſt, Winifrede, Sir Robert Gawdy of Claxton.

(46) Baronetage of England, Vol. III.

(47) Pedigree of the Bacons of Norfolk.

[*L*] *Did not render all helps of this ſort unneceſſary.*] It may not however be amiſs for the reader's ſatisfaction, that what Sir Thomas did for his country, was in all times gratefully accepted, to produce ſome of the numerous tokens of reſpect paid to him both living and dead. The firſt ſhall be from Mr Goughe's dedication mentioned in the former note, who after telling him that many had been beneficent to England their native country. Some of a zealous mind, had beſtowed their ſage counſel and politic devices of the ſame. Others of a favourable affection, had given their labours to the procuring in readineſs, of ſuch neceſſary inſtruments as in time of peace might ceaſe our doubtful minds from careleſſneſs thereof; and in perilous ſeaſons of war, defend us from our daily imminent adverſaries. The reſt not being many in number, had of a godly and voluntary will, wholly applied their riches or money joined together, and laid out their treaſures to the erecting ſuch noble buildings, as might be for a public commodity unto the inhabitants of this worthy iſle of Britain; and then coming to apply this to the ſingle perſon of Sir Thomas Greſham, he proceeded. 'But alas! too few have been furniſhed 'in whom all theſe commendable qualities have 'reigned, both to be beneficial to their country by ſage 'counſel; procuring of ſafe-guard for protection of the 'ſame, and beſtowing of their ſubſtance to the build-'ing of ſuch famous and magnificent works as might 'ſerve for common utility unto all men. And by the 'diſcretion of thoſe men that be learned and wiſe, if 'ever any ſubject hath enjoyed them, they attribute it 'unto you. For who is he that is ignorant of the poli-'cies and travels which your worſhip hath uſed and 'ſuſtained, for to get ſafe-guard and requiſite furniture 'to the realm; beſides the infinite riches given to the 'building of that princely work, commonly called The 'Burſe, which already declareth, and in London is 'openly to be ſeen, what commodity generally it will 'bring to the citizens thereof? theſe noble exploits, as 'indeed they are not a little by all men praiſed, can-'not be highly enough commended.' He praiſed Sir Thomas alſo for his temper, courteſy, gentleneſs, friendſhip, and liberality towards all men; yea, and towards the unknown and ſtrangers; as divers had experienced. Raphael Hollinſhed (48), and John Stowe (49), have paid juſt honour to his memory; the great Sir Henry Spelman, mentions him as an honour to the county of Norfolk, in which his family was ſeated (50). The unknown author of a poem in Engliſh and Latin on the Fire of London, addreſſed to Sir James Langham (51), takes that melancholy occaſion to praiſe the ſtructure which Sir Thomas raiſed, and to applaud his public ſpirit.

(48) Chronicle, p. 1310.

(49) Annals, p. 686.

(50) Poſthumous Works, p. 152.

(51) Conflagratio Londinenſis poetice depicta, p. 22, 23.

In partem trahitur Regalis Burſa ruinæ,
Linguarum Babel, & Mundi Mercatus; utrumque;
Quotidie complexa Polum, quodque, inter utrumque eſt:
Marmoreum Regni Chronicon; ſerieque vetuſta
Exhibuit nuper Proavos tibi (CAROLE) Reges.
* * * * * * * * * * * * *
* * * * * * * * * * * * *
Septrigeros flammæ prædam; dum Regibus ipſis,
Unicus a grato ſtat Conditor Igne ſuperſtes.

The common wreck the Royal Change doth ſhare,
Babel of Tongues; the Univerſe's faire;
Where both poles daily meet, and what within
The ſpacious diſtance of the pole is ſeen:
The kingdom's marble chronicle. To thee
(Great Prince) it ſhew'd thy Royal pedigree,
For three times nine deſcents.
* * * * * * * * * * *
* * * * * * * * * * *
Greſham the Kings ſurvives. The grateful flame
The founder ſpar'd, that would not ſpare the frame.

The late Lord Viſcount Cobham placed this great man in that temple of Britiſh Worthies, which is one of the nobleſt ornaments of his celebrated gardens at Stowe in Buckinghamſhire, with the following inſcription over his buſt.

Sir THOMAS GRESHAM,
Who by the honourable profeſſion of a merchant,
Having enriched himſelf and his country,
For carrying on the commerce of the world,
Built the Royal Exchange.

were at length brought to a compromiſe, and an act of parliament paſſed in the year 1581, for eſtabliſhing that agreement and carrying it into execution (o). She afterwards endeavoured to procure another act of parliament to impower her and her heirs, to make leaſes from time to time of twenty-one years, of the ſhops in the Exchange, reſerving the fines; but the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, having fully anſwered the ſuggeſtions contained in her petition to the Privy Council, that project was diſappointed (p). However ſhe prevailed upon the tenants in the laſt year of her life to accept freſh leaſes, by which ſhe obtained fines to the amount of four thouſand pounds (q). She ſpent her winters moſtly in town, at the great houſe in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, and the ſummer months at Oſterley Park, where however all the great improvements fell ſpeedily to ruin (r). At length ſhe deceaſed there November 23, 1596, from whence her body was brought to London and buried in the church of St Helen, in the ſame vault with her huſband Sir Thomas, on the 14th of December following (s). As to the public benefactions of Sir Thomas Greſham, the Royal-Exchange and his manſion houſe, as on the deceaſe of his Lady, they immediately came into the hands of the two corporations; ſo, according to his deſire, they obtained a patent from the Crown, bearing date February the third in the year of our Lord, One thouſand ſix hundred and fourteen, to hold them for ever, upon the terms expreſſed in the will of the donor (t).

(o) Ibid. No. VI.

(p) Stowe's Survey, b. ii. p. 137.

(q) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 31.

(r) Norden's Specul. Britan. Mid. p. 37.

(s) Regiſter of St Helen's.

(t) See the Inrolment in Chancery.

E

GREVILE [FULKE], Lord Brook, of Beauchamp's-Court in Warwickſhire, an eminent courtier in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Privy-Counſellor in that of King James and King Charles I. and an ingenious writer both in verſe and proſe; was deſcended of the antient and noble families of the Beauchamps of Powick, and the Willoughbys de Brook; whereof Mr Camden has recorded, that Brook-Houſe, which was ſituate upon the Avon in that county, and derived it's name from a rivulet or brook which runs into this river, had been the ſeat of John Pavely, Lord of Weſtbury, and afterwards gave the title of Baron to Robert Willoughby, deſcended from that family, when King Henry VII. advanced him to this honour (a); by which King he is reported to have been alſo made Steward of his Houſhold, and for ſome time High-Admiral of England (b). But this family ſoon expired; for he left but one ſon, named Robert Lord Brook, who had by his firſt wife a ſon, named Edward; and he dying in his father's life-time, left a daughter named Elizabeth, afterwards married to Fulke Grevile the elder, grandfather to this Lord Brooke of whom we are writing, as we find in thoſe Heraldical authors who were contemporary with him, and others who have written more particularly of the family (c). As for that Chriſtian name, we ſhall refer below to an explanation of it from Mr Camden in another of his works [A]. By that rich heireſs aforeſaid, alſo deſcended Beauchamp-Court to the ſaid Fulke the elder, which is ſituate upon the Arrow below Ouſely, and was ſo named from the Barons of Beauchamp before mentioned, from whom it devolved to that lady (d). The ſaid Sir Fulke the elder, had by her, Fulke Grevile, who was knighted in the ſeventh year of Queen Elizabeth, and Robert a younger ſon. This laſt Sir Fulke, in the twelfth of that Queen, was choſen into the commiſſion for preſerving the peace in Warwickſhire; alſo in the fourteenth of her reign; and again in the twenty-ſixth he was elected High-Sheriff of that county (e). He was in the beginning of the next reign very active in diſcovering and apprehending ſome of the powder-plotters, when they were in thoſe parts; he being then Deputy-Lieutenant of the ſaid ſhire (f). Camden ſays alſo, in the place laſt above cited, that he was no leſs eſteemed for the ſweetneſs of his temper than the dignity of his ſtation; and departing this life in the fourth of James I. aged ſeventy years, he left by Anne his wife, daughter of Ralph Nevile, Earl of Weſtmorland, this Fulke Grevile of whom we are here treating, and one daughter named Margaret, who was married to Sir Richard Verney, of Compton-Mordak in the county of Warwick, anceſtor to the preſent Lord Willoughby of Brook (g). As to a more diſtinct account of theſe anceſtors, or the lineage of the ſaid family down to this time, we have it alſo in an author, who being a native of the county wherein they flouriſhed, and having undertaken with great induſtry to preſerve the antiquities thereof, his authority may the better be depended on: therefore we ſhall here ſubjoin a ſhort extract of his genealogical deduction thereof, as what may not only confirm the aforeſaid account, but render the ſame more compleat [B].

(a) Camden's Britannia, in Wiltſhire.

(b) Idem. Alſo a Pedigree of the Greviles, in a volume of Engliſh Nobility, folio, MS. 1602. Among the MS. Collections of the late Knox Ward, Eſq; Clarenecieux.

(c) Ibid. Alſo in the Genealogy, Life and Death of Robert Lord Brook, MS. written by Thomas Spencer, anno 1644, in the poſſeſſion of Francis Earl Brook.

(d) Camden, in Warwickſhire.

(e) Fuller's Worthies of England, in the liſt of Sheriffs, in Warwickſhire.

(f) John Fox's Book of Martyrs, edit. 1684, Vol. III. in the Appendix. Alſo Sam. Clarke's Mercies Memorial, in the deliverance from the Powder-Plot, annexed to his England's Remembrancer, 12mo. 1657.

(g) Pedigree of the Greviles beforementioned. Alſo an hiſtorical and genealogical Account of the family of the Greviles, &c. by Arthur Collins, Eſq; 8vo. 1750, p. 28. printed likewiſe in his late Supplement to the Baronage.

[A] *From Mr Camden, in another of his works.*] 'FOULK or FULKE, ſays he, ſome derive from the 'German *volg*, noble and gallant; but I, from *Folc*, 'the Engliſh-Saxon word for people; as though it 'were the ſame with publius of the Romans, and only 'tranſlated from publius, as beloved of the people and 'and commons (1).'

(1) Camden's Remains concerning Britain, &c. edit. 4to. 1614. in the chapter of Names, p. 70.

[B] *As what may not only confirm the aforeſaid account, but render the ſame more compleat.*] This extract we ſhall make from Sir William Dugdale, who has given us an ample pedigree of the Grevils, from the Beauchamps, for ſeveral deſcents, down to his own time; which has been continued by his late editor to the latter end of Queen Anne's reign, and by Mr Collins in his work before cited, to the preſent time: but as much of it as may here concern our purpoſe, is expreſſed (in the ſaid latter edition of Dugdale) (2) in theſe words.——'Sir Richard Beauchamp married, 'in the private chapel of the mannor-houſe at Alceſter, 'called Beauchamp's Court, Elizabeth, daughter of 'Sir Humphrey Stafford, Knt. by whom he had iſſue 'three daughters, his heireſſes, viz Elizabeth, married 'to Sir Robert Willoughby, Lord Brook, whoſe fa- 'ther Sir Robert Willoughby, Knt. was firſt ſummoned 'to Parliament, by that title in the ſeventh of Henry 'VII. next, Anne married to Richard Ligon, and 'Margaret, to William Rede; which laſt Sir Robert 'had, in her right, the manour of Alceſter in partition, and died ſeized thereof the tenth of Novem- 'ber, in the thirteenth of Henry VIII. leaving Elizabeth, Anne, and Blanch, his grandchildren and next 'heirs, viz. daughters of Edward Willoughby his ſon, 'by

(2) Sir W. Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickſhire, the ſecond edition, by Dr William Thomas, in 2 vols folio, 1730. Vol. II. p. 766, &c.

This Fulke, afterwards Lord Brook, was born, as we are informed, in the year 1554 (*b*), and as it is ſuppoſed, at Beauchamp-Court aforeſaid. Being of the ſame age with, and couſin to, Sir Philip Sidney, they imbibed their juvenile education together at an eminent ſchool in Shrewſbury. There, Sidney appears to have been in 1566, by a letter full of prudent and paternal precepts, directed to him the ſaid year, in that town, by his father Sir Henry Sidney (*i*); whence we may conclude, that young Grevile was then his ſchoolfellow and aſſociate; and indeed no leſs may be gathered from his own words, where he ſays of Sir Philip, 'with whom I ſhall ever account it honour to have been brought 'up.' And again, alluding to the earlineſs of his accompliſhments, he ſays, 'Of whoſe 'youth I will report no other wonder but this, that though I lived with him, and knew 'him from a child, yet I never knew him other than a man (*k*).' From this ſchool Fulke Grevile was removed to the univerſity. He was it ſeems ſome time a Gentleman-Commoner at Oxford, but whether fellow collegiate with Sidney at Chriſt-Church there, does not plainly appear; and the Oxonian Antiquary allows him to have been more properly of Cambridge (*l*); where, at Trinity-College, he compleated his academical ſtudies. Not long after he left the univerſities, he added the knowledge of men to that of books by travel, and returned an accompliſhed gentleman; having not only adorned his mind with the moſt agreeable flowers of polite deportment and converſation that flouriſhed in the courts through which he paſſed, but attained alſo a competent familiarity with the modern languages, and ſome expertneſs in the martial exerciſes, by which the gallant cavaliers of thoſe times were uſed to ſignalize their courage and activity; inſomuch that, though he ſeems to have been early 'introduced into the Court, by his uncle Robert Grevile, a ſer-'vant to Queen Elizabeth, where he was eſteemed a moſt ingenious perſon, and had in 'favour by all ſuch as were lovers of arts and ſciences (*m*);' and though he was, through the affection of Sir Henry Sidney, Lord-Preſident of Wales, ſoon nominated to ſome beneficial preferments in that principality, yet he could not, for many years, decline attempting to engage himſelf in ſervices abroad both by ſea and land; as what would ſooner advance him to the Queen's favour at home, than ſtruggling for it by ſuch indirect and circumventing artifices, as are wont to be practiſed among competitors for the ſame at Court; 'till the Queen herſelf, conſidering his family, fortune, and perhaps the want of ſuch athletic or corporal robuſtneſs, as might equal his lively and vigorous inclinations to endure hardſhips and peril, diſcouraged ſuch excurſions in him, and thereby conſtrained thoſe with whom he would have been a coadventurer, alſo to evade or diſcountenance his aſſociation in ſuch dangerous enterprizes with them, as he has in his more mature or declining years informed us [*C*]. It ſeems to have been from one of thoſe excurſions, that he

(*b*) A. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 521.

(*i*) Letters and Memorials of State, by the Sidneyan family, in 2 vols folio, 1746, publiſhed by Arthur Collins, Eſq; Vol. I. p. 8.

(*k*) Sir Fulke Grevile's Life of the renowned Sir Philip Sidney, p. 2, 6.

(*l*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 521.

(*m*) Idem ibid.

'by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Richard Nevill 'Lord Latimer (3). Of which daughters, ſo in mino-'rity, Elizabeth the eldeſt, was committed to the 'tuition of Sir Edward Grevil of Milcote, Knt. who 'obtained her wardſhip, as our ſaid author was in-'formed (4), with purpoſe to marry her to John his 'ſon and heir; but ſhe better affecting Fulke, the 'younger, (and having eſtate ſufficient for both him 'and herſelf *) became his wife; to whom ſhe brought 'the manour of Alceſter, with other lands: which 'Fulke much enlarged his manour houſe (5) at Beau-'champ-Court, taking ſtone and timber from the then 'newly diſſolved priory at Alceſter for that purpoſe; 'as alſo his park, with part of the waſte belonging to 'this lordſhip, and bore the office of Sheriff for this 'county and Leiceſterſhire, in the thirty-fourth of 'Henry VIII, being then a Knight: ſo alſo in the 'firſt of Edward VI, and departed this life the tenth 'of November, Anno 1559 (6), leaving iſſue Fulke, 'his ſon and heir, and Robert a younger ſon; which 'Fulke was knighted in the ſeventh year of Queen Eli-'zabeth (7), being then twenty-nine years of age. In 'the twelfth of Elizabeth, he was firſt in commiſſion of 'the peace for that ſhire, and departing this life anno '1606, left iſſue, by Anne his wife, daughter to Ralph 'Nevil, Earl of Weſtmorland, this Fulke his ſon and 'heir, &c.' We ſhall here further add, of the firſt Robert Lord Brook, who was ſummoned to parliament by that title, in the ſeventh of Henry VII, as was obſerved, and is mentioned in the text to have been ſome time Admiral of England; that there is a letter extant, written by the ſaid King Henry to Sir Gilbert Talbot, which ſpeaks of this Lord Brook in that naval command. It is written upon the intelligence his Majeſty had received, that Perkin Warbeck and his wife were upon the ſea, with ſeven ſhips and a Britiſh prize expected to land, and make an invaſion in Cornwall: 'Whereupon, ſais the King to Sir Gilbert, we have 'ſent our right truſty counſeillour the Lord D'Aubeney, 'our Chamberlayn, by land, toward thoes parties, &c. 'for the ſubduying of him; and our right truſty Coun-'ſeillour the Lord Brooke, Steward of our houſehold 'by water, with our armee, on the ſee, now late re-'toutned, to take the ſaid Perkyn, if he retourne a-'gayn to the ſee; and we ſhall, in our owne perſone, if 'the caſe ſoo requir, goo ſo accompanyed thiderward, 'with our Lord's mercy, without delay, as we ſhal 'ſubdue the ſaid Perkyn, and all othre that wil take 'his part, if any ſuch be, &c. *' The ſaid Robert Lord Brooke, by his will, made the 19th of Auguſt, and proved the 25th of December 1502, appoints his burial in the church of that pariſh where he ſhall happen to die †: and there remains in the chapel of the borough of Callington in Cornwall, a raiſed altar monument, with his effigies thereon; having the Collar of the Order of the Garter, with the George appendant thereto ‡. Sir William Dugdale relates a remarkable ſtory at large of one of the family, named Lodovick Grevile, of Mulcote, Eſq; who contrived with a ſervant or two of his, to murder Mr Webb of Draycot in Oxfordſhire, his own tenant, who had been alſo his ſteward, that he might get all his riches. Thoſe ſervants having ſtrangled him, one of them went into his bed, and when the miniſter came, who was to make a will, the murderer in bed, with the curtains cloſe pinned about him, counterfeited a ſick and dying man, in voice, and other infirmities, till he had diſpoſed of the dead man's effects, ſeemingly in the deceaſed's own words and will, all to Mr Grevile. The murder and fraud being afterwards diſcovered, and Mr Grevile refuſing to plead, he was preſſed to death in the King's-Bench priſon, November 14, the thirty-firſt of Elizabeth; and his ſervant was hanged the ſame year 1589 ‖.

(3) Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. II. p. 88.

(4) Per Hen. Ferrers, Arm.

* The General, &c. of Robert Lord Brook, MS. before cited.

(5) Leland's Itinerary, Vol. IV. p. 168. See alſo more of the family in Vol. VI. p. 19, &c.

(6) Inſcrip. Tum. apud Alceſter.

(7) Liſt of Queen Elizabeth's Knights, by H. Ferrers, Eſq; MS. fol. in Bibl. Harleiana; & MS. in Offic. Armor. m. 18; & Eſc. 8 Eliz.

* Mr Anſtis's Regiſter of the Order of the Garter, in 2 vols fol. 1724. Vol. I. p. 215.

† Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 87.

‡ Anſtis, as before, Vol. II. p. 243.

‖ See Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol II. p. 710. and Stowe's Annals in that year.

[*C*] *In his more mature, or declining years informed us*] His words upon this topic are as follow, 'When 'my youth, with favour of the Court, in ſome mode-'rate proportion to my birth and breeding, in the ac-'tiveneſs of that time, gave me opportunity of moſt 'buſineſs; then, did my yet undiſcouraged genius moſt 'affect to find, or make work for itſelf. And out of 'that freedom, having many times offered my fortune 'to the courſe of foreign employments, as the propereſt 'forges to faſhion a ſubject for the real ſervices of his 'ſovereign; I found the returns of thoſe miſplaced 'endeavours to prove, both a vain charge to myſelf, 'and an offenſive undertaking to that excellent gover-'neſs,

he mentions alſo himſelf, his return out of Germany, and the political conferences he had at Delft with William of Naſſau, Prince of Orange [*D*]. As for the civil and domeſtic employments

' neſs, over all her ſubjects duties and affections. For ' inſtance, how mild ſoever thoſe mixtures of favours ' and corrections were, in that princely lady, yet to ' ſhew that they fell heavy in croſſing a young man's ' ends, I will only chuſe and alledge a few out of many, ' ſome with leave, ſome without. Firſt, when thoſe ' two mighty armies of Don John's, and the Duke ' Caſimire's, were to meet in the Low-Countries; my ' horſes, with all other preparations, being ſhipped at ' Dover, with leave under her bill aſſigned; even then ' was I ſtaid by a princely mandate, the meſſenger Sir ' Edward Dier. Wherein, whatſoever I felt, yet I ' appeal to the judicious reader, whether there be any ' latitude left more than humble obedience, in theſe ' new caſes, between duty and ſelfneſs in a ſovereign's ' ſervice. After this, when Mr Secretary Walſing- ' ham was ſent embaſſador, to treat with thoſe two ' princes, in a buſineſs ſo much concerning chriſtian ' blood and chriſtian empires; then did the ſame irre- ' gular motion, which ſeldom reſts, but ſteals where it ' cannot tread, perſuade me, that whoſoever would ' venture to go without leave, was ſure never to be ' ſtaid. Upon which falſe axiome, truſting the reſt to ' chance, I went over with Mr Secretary unknown: ' but at my return, was forbidden her preſence for ' many months (8).' Hitherto might alſo be referred his engagement with Sir Philip Sidney, to accompany Sir Francis Drake in his laſt expedition but one to the Weſt-Indies (in 1585). But neither could they ſo cloſely keep their ſecret preparations for the ſame, from the knowledge of the State, nor Sir Francis ſo artfully diſguiſe from them, his unwillingneſs to lead them ſuch a remote and hazardous voyage, but that their whole project was fruſtrated; however he feaſted them with a great deal of outward pomp and complacency, the night they arrived at Plymouth; to which port they had travelled without ſuſpicion, becauſe, upon the rumour of Don Antonio's being on the ſeas for England, Sir Philip had put himſelf upon the employment of conducting that King to Court. Sir Philip's thoughts ſeem to have been too ſanguine and intenſe upon the enterprize, to diſcern the real inclinations of Sir Francis, through his looks or comportment; ' Yet I (ſays our ' author) that had the honor of being bred with him ' from his youth, ſo now, by his own choice, of all ' England, to be his loving and beloved Achates in this ' journey, obſerving the countenance of that gallant ' mariner, more exactly than Sir Philip's leiſure ſerved ' him to do; after we were laid in bed, acquainted ' him with my obſervation of the diſcountenance and ' depreſſion which appeared in Sir Francis; as if our ' coming were both beyond his expectation and deſire. ' Nevertheleſs that ingenuous ſpirit of Sir Philip's, ' though apt to give me credit, yet not apt to diſcredit ' others, made him ſuſpend his own, and labour to ' change and qualify my judgment; till within ſome ' few days after, finding neither the ſhips ready accord- ' ing to promiſe, nor poſſibly to be made ready in ' many days; and withal, obſerving ſome ſparks of falſe ' fire breaking out unawares from his yoke-fellow daily; ' it pleaſed him in the freedom of our friendſhip, to ' return me my own ſtock with intereſt. All this while ' Don Antonio lands not; the fleet ſeemed to us, like ' the weary paſſenger's inn, ſtill to go further from our ' deſires: letters came from the Court to haſten it a- ' way: it may be, the leaden feet and nimble thoughts ' of Sir Francis, wrought in the day, and unwrought ' in the night; while he watched an opportunity to ' diſcover us, without being diſcovered. For within a ' few days after, a poſt ſteals up to Court, upon whoſe ' arrival, an alarum is preſently taken; meſſengers ſent ' away to ſtay us, or, if we refuſed, to ſtay the whole ' fleet. Notwithſtanding this firſt Mercury, this errand ' being partly advertiſed to Sir Philip beforehand, was ' intercepted on the way; his letters taken from him, ' by two reſolute ſoldiers in mariner's apparel; brought ' inſtantly to Sir Philip, opened and read: the con- ' tents as welcome, as Bulls of Excommunication to ' the ſuperſtitious Romaniſt, when they enjoyn him ' either to forſake his right, or his Holy Mother ' Church; yet did he fit this firſt proceſs without noiſe ' or anſwer. The next was a more imperial mandate, ' carefully conveyed and delivered to himſelf by a peer ' of this realm, carrying with it in the one hand, ' grace, in the other, thunder: the grace was, an of- ' fer of an inſtant employment under his uncle (the ' Earl of Leiceſter) then going General into the Low- ' Countries; againſt which although he would have ' gladly demurred, yet all was ſacrificed to the duty of ' obedience (9).' ' Again, when my Lord of Lei- ' ceſter was ſent General of her Majeſty's forces (the ' ſame year) into the Low-Countries, and had given ' me the command of an hundred horſe; then I, giv- ' ing my humour over to good order, yet found, that ' neither the interceſſion of this grandee, ſeconded ' with my own humble ſute, and many other honour- ' able friends of mine, could prevail againſt the con- ' ſtant courſe of this excellent Lady with her ſervants, ' ſo as I was forced to tarry behind; and for this im- ' portunity of mine, to change my courſe, and ſeem to ' prefer nothing before my ſervice about her: this ' Princeſs of government, as well as kingdoms, made ' me live in her court a ſpectacle of diſfavour too long ' as I conceived. Laſtly, the univerſal fame of a bat- ' tle to be fought between the prime forces of Henry ' III. and the religious of Henry IV. then King of Na- ' varre, lifting me yet once more above this humble ' earth of duty, made me reſolve to ſee the difference ' between kings preſent and abſent, in their martial ' expeditions; ſo that, without acquainting any crea- ' ture, the Earl of Eſſex excepted, I ſhipped myſelf ' over; and at my return, was kept from her preſence ' full ſix months, and then received after a ſtrange ' manner. For this abſolute Prince, to ſever ill ex- ' ample from grace, avers my going over to be a ſe- ' cret employment of her's; and all theſe other petty ' exiles, a making good of that cloud or figure, which ' ſhe was pleaſed to caſt over my abſence: protecting ' me to the world with the honour of her employment, ' rather than ſhe would, for example ſake, be forced ' either to puniſh me further, or too eaſily forgive a ' contempt, or neglect in a ſervant ſo near about her, as ' ſhe was pleaſed to conceive it. By which many ' warnings, I, finding the ſpecious fires of youth to ' prove far more ſcorching than glorious, called my ' ſecond thoughts to council, and in that map, clearly ' diſcerning action and honour to fly with more wings ' than one, and that it was ſufficient for the plant to ' grow where his ſovereign's hand had planted it; I ' found reaſon to contract my thoughts from thoſe ' larger, but wandering horizons of the world abroad, ' and bound my proſpect within the ſafe limits of ' duty, in ſuch home ſervices as were acceptable to my ' ſovereign (10).'

(8) Sir Fulke Greville's Life of Sir Philip Sidney, from p. 167 to 169.

(9) [illegible] p. 82 to 89.

(10) Ibid. from p. 169 to 171.

[*D*] *He mentions himſelf, his return out of Germany, and his political conferences with William Prince of Orange.*] The journey in which he had ſuch conferences with the Prince of Orange, ſeems to have been that he took with Sir Francis Walſingham beforementioned, which was in 1578; becauſe young Sidney, being perſonally known to this prince the preceding year (11), might better engage that recommendation of him by the ſaid prince here preſerved by our author, among other characters given by princes and ſtateſmen, of his ſaid worthy and renowned friend. His words are as follow: ' My firſt inſtance muſt come, ſays he, ' from that worthy Prince of Orange, William of Naſ- ' ſau; with whom this young gentleman having long ' kept intelligence by word and letters, and in affairs ' of the higheſt nature, that then paſſed current upon ' the ſtages of England, France, Germany, Italy, the ' Low Countries, or Spain, it ſeems that this young ' gentleman had by his mutual freedom ſo imprinted ' the extraordinary merit of his young years into the ' large wiſdom and experience of that excellent prince, ' as I, paſſing out of Germany into England, and hav- ' ing the unexpected honor to find this prince in the ' town of Delfe, cannot think it unwelcome to deſcribe ' the clothes of this prince; his poſture of body and ' mind, familiarity and reſervedneſs, to the ingenious ' reader, that he may ſee with what divers characters ' princes pleaſe and govern cities, towns and people. ' His uppermoſt garment was a gown, yet ſuch, as I ' dare confidently affirm, a mean-born ſtudent in our ' Inns of Court would not have been well pleaſed to ' walk the ſtreets in. Unbuttoned his doublet was, ' and of like precious matter and form to the other. ' His waſte-coat, which ſhewed itſelf under it, not ' unlike

(11) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 227.

employments appointed him by Sir Henry Sidney, the firſt account we meet with thereof is in one of Sir Henry's own letters to the Lords of the Council (*n*), containing ſome propoſitions for the reformation of diſorders in the marches of Wales, eſpecially for abridging the number of attorneys in the court that was held there; which reduced number he would have regulated under a principal officer or two, by patent from her Majeſty; and Mr Fulke Grevile, with his own Secretary, Mr Edmund Molyneux, he recommends for this purpoſe. His letter is dated the 12th of November, 1576. And ſix months after, being then in his government of Ireland, we find, in ſome inſtructions he ſent over to his ſervant, Edward Waterhouſe, Eſq; ſome explanation of the buſineſs thoſe officers were to ſuperintend,

(*n*) Letters, &c. of the Sidneys, Vol. I. p. 145.

'unlike the beſt ſort of thoſe woollen knit ones, which 'our ordinary watermen row us in. His company a-'bout him, the burgeſſes of that beer-brewing town; 'and he, ſo fellow-like, encompaſſed with them, as 'had I not known his face, no exterior ſign of degree 'or deſervedneſs could have diſcovered the inequality 'of his worth, or ſtate from that multitude. Not-'withſtanding, I no ſooner came to his preſence, but 'it pleaſed him to take knowledge of me. And even 'upon that, as if it had been a ſignal to make change, 'his reſpect of a ſtranger, inſtantly begat reſpect to 'himſelf in all about him; an outward preſage of in-'ward greatneſs, which, in a popular ſtate, I thought 'worth the obſerving: becauſe there, no pedigree but 'worth, could poſſibly make a man prince, and no 'prince, in a moment, at his own pleaſure. The bu-'ſineſſes which he then vouchſafed to impart with me, 'were, the dangerous fate which the Crown of Eng-'land, States of Germany, and the Low-Countries 'did ſtand threatned with, under an ambitious and 'conquering Monarch's hand. The main inſtance, a 'ſhort deſcription of the Spaniards curious affecting to 'keep the Romans ways and ends in all their actions. 'On the other ſide, the clear ſymptoms of the hectick 'fever, univerſally then reigning among the princes of 'Chriſtendom; ordained as he thought, to behold 'this undermining diſeaſe without fear, till it ſhould 'prove dangerous, nay incurable to them. This ac-'tive King of Spain, having put on a maſk of con-'ſcience, to cover an inviſible conjunction between the 'temporal and ſpiritual ambitions of theſe two ſome-'times creeping, ſometimes commanding Romiſh and 'Spaniſh conquerors. The particulars were many, 'both excellent and enlightning. As firſt, the fatal 'neutrality of France, jealous of the Spaniſh greatneſs, 'as already wronged and threatned by it; and yet 'their kings ſo full of pleaſures, and conſequently ſo 'eaſily ſatisfied with the compliments of words, trea-'ties, or alliances; and ſince the fall of the Sorboniſts, 'their own exempted Church, ſo abſolutely poſſeſſed, 'and governed by the Jeſuits; as through the be-'witching liberties and bondages of auricular confeſ-'ſion, they were rather wrought to reſt upon a vain 'ſecurity of reputed ſtrength, than really to hazard 'loſs, and help themſelves by diverſion or aſſailing. 'Again, on the Queen's part, by the way of queſtion, 'he ſuppoſed a little neglect in her princely mildneſs, 'while ſhe did ſuffer a Proteſtant party, raiſed by God, 'in that great kingdom of France, to be a ballance or 'counterpoiſe to that dangerous heptarchy of Spain, 'then ſcarce viſible, but ſince multiplied by an unre-'ſiſtable greatneſs; I ſay for ſuffering this ſtrong and 'faithful party, through want of employment, to ſink 'into itſelf, and ſo unactively, like a meteor, to vaniſh 'or ſmother out in vain and idle apparitions. Withal, 'reverendly he demurred, whether it were an omiſſion 'in that excellent Lady's government or no, by a re-'miſs looking on, whilſt the Auſtrian aſpiring family 'framed occaſion to gain, by begging peace, or buying 'war from the Grand Signior, and both exceeding 'much to their own ends; in reſpect that, once in 'few years, this Emperor made himſelf General by it 'over all the forces of Chriſtendome, and thereby 'gained the fame of action, trained up his own inſtru-'ments martially, and got credit with his fellow-bor-'dering princes, through the common council, or par-'ticipation of fear. Beſides, that, in the concluſions of 'peace, he ever ſaved a maſs of riches, gathered by 'diets, contributions, devotions, and levies for com-'mon defence; which, out of the ill-accompting hand 'of war, became in his exchequer, treaſure to ter-'rify even thoſe Chriſtian neighbours that did contri-'bute to it. And the more eſpecially he inſiſted upon 'this, becauſe all thoſe crafty pageants of her enemies 'were diſguiſedly acted, even while her Majeſty had 'an agent of extraordinary diligence, worth, and cre-'dit, with that vaſt ſtate of Turkey, into whoſe abſo-'lute and imperious ſpirit, without any other charge 'than infuſing the jealouſies of competition, theſe 'practiſes among thoſe Auſtrian uſurpers, might eaſily 'have been interrupted. Laſtly, it pleaſed him to 'queſtion yet a greater overſight in both theſe king-'doms, England and France: becauſe while their 'princes ſtood at gaze, as upon things far off, they 'ſtill gave way for the Popiſh and Spaniſh inviſible 'arts and counſels, to undermine the greatneſs and free-'dom both of ſecular and eccleſiaſtical princes: a mortal 'ſickneſs in that vaſt body of Germany, and by their 'inſenſible fall, a raiſing up of the Houſe of Auſtria 'many ſteps towards her long affected monarchy over 'the Weſt. The ground of which opinion was, as he 'thought, in reſpect that even the catholic princes 'and biſhops themſelves, had their eyes been well 'wakened, would never have endured any cloud or 'colour of religion to have changed their princely ſo-'vereignties into ſuch a kind of low and chaplain te-'nure, as ſince they have ſleepily fallen into; but 'would rather have ſtirred them, with many hands, to 'bind this miter-ſuperſtition with the real cords of 'truth; and to that end perchance, have ſet Spain on 'work, with her new and ill digeſted conqueſts; her 'dangerous enemy Feſs; her native Moors, and Jews, 'ſince craftily tranſported; and ſo probably have 'troubled the uſurpations both of the Pope and Spain, 'over that well-tempered, though over-zealous and 'ſuperſtitious region of Italy. Theſe and ſuch other 'particulars, as I had in charge, and did faithfully de-'liver from him to her Majeſty, are ſince performed 'or periſhed with time or occaſion. The laſt branch 'was, his free expreſſing of himſelf in the honour of 'Sir Philip Sidney, after this manner: that I would 'firſt commend his humble ſervice with thoſe fore-'mentioned ideas to the Queen; and after crave leave 'of her freely to open his knowledge and opinion of a 'fellow ſervant of his, that, as he heard, lived unim-'ployed under her. With himſelf he began *ab ovo*, 'as having been of Charles the Vth's Privy-Council, 'before he was one and twenty years of age; and ſince 'as the world knew, either an actor, or at leaſt ac-'quainted with the greateſt actions and affairs of Europe; 'and likewiſe with her greateſt men and miniſters of 'ſtate. In all which ſeries of time, multitude of things 'and perſons he proteſted unto me, and for her ſervice, 'that if he could judge, her Majeſty had one of the 'ripeſt and greateſt counſellors of ſtate in Sir Philip 'Sidney, that at this day lived in Europe; to the trial 'of which, he was pleaſed to leave his own credit en-'gaged, until her Majeſty might pleaſe to employ 'this gentleman either among her friends or enemies. 'At my return into England, I performed all his other 'commandments: this that concerned Sir Philip, think-'ing to make the fine ſpun thread of friendſhip more 'firm between them, I acquainted Sir Philip with; 'not as queſtioning, but fully reſolving to do it. 'Unto which, he at firſt ſight oppoſing, diſcharged my 'faith impawned to the Prince of Orange for the deli-'very of it; as an act only intending his good, and ſo 'to be performed or diſpenſed with at his pleaſure; 'yet for my ſatisfaction, freely added theſe words: 'firſt, that the Queen had the life daily attending her; 'and if ſhe either did not, or would not value it ſo 'highly, the commendation of that worthy prince, 'could be no more at the beſt than a living picture of 'that life, and ſo of far leſs credit and eſtimation with 'her. His next reaſon was, becauſe Princes love not 'that foreign powers ſhould have extraordinary affec-'tion in their ſubjects; much leſs to be taught by 'them, how they ſhould place their own; as argu-'ments either upbraiding ignorance, or lack of large 'rewarding goodneſs in them (12).'

(12) Sir Fulke Grevile's Life of Sir Philip Sidney, p. 22 to 33.

ſuperintend, which was the framing of all original bills, and making out all orders for proceſs of appearance. But Fulke Grevile being now ſo well ſped in the reverſions of two of the beſt offices in that court, the Lord Deputy Sidney therefore recommends his ſon Robert in his room, to be joined with Mr Molyneux; and theſe inſtructions bear date 12 May, 1577 (o). Mr Waterhouſe, in a letter of his to Sir Henry Sidney, dated the tenth of June following, mentioning his ſon Philip's return from his embaſſy in Germany, ſays, that none of his attendants were ſick in the journey, only Fulke Grevile had an ague in his return, at Rocheſter (p); by which, it ſeems, we ſhould rather underſtand that it was in Sidney's return, or that Grevile only met him at the ſea-port in Kent he landed at, to eſcort him, like other friends, to London, and was ſick in that journey, than that he bore him company all the way throughout his embaſſy. It muſt be ſo early, according to the neareſt computation we can make, as the year 1580, that he had his firſt office in the court of the marches in Wales, by the conteſts which about that time appear to have riſen againſt him, concerning the profits thereof; and his friend Sidney prevailed upon his father's Secretary, Mr Molyneux, not to oppoſe his couſin Grevile's title in any part, or conſtruction of his patents, by a letter he wrote to him on the tenth of April, 1581 (q), as may be ſeen by Mr Molyneux's anſwer to the ſame (r): and when Sir Francis Walſingham appeared as Grevile's friend in the diſpute, it laid all other oppoſition aſleep. The letter he wrote upon this occaſion we ſhall here under recite [E], and thereunto annex what we have further met with relating to that office, Clerk of the Signet to the Council in Wales, which is ſaid to have brought him in yearly above two thouſand pounds *, and his other offices in the ſaid court of the marches. He was not however ſo much embarraſſed with buſineſs, but that he could make a conſpicuous figure in the grand entertainments which were made at Court this year, when the embaſſadors and great numbers of the nobility of France came over, commiſſioners from Queen Katharine de Medicis, to treat about the marriage of Queen Elizabeth with the Duke of Anjou; and after having been nobly banquetted in a ſpacious edifice, built at Weſtminſter for the purpoſe, and ſplendidly

(o) Idem, pag. 187.

(p) Ibid. pag. 193.

(q) Idem, pag. 293.

(r) Ibid. p. 294.

* Mr Collins's Hiſtorical Account of the family of the Greviles, p. 31; and Thomas Spencer's general Life, &c. of Robert Lord Brook, MS. as before.

[E] *The letter he wrote upon this occaſion we ſhall hereunder recite.*]

Sir FRANCIS WALSINGHAM to Sir HENRY SIDNEY.

'My verie good Lord,

'Abowt the end of Februarie laſt, I writt to your 'Lordſhip, on the behalfe of my couſen Fulke Grie-'vell, for the profitts of the office fallen unto him there 'in the marches, by Mr Dudley's death. At that tyme 'alſo, I writt to Mr Fox, frendly adviſing him to ſuf-'fer my couſen quietly to enjoy the ſaid office, with all 'ſuch commodities as Mr Dudley had; which no 'doubt was ment unto him by her Majeſtie; and I 'thincke to bee caried away by ſufficient words of the 'patent. Howebeit, as I underſtand by your Lord-'ſhip's lettre, and more plainly by Mr Fox himſelf, 'he intendeth to ſtand in law with my couſen, for the 'proffetts which Mr Dudley had, by the late encreaſe 'of fees in everie proceſſe paſſing the ſignet. Yf Mr 'Dudley, ſerving but a nobleman, could enjoy that 'encreaſe of fees, much more I hope my couſen ſhall, 'being her Majeſtie's ſervant, and a gentleman of 'whome ſhe maketh, as your Lordſhip doth knowe, 'ſome good accompt. I knowe your Lordſhip's good 'affection towards my couſen, and therefore doubt not 'but you have allreadie, and will further doe what 'you may with Mr Fox, to yeald to that is reaſon 'without law; which if hee will not, but that 'law muſt needs be commenced between them, 'ſurely it ſhall be proſequuted in ſuch effectual 'ſort, that Mr Fox in the end, will have ſmall cawſes 'to rejoice of the iſſue therof: whereas now, by yeald-'ing to that is required, hee may avoyd trouble, and 'purchaſe to him ſelf, not only the aſſurance of the 'good love of my ſelfe, but alſo of all other my cou-'ſen Greivill's friends, which are manie and of great 'callyng, and may ſtead Mr Fox, and his, in matters 'poſſible of greater importance than this thing nowe in 'queſtion is. Much to this effect I have nowe writ-'ten to Mr Fox; in whome, if you ſhall find no pre-'ſent diſpoſition to yeald to my requeſt, then I wyſhe 'it would pleaſe your Lordſhip, to ſequeſter the pro-'fitts in controverſie between them, as in former let-'ters was required, untill the cawſe be determined by 'lawe or otherwiſe. And thus, with my hartieſt com-'mendations to your good Lordſhip, I take my leave: 'From the Court, the 11th of April, 1581.

'Your Lordſhip's

'Aſſured loving friend,

'FRA: WALSYNGHAM (13).'

(13) Letters, &c. of the Sidneys, Vol. I. fol. 293.

This office here ſpoken of to be lately fallen to Mr Grevill, appears to be that of Clerk of the Signet; which as it is in the letter above intimated, and we are elſewhere informed he had granted him by patent from the Queen. The author who ſpeaks of it to the Queen herſelf, ſays, 'That by vertue of this clerkſhip, or 'keeper of her Majeſtie's Signet, Mr Foulke Grevill, 'doth make out all proceſſes which go out of the ſaid 'court. The fees of the Signet are,—for every letter 'at the ſuit of the party, one ſhilling; for every pla-'card, two ſhillings; for writing an exemplification, 'according to it's length, for ſealing it, ſix ſhillings 'and eight pence.' It is remarked further, 'that the 'fees, as well of this office, as in all others there, are 'far leſs than in others of her Majeſtie's courts; and 'yet the diſpatch there, is more ſpedie, and in all re-'ſpects more eaſefull to the ſuitors (14).' The ſame author, ſpeaking alſo a little before of the office of Secretary in that court, 'whoſe duetie was to conceave, 'deviſe, and write ſuch letters, acts, or public pro-'clamations, as either concern the quiet government of 'the ſubjects, within the lymitts of their authoritie, 'or the reſolutions of that board, upon cauſes of eſtate 'depending before them;' adds, 'that Mr Foulk Gre-'vill is now by patent under the Great-Seale, her Ma-'jeſtie's Secretarie at the ſaid councell: that he had 'dyett for himſelf and his ſervant in the Queen's houſe-'hold, and twenty marks fee per annum; which was 'to be defalked by the Lord Preſident and Councell, 'if he neglected attendance (15). We are likewiſe here further informed, 'That there is alſo granted to 'Mr Foulk Grevill, by another patent, the Clerkſhip 'of the Councill, to be executed by himſelf or his de-'putie. By vertue of this office, he hath the keeping 'of all recordes, the office and place of regiſter; the 'making of all copies, the entring of all orders, and 'the making of bonds and commiſſions. He, or his 'deputie, are tied to continual attendance; allowed 'diett for himſelf and one ſervant; and, for the better 'performance of his ſervice in this office, is allowed 'twelve clerks. The office is ſupplied by Thomas 'Therar, who for many years hath been deputie in the 'ſame; and for the better execution thereof, he hath 'divided his office into ſeveral parts, which being diſ-'charged by ſeveral perſons, are termed offices, after 'the name of the officer or clerk who ſerveth therein; 'as Scroop's office, Bradſhaw's office, &c.' as their names then were (16).

(14) The Preſent State of the Court of your Majeſty's Council, eſtabliſhed in the principality and marches of Wales, 4to. MS. p. 6. among the MSS. of the late Nat. Boothe, Eſq; of Gray's-Inn.

(15) Idem, p. 5.

(16) Ibid. p. 8.

[F] *Some*

ſplendidly furniſhed, they were further entertained, not to ſpeak of other courtly diverſions, with the martial exerciſes of tilts and tournaments, in the moſt magnificent and expenſive manner, by Philip Earl of Arundel, Frederick Lord Windſor, Philip Sidney, and Fulke Grevile, who were challengers of all comers (*s*); in which rencounters he behaved himſelf ſo gallantly, that he won the reputation of a moſt valiant Knight (*t*). Sir William Dugdale informs us, that he was conſtituted Secretary for the principality of South and North Wales, by letters patent, bearing date the twentieth of April, in the 25th of Elizabeth, or 1583; and that the ſaid office was granted to him for life, the 24th of July, 1 James I (*u*). When Sir Philip Sidney died of his wounds at Arnham, in October 1586, he bequeathed in his laſt will 'To his dear friends, Mr Edward Dier, and Fulke 'Grevile, all his books (*w*).' In the beginning of 1588, he, among other perſons of honour and quality, was created Maſter of Arts at Oxford, which my author thinks was the higheſt degree conferred on him at that univerſity (*x*). And when Ambroſe Dudley Earl of Warwick, died in February, 1589, Fulke Grevile is mentioned to have been a mourner at his interment, on the 9th of April, 1590, in the chapel at Warwick (*y*). In December 1595, there appears to have been ſome complaint brought before the Lords of the council, againſt Mr Fulke Grevile, for certain abuſes in Kanck-Wood in Warwickſhire, and an information of fourteen thouſand pounds ſpoil, by good certificate of gentlemen dwelling thereabouts: The examination of this matter was left to the Lord Treaſurer and Sir John Forteſcue, but if it had gone hardly againſt him, it is probable we had heard more of it from the ſame pen that informs us thereof (*z*). In October 1597, he is reported to have received, with Egerton, Arthur Gorge, Vaveſor, and others, the honour of knighthood (*a*). In the beginning of March following, he made intereſt for the office of treaſurer of the wars (*b*); and he was about two years after, in the 41ſt of Elizabeth, according to Dugdale, as laſt quoted, made treaſurer of marine cauſes for life. When orders were given out to draw commiſſions for the great fleet that was ſet forth, in expectation of another invaſion by the Spaniards, in Auguſt 1599, it is reported, that Sir Fulke Grevile was to have one as Rear-Admiral (*c*). We hear no more of any ſuch charge that he was entruſted with in the navy, but what he ſomewhat humouroufly mentions himſelf upon the execution of his kinſman, the Earl of Eſſex; where he ſays, that 'Himſelf, while he remained about the Queen, was a kind of *remora*, 'ſtaying the violent courſe of that fatal ſhip, and but now was abruptly ſent away, to 'guard a figurative fleet, in danger of nothing but theſe *proſopopœia's* of inviſible ran-'cour, and kept, as in a free priſon, at Rocheſter, 'till his head was off (*d*).' In the 44th and laſt year of Queen Elizabeth, having bought up from private hands ſome claims upon the manor of Wedgnock, he obtained from the Queen a grant of the antient and ſpacious park thereunto belonging, for himſelf, his heirs, and aſſigns, in as ample manner as John Duke of Northumberland, or Ambroſe Earl of Warwick, had held it *. He was a Member of Parliament, alſo frequently of the committees, in ſeveral ſeſſions (*e*), being many times elected Knight of the ſhire with Sir Thomas Lucy: it is affirmed the county could not make a better choice, they being learned, wiſe, and honeſt †; and he is reckoned both a laſting and worthy favourite of the Queen's to the end of her reign, by authors who had the advantage of drawing their characters of him from the life, ſome particulars whereof we ſhall gather into the note below [*F*]. In 1603, he was made Knight of the Bath, at the coronation of King James I. and not long after, or in the ſecond year of that King, according to my authors, had a grant made him of the ruinous caſtle of Warwick (*f*). 'He beſtowed ſo much coſt, at leaſt twenty thouſand pounds, in the 'repairs thereof, beautifying it with the moſt pleaſant gardens, plantations, and walks, 'and adorning it with rich furniture; that, conſidering it's ſituation, no place in that 'midland part of England does compare with it for ſtatelineſs and delight (*g*).' Beſides other

(*s*) Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, anno 1581.

(*t*) Winſtanley's Lives of the Engliſh Poets, p. 87.

(*u*) Antiquities of Warwickſhire, Vol. II. fol. 767.

(*w*) Sir Philip Sidney's laſt Will, in Mr Collins's Memoirs of the Lives and Actions of the Sidneys, prefixed to their Letters, &c. Vol. I. p. iii.

(*x*) Athen. Oxon. ut ſupra.

(*y*) Collins's Memoirs of the Sidneys, p. 39.

(*z*) In the Letters of the Sidneys, Vol. I. p. 376.

(*a*) Idem, Vol. II. p. 74.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 94.

(*c*) Idem, p. 113.

(*d*) His life of Sir P. Sidney, p. 180, 181.

* Mr Collins, in the family of the Greviles, p. 31.

(*e*) Sir Symonds Dewe's Journal of Parliaments, &c. fol. 1682.

† Mr Collins, as before, in the family of the Greviles, from T. Spencer's MS. Life of Robert Lord Brooke.

(*f*) Athen. Oxon. ubi ſupra; and Mr Collins, as before.

(*g*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, as before.

[*F*] *Some particulars whereof we ſhall gather into the note below.*] A little ſpeech of his in the Houſe of Commons, the Lord Bacon has thought worthy of preſervation, among the collection of wiſe ſayings, which he publiſhed but a twelve month before he died; where he informs us that, 'Sir Fulke Grevill in parliament, when the lower houſe in a great buſineſs of 'the Queen's, ſtood much upon precedents, ſaid to 'them. *Why ſhould you ſtand ſo much upon* precedents? '*the times hereafter will be* good *or* bad: *if* good, *pre-*'*cedents will do no harm*; *if* bad, *power will make a* '*way where it finds none* (17).' Another ſpeech of his, upon the idle ſtories that uſed to be fathered upon him at Court, the ſame author has, together with a laudable character of him, alſo remembred in theſe words, 'Sir Fulk Grevill had much, and private acceſs to Queen Elizabeth, which he uſed honourably, 'and did many men good: yet he would ſay merrily 'of himſelf, *That he was like* Robin Goodfellow; *for* '*when the maids ſpilt the milk-pans, or kept any racket,* '*they would lay it upon* Robin: *ſo what tales the ladies* '*about the Queen told her, or other bad offices that they* '*did, they would put it upon him* (18).' But Sir Robert Naunton has given a larger and more general character of him, as an eminent courtier of theſe times, where he muſters him among the favourites of that Queen, which is as follows: 'Sir Fulke Grevill, ſince 'Lord Brook, had no mean place in her favour, neither did he hold it for a ſhort term; for, if I be not 'deceived, he had the longeſt leaſe and the ſmootheſt 'time, without rub of any of her favourites. He came 'to the court in his youth and prime, for that is the 'time or never. He was a brave gentleman, and honourably deſcended from Willoughby Lord Brook, 'and admiral to Henry VII. Neither illiterate, for 'he was, as he would often profeſs, a friend to Sir 'Philip Sidney; and there are of his now extant, 'ſome fragments of his poems, and of thoſe times, 'which do intereſt him in the Muſes; and which ſhow 'the Queen's election had ever a noble conduct, and it 'motions more of vertue and judgment than of fancy. 'I find that he neither ſought for, or obtained any great 'place or preferment in court, during all the time of 'his attendance; neither did he need it; for he came 'thither backed with a plentiful fortune; which, as 'himſelf was wont to ſay, was the better held together 'by a ſingle life, wherein he lived and died a conſtant 'courtier of the ladies (19).'

(17) Lord Bacon's Apophthegmes, new and old, 12mo. 1625. p. 221.

(18) Idem. p. 257.

(19) Sir Robert Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia; or, obſervations on the late Queen Elizabeth's times and favourites, 4to. 1642, p. 30.

other grants from the crown, he had one alſo of the manor and lands of Knowle, in the ſaid county of Warwick; and he taſted the royal bounty, as yet, more in ſuch grants of land, than any offices in the State. Indeed he ſeems to have had more temptation to divert himſelf with his buildings and his books for ſome years at leaſt, in the former part of this reign, than to purſue his intereſt at court, where he met with diſcouragements from ſome perſons in power, perceived the meaſures of government and management of the ſtate quite altered, waining from the luſtre in which he had ſeen it ſhine, and found little hopes of being preferred to any thing conſiderable in the miniſtry; therefore he ſeems to have formed ſome ſchemes of retirement, that he might as much as poſſible live over again the glorious times he had been witneſs of in the late reign, by recalling the particulars thereof to his memory, and recording the ſame with his pen, which he propoſed to confirm with the moſt authentic vouchers in being: but how poſterity came to be deprived of his ſaid intended Life, or Hiſtory, of Queen Elizabeth, his own words may beſt declare [G]. When he found he could not have the uſe of thoſe papers which were neceſſary to compleat his work in the ſubſtantial manner that might be expected, he diſpoſed himſelf to reviſe the products of his juvenile ſtudies, and his poetical recreations with Sir Philip Sidney. Little of them appeared in print during his life-time, but ſince his death there have been three or four publications in his name, though it is not improbable, but he has mentioned himſelf all the pieces of his writing which he deſigned for the preſs: therefore we ſhall here ſubjoin an account of the writings which have been publickly aſcribed to him, and then what he ſays of thoſe which he intended ſhould be printed as his poſthumous works [H]. It was ſome time after the death of the Treaſurer Cecil, before we

[G] *How poſterity came to be deprived of his intended life of Queen Elizabeth, his own words may beſt declare.*] Sir Fulke Grevil, after having given us ſome ſhort memoirs, or a ſummary view in ſeveral inſtances, of the wiſe and political government of this renowned Queen, proceeds thus in apology, for not extending the ſame to it's due proportion. 'Now if any man ſhall 'demand, why I did not rather leave unto the world 'a complete hiſtory of her life, than this ſhort memo- 'rial, in ſuch ſcattered and undigeſted minutes, let 'him receive this anſwer from a dead man, be- 'cauſe I am confident no fleſh breathing, by ſeeing 'what is done, ſhall have occaſion of aſking that que- 'ſtion whilſt I am living. Preſently after the death of 'my moſt gracious Queen and miſtreſs, the falſe ſpirits 'and apparitions of idle grief haunted me exceedingly, 'and made all things ſeem either greater or leſs than 'they were; ſo that the farther I went, the more diſ- 'comfortable I found thoſe new revolutions of time, 'to my decayed and diſproportioned abilities; yet 'fearing to be curſed with the fig tree, if I bore no 'fruit, I rouſed up my thoughts upon an ancient 'axiome of wiſe men; *ſi quicquid offendit, relinquimus 'citò; inerti otio torpebit vita*; and upon a ſecond re- 'view of the world, called to mind the many duties I 'owed to that matchleſs ſovereign of mine, with a re- 'ſolution to write her life in this manner. Firſt, ſe- 'rioufly to have begun with the uniting of the red and 'white roſes, in the marriage of Henry VII. In the 'like manner, to have run over Henry the VIIIth's 'time, untill his ſeveral rents in the Church, with a 'purpoſe to have demurred more ſeriouſly upon the 'ſudden change, in his ſon Edward VI, from ſuper- 'ſtition, to the eſtabliſhment of God's ancient catho- 'lique and primitive Church. Thoſe cobwebs of re- 'converſion in Queen Mary's days, I had no intent to 'meddle with, but only, by pre-occupation to ſhew, 'that princes captived in nature, can ſeldom keep 'any thing free in their governments, but as ſoils 'manured to bring forth ill-weeds apace, muſt live to 'ſee ſchiſm ariſe in the Church, wearing out the real 'branches of immortal truth, to weave in the thin 'leaves of mortal ſuperſtition, and to behold in the 'ſtate, all their faireſt induſtries, ſpring and fade to- 'gether, like fern-ſeed: Laſtly, I intended, with ſuch 'ſpirits as age had left me, to revive my ſelf in her 'memory, under whom I was bred. Now in this 'courſe, becauſe I knew, that as the liberality of kings 'did help to cover many errors; ſo truth in a ſtory, 'would make good many other defects in a writer, I 'adventured to move the Secretary *, that I might 'have his favour to peruſe all obſolete records of the 'council-cheſt, from thoſe times, down as near to theſe, 'as he, in his wiſdom ſhould think fit. He firſt, 'friendly required my end in it, which I as freely de- 'livered him, as I have now done to you. Againſt 'her memory, he, of all men had no reaſon to keep a 'ſtrict hand, and where to beſtow a Queen Elizabeth's 'ſervant, with leſs diſadvantage to himſelf, it ſeems, 'readily appeared not; ſo that my abrupt motion took 'hold of his preſent counſell: for he liberally granted 'my requeſt, and appointed me that day three weeks 'to come for his warrant; which I did, and then 'found in ſhew, a more familiar and graceful aſpect 'than before; he deſcending to queſtion me, *why I 'would dream out my time, in writing a ſtory, being as 'like to riſe in this time, as any man he knew* Then, 'in a more ſerious and friendly manner, examining 'me, how I could clearly deliver many things done in 'that time, which might perchance be conſtrued to 'the prejudice of this? I ſhortly made anſwer, that I 'conceived an hiſtorian was bound to tell nothing but 'the truth; but to tell all the truth, were both juſtly 'to wrong and offend, not only princes and ſtates, but 'to blemiſh and ſtir up againſt himſelf, the frailty and 'tenderneſs, not only of particular men, but of many 'families, with the ſpirit of an Athenian Timon; and 'therefore ſhewed myſelf ſo far from being diſcouraged 'with that objection, as I took upon me freely to ad- 'venture all my own goods in this ſhip, which was to 'be of my own building. Immediately this noble Se- 'cretary, as it ſeems moved, but not removed with 'thoſe ſelfneſſes of my opinion, ſeriouſly aſſured me 'that, upon ſecond thoughts, *he durſt not preſume to let 'the counſell-cheſt lie open to any man living, without his 'Majeſty's knowledge and approbation.* With this *ſu- 'perſedeas*, I humbly took my leave, at the firſt ſight, 'aſſuring myſelf, this laſt project of his, would neceſ- 'ſarily require, *ſheet after ſheet to be viewed*, which I 'had no confidence in my own powers to abide the 'hazard of; and herein it may pleaſe the reader to be- 'lieve me the rather, by theſe pamphlets, which hav- 'ing ſlept out my own time, if they happen to be ſeen 'hereafter, ſhall at their own peril riſe upon the ſtage 'when I am not). Beſides, in the ſame propoſition I 'further ſay, that the many judgments which thoſe 'embrios of mine muſt probably have paſt through, 'would have brought forth ſuch a world of alterations, 'as in the end of the work itſelf, would have proved '*a ſtory of other mens writing, with my name only put 'to it*; and ſo a worſhip of time, not a voluntary ho- 'mage of duty (20).'

* Sir Robert Cecil.

(20) Sir Fulke Grevile's Life of Sir P. Sidney, from p. 236 to p. 241.

[H] *Shall here ſubjoin an account of the writings which have been publickly aſcribed to him, and then, what he has ſaid of thoſe he intended ſhould be printed as his poſthumous works.*] Moſt of our author's poetical works were publiſhed about five years after his death, but the name of any editor does not appear in that edition of them. The ſeveral pieces ſeem to be all genuine, or of his own compoſition; and, as may be ſeen before ſome of them, were licenſed to the preſs, by H. Herbert, in June 1632 (21). The firſt is, *A Treatiſe of Human Learning*, in 150 ſtanzas, of ſix lines each. 2. *An Inquiſition upon Fame and Honour*, in eighty-ſix ſtanzas. 3. *A Treatiſe of Wars*, in ſixty-eight ſtanzas. 4. *The Tragedy of Alaham.* 'Tis moſtly written in rhime, and is adorned with many moral ſentences, and political maxims. 'It ſeems an imitation of the Ancients,

(21) They are entituled, Certain learned and elegant Works of the Right Hon. Fulke Lord Brooke, written in his youth, and familiar Exerciſe with Sir P. Sidney. Lond. printed by E. P. for W. Scyle, &c. fol. 1633.

we meet with him in any favour, or advancement conſiderable, in the Court or State. In the twelfth of King James, or 1614, he was by that King made Under-Treaſurer and Chancellor

' cients, and the prologue is ſpoken by a ghoſt, one of ' the old Kings of Ormus, an iſland ſituate at the en- ' trance of the Perſian gulph, where the ſcene of the ' drama lies. This ſpectre gives an account of each ' character, poſſibly in imitation of Euripides, who ' uſually introduced one of the chief actors, as the pro- ' logue, whoſe buſineſs was to explain all thoſe circum- ' ſtances which preceded the opening of the ſtage. The ' author has been ſo careful in obſerving the rules of ' Ariſtotle and Horace, (as to the number of interlocu- ' tors) that he has in no ſcene throughout, introduced ' above two ſpeakers, except in the chorus between ' each act, and even there, he obſerves all the rules ' laid down by the latter of thoſe maſters in the art of ' poetry, &c (22).' 5. *The Tragedy of Muſtapha.* This alſo is built on the like ancient model with the former, as we ſhall ſee he never deſigned either to appear upon any modern ſtage. The author laſt quoted obſerves, that, ' an imperfect copy of this play ' appeared in print, in quarto, Lond 1609; though ' he ſuppoſes without his Lordſhip's knowledge, ſince ' it may rather be ſtiled a fragment than a tragedy: ' but thoſe imperfections are mended in this folio edi- ' tion (23).' It was upon the occaſion of this ſurreptitious impreſſion, that a poet of thoſe times, in an epigram he wrote to the author upon this play, addreſſes the ſame, *To the immortal memory, and deſerved honour of the writer of the Tragedy of Muſtapha, as it is* written, *not* printed, *by Sir Fulk Grevill, Knt* (24). Yet Mr Edmund Bolton, though he had only ſeen this firſt edition, calls it, in his *Hypercritica*, the *Matchleſs Muſtapha*, and ſays of the author, in company of ſome others of note, that his poetry, eſpecially therein, is not to be eaſily mended †. At the end of this tragedy, in the chorus *ſacerdotum*, there are ſix lines which one of our moſt reverend prelates has quoted from this play into one of his ſermons, to anſwer the ſame, as the favourite argument of thoſe who murmur at the injunctions of religion, as if it attributed to Providence, ' the ſetting ' of our nature and our duty at variance, or the giving ' us appetites one way and laws another; the force of ' which objection, ſays he, is very ſmartly expreſſed ' in thoſe celebrated verſes of a noble poet of our own, ' which are ſo frequently in the mouths of many, who ' are thought to bear no good will to religion:' and perhaps 'tis the only example that has been drawn into ſuch a ſolemn diſcourſe from an Engliſh play, by one who was ſuch an eminent member of the Church. The lines are theſe:

> Oh, wearisome condition of humanity,
> Born under one law to another bound!
> Vainly begot, and yet forbidden vanity!
> Created ſick, commanded to be ſound!
> If nature did not take delight in blood,
> She would have made more eaſy ways to good (25).

But theſe two laſt lines do not immediately follow the former in the ſaid chorus of the play itſelf; and as for the thought, it has not only been embelliſhed by other poets of wit and judgment, beſides the Lord Brook, but no leſs admired in them, without any imputation of diſreſpect to the divine ordinances of Providence; and eſpecially in thoſe celebrated lines of the famous Italian, Battiſta Guarini, which are as follow:

> *Se'l peccar' è ſi dolce,*
> *E'l non peccar ſi neceſſario; ò troppo*
> *Imperfetta natura,*
> *Che rèpugni à la legge;*
> *Ò troppo dura legge*
> *Che la natura offendi* *.

* Il Paſtor Fido, atto III. ſcen. iv.

Edward Phillips, in his *Theatrum Poetarum*, and his follower William Winſtanley, in his *Lives of the Engliſh Poets*, have aſcribed another tragedy to our author, named *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, but erroneouſly; this play not being written, at leaſt printed, till many years after his death (26). 6. *Cælica:* containing 109 ſonnets of different meaſures, but moſtly on the topic of love. This is a name our author alſo uſes in his tragedy of Alaham, for the old king's daughter: but he has likewiſe the names of Cynthia, Myra, and Myraphill, in ſome others of theſe ſonnets. 7. *A Letter to an honourable Lady.* 'Tis a long one written in proſe, tho' unfiniſhed; adviſing, how to compoſe herſelf under the irregularities of her huſband, eſpecially under the affliction of having a rival: but it is full, according to his vein, of ſuch refined ſpeculations, that it is well, if ſhe every where could be able to underſtand him. 8. *A Letter of Travel.* This is alſo written in proſe, from his ſeat known by the name of Brook-Houſe, at Hackney, in 1609, to his couſin Grevil Verney, then in France; there is a MS. of it, in the library of Univerſity College in Oxford: it contains directions to him, for his conduct and management during his continuance abroad; and theſe are the contents of this volume: what we have more to obſerve in relation to ſome caſtrations of it, is reſerved for the laſt note we ſhall make upon this article. Several good precepts, maxims, and reflections, have been extracted from the plays and poems above-mentioned, in a late collection of the beſt thoughts, &c. gathered out of our old poets (27). Afterwards, in the beginning of the civil-wars, there was an hiſtorical pamphlet publiſhed in our author's name, diſcourſing of the Earl of Northampton's coming to honour, the riſe of Carr Earl of Somerſet, the breach between the Earl of Eſſex and Lady Frances Howard his counteſs; her marriage with Carr; the Lord Treaſurer Cecil's death; the poiſoning of Sir Thomas Overbury; the death of Prince Henry; the releaſe of Sir Walter Raleigh from the Tower, and other occurrences from the year 1611, to 1616 (28): but neither the ſtyle nor ſentiments being agreeable to Sir Fulke Grevil's manner, and as he mentions not this treatiſe among his other writings, we meet with no confirmation of it's being written by him; and yet, as that period of time contains ſuch remarkable events in the reign of King James the Firſt, the tract has been lately thought worthy of another impreſſion (29). The next piece which appeared in public, with his name to it, was what the editor rather than himſelf ſeems to have entituled, *The Life of the renowned Sir Philip Sidney*; which we have, in this account of the author, been much beholden to, for ſeveral extracts relating to his Lordſhip. It is evidently a work of his own compoſing, though it lay above twenty years hoarded up in his friend's hands before it came abroad (30); and tho' it is expreſſed in the title page, to contain *Sir Philip's principal actions, councils, deſigns, and death, with the true intereſt of England, as it then ſtood, in relation to all foreign princes, and particularly for ſuppreſſing the power of Spain, as ſtated by him; together with a ſhort account of the maxims and policies uſed by Queen Elizabeth in her government:* yet his whole work has not anſwered the great ideas which the world had conceived of his worthy; finding it rather a characteriſtical draught of him, in which the author ſeems to have aimed more at thoſe delicate and courtly forms of addreſs he had been uſed to, in fine ſpun phraſes, and diſtant or general intimations, rather than to be explicite, or plainly particular as a Biographer ſhould be in ſolid matters of fact. But indeed he was in his declining years when he wrote it, from the faint and faded images that remained in his memory, without having any, or very little recourſe to books, or ſuch other memorials from whence he might have enriched his narrative with thoſe hiſtorical requiſites of time, place, and perſon, whereof it is ſo deficient. Hence Anthony Wood ſays, ' It were to be wiſhed, ' that Sir Fulk Grevil's imperfect eſſay might be ſup- ' plied (31):' and Biſhop Nicholſon obſerves, that, ' Sir Fulk has not given the ſtory of his intimate friend ' ſo accurately as we could wiſh, nor as the memory ' of that extraordinary perſon deſerves (32).' But indeed, as he ſeems not to have deſigned a perfect life, however thoſe authors were miſled by the editor's title to believe he had, ſo much as a few ſketches, or outlines, for others to fill up; and in ſhort, as the whole treatiſe, conſiſting of eighteen chapters, whereof a third part does not concern Sir Philip Sidney, appears intended but as ſo many preliminary diſcourſes or parts of a general preface, that was to be only introductory to his poetical works, it may as ſuch paſs for a very proper, polite, and ingenious performance. There is a manuſcript copy of it in the library of Trinity-College in Cambridge,

(22) Gr. Langbaine's Account of the Engliſh dramatic poets, 8vo. Oxon. 1691, p. 38.

(23) Idem, p. 39.

(24) John Davis's Scourge of Folly, printed in 8vo. about 1610, p. 195.

(†) Vid. Nic. Triveti Annalium Contin. Oxon. 8vo. 1722, p. 237.

(25) Archbiſhop Tillotſon's Sermons, 8vo. 2d edit. Vol. III. 1687, p. 406, &c. See alſo Sir Richard Steele's Reader and Lover, 2d edit. 8vo. 1718. p. 184, &c.

(26) Langbaine, p. 40.

(27) In Mr Thomas Hayward's Britiſh Muſe, in 3 vols 12mo. 1738.

(28) It is intituled, The Five Years of King James I. or, the Condition of the State of England, and the relation it had to other provinces, written by Sir Fulke Greville, late Lord Brooke, printed for R. W. 4to 1643.

(29) In the Harleyan Miſcellany, 4to. Vol. VII.

(30) Printed for Henry Seyle, 12mo. 1652, and dedicated by the editor, P. B. to the Counteſs of Sunderland.

(31) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 226.

(32) Hiſt. Lib. folio, 1736, p. 247.

Chancellor of the Exchequer, alſo choſen one of the Privy-Council, and then or afterwards one of the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber (*b*). In his office of Chancellor, it is recorded

(*b*) Dugd. War. Vol. II. fol. 767.

Cambridge, which either does not, or ſhould not monopolize the whole diſcouſe under the name of Sir Philip; whoſe life it was apparently enticuled by the editor, as the moſt popular and vendible title he could give it. The laſt book which was ſet forth to the world in our author's name, called his *Remains*, conſiſts of ſome political and philoſophical poems, written much in the vein of others before ſpecified; and having himſelf, in the preceding work, partly mentioned them, we may therefore the leſs doubt their being of the ſame extraction. The Bookſeller, in his advertiſement informs us that, 'When Sir Fulk grew old, he reviſed the poems and 'treatiſes he had writ long before, and, at his death, 'committed them to his friend Mr Michael Malet, 'an aged gentleman, in whom he much confided; 'who intended what the author propoſed, to have 'had them printed all together; but by copies of ſome 'parts of them, which happened into other hands, 'ſome of them came firſt abroad; each of his works 'having had their fate, as they ſingly merit particular 'eſteem, ſo to come into the world at ſeveral times. 'He, to whom they were firſt delivered being dead, 'the truſt of theſe remaining pieces devolved on Sir J. 'M. who hath given me the licenſed copy of them: 'and that the reader may be more fully informed of 'the author and his writings, and how they are re'lated to each other, we muſt refer to that wherein, 'beſides his friend Sir Philip Sidney's life, he gives ac'count of his own, and what he hath written (33).' In theſe poetical Remains, the firſt poem is a *Treatiſe* of Monarchy, which is divided into fifteen ſections, and they were firſt deſigned, or ſome of them, as choruſes to his dramatic compoſitions: they are entituled as follow, Sect. I. Of the beginning of Monarchy. II. The Declination of Monarchy to violence. III. Of weak-minded Tyrants. IV. Cautions againſt theſe weak Extremities. V. Of ſtrong Tyrants. VI. Of the Church. VII. Of Laws. VIII. Of Nobility. IX. Of Commerce. X. Of Crown Revenue. XI. Of Peace. XII. Of War. XIII. The Excellency of Monarchy compared with Ariſtocracy. XIV. The Excellency of Monarchy compared with Democracy. XV. The Excellency of Monarchy compared with Ariſtocracy and Democracy together. The whole fifteen ſections make ſix hundred and ſixty-four ſtanzas of ſix lines. The other poem, or Treatiſe of Religion, conſiſts of an hundred and fourteen ſtanzas, and is not divided into ſections. As for the character of his writings in general, one poetical author has given them a great encomium, in an epigram he has compoſed on his Lordſhip's works, wherein he calls them food for ſtrong minds, while thoſe which are weaker, may find enough of that which is lighter, in other books; and ſays further, that great wits look upon his maſter-ſtrokes with reverence and admiration, though they are not grown into ſuch eſteem with novices, and thoſe of meaner capacity: that his works ſhall endure to poſterity, as reliques of his worth, like ſome rare ſtatue or buſto, the workmanſhip of ſome maſterly hand; whoſe excellences, a Michael Angelo, or a Barnini, had only the ſkill to diſcover, but marble-ſpoilers no taſte of †. Edward Phillips ſays, more eſpecially in regard to his poetry, 'That there is ob'ſervable in all of it, a cloſe, myſterious, and ſententious way of writing, without much regard to ele'gancy of ſtyle, or ſmoothneſs of verſe (34).' But indeed he is often very elegant, both in proſe and verſe, and ſometimes alſo, very obſcure or abſtruſe in both; as a critic of the fair ſex has very truly obſerved; where ſhe ſays, 'Perhaps few men that dealt in poetry 'had more learning or real wiſdom than this noble'man; and yet his ſtyle is ſometimes ſo dark and my'ſterious, I mean it appears ſo to me, that one would 'imagine he choſe rather to conceal than illuſtrate his 'meaning: at other times again, his wit breaks out 'with an uncommon brightneſs, and ſhines, I had al'moſt ſaid without an equal. 'Tis the ſame thing 'with his poetry; ſometimes ſo harſh and uncooth, as 'if he had no ear for muſic; at others, ſo ſmooth 'and harmonious, as if he was maſter of all it's powers '(35).' Thus having given an account of the works that have been publiſhed as our author's, and what others have ſaid of them; we ſhall now recite what he has ſaid himſelf, of thoſe he intended for publication.

(33) The Remains of Sir Fulke Grevile, Lord Brooke, being poems of Monarchy and Religion, never printed before; printed for Hen. Herringman, 8vo. 1670, in the preface.

† See Epigrams of all ſorts, &c. by Richard Flecknoe, 8vo. 1671, p. 10.

(34) E. Phillips's Theatrum Poetarum: or Compleat Collection of the Poets, 12mo. 1675.

(35) The Muſes Library, or a Series of Engliſh poetry, &c. by Mrs Elizabeth Cooper, 8vo. 1737, p. 216.

This account of his ſaid political and dramatic poems, he introduces, after having informed us how he was diſcouraged from his engagements in foreign ſervices, as was before related, with his determination to take Sir Philip Sidney, in whom the exact image of quiet and action was ſo happily united, and is ſo ſeldom well divided in any, for his pattern: ſo that his compaſs, was one of his principal directions, for ſtealing ſome portions of time from his daily ſervices at home, and employing them in this kind of writing. Then he goes on in theſe words: 'Since my declining age, it is true, 'that I had for ſome years, more leiſure to diſcover 'their imperfections, than care or induſtry to amend 'them; finding in my ſelf, what all men complain of 'in the world, that it is more eaſy to find fault, ex'cuſe, or tolerate, than to examine or reform. The 'works, as you ſee are tragedies, with ſome treatiſes 'annexed. The treatiſes, to ſpeak truly of them, 'were firſt intended to be, for every act a chorus; and 'though not borne out of the preſent matter acted, 'yet, being the largeſt ſubject I could then think upon, 'and no ſuch ſtrangers to the ſcope of the tragedies, 'but that a favourable reader might ſtill find ſome con'ſanguinity between them; I preferring this general 'ſcope of profit, before the ſelf-reputation of being an 'exact artizan in that poetical myſtery, conceived that 'a perſpective into vice, and the improſperities of 'it, would prove more acceptable to every good rea'der's ends, than any bare murmur of diſcontented 'ſpirits againſt their preſent government, or horrible 'periods of exorbitant paſſions among equals. Which 'with humble ſails, after I had once ventured upon 'this ſpreading ocean of images, my apprehenſive 'youth, for lack of a well-touched compaſs, did eaſily 'wander beyond proportion. And in my old age again, 'looking back on them with a father's eye; when I 'conſidered firſt, how poorly the inward natures of 'thoſe glorious names were expreſſed; then, how 'much eaſier it was to excuſe deformities, than 'to cure them, though I found reaſon to change their 'places, yet I could not find in my heart to beſtow 'coſt or care, in altering their light and limited appa'rel in verſe. From hence, to come particularly to 'that treatiſe intitled, *The Declination of Monarchy* *, 'let me beg leave of the favourable reader to beſtow a 'few lines more in the ſtory of this changling, than I 'have done in the reſt; and yet, to uſe no more ſe'rious authority, than the rule of Diogenes, which 'was, to hang the poſie where there is moſt need. 'The firſt birth of that phantaſme was divided into 'three parts, with intention of the author, to be diſ'poſed among their fellows, into three divers acts of 'the tragedies. But, as I ſaid before, when upon a 'ſecond review, they, and the reſt, were all ordained 'to change their places, then did I, like an old and 'fond parent, unlike to get any more children, take 'pains, rather to cover the dandled deformities of theſe 'creatures, with a coat of many ſeams, than carefully 'to drive them away, as birds do their young ones. 'Yet again, when I had in my own caſe, well weighed 'the tenderneſs of that great ſubject, and conſequently 'the nice path I was to walk in, between two extre'mities; but eſpecially the danger, by treading aſide, 'to caſt ſcandal upon the ſacred foundations of monar'chy, together with the fate of many metaphyſical 'Phormio's before me, who had loſt themſelves in 'teaching of kings and princes how to govern their peo'ple; then did this new proſpect dazzle my eyes, and 'ſuſpend my travel for a time. But the familiar ſelf'love, which is more or leſs born in every man, to 'live and die with him, preſently moved me to take 'this bear-whelp up again, and lick it. Wherein, I 'roufing myſelf under the banner of this flattery, went 'about, as a fond mother, to put on richer garments, 'in hope to adorn them. But while clothes were 'in making, I perceived that coſt would but draw 'more curious eyes to obſerve deformities. So that 'from theſe checks, a new counſell aroſe in me, to 'take away all opinion of ſerioufneſs from theſe per'plexed pedigrees; and to this end, careleſsly caſt 'them into that hypocritical figure *Ironia*, wherein 'men commonly, to keep above their works, ſeem to 'make toys of the utmoſt they can do. And yet a'gain, in that confuſed miſt, when I beheld this grave 'ſubject,

* Printed in his Remains as was before obſerved.

recorded that he had for his fee, forty marks, and twelve pounds ſeventeen ſhilling and ſixpence, livery out of the wardrobe; and that his fee, as Under-Treaſurer of England, was an hundred ſeventy-three pounds ſix ſhillings and eight-pence; and livery out of the wardrobe, four pounds ſix and eight-pence (*i*). In 1617 he obtained a ſpecial charter, confirming all ſuch liberties as had been granted to any of his anceſtors, in behalf of the town of Alceſter, upon a new rent of ten ſhillings per annum, then reſerved to the ſaid King, his heirs and ſucceſſors (*k*). And having merited much for his faithful ſervices in his employments, being alſo deſcended of the noble Nevils, Willoughbys, and Beauchamps, as it is expreſſed in his patent, he was by the ſame, bearing date the ninth of January, in the eighteenth year of King James's reign, or 1620, advanced to the dignity of a Baron of this realm, by the title of Lord Brook of Beauchamps-Court (*l*), with limitation of that honour, for lack of iſſue male of his own body, unto Robert Grevile, the ſon of Fulke, ſon of Robert, a younger ſon of the firſt Fulke; which Robert, educated at Cambridge, ſucceeded him in the title, &c. and was killed by one of the royal party at Lichfield, in the beginning of the civil wars, as may be elſewhere read (*m*). According to A. Wood's reckoning, it was in September, 1621, that the Lord Brook was made one of the gentlemen of the King's bedchamber (*n*); and that thereupon, reſigning his Chancellorſhip of the Exchequer, he was ſucceeded therein by Richard Weſton, afterwards Earl of Portland, and Lord-Treaſurer of England (*o*). He was alſo Counſellor of State to King Charles I, and, in the beginning of his reign, was the founder of an Hiſtory Lecture in the

(*i*) A Catalogue of all the nobility of England; his Majeſty's Courts of Record, his Houſhold, Counſels of the North, Wales, and the Marches; the Admiralty, Armoury, and the Mint; his Towns of War, Caſtles, &c. with his Houſes, Parks, Foreſts, &c. collected in the year 1616, folio, MS. in the library of the late Nat. Boothe, Eſq; of Gray's-Inn.

(*k*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. II. as laſt cited.

(*l*) Idem. Alſo Dugdale's Baronage of England, Tom. II. p. 442. b.

(*m*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, anno 1642. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 523. Alſo T. Spencer's Life, &c. of Robert Lord Brooke.

(*n*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 521.

(*o*) Idem. Alſo Camden's Annals of King James.

' ſubject, which ſhould draw reverence and attention ' to be over-ſpangled with lightneſs, I forced, in ex' amples of the Roman gravity and greatneſs; the harſh ' ſeverity of the Lacedemonian government; the riches ' of the Athenian learning, wit and induſtry; and like ' a man that plays divers parts upon ſeveral hints, left ' all the indigeſted crudities, equally applied to kings ' or tyrants: whereas, in every clear judgment, the ' right line had been ſufficient enough to diſcover the ' crooked; if the image of it could have proved cre' dible to men. Now for the ſeveral branches, or diſ' courſes following; they are all members of one, and ' the ſame imperfect body; ſo as I let them take ' their fortunes, like eſſays, only to tempt and ſtir up ' ſome more free genius to faſhion the whole frame into ' finer mould for the world's uſe. The firſt limb of ' thoſe treatiſes, I mean that fabrick of a ſuperſtitious ' Church *, having by her maſterful ambition over em' perors, kings, princes, free-ſtates and councels, with ' her conclave-deceits, ſtrengths, and unthankfulneſs, ' ſpread ſo far beyond my horizon, as I at once gave ' over her, and all her derivations to Gamaliel's infal' lible cenſure, leaving laws, nobility, war, peace †, ' and the reſt, as glorious trophies of our old Pope the ' ſin, to change, reform, or become deformed, ac' cording as vanity, that limitleſs mother of theſe ido' latries ſhould either win of the truth, or the truth of ' them. Laſtly, concerning the tragedies themſelves, ' they were in their firſt creation, three; whereof An' thony and Cleopatra, according to their irregular ' paſſions, in forſaking empire to follow ſenſuality, ' were ſacrificed to the fire: the executioner, the ' author himſelf. Not that he conceived it to be a ' contemptible younger brother to the reſt; but leſt ' while he ſeemed to look over-much upward, he might ' ſtumble into the aſtronomer's pit; many members in ' that creature, by the opinion of thoſe few eyes that ' ſaw it, having ſome childiſh wantonneſs in them, apt ' enough to be conſtrued, or ſtrained to a perſonating ' of views in the preſent governors and government (36).' Towards the latter end of the book, our author ſpeaks again of his burning this tragedy, upon the death of Queen Elizabeth, as follows. ' Thus have I, by the ' reader's patience, given that Ægyptian and Roman ' Tragedy, a much more honourable ſepulture, than ' it could ever have deſerved, eſpecially in making ' their memories attend upon my ſovereign's herſe, with' out any other hope of being, than to wait upon her ' life and death, as their maker did; who hath ever ' ſince been dying, to all thoſe glories of life, which ' he formerly enjoyed, under the bleſſed, and bleſſing ' preſence of this unmatchable Queen and woman (37).' Laſtly, in the concluding chapter of this treatiſe, he reſumes this ſubject of his dramatic compoſitions again, in theſe words. ' Now, to return to the tragedies re' maining, my purpoſe in them was, not with the An' cient, to exemplify the diſaſtrous miſeries of man's ' life, where order, laws, doctrine and authority, are ' unable to protect innocence from the exorbitant ' wickedneſs of power, and ſo out of that melancholy ' viſion ſtir horror, or murmurs againſt Providence: ' nor yet with the Modern, to point out God's reven' ging aſpect upon every particular ſin, to the deſpair ' or confuſion of mortality; but rather to trace out the ' high ways of ambitious governours, and to ſhew in ' the practice, that the more audacity, advantage and ' good ſucceſs ſuch ſovereignties have, the more they ' haſten to their own deſolation and ruin So that, ' to this abſtract end, finding all little inſtruments in ' diſcovery of great bodies to be ſeldom without errors, ' I preſumed, or it rather eſcaped me, to make my ' images beyond the ordinary ſtature of exceſs; where' in again, that women are predominant, is not for ' malice or ill talent to their ſex; but as poets figured ' the virtues to be women, all nations call them by fe' minine names; ſo have I diſcribed malice, craft, ' and ſuch-like vices in the perſons of ſhrews, to ſhew ' that many of them are of that nature, even as we ' are; I mean, ſtrong in weakneſs; and conſequently ' in theſe orbs of paſſion, the weaker ſex commonly the ' more predominant; yet as I have not made all ' women good, with Euripides, ſo have I not made ' them all evil with Sophocles, but mixed of ſuch ' ſorts, as we find both them and ourſelves Again, ' for the arguments of theſe tragedies, they be not ' naked and caſual, like the Greek and Latin; nor, I ' confeſs, contrived with the variety, and unexpected ' encounters of the Italians, but nearer levelled to thoſe ' humours, counſels and practices, wherein I thought ' fitter to hold the attention of the reader, than in the ' ſtrangeneſs, or perplexedneſs of witty fictions; in ' which, the affections or imagination may perhaps ' find exerciſe and entertainment, but the memory and ' judgment no enrichment at all: beſides I conceived ' theſe delicate images, to be over-abundantly furniſhed ' in all languages already.——For my own part, I ' found my creeping genius more fixed upon the images ' of life, than the images of wit; and therefore choſe ' not to write to them, on whoſe foot the black oxe ' had not already trod, as the proverb is, but to thoſe ' only, that are weather-beaten in the ſea of this ' world; ſuch as having loſt the ſight of their gardens ' and groves, ſtudy to ſail on a right courſe, among ' rocks and quickſands; and in this ordaining and or' dering matter and form together, for the uſe of life, ' *I have made thoſe tragedies no plays for the ſtage*; be ' it known, it was no part of my purpoſe to write for ' them, againſt whom ſo many good and great ſpirits ' have already written. But he that will behold ' theſe acts upon their true ſtage, wherein himſelf is an ' actor, even the ſtate he lives in, and for every part ' he may perchance find a player, and for every line, ' it may be an inſtance of life, beyond the author's in' tention or application; the vices of former ages be' ing ſo like to theſe of this age, as it will be eaſy to ' find out ſome affinity or reſemblance between them; ' which whoſoever readeth with this apprehenſion, ' will not perchance think the ſcenes too large, at leaſt ' the matter not to be exceeded in account of words. ' Laſtly for the ſtyle, as it is rich or poor, according ' to the ſtate and ability of the writer, ſo the value of ' it ſhall be enhanced, or cried down, according to the ' grace and capacity of the reader; from which com' mon fortune of books I look for no exemption (38).'

* Alſo printed in his Remains.

† Theſe likewiſe in his Remains.

(36) Sir Fulke Grevile's Life of Sir Philip Sidney, from p. 172 to 178.

(37) Idem, p. 235.

(38) Ibid. from p. 242 to 247.

the univerſity of Cambridge, with the allowance of an handſome ſalary to the Profeſſor thereof [I]. Indeed there are many inſtances of his favour and beneficence to learning and learned men; and many of them have not only amply celebrated his excellent ſenſe and ingenuity, but gratefully acknowledged his extraordinary liberality towards, and patronage of them, in the dedications of books and poems, and other literary honours they paid him [K]; which makes it the more ſurprizing, that the ſame nobleman, a man of ſuch

[I] *Was the founder of an hiſtorical lecture in the univerſity of Cambridge, with the allowance of an handſome ſalary to the Profeſſor thereof.*] Our author, for this foundation, Dr Fuller, mentions it under the year 1627, where he informs us that, 'Sir Fulk Grevil, Lord Brook, bred long ſince in Trinity-College, 'founded a place for an Hiſtory-Profeſſor in the Univerſity of Cambridge, allowing him an annual ſtipend 'of an hundred pounds. Iſaac Doriſlaus, Doctor of 'the Civil-Law, an Hollander, was firſt placed therein. 'Say not, this implyed want of worthy men in Cambridge for that faculty; it being but fit, that founders ſhould pleaſe their own fancy in the choice of 'the firſt Profeſſor. The Doctor was a Dutchman, 'very much anglized in language and behaviour. 'However, becauſe a foreigner, preferred to that place, 'his lectures were liſtened to with the more critical attention of Cambridge auditors. Incomparable Tacitus he choſe for his ſubject, and had not yet paſſed 'over thoſe firſt words,—*Urbem Romanam primò Reges habuere*, when ſome exception was taken at his comment thereon. How hard is it for liquors not to reſent of the veſſels they are poured through? for veſſels not to taſte of the earth they are made of? being 'bred in a popular air, his words were interpreted, by 'high monarchicall ears, as over praiſing a ſtate in diſgrace of a kingdom. Hereupon he was accuſed to 'the King, troubled at Court, and, after his ſubmiſſion, hardly reſtored to his place. This is that Doctor Doriſlaus, Cambridge Profeſſor of Hiſtory, in his 'life, who himſelf was made an hiſtory at his death; 'ſlain in Holland, when firſt employed ambaſſador 'from the Commonwealth, unto the States of the 'United Provinces (39).' Among the manuſcripts in the library of Gonvil and Caius-College, there is one entitled, *Articles touching the Intention, &c. of Sir Fulk Grevil in the Univerſity*; which we ſuppoſe may relate to his foundation therein aforeſaid.

(39) Dr Fuller's Hiſtory of the univerſity of Cambridge, fol. 1655, p. 165.

[K] *Many have, not only celebrated his ſenſe and ingenuity, but acknowledged his patronage, in the literary honours they paid him.*] Here, not to enlarge upon what is mentioned of him in the dedication or epiſtle explanatory to Sir Philip Sidney, of that ſcarce and ſometime famous little book of dialogues written by Jordano Bruno, while, or but a ſhort time before he was at Oxford; one copy whereof was ſold in the auction of Mr Charles Bernard's library, at a Coffee-Houſe in Ave Mary-lane, in the year 1711, to Walter Clavel, Eſq; at the extravagant price of above twenty-eight pounds (40), as we may elſewhere more particularly relate; there being many of our own authors, who better knew, and have celebrated him in his moſt proper points of light; beſides John Davis of Hereford, in his epigrams before mentioned; ſuch as, Samuel Daniel; between whom and Sir Fulk Grevil, there paſſed an intercourſe of ſeveral letters, upon ſome improvements or reformation that had been propoſed to be made, in the maſques, interludes, or other dramatical entertainments at Court; which were in great requeſt in their time, eſpecially in the reign of King James I. they being much encouraged by Queen Anne, and the Ladies who attended upon her. Their ſentiments they alſo exchanged in writing, upon the topic of our Engliſh verſification, about the time that Daniel had his controverſy with Dr Campion thereupon, and Sir Fulk's judgment is often applauded, with his munificence to ſeveral practitioners thereio (41). The ſaid Samuel Daniel, has alſo in his printed works, before his Muſophilus, containing a general defence of all learning, in a poetical dialogue between the ſaid Muſophilus and Philocoſmus, prefixed a dedication in verſe to him, ſo early as before he was knighted, it being addreſſed to Mr Fulk Grevil (42). And Biſhop Corbet has honourably remembered him, both for his improvements at Warwick-Caſtle, and hoſpitable entertainment of him there, among his poems, in that which is entitled *Iter Boreale*. But that character which is given of a poet, by the name of Brook, in a noted paſtoral writer of thoſe days, is not to be underſtood of this Lord Brook, who then was not known by this title, but of one Chriſtopher Brook, a Lawyer of the Inner-Temple, and a poet of that time in good eſteem, not only with this paſtoral poet (43), but other eminent wits who were contemporary with him (44). Some diſcourſes and tranſlations alſo in proſe, we have met with dedicated to him; one particularly of a tranſlation from the Spaniſh, of Diana of Montmayor, by Tho. Wilſon, Eſq; in 1596, which though firſt inſcribed to the Earl of Southampton, was afterwards dedicated to the Right Honourable Sir Fulk Grevyll, Knt. Privy Councellor to his Majeſty, and Chancellor of the Exchequer: 'tis a manuſcript, fairly written in quarto, bound in green velvet, and was among the manuſcripts of Baſil Earl of Denbeigh. But the authors of more ſerious and ſolid labours, he more zealouſly cherished, and more ſubſtantially befriended. In 1597, by his aſſiduous ſupplications to Queen Elizabeth, he obtained the office of Clarencieux King of Arms for Mr Camden (45), who very gratefully acknowledges the benefit; where he informs us that, 'this Sir Fulk Grevil doth ſo entirely 'devote himſelf to the ſtudy of real *vertue and honour*, 'that the nobleneſs of his mind, far exceeds that of 'his birth; for whoſe extraordinary favours (adds he) 'though I muſt deſpair of making ſuitable returns, 'yet whether ſpeaking or ſilent, I muſt ever preſerve a 'grateful remembrance of them (46).' Six years after, Mr Camden inſcribed his edition of our old Latin hiſtorians to his ſaid noble patron; and at his death, left him a piece of plate in his will. In the latter end of that Queen's reign, it was by his cordial recommendations of the learned Dr John Overal, to her Majeſty, that ſhe conferred upon him the Deanry of St Paul's (47). He was alſo the riſe and making of a relation, who was afterwards an eminent miniſter of ſtate; for, as Dr Fuller has obſerved, 'Sir John Coke, being 'related to Sir Fulk Grevil, Lord Brook, was preferred to be Secretary of the Navy; then Maſter of 'the Requeſts, and at laſt Secretary of State for twenty years together. A zealous Proteſtant, and did all 'good offices for the advancement of true religion: 'he died in 1644 *.' But for his happy infranchiſment of John Speed the hiſtoriographer, from a mechanic employment, and his commodious enablement of him to purſue the hiſtorical ſtudies to which he had ſuch an uncommon inclination, the hearty and unreſerved acknowledgment he has publickly made, deſerves to be written in letters of gold; where having mentioned in his deſcription of Warwickſhire, the extraordinary reparations which had been made of the decayed caſtle at Warwick, by Sir Fulk Grevil; he adds, '*Whoſe merits to me-wards, I do acknowledge, in ſetting this hand free from the daily employments of a manual trade, and giving it full liberty thus to expreſs the inclination of my mind; himſelf being the procurer of my preſent eſtate* (48).' The Lord Bacon had ſuch an opinion of his knowledge, judgment, and friendly regard to his fame and credit, that he ſubmitted his life of King Henry the VII. to his peruſal and animadverſions; and the reſpect and value which the Lord Brook expreſſed for the ſaid performance upon his return of it, is preſerved by the Lord Bacon's chaplain, in the ſhort account he has given us of him (49). In Eaſter-Term 1618, an information being exhibited by Sir Henry Yelverton, Attorney-General, in the Star-Chamber, againſt one Wraynham, for his libellous defamations of the ſaid Lord Chancellor Bacon; the Lord Brook, and other Lords of the Council there preſent, did all cenſure the ſaid unwarrantable accuſer, in ſupport of the noble character that was ſo injuriouſly treated; as by his, and their ſeveral ſpeeches may appear (50). And long after the ſaid Lord Chancellor's fall, even in the laſt year of his life, the brief, but brilliant character which was given by him of this peer, as has been before quoted, may ſufficiently prove the falſhood of that idle ſtory in a ſatirical hiſtorian, who reports that the Lord Brook's butler had orders to refuſe a meſſenger who came from the Lord Bacon (then retired to his chambers in Gray's-Inn) to beg for a bottle

(40) Entitled, Spaccio de la Beſtia Trionfante; Propoſto da Giove, Effettuato dal conſeglio, Revelato da Mercurio, Recitato da Sophia, Udito da Saulino, Regiſtrato dal Nolano, &c. Stampato in Parigi, 12mo. 1584.

(41) A Miſcellany of Hiſtorical and Poetical Remarks, gathered in the reign of King James I. 4to. among the MSS. of the late Thomas Coxeter, Eſq;

(42) Samuel Daniel's Poetical Works, in 2 vols 12mo. 1718, Vol. II. p. 367.

(43) W. Browne, Eſq; in his Britannia's Paſtorals, Lib. ii. fol. 16 b, Song II. p. 37.

(44) Dr Donne's Poems, edit. 8vo. 1719, p. 214, &c.

(45) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 481.

(46) Camden's Britannia, in Warwickſhire.

(47) Athen Oxon. Vol. I. col. 324.

* Fuller's Worthies, in Derbyſhire, fol. 233.

(48) J. Speed's Proſpect of the moſt famous parts of the world, fol. 1646, p. 53.

(49) Dr William Rawley's Life of the Lord Bacon, before his Works, folio, 1670.

(50) In a Vindication of the Lord Chancellor Bacon, from the aſperſion of injuſtice caſt upon him by Mr. Wraynham, &c. (firſt publiſhed from the MS. by W. O.) printed for J. Peel in Pater-noſter-row, 8vo. 1725, p. 37, &c. See alſo Wrenham's Caſe in Popham's Reports, 2d edit. fol. 1682, p. 137.

ſuch parts as could both reliſh and cheriſh thoſe who were endowed with the beſt; a man alſo of ſuch aſſiduence and intereſt, as to gain the eſteem and commendations of ſo many ingenious perſons abroad, ſo many humble ſervants without doors, for his friendly gratifications or preferment of them, ſhould at laſt fall a ſacrifice to the incenſed and violent hand of a diſcontented and mortal enemy at home, becauſe he had ſerved him faithfully for many years, without any ſuch reward or proſpect of proviſion, as would afford him a competent ſubſiſtance, if his Lordſhip ſhould die before him, as the moſt early and authentic accounts which have been publiſhed of this fatal event are commonly interpreted; which inform us, that his Lordſhip neglecting or delaying to reward one Mr Ralph Haywood, for that was his Chriſtian name, as it is remembered in one author (*p*), an antient ſervant, who had ſpent the greateſt part of his time in attendance upon him, and expoſtulating thereupon with his Lord, was ſo ſeverely reproved for the ſame, that the ſaid Haywood being then with him in his Lordſhip's bedchamber, at Brook-Houſe in Holborn, gave him a mortal ſtab in the back with a knife, on the firſt of September, 1628, and with the ſame knife ſtabbed himſelf, as in the laſt quoted author it is expreſſed. Another ſays, it was on the thirtieth of September the ſame year that his Lordſhip was ſtabbed (*q*); and another, not mentioning the day he received the wound, agrees with the generality, that it was on this day he died in that year, being then aged ſeventy-four years (*r*): and both of them imply, that the weapon wherewith the murder was committed, was a ſword, with which the aſſaſſin having withdrawn, and locked himſelf into another room, to compleat the bloody ſcene, murdered himſelf, making his own hand the executioner of juſtice, and death his choice, which ſhould have been his puniſhment (*s*). It has been credibly reported, that there remained no written memorial or tradition in this noble family of any other cauſe or reaſon for the ſaid Mr Haywood's extraordinary diſcontent, than what is above ſpecified; but of late ſome further particulars have appeared in print, relating to the confirmation or aggravation thereof. For the Lord Brook having ſettled the whole of his eſtate upon his couſin Robert Greville aforeſaid, by his laſt will and teſtament, he executed the ſame on the eighteenth of February foregoing, which was witneſſed by ſeveral gentlemen then in his ſervice, among whom was this Haywood. And ſome months after, a codicil was added, wherein annuities were granted to thoſe gentlemen, but Haywood omitted; which made him reſent the neglect of him to ſuch a degree, as produced the warm expoſtulation between them, with the tragedy of both beforementioned. Before he died, his Lordſhip ordered another ſhort codicil to be added to his will, in which he left handſome legacies to the ſurgeons, and others who attended him on this occaſion *. A remark or two more upon this unfortunate cataſtrophe, we ſhall remit to the bottom of the page [*L*], and conclude with informing

(*p*) Mr Richard Smith's Obituary, in Fr. Peck's Deſiderata Curioſa, fol. 1732, lib. xiv. p. 12.

(*q*) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, as above.

(*r*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 522, in the Life of Lord Brook.

(*s*) Langbaine's Dramatic Poets, p. 40. in his account of Lord Brook.

* Mr Collins, in his account of the Greviles, as before, p. 32, 33.

tle of his beer, when he could not reliſh that which was provided for the commons in the ſaid Inn (51). In ſhort, the Lord Brook apparently ſhowred his favours on learned and ingenious men, to the laſt of his life, more eſpecially to thoſe who had any elegant taſte of hiſtory and poetry; as may appear not only in his preferment of Dr Doriſlaus beforementioned, but his reception of Sir William D'Avenant, when a young man, into his family; with whoſe promiſing genius he was ſo much delighted, that he reſided under him as long as his lordſhip lived; and it is not improbable but he formed the plans of ſome of his firſt plays under his lordſhip's encouragement, they being publiſhed ſoon after his death (52).

(51) Arthur Wilſon's Life of King James I. fol. 1653, anno 1621.

(52) Athen. Oxon, Vol. II. col. 411, 413, &c.

[*L*] *A remark or two more upon this unfortunate cataſtrophe, we ſhall remit to the bottom of the page.*] And firſt, there ſeems ſome reaſon to ſuſpect that the knowledge of this murder, or the moſt prevailing motive to it, has been endeavoured to be concealed, or ſecreted from the public and poſterity. When the firſt collection of his lordſhip's poetical works was publiſhed in folio, as is before obſerved, ſo ſoon after his death as five years, it might reaſonably be expected that ſome dedication, account of the author's life, or preface, would have appeared before them, in which the ſaid murder, and the true motives to it, might be more accurately, and particularly related than we have ſince had them: and ſo perhaps they were; for we have frequently obſerved, in at leaſt ten or a dozen copies of that folio volume, and ſome of them printed on large paper, bound in Turkey leather, and moſt richly adorned with gold, and moſt freſhly, fairly, and choicely preſerved, that they are all imperfect, and deprived or mutilated of whatever introduction they had to them. For after the contents of the volume, which are printed on the back of the title page, we jump at once to number 23 at the top of the next page, where the firſt poem begins, and the ſignature D at the bottom of it; ſo that by both teſtimonies, there are twenty two pages manifeſtly wanting. And as no author, who has wrote of this nobleman or his writings, has hitherto taken any notice of, or made any remarks upon this deficiency, we muſt, till we have ſome better light to guide or help us to account for it, follow ſuch as occurs from the moſt rational probability, that there was ſome private diſcovery too expreſsly mentioned for the peruſal of the public, therefore that his lordſhip's executors, relations, &c. obliged the publiſher to caſtrate ſuch prefatory diſcourſes, and ſuppreſs the ſame.

Another remark upon this occaſion, we gather from a manuſcript now before us, containing many arguments, reflexions, authorities and examples, upon the frequent deluſion of domeſtic dependancy; in which, many hopeful novices, of greater abilities than experience, induced by the baits of plenty, eaſe, and idleneſs; or the hopes of intereſt, recommendation, and advancement, have inſenſibly ſuffered a ſtate of freedom, to ſink and ſubſide into one of ſervility, and preferred a courſe of ſplendid poverty, to any of more liberal, laborious and profitable employment; ſo in lingering ſuſpence have worn away their youth, ſtrength, and faculties under ſuch great men, in their great houſes, like the lamps that were kept burning in the ancient vaults and ſepulchres, till they have ſmoaked and ſmoothered their brightneſs out in obſcurity, without benefit to mankind, or reputation to themſelves. Among many inſtances produced to verify this allegation, that of this Lord Brook, and his dependant Mr Haywood aforeſaid, is one, which the author introduces with the following reflections.—— 'Moſt wealthy and dignified men are more fond of external, than intrinſic grandeur, and of being generous before they are juſt. Many examples might be produced, of the humour which predominates in them, to exert themſelves moſt gratefully abroad, and with the utmoſt ingratitude at home; to be ever doing good to thoſe who pay them no ſervice, and none to ſuch as hourly ſerve them; to be moſt prodigal in public, and pernurious in private. What makes the miſchief the more prevailing is, that to diſcover ſuch deficiency and diſproportion among domeſtics, to whom greater miſmanagements are expoſed, is therefore reckoned the more inſignificant. They are looked meanly on, becauſe often on, and ſo overlooked in matters of reward, becauſe ſo near and ſo conſtantly at hand, that they do that for them, at no

time

forming our reader that, on the 27th of October following, his Lordſhip's obſequies were performed with great ſolemnity; his corps being wrapped in lead, and conveyed to Warwick, under the direction of Sir William Segar, Knight, Garter; Sir Henry St George, Knight, Richmond Herald; and Henry Chitting, Eſq; Cheſter-Herald. And there it was interred on the north ſide of the quire of St Mary's church, in his own vault, which had formerly been a Chapter-Houſe belonging thereto; over which a beautiful and ſtately monument of black and white marble had been erected by himſelf. Whereupon, according to his own appointment, was engraved an inſcription, commemorating his friendſhip with the great patron of the Muſes, as his greateſt honour, and moſt permanent epitaph *, in theſe words.

* See Dr John Collop's Poeſis Redeviva, &c. 8vo. 1656, in Epiſt. dedic.

FULKE GREVILE,
Servant to Queen ELIZABETH,
Councellor to King JAMES,
And Friend to Sir PHILIP SIDNEY,
Trophæum Peccati (*t*).

(t) Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. I. p. 152. and Mr Collins as above.

'time of their lives, which they think they have it in 'their power to do at any time. The continual ſight 'of them, dulls all notion of their ſenſe or ſervice; 'they are thought to have no diſcernment, therefore 'no reſentment; ſo the empty name, the very ſha-'dow of patronage, may go down towards domeſtics, 'the ſubſtance muſt be reſerved for ſtrangers, that it 'may make atonement without doors for the neglect 'of all honourable conſiderations within: thus things 'at a diſtance, are looked on moſt wiſhfully; things 'cloſe and familiar to them, they look above and de-'ſpiſe. A man's plentifull poſſeſſions and pompous 'titles, may paſs in the eye of inexperience, for the 'capital attributes of a patron: but if his intereſt and in-'clinations are not proportionable, or his own generoſity 'to ſupport that character, he ſhall diſable you by long 'ſuſpenſe from finding it in another, and give you a 'ſting at laſt, how deſperately ſoever it may be re-'turned, if you grow importunate to find the effects of 'that patronage in himſelf. Such diſregardful treat-'ment of ſuperior attendants, has ſometimes proved 'very fatal to men of dignity and fortune; whereof 'we have, beſides what has been before exemplified, 'a pregnant proof in one of our nobility, Fulk Grevil, 'Lord Brook, who was Under-Treaſurer, Chancellor 'of the Exchequer, Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, 'and of the Privy-Council to King James and King 'Charles I. A man of breeding, learning and abili-'ties; liberal enough of his power and intereſt among 'diſtant acquaintance, to the commodious accom-'modation of many learned and ingenious men, 'but too parcemonious thereof towards the daily 'attendants within his own walls; who by neg-'lecting as all authors term it, to gratify or make 'any ſuitable recompence to a gentleman who had 'withered away the greateſt part of his life unpro-'fitably in his perſonal ſervice, and was ſoon likely to 'be deſtitute of all ſupport, as his lordſhip had not 'himſelf, by the courſe of nature, long to live, and 'being ſeverely reprimanded for reminding him there-'of, or, not improbably, incenſed with more violent 'provocations, he drew his ſword upon his Lord, and 'killed him, then withdrawing into another room, 'with the ſame inſtrument deſtroyed himſelf. Yet au-'thors have been ſo ſuperficial and indifferent in their 'relation of this deſperate murder, or have ſeemed in 'a manner, ſo to ſtifle and huſh it up, that thoſe who 'have moſt diſtinctly related the untimely end of this 'nobleman, by that attendant, have not dropped ſo 'much as a reflexion in compaſſion of the one, or ab-'horrence of the other. Upon the whole therefore, 'when we conſider how eaſily perſons foreign to the 'ſervice of this nobleman, were by his intereſt hand-'ſomely provided for, and that no proviſion was likely 'to be made for one who had ſo long and nearly ſerved 'him; we may from hence, as well as from the many 'other examples before recited, be inſtructed to believe, 'that all actions or expreſſions from a menial ſervant, 'or any in this domeſtic and ſtationary dependency, 'are regarded but as the water of a ſtanding pool; the 'owner, becauſe he ſees the ſurface every day, thinks 'he has alſo ſeen, and known, all that it contains, 'of what depth or capacity ſoever it be; and eſteems 'every drop flat, and inſipid, that comes from it: 'But the ſervices of any free extraneous perſon, how 'ſhallow ſoever, who does not lie under the conſtant 'eye and command of a maſter, is thought ever freſh 'and grateful, like the waters of a running ſtream. 'Hence it is that the moſt ſuperficial, and ordinary ſer-'vice from an independent perſon, ſo frequently meets 'with great thanks and reward; from a ſervant, with 'neither: for the greateſt performances from ſuch, 'are ſwallowed up, in the thankleſs, bottomleſs gulph 'of duty. Theſe obſervations upon domeſtic patro-'nage and dependency, may ſatisfy thoſe, who are to 'be ſatisfied with any thing leſs fatal than their own 'experience; that the favours of great men, though 'they may ſtream forth from every ſide, like the rays 'from the ſtars which ſome of them wear: yet 'it is commonly in ſuch a manner, contrary to the re-'preſentations which are made of all ſuch reſplendent 'bodies, as if thoſe rays of favour were inverted, or 'darted ſtronger, and more diffuſive, as they extend 'towards the circumference, or furtheſt extreams of 'projection; but tapered away to the ſmalleſt and 'weakeſt points, neareſt the very center of their own 'light (53).' G

(53) The Patron, or Portraiture of Patronage and Dependancy, &c. MS. 4to.

GREW [NEHEMIAH], an excellent Philoſopher, and a Phyſician of good repute and conſiderable practice, in the laſt and part of this century, was born at Coventry, being the ſon of Obadiah Grew, D. D. [*A*] Vicar of St Michael's in that city (*a*). He was bred up by his father, (who had taken the Covenant) in the Puritan way; and ſtudied in one of the

(a) Wood's Athen. ed. 1721. Vol. II. col. 837, 838.

[*A*] *Being the ſon of Obadiah Grew, D. D.*] This Obadiah Grew was born at Atherſton in the pariſh of Manceter in Warwickſhire, in November 1607; admitted a ſtudent of Ballioi-College in 1624, where he took the degrees in arts; and was ordained, at 28 years of age, by Dr Robert Wright, Biſhop of Coventry and Lichfield. But, in the beginning of the civil wars, he ſided with the Preſbyterians, took the Covenant, and became miniſter of the great church of St Michael's in Coventry; where he behaved in a moſt pious, regular, and prudent manner, and diſcharged all the parts of a good, faithful, and diligent paſtor. In 1648, when Oliver Cromwell was at Coventry, in his march to London, Mr Grew took the opportunity to repreſent to him the wickedneſs of the deſign then more viſibly on foot, for taking off the king, and the ſad conſequences thereof, ſhould it take effect; earneſtly preſſing him, to uſe his endeavours to prevent it; and had his promiſe for it. And afterwards when the deſign was too apparent, he wrote a letter to him to the ſame purpoſe, and to mind him of his promiſe. In 1651, he accumulated the degrees in divinity at Oxford; and in 1654, was appointed one of the aſſiſtants to the commiſſioners for ejecting ſuch whom they then called ſcandalous, ignorant, and inſufficient miniſters, &c (1). Refuſing to conform in 1662, he was ejected from his preferment in purſuance of the Bartholomew-act (2). He died October 22, 1689, and was buried in the chancel of St Michael's church aforeſaid (3).

(1) Wood's Athen. ubi ſupra, & Faſti, Vol. II. col. 96.

(2) Dr Calamy's Continuation of the account of the Miniſters, &c. ejected, Vol. II. p. 850.

(3) Wood, Ath. ut ſupra; and Calamy's Account, &c. p. 736.

[*B*] *For*

the foreign Univerſities, where he took the degree of Doctor of Phyſic *(b)*. For ſome time he reſided at Coventry [*B*]. But coming to London about the year 1672, he was, through the recommendation of the moſt learned and ingenious Dr Wilkins, Biſhop of Cheſter, choſen Fellow of the Royal-Society *(c)*, to which he proved an ornament, and a very uſeful member. In April 1672, he was appointed Curator to that illuſtrious Society, for the Anatomy of Plants *(d)*: and applying himſelf, with great induſtry and ſucceſs, to the ſtudy of that moſt agreeable part of nature, he publiſhed many curious pieces upon that ſubject [*C*], which were received with great approbation and eſteem, both at home and abroad; and ſeveral of them were tranſlated into other languages [*D*]. On the 30th of November 1677, he was choſen Secretary to the Royal Society, in the room of Mr Oldenburg, and publiſhed the Philoſophical Tranſactions from January 1677-8, to the end of February 1678-9, namely from N°. 137 to 142 inclusive *(e)*. The 30th of September

(b) See General Dictionary.

(c) See the Epiſtle dedicatory to his Idea of a Phytological Hiſtory, Lond. 1673, 8vo.

(d) See Preface to his Anatomy of Plants, folio edit. Pref. p. 5.

(e) See Mr J. Ward's Lives of the Profeſſors of Greſham-College, p. 182.

[*B*] *For ſome time he reſided at Coventry.*] The dedication of the firſt book of his *Anatomy of Plants* to John [Wilkins] Lord Biſhop of Cheſter, is dated from Coventry, June 10, 1671.

[*C*] *He publiſhed many curious pieces upon that ſubject.*] Namely, 1. *The Anatomy of Vegetables begun.* London 1671, 8vo. 2. *Continuation of the Anatomy of Vegetables*, Lond. 1673, 8vo. 3. *An Idea of a Phytological Hiſtory propounded*, Lond. 1673, 8vo. 4. *The comparative Anatomy of the Trunks of Plants, with an account of their vegetation*, Lond. 1675, 8vo. ——In 1682, he printed all theſe pieces in one folio volume, with others of the ſame nature, at the requeſt of the Royal-Society; and with many additions and improvements. The general title of which volume is, 'The Anatomy of Plants, with an Idea of a Philoſophical Hiſtory of Plants, and ſeveral other lectures read before the Royal-Society.' This *Idea*, &c. being the ſame as the firſt part of that which he had publiſhed before, under the title of, *An Idea of a Phytological Hiſtory*, is prefixed to the whole, as a proper introduction; but it is conſiderably augmented and improved. The reſt follows in four books, and in this order. 'I. The Anatomy of Plants, begun. With a general account of vegetation, grounded thereupon. Preſented in manuſcript to the Royal-Society, ſome time before the 11th of May 1671, and afterwards in print, December 7, of the ſame year. II. The Anatomy of Roots; proſecuted with the bare eye, and with the microſcope: preſented to the Royal-Society at ſeveral times, in the years 1672 and 1673. With an account of the vegetation of roots, grounded chiefly thereupon. III. The Anatomy of Trunks; proſecuted with the bare eye, and with the microſcope: with an account of their vegetation, grounded thereupon. The figures hereunto belonging, preſented to the Royal-Society in the years 1673 and 1674. IV. The Anatomy of Leaves, Flowers, Fruits, and Seeds; proſecuted with the bare eye, and with the microſcope. In four parts. That of leaves, read before the Royal-Society Oct. 26, 1676. That of flowers, read before the ſame, November 9, 1676. That of Fruits, read in the year 1677. And the figures of the ſeeds, preſented to the ſaid Society, in the ſame year.' To which are ſubjoined ſeven lectures, read before the Royal Society. '1. A diſcourſe, read December 10, 1674. concerning the nature, cauſes, and power of mixture. 2. Experiments in conſort of the luctation ariſing from the affuſion of ſeveral menſtruums upon all ſorts of bodies, exhibited to the Royal-Society, April 13, and June 1, 1676. 3. An eſſay of the various proportions wherein the lixivial ſalt is found in plants. Read before the Royal-Society, March 1676. 4. A diſcourſe concerning the eſſential and marine ſalts of plants. Read before the Royal-Society, December 21, 1676. 5. A diſcourſe of the colours of plants. Read before the Royal-Society, May 3, 1677. 6. A diſcourſe of the diverſities and cauſes of taſtes chiefly in plants. Read before the Royal-Society, March 25, 1675. 7. Experiments in conſort upon the ſolution of ſalts in water. Read before the Royal-Society, January 18, 1676-7.' ——The four books of the Anatomy of Plants, are illuſtrated with eighty-three very curious folio copper-plates, repreſenting the ſeeds, flowers, and many other parts of plants, trees, &c. as they appear to the naked eye, and when magnified by microſcopes: exhibiting a moſt ſurprizing, agreeable, and improving view of the wonderful variety of veſſels in each, for the conveyance and circulation of the air, ſap, and other nouriſhment neceſſary for their perfection and beauty. The author's judicious obſervations upon that intereſting ſubject, in his dedication to King Charles II, are well worth the reader's peruſal; being as follow —— 'By *this* your Majeſty will find, that there are *Terræ Incognitæ* in Philoſophy, as well as Geography. And for ſo much, as lies here, it comes to paſs, I know not how, even in this inquiſitive age, that I am *the firſt, who have given a map of the country.* Your Majeſty will here ſee, that here are thoſe things within a plant, little leſs admirable than within an animal. That a plant, as well as an animal, is compoſed of ſeveral organical parts; ſome whereof may be called it's bowels. That every plant hath bowels of divers kinds, containing divers kinds of liquors. That even a plant lives partly upon aer; for the reception whereof, it hath thoſe parts which are anſwerable to lungs. So that a plant is, as it were, an animal in quires; as an animal is a plant, or rather ſeveral plants bound up into one volume. Again, that all the ſaid organs, bowels, or other parts, are as artificially made; and for their place and number, as punctually ſet together; as all the mathematic lines of a flower or face. That the ſtaple of the ſtuff is ſo exquiſitely fine, that no ſilk-worm is able to draw any thing near ſo ſmall a thread. So that one who walks about with the meaneſt ſtick, holds a piece of nature's handicraft, which far ſurpaſſes the moſt elaborate woof or needle-work in the world. That by all theſe means, the aſcent of the ſap, the diſtribution of the aer, the confection of ſeveral ſorts of liquors, as lymphas, milks, oyls, balſames, with other parts of vegetation, are all contrived and brought about in a mechanical way. In ſum, your Majeſty will find, that we are come aſhore into a new world, whereof we ſee no end.'——The learned author tells us in the preface, that 'The firſt occaſion of directing his thoughts this way, was in the year 1664, upon reading ſome of the many and curious inventions of learned men, in the bodies of animals. For conſidering, that both of them came at firſt out of the ſame hand; and were therefore the contrivances of the ſame wiſdom: he thence fully aſſured himſelf, that it could not be a vain deſign; to ſeek it in both.'——Biſhop Wilkins, to whom the firſt part of it was dedicated, gives it it's juſt commendation, in the following words ——'You was very happy in the choice of this ſubject to write upon; one of the moſt noble and the moſt copious parts of philoſophy; and ſuch an one, as hath hitherto lain uncultivated. And you have been very ſucceſsful in your firſt attempt about it, in ſo many remarkable obſervations and diſcoveries, as you have made already. I could heartily wiſh, that you would ſtill apply yourſelf to this kind of enquiries. You will find that additionals will come in more copiouſly and eaſily. And it is not fit, that any ſhould, by his ſuperſtructions, carry away the praiſe from him who was the firſt inventor, and who laid the foundations, wherein the greateſt difficulty doth conſiſt (4)'

(4) Preface to the Anatomy of Plants, folio edit.

[*D*] *And ſeveral of them were tranſlated into other languages.*] The firſt book of the Anatomy of Plants, a little after it came out, was elegantly and exactly tranſlated into French, by Monſieur le Vaſſeur, an ingenious gentleman at Paris. And the three firſt books of the ſame, were publiſhed in Latin by the collectors of the German Ephemerides; but their unſkilful tranſlator often fails of the grammatical ſenſe. The ſecond lecture of Mixture was alſo very well tranſlated into French by Monſieur Meſmin, a learned phyſician in Paris (5).

(5) See our author's Preface.

September 1680, he was admitted an honorary Fellow of the College of Phyſicians in London (*f*). He publiſhed in 1681, 'A catalogue and deſcription of the natural and 'artificial rarities belonging to the Royal-Society [*E*], and preſerved at Greſham-College. Whereunto is ſubjoined the comparative anatomy of ſtomachs and guts begun. 'Being ſeveral lectures read before the Royal-Society, in the year 1676.' In 1695, he publiſhed alſo a treatiſe on the purging ſalts [*F*]: and ſome ſmall pieces of his appeared in the Philoſophical Tranſactions [*G*]. His laſt work was calculated, as indeed all his writings were, not only to promote the ends of real and ſolid learning, but alſo of true piety and religion. He intitled it, 'A Diſcourſe of the Univerſe, as it is the Creature 'and Kingdom of God [*H*]:' and, having from his youth addicted himſelf to the contemplation of nature; he ſhewed in that book, that religion is ſo far from being inconſiſtent with philoſophy, that it is the higheſt point and perfection of it (*g*). One of his poſitions therein, namely, 'that there is a vital ſubſtance in nature, diſtinct from a 'body (*b*);' hath been reflected upon by Mr Bayle (*i*); and vindicated by Mr John Le Clerc (*k*) [*I*]. Dr Grew's character is ſufficiently plain from all his works. For, they breathe a ſpirit of ſincere piety and goodneſs; and evidently ſhew, that he made that uſe of his knowledge and philoſophy, which all wiſe and good men ought to do; namely, to promote the glory of God, and the good of mankind, and to encourage and recommend virtue and true religion. He died ſuddenly at London, March 25, 1711 (*l*).

(*f*) Regiſter of the College of Phyſicians.

(*g*) See the Preface to that book.

(*b*) Coſmologia, p. 31, &c.

(*i*) Continuation des Penſées diverſes, § xxi. p. 21.

(*k*) Bibliotheque Choiſie, Tom. V. p. 283, &c.

(*l*) See General Dictionary.

[*E*] *A catalogue and deſcription of the natural and artificial rarities belonging to the Royal-Society, &c.*] The whole title is, '*Muſæum Regalis Societatis:* Or 'a Catalogue and Deſcription, &c.' This book is dedicated to Daniel Colwall, Eſq; the founder of that *Muſæum*; who was alſo at the charge of engraving the plates. It is not a bare catalogue, but contains exact deſcriptions of moſt of the rarities, and is enriched with many learned and curious obſervations.

[*F*] *A treatiſe on the purging ſalts.*] This treatiſe is in Latin, and has this title *Tractatus de ſalis cathartici amari in aquis Ebeſhamenſibus & hujuſmodi aliis contenti Naturâ & Uſu.* Lond. 1695, 12mo.

[*G*] *And ſome ſmall pieces of his appeared in the Philoſophical Tranſactions.*] Namely, 'Obſervations 'touching the nature of ſnow (6). Of the texture of 'ivory (7). Anſwer to a letter of Mr Lewenhoeck's 'to my Lord Brouncker, *De natis e ſemine maſculo* '*animalibus*; and Dr Grew's opinion, *De vaſis in* '*craſſa ſeminis materia obſervatis* (8).' The deſcription and uſe of the pores in the ſkin of the hands and 'feet (9). Account of a diſeaſed ſpleen (10). Obſervations on the *Tomineius*, or *Humming-bird* (11). 'A demonſtration of the number of acres in England '(12).' Which, according to his computation, is, forty-ſix millions and eighty thouſand.

(6) No. 92. p. 5193.

(7) No. 141. p. 1003.

(8) No. 142. p. 1040.

(9) No. 159. p. 566.

(10) No. 194. p. 543.

(11) No. 202. p. 815.

(12) No. 330. p. 266.

[*H*] *A diſcourſe of the univerſe, as it the creature and kingdom of God.*] The whole title is, *Coſmologia Sacra:* or a diſcourſe of the univerſe as it is the creature and kingdom of God. Chiefly written to demonſtrate the truth and excellency of the Bible; which contains the laws of his kingdom in this lower world. In five books, Lond. 1701, fol.' He obſerves in the preface, that 'having addicted himſelf to 'the contemplation of nature, from his youth upward: 'as he hop'd, he was in ſome meaſure qualified, for 'an eſſay of this kind; ſo he concluded, the applying 'of his ſmall talent hereunto, to be the beſt uſe, he 'ſhould ever be able to make of it.' This excellent diſcourſe being divided into five books, as hath been already mentioned; the firſt book 'ſheweth, That 'God made the corporeal world: and what it is.' And treats, in five chapters, 'Of God: Of the corporeal 'world: Of corporeal principles: Of compounded 'bodies: Of their uſe. Book II. Sheweth, that 'there is a vital world which God hath made: 'and what it is. Comprehending, in eight chapters, 'theſe ſeveral heads; of life: of ſenſe: of mind; 'and of phancy, or phantaſtic mind: of intellectual 'mind: of ſcience: of wiſdom: of virtue: of celeſtial mind. In Book III. Is ſhewed, that God governs the univerſe which he hath made; and in what 'manner. 'Tis divided into theſe ſix chapters; of 'the nature of God's government, or of Providence: 'of the ends of Providence; and firſt in this life: of 'Providence over public ſtates: of the celeſtial life: 'of the rules of Providence; and of the law of nature: of poſitive law. Book IV. Sheweth, that the 'Bible, and firſt the Hebrew code, or old Teſtament, 'is God's poſitive law. This book is divided into 'eight chapters, comprehending theſe ſeveral points; 'of the integrity of the Hebrew code: of the truth 'and excellency of it, as they appear from foreign 'proof: as they appear from the writers hereof: as 'they appear from the contents of the hiſtory: and 'from the miracles related therein: and from the prophecies: of the divine law; firſt of the law given to 'Adam and Noah: and then of the Moſaic law. In Book 'V. is ſhewed, That the New Teſtament is alſo God's 'poſitive law. And the ſix chapters this laſt book is divided into, treat, of the integrity of the New Teſtament: of the truth, and excellency of it; as they appear from the writers thereof: and from the contents 'of the New Teſtament, particularly the miracles; 'as alſo from the doctrine; eſpecially the articles of 'faith: of the laws of the goſpel; and of the precepts which equally concern all: of our Saviour's prophecies.'——In the ſecond chapter of the fourth book, he very learnedly ſhews, the agreement of profane authors with the ſacred writings; both with regard to the matter, and the expreſſions. And in the next chapter, hath many curious obſervations about the authors of the books of the Old Teſtament, and their manner of writing: anſwering, at the ſame time, many of Spinoſa's cavils and objections againſt ſeveral paſſages in thoſe ſacred books. Likewiſe, in the eighth chapter of the ſame book, he gives a large account and deſcription of the Jewiſh tabernacle; a thing as he obſerves (13), hitherto wanting. Upon the whole, it were much to be wiſhed, that ſo uſeful and excellent a work, were read and peruſed with due and univerſal attention; and that it might have a ſuitable effect upon the minds and morals of mankind.

(13) In the Preface.

[*I*] *One of his poſitions therein, namely, that there is a vital ſubſtance—hath been reflected upon by Mr Bayle, and vindicated by Mr John Le Clerc.*] Mr Bayle, in the place above referred to, obſerves that, 'the Atheiſts are very much perplexed to account for the formation of animals, which they aſcribed to a cauſe 'not conſcious of what it did, and yet that followed 'a regular plan, without knowing by what laws it 'went to work. But Dr Cudworth's plaſtic form, and 'Dr Grew's vital principle are exactly in the ſame caſe. 'For, if God could communicate ſuch a plaſtic power, 'it follows that it is not inconſiſtent with the nature of 'things that there be ſuch agents: they may therefore 'exiſt of themſelves, will the adverſary ſay; whence 'it would alſo follow, that the regularity we obſerve in 'the univerſe may be the effect of a blind cauſe, 'which was not conſcious of what it did.' However Mr Bayle ſuppoſed, that theſe two learned gentlemen were not aware of the conſequence, which, according to him, followed from their ſyſtem.——Mr Le Clerc, anſwered to this, 'that the vital or plaſtic 'natures which theſe gentlemen admitted, cannot in 'the leaſt favour the Atheiſts, becauſe theſe natures are 'but inſtruments in the hands of God, and have no 'power or efficacy, but what they receive from him, 'who rules and directs all their actions: that they are 'but inſtrumental cauſes, produced and employed by 'the chief and firſt cauſe: and that it cannot be ſaid, 'that a palace has been built up without art, becauſe 'not only the hammers, rules, ſaws, &c. but even 'the arms of men which made uſe of theſe inſtruments, 'are deſtitute of knowledge. It is ſufficient that the 'mind of the builder directed all theſe things, and employed them according to his deſign. It is therefore 'plain, adds he, that the Atheiſts, who deny the being of an intelligent cauſe, cannot retort our two philoſophers argument upon them.'

C

GREY [Lady JANE], otherwiſe ſtiled Lady JANE DUDLEY; but more commonly than either, Queen JANE, as having been proclaimed Queen of England upon the demiſe, and in purſuance of the appointment, of her couſin King Edward the Sixth (a). She was, as all our hiſtorians agree, moſt nobly deſcended. Her father, Henry Grey Marquis of Dorſet, derived himſelf in a direct line; from, Sir Thomas Grey, Knight of the Garter, Lord Harrington in right of his wife, and created Marquis of Dorſet by Edward the Fourth, who married his mother (b). Her mother, was Lady Frances Brandon, the eldeſt of the two ſurviving daughters of Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, by Mary Queen Dowager of France, youngeſt daughter of King Henry the Seventh, and ſiſter to King Henry the Eighth (c) [A]. This marriage proceeded from the great kindneſs which Henry

(a) Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 338. b. Holinſhed, Stowe, Grafton, Speed, Fox, Heylin, Burnet, Strype, Collier.

(b) Mill's Catalogue of honour, p. 543.

(c) Brook's Catalogue of Nobility, p. 212.

[A] *And ſiſter to King Henry the Eighth.*] As this article is of great importance in reſpect to our hiſtory, many things relating thereto being obſcurely and imperfectly repreſented, even by our beſt writers, and the facts referring thereto ſo complicated, as to render it very difficult to underſtand the ſhort hints given us by our old hiſtorians and political authors in treatiſes about the ſucceſſion; we think it incumbent upon us, to uſe all the care and diligence imaginable, to ſet all theſe points in as true and clear lights as poſſible, and with this view we will begin with giving in this note, ſuch particulars in relation to Sir Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, as belong more particularly to this ſubject, that is, to the deſcent of the illuſtrious Lady of whom we are ſpeaking. He was the ſon of Sir Thomas Brandon, Knight of the Garter, and the grandſon of Sir William Brandon, who carried the ſtandard of Henry Earl of Richmond, at the battle of Boſworth, and in that ſervice was ſlain (1). This Sir Charles Brandon being extremely handſome in his perſon, and withal one of the ſtrongeſt and ſtouteſt men in the kingdom, was a great favourite with Arthur Prince of Wales, and of his brother Henry (2). Upon the acceſſion of that prince to the throne, he was made one of the Eſquires of his body, and Chamberlain of North Wales; afterwards for his ſervices both by ſea and land againſt the French, he was on the 15th of May 1513, advanced to the dignity of Viſcount L'Iſle (3), though Biſhop Burnet erroneouſly aſſerts he was then created Duke of Suffolk (4), which however he was not till the thirteenth of February following (5). In the ſucceeding year he was preſent in France at the marriage of the Princeſs Mary, the King's younger ſiſter, with the French King Lewis the Twelfth (6). At this time the Duke of Suffolk, and Henry Marquis of Dorſet, acquired great reputation in the tournaments that were held on that occaſion, as aſſiſtants to Francis of Valois (7), who ſoon after was himſelf king by the demiſe of Lewis, whom an eminent French hiſtorian affirms, became a victim to his extravagant paſſion for his new Queen (8). That princeſs, who is ſaid to have had no diſlike to the Duke of Suffolk before her marriage, was no ſooner a widow, than ſhe wrote to her brother, to deſire his permiſſion to marry (9); and at the ſame time, as a reverend hiſtorian ſays, told the Duke of Suffolk, that if he did not gain her conſent in four days, he ſhould not be the man (10). But, as the ſame writer juſtly obſerves, this could not put him under any great difficulty, and therefore the marriage was quickly after celebrated, April the 15th 1515 (11), and by the interceſſion of the French King, Francis the Firſt, King Henry, who all along intended the match, was eaſily pacified (12). But here ariſes a queſtion, as to the ſtate this noble perſon was in at the time of his marriage? it is pretty certain that he had been twice married before, but it is not quite ſo clear to whom; one author ſays, his firſt wife was Anne, daughter to Sir Anthony Brown, Governor of Calais (13); another, that it was Margaret, the daughter and coheireſs of John Nevile Marquis Montague (14), and that the other lady was his ſecond wife. It is a difficult matter to know what Sir William Dugdale's opinion was, ſince he aſſerts Margaret to be the firſt wife in his hiſtorical account, and then produces an authentic pedigree of the family in which ſhe is made to be the ſecond (15), as in reality there is good reaſon to believe ſhe was, becauſe ſhe lived many years after his marriage with the Queen, being repudiated as the pedigree ſays, or as ſome writers report divorced (16). The ſame incertainty there is in reference to the children of this Duke, at the time of his marriage, ſome ſay he had one, others two, and while ſome affirm they were by the firſt wife, others as poſitively aſſert that he had no iſſue but by the ſecond (17). It is however to-

(1) Pol. Virg. Angl. Hiſt. lib. xxv.

(2) Lord Herbert's Reign of Hen. VIII.

(3) Pat. 5. H. VIII. p. 1.

(4) Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 9.

(5) Pat. 5. H. VIII. p. 2. m. 3.

(6) P. Daniel Hiſtoire de France, Tom. VII. p. 331.

(7) Herbert's Reign of Henry VIII. p. 54.

(8) Thuan. Hiſt. lib. i.

(9) Herbert's Reign of Henry VIII. p. 54.

(10) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 9.

(11) Pol. Virg. Angl. Hiſt. lib. xxvii.

(12) Herbert's Reign of H. VIII. p. 54.

(13) Mill's Catalogue of Honour, p. 543.

(14) Brooke's Catalogue, p. 212.

(15) Baronage of England, Vol. II. p. 300.

(16) Ex Cartaphylacco D. Leigh.

(17) Mill's Catalogue of Honour, p. 543. Brooke's Catalogue, &c. p. 212. Vincent's Diſcovery, &c. p. 508.

lerably clear from comparing the pedigrees of our ancient nobility, that at the time he married the Queen he had two daughters living, both by his firſt wife, but the eldeſt of them Anne, was born before marriage, however ſhe eſpouſed Edward Grey Lord Powis (18), and lived to the reign of Edward the Sixth, when ſhe ſold her title to certain lands that had been her father's, to Sir John Beaumont, Maſter of the Rolls, who as that young monarch tells us under his own hand, forged a deed of this Charles Duke of Suffolk, by which he aſſigned thoſe lands to Anne Baroneſs of Powis, to give the better colour to a decree which was to eſtabliſh his own poſſeſſion, and all this he is ſaid to have confeſſed under his hand (19). The ſecond daughter Mary, born after marriage, became the wife of William Lord Monteagle (20). As for his ſecond wife, who was the widow of Sir John Mortimer, ſhe became after he left her, the ſpouſe of one Robert Horne (21). Upon his third marriage with Mary Dowager of France, he procured a grant in general-tail, of all the lordſhips, manors, lands, and tenements, formerly belonging to Edmund de la Pole, late Earl of Suffolk (22), which Edmund had been beheaded in the Tower, April 30, 1513 (23), for reaſons of ſtate, rather than for any other crime, his elder brother John Earl of Lincoln, having been declared preſumptive heir of the Crown by Richard the Third (24). By this third wife, Charles Duke of Suffolk had iſſue, Henry Brandon, who in the ſeventeenth year of Henry the Eighth, was created at Bridewell Earl of Lincoln, being then as our heralds ſay, twelve years of age (25), in which it is probable there is ſome miſtake, ſince if it was true, he muſt have been born before the marriage of the Duke of Suffolk with his mother (26). He died not long after without iſſue (27). Beſides this ſon, there were two daughters of this marriage, Frances, who married Henry Marquis of Dorſet, as is ſaid in the text; and Eleanor, who became the wife of Henry Clifford Earl of Cumberland, by whom he had only one daughter, Margaret, the wife of Henry, and the mother of Ferdinando Earl of Derby (28). Here it may be proper to obſerve, that among the clandeſtine diſcourſes held in the reign of Queen Elizabeth about the ſucceſſion, there were ſome who preferred the title of this Lady Eleanor, then Counteſs Dowager of Cumberland, to that of the houſe of Suffolk, for which they pretended one reaſon, and kept in reſerve another (29). The diſcloſed reaſon was, that this lady ſtood one degree nearer to her common anceſtor Henry the Seventh, than Lady Katherine Grey (30); but the concealed motive which they held to be much ſtronger, was the Lady Eleanor's being born after the death of Lady Mortimer, ſo that by the help of a poſt contract, after the demiſe of that lady, they conceived that all colour of illegitimacy was taken away with reſpect to the Counteſs of Cumberland and her deſcendants (31). We have now nothing farther to add relating to this matter, except that from the time of her marriage, the King's ſiſter was ſtiled the Ducheſs Queen, and that ſhe departed this life June 23, 1533 (32), having ſeen the King her brother divorced from his firſt Queen Katherine; married to Anne Boleyn Marchioneſs of Pembroke, and that Queen big with child of her daughter Elizabeth; ſhe could not therefore frame any conjecture as to the ſucceſſion of the Crown, as the King had a daughter by one wife; a child begotten, but not born, of another; and his favourite, though baſtard ſon, Charles Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond and Somerſet, Earl of Nottingham, Lieutenant-General beyond Trent, Warden-General of the borders of Scotland, and Lord-High-Admiral of England was then living (33); and a noble hiſtorian gives us this reaſon for heaping ſo many honours upon a child, that the King conſidered as yet he had no lawful

(18) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 284. See alſo her own laſt Will. Noodes, qu. 9.

(19) Appendix to Burnet's ſecond Volume of the Reformation, p. 55.

(20) Baronagium Angl. 1596, MS.

(21) Brooke's Catalogue, p. 141. Baronagium Angl. 1596, MS.

(22) Pat. 6. H. VIII. p. 2.

(23) Pol. Virg. Angl. Hiſt. lib. xxvii.

(24) Holinſhed's Chronicle, p. 747.

(25) Mill's Catalogue of Honour, p. 543. Brooke's Catalogue, p. 212.

(26) Herbert, Godwin, Burnet.

(27) Dugdale's Baronage. Vol. II. p. 300.

(28) Brooke's Catalogue, &c. p. 212.

(29) Dialogue touching the Succeſſion, P. II. chap. vi.

(30) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 113.

(31) Dialogue touching the Succeſſion, P. II. chap. vi.

(32) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 9.

(33) Rot. Pat. 17. H. VIII. p. 1. m. 1.

Henry the Eighth had for the Marquis of Dorſet, and his affection for his niece (*d*); but as in many other inſtances, ſo in this, that monarch's conduct was very irregular, ſince either to oblige the Marquis, or to gratify his own inclination, he took no notice of an obſtacle (*e*) that ought otherwiſe to have hindered this match [*B*]. The principal ſeat of the

(*d*) Diſcourſe touching the Succeſſion, P. II. c. vi.

(*e*) Brown's Vindication of the Queen of Scot's title.

lawful male iſſue (34), from whence it may be gathered, that he was not without thought of preferring this youth to any female iſſue (35).

(34) Herbert's Reign of Henry VIII. p. 178.

(35) See the Acts of Succeſſion.

Since this note was compoſed, and while the article was in the preſs, we been acquainted with the minutes of a ſpeech made in the thirteenth of Queen Elizabeth, on the ſucceſſion, in parliament, which ſtill remain in the Cotton Library, and as they clear up entirely the perplexed account of the Duke of Suffolk's ſeveral marriages and iſſues, we ſhall tranſcribe ſo much of that curious paper as regards this matter *. 'As the next of 'blood, and the true and juſt heirs of our laws, the 'Crown ought to deſcend to the heirs of the French 'Queen, which be the daughters of the Lady Frances 'and the Lady Eleanor. And preſently to the Lady 'Katherine, being the eldeſt daughter to the eldeſt 'ſiſter the Lady Frances. Againſt theſe heirs of the 'French Queen is objected: ſay they, theſe cannot 'inherit. Why ſo? becauſe they were not lawfully 'born. For Charles Duke of Suffolk, had at that 'time when he married the French Queen, another 'wife living, that is the Lady Mortymer. To this I 'anſwer, that although it were true that the Lady 'Frances and the Lady Eleanor were not lawfully born '(as it is not true as ye ſhall hear hereafter) yet it hurt-'eth not the title of the heirs given by King Henry's 'will For it is appointed to the heirs of them not to 'themſelves, as the will plainly declareth. But verily 'this is a mere ſlander grown altogether on *malice*, 'and no accuſation made upon any juſt preſumption. 'For I beſeech you tell me, is it like, or can any rea-'ſonable man think, if Duke Charles had had another 'wife living when he had married the French Queen, 'that King Henry would have conſented that his ſiſter 'ſhould have received ſo great an injury, that ſhe ſhould 'have been kept for a concubine? would the Council 'have ſuffered ſo great infamy, to have come to their 'maſter's ſtock? would the noblity of the realm, with 'ſo great triumph, have honoured ſo unlawful an act? 'would the common people, who many times are 'ready to ſpeak evil of well doing, have holden their 'tongue in ſo manifeſt adultery? Is it like, that in ſo 'long time as the French Queen and the Duke lived 'together as man and wife (that is all the days of the 'French Queen) that ſhe ſhould not have heard of it? 'was it poſſible, that among ſo many women that daily 'reſorted unto her (whoſe natures are to ſeek for all 'ſuch things, be they never ſo ſecret, and to commu-'nicate them to others) that none ſhould have told 'her? is it to be believed, that ſhe, contrary to the 'nature of all women, would have been content that 'another ſhould be partaker of that fleſh, that ſhe 'according to God's word took only to be her own? 'or can any man think that any woman can be con-'tent to live in mean degree when ſhe may be a Du-'cheſs, as the Lady Mortymer ſhould have been juſtly, 'if ſhe had been the Duke's wife? ſurely methinks 'there is no reaſon to make any man to think, how 'much leſs to report ſo? but ſuppoſe that the Duke had 'another wife living at what time he married the French 'Queen, yet for as much as he and ſhe were married 'openly, continued together all their lives as lawful 'man and wife, and nothing ſayd againſt them, and 'every man took them for man and wife: and that 'the ſaid Lady Frances, and the Lady Eleanor, were 'not during their lives taken to be baſtards. Now af-'ter their death, neither they nor their children may 'by the laws of this realm, be convented therefore. 'For the laws of this realm ſay thus, *Nec juſtum eſt ali-'quando mortuum facere baſtardum, qui toto tempore ſuo 'tenebatur pro legitimo:* as appeareth by judgment 'given at Weſtminſter 13 Ed. I. But for the declara-'tion of the truth of this matter, and to pluck out of 'the heads of the people, their fond opinion and con-'ſideration, and maintained of ſuch as paſs not ſo 'much of the truth as they deſire to ſatisfy their fond 'affections; ye ſhall underſtand that the Duke, being 'Sir Charles Brandon, living in the Court, being ſole 'and unmarried, made a contract of marriage with a 'gentlewoman called Anne Brown, and before any 'ſolemnization of marriage, not only had a daughter 'by her, which after was married to the Lord 'Powis, but alſo brake promiſe with her, and openly 'and ſolemnly married the Lady Mortymer. Which 'marriage the ſaid Mrs Anne Browne judicially ac-'cuſed to be unlawful, for that the ſaid Sir Charles 'Brandon, had made a pre-contract with her, and had 'carnally known her. Which being duly proved, 'ſentence of divorce between the ſaid Sir Charles 'and the Lady Mortymer was given. And he 'married ſolemnly the ſaid Mrs Anne Brown. At 'which marriage all the nobility was preſent, and did 'honour it. And after, had by her another daugh-'ter, which was married to the Lord Mounteagle. 'After this the ſaid Mrs Anne Brown continued with 'him all her life as his wife, and died his wife, with-'out any impeachment of that marriage. After whoſe 'death, King Henry having the ſaid Charles Brandon 'in great favour, meant he ſhould for his better pre-'ferment have married the Lady Liſle, being a young 'madam and an inheritrix. Whereupon the ſaid 'Charles Brandon was created Viſcount Liſle: but that 'marriage, by reaſon of her youth, took no place. 'After this he was created Duke of Suffolk, and Lewis 'the French King died, and leaving the ſaid Lady 'Mary, King Henry the Seventh's daughter, a widow, 'the ſaid Duke Charles being ſent into France for her, 'with conſent of King Henry married her twice, 'firſt ſecretly in France, and after openly here in Eng-'land, as before is declared, and then lived together 'quietly as man and wife all their lives. They were 'ſo accepted and taken of all perſons. No perſon im-'pugned or gainſayed the ſaid marriage For there 'was no cauſe, and had iſſue between them, the ſaid 'Lady Frances and Lady Eleanor, againſt whom the 'ſaid Lady Powis their baſe ſiſter, in the time of King 'Edward VI. alledged baſtardy. But they were by 'the laws of the realm and the canon laws declared 'to be legitimate, and born in lawful matrimony. So 'that no man that hath underſtanding can ſay they be 'baſtards; and if they could, yet at this preſent (be-'cauſe it was once adjudged for them, and alſo that 'they be both dead, and dyed taken as legitimate) he 'ought not to be heard by order of any law in the 'world, if he would object againſt them.'

* Biblioth. Cotton. Julius, F. 6.

[*B*] *To have hindered this match*] This Henry Grey Marquis of Dorſet, Baron of Groby, was the ſon of Thomas Marquis of Dorſet, by Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Wotton, of Boſton in Kent, and the widow of William Medley, Eſq (36); Henry ſucceeded his father in his honours, in the year 1530 (37), and was eſteemed a man of great perſonal courage and much generoſity, to which we may add, that he wanted not ambition, though he was a reſerved man, loved to live in his own way, and was rather deſirous to keep up that magnificence for which our ancient nobility were ſo much diſtinguiſhed, in the place of his reſidence in the country, than to involve himſelf in the intrigues of a court (38). His father having a cloſe friendſhip with William Earl of Arundel, and being deſirous to unite the intereſts of their families as cloſely as poſſible, cauſed this Henry, afterwards Marquis of Dorſet, to eſpouſe the Lady Katherine Fitz-Alan, that Earl's eldeſt daughter, and gave Lady Katherine Grey, his own daughter, to Henry, afterwards Earl of Arundel, then heir apparent to his father (39). This conjunction, by which they were made doubly brothers-in-law, cauſed a great affection and friendſhip between theſe noblemen in their youth; but when Henry Marquis of Dorſet, had caſt his eyes upon the Lady Frances Brandon, and King Henry expreſſed no diſlike to the match, it produced very high reſentment in the Lord Maltravers, afterwards Earl of Arundel, who could could not bear to ſee his ſiſter excluded from her huſband's bed, to make way for another lady, though of the blood royal (40). His complaints, however juſt and well founded, were over-looked and ill-taken; yet by the mediation of friends, an annuity was ſettled upon Lady Katherine, which was duly paid during the Marquis's life, for this lady ſurvived him ſeveral years (41). But notwithſtanding this, and that the Earl was ſtill his brother-in-law by his own marriage; he reſented

(36) Brooke's Catalogue, &c. p. 8.

(37) Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. I. p. 721.

(38) Hayward, Godwin, Heylin.

(39) Mill's Catalogue of Honour, p. 661.

(40) Dialogue touching the Succeſſion, P. II. chap. vi.

(41) Baronagium Angliæ, MS.

the Marquis of Dorſet, was the ſtately houſe of Broadgate in Leiceſterſhire, where it is generally believed, though there is no direct authority to prove it, that the Lady Jane was born, anno domini 1537 (*f*). In other lives, we uſually paſs over the tender years of thoſe of whom we ſpeak, or at leaſt touch them but ſlightly; it muſt however be otherwiſe in the preſent caſe, ſince the infancy of Lady Jane was truly remarkable. Nature (if the expreſſion may be allowed) crowded even that ſtate of her life with wonders, and beſtowed upon her ſo many virtues and graces, that her perſonal accompliſhments outſhone the luſtre of her rank, and made her moſt admired by thoſe who were leaſt affected by the gifts of fortune (*g*). We have no diſtinct account at what time ſhe gave the firſt indication of that aſtoniſhing pregnancy that afterwards appeared; but notwithſtanding this, we may without ſuſpicion of flattery or credulity affirm, that it muſt have been very early. She was certainly within a few months of the ſame age with King Edward; and ſuch as were intimately acquainted with human nature, and had likewiſe an opportunity of knowing him thoroughly, thought him a kind of miracle (*h*). Yet one of theſe, who knew him well and loved him better, very candidly acknowledges, that the Lady Jane was ſuperior to him, and this in every reſpect (*i*). She may be ſuppoſed to have been firſt taught feminine accompliſhments, which in thoſe days were of different kinds, and not ſo eaſily attained as at preſent, yet in theſe ſhe excelled. Her genius appeared in the works of her needle, then in the beautiful character which ſhe wrote, commended by all who had ſeen it; ſhe played admirably on various inſtruments of muſick, and accompanied them with a voice exquiſitely ſweet in itſelf, and aſſiſted by all the graces that art could beſtow (*k*). Her own language ſhe ſpoke and wrote with peculiar accuracy, the French, Italian, Latin, and Greek eſpecially, were as natural to her as her own, for ſhe not only underſtood them perfectly, but ſpoke and wrote them with the greateſt freedom, and this not in the opinion of ſuperficial judges (*l*), but of Mr Aſcham and Dr Aylmer, men who in point of veracity are as much above ſuſpicion, as in reſpect to their abilities they were incapable of being deceived: men who for their learning were the wonder of their own times and of ours, the former famous for Roman accuracy; the latter, one of the ſevereſt criticks in thoſe learned times (*m*). She was verſed likewiſe in Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic, and all this while a perfect child. Her parents, as we learn from her own teſtimony, as well as that of others, were both of them ſomewhat auſtere, ſo that notwithſtanding her high birth, ſhe was ſo far from ſuffering by indulgence, that the misfortunes of her tender age, flowed from the contrary extreme (*n*). The Marquis of Dorſet, her father, had himſelf a tincture of letters, and was a great patron of learned men. He had two chaplains, Harding and Aylmer, who were then zealous Proteſtants both, as the latter always continued, but the former became afterwards a Papiſt, and one of the ableſt writers on that ſide (*o*). Theſe great men, for they were truly ſuch, were the tutors and companions of Lady Jane in her infancy. Her tutors as they inſtructed, her companions as they converſed with her, for ſhe had a ſedateneſs of temper, a quickneſs of apprehenſion, and a ſolidity of judgment, that enabled her not only to become the miſtreſs of languages, but of ſciences; ſo that ſhe thought and ſpoke, and reaſoned upon ſubjects of the greateſt importance, in a manner that ſurprized even thoſe who from their own abilities (*p*) were not much inclined to eſteem what the reſt of the world would have thought very extraordinary. With theſe high endowments ſhe had ſo much mildneſs, humility, and modeſty, that ſhe ſet no value at all on theſe vaſt acquiſitions; but ſpoke of the love of learning, as the ſource of happineſs, and profeſſed that, when mortified and confounded by the undeſerved chidings of her parents, ſhe returned with double pleaſure to the leſſons of her tutors, and ſought in Demoſthenes and Plato, who were her favourite authors, that delight that was denied her in all the other ſcenes of life, in which ſhe mingled but little, and ſeldom with any ſatisfaction (*q*). In 1545, when the Lady Jane was in the ninth year of her age, died her grandfather, by the mother's ſide, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, in as abſolute poſſeſſion of his maſter's favour as he had ever been, though after the deceaſe of the Queen-Dowager of France, he had married a young wife [*C*]. The next year after, her great uncle King Henry the Eighth

(*f*) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 272.

(*g*) Aylmer, Aſcham, Fox, Chaloner.

(*h*) Cardan. de Genituris, lib. xii.

(*i*) Fox's Acts and Monuments.

(*k*) Chaloneri, Deploratio acerbæ necis D. Jan. Grayæ, &c.

(*l*) Fox, Clarke, Ferar, &c.

(*m*) Strype's Life of [illegible] Aylmer, p. [illegible] alſo the articles of AYLMER and ASCHAM.

(*n*) Aſchami Epiſt. p. 34.

(*o*) The Jewel of Joy, by Thomas Boon. Pitſ. de Script. Brit.

(*p*) Aſchami Epiſt. p. 34. Fox's Acts and Monuments. Clarke's Marrow of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, P. II. b. ii. p. 67, 68.

(*q*) Aſchami Epiſt. p. 34. Fox's Acts and Monuments.

(*r*) Eſch. 2. 38 H. VIII. No. 107. Lincoln.

reſented this ill uſage from the Marquis, and could never be brought to diſſemble his diſlike of him, till he was created Duke of Suffolk, and Arundel committed to the Tower, for being embarked in the conſpiracy, as it was called, of the Duke of Somerſet (42). But that he diſſembled even then, and was not cordially reconciled to the Duke of Suffolk, or to the Duke of Northumberland, to whom he alſo bore ill-will, appears from his giving ſecret intelligence of King Edward's death to the Lady Mary, which prevented her falling into the hands of the two Dukes, and proved in the end their deſtruction, in every ſtep of which the Earl of Arundel, as he had been before a concealed, was afterwards an active inſtrument (43). This prior marriage of the Marquis of Dorſet, is that blemiſh mentioned in the text, and it is hardly poſſible to conceive a reaſon why the King acted as he did, unleſs it was to embroil the ſucceſſion with ſuch inextricable difficulties, as might render it moſt expedient for the parliament to leave the deciſion of it to his will (44), which project he ſeems to have formed very early in his reign, and to have kept it always in view, though the validity of that laſt act of his, which bore that title, has been juſtly queſtioned (45).

(42) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 151, 152.

(43) Godwin's Annals, p. 271.

(44) See Herbert Heylin, and Burnet.

[*C*] *He had married a young wife*] We have already ſhewn, that Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, became a widower by the death of the Dutcheſs-Queen, in 1533, having no iſſue living by any of his wives but daughters, which very probably induced him to marry Katherine, ſole daughter and heireſs of William, Baron Willoughby of Ereſby (46), in hopes of male iſſue in which he was not miſtaken, for by her he had two ſons, Henry Earl of Lincoln, and Lord Charles Brandon, who ſurvived him (47). But beſides *theſe children*, and thoſe which have been already mentioned, he had two natural children, Sir Charles Brandon, who married Elizabeth, daughter and one of the heirs of Thomas Pigott of Rippon in Yorkſhire; and a daughter Frances, who eſpouſed Andrew Billeſby, of Billeſby in the county of Lincoln, Eſq; and by him had iſſue (48). This

(45) King Henry's will was taken off the roll, as never duly executed, in the Reign of Queen Mary.

(46) Eſc. 26 H. VIII. n. 101.

(47) Vincent's Diſcovery of Errors in Brooke's Catalogue, p. 509.

(48) Baronagium Angl. MS.

Eighth departed this life, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Edward the Sixth (*s*), with whom her father the Marquis of Dorſet was in great favour, and herſelf alſo received many marks of his attention. Yet Lady Jane, ſtill remained for the moſt part in the country, for in Leiceſterſhire we find her in 1550, being the fourth year of that monarch's reign, and the fourteenth of her age (*t*). It was here that Mr Aſcham found her, when he had that conference with her, of which we have given an account elſewhere, and which made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion upon his mind, that he afterwards wrote her a long letter, penned with equal elegance and freedom; which demonſtrates how high an opinion he had of her underſtanding, independent of her learning, and in which he deſires ſhe will write him a Greek epiſtle, and wiſhes that ſhe would likewiſe write his friend Sturmius another, that what he had ſaid of her wherever he came, might be rendered credible by ſuch authentic evidence (*u*). On the 14th of July 1551, died Henry and Charles Brandon, Dukes of Suffolk, of the ſweating ſickneſs, at the Biſhop of Lincoln's palace of Bugden (*w*), which opened a paſſage for Henry Lord Marquis of Dorſet, to obtain by the favour of the Earl of Warwick, and without whom indeed nothing could be obtained, a patent for this new-fallen honour, and accordingly October 11, 1551, he was created Duke of Suffolk (*x*), and on the ſame day, the great Earl beforementioned was created Duke of Northumberland, with precedency to the Duke of Suffolk (*y*); the Earl of Wiltſhire, was likewiſe created Marquis of Wincheſter (*z*); Sir William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and Mr William Cecil, one of the Secretaries of State, knighted (*a*). By theſe honours and promotions, it was conceived that all former jealouſies were effaced from their minds, and a firm friendſhip eſtabliſhed amongſt them, for otherwiſe they had not much cauſe to love each other, ſince but a little before, the Duke of Suffolk had been obliged to reſign his wardenſhip of the Marches, which the King had beſtowed on the other duke; Sir William Herbert had been rather of the contrary faction, and Cecil had been impriſoned at the pulling down of the Lord Protector, but now all was forgiven and ſuppoſed to be forgot (*b*). On the ſeventh of November following, Sir Thomas Palmer diſcovered what was called the Duke of Somerſet's conſpiracy, in which ſeveral other noblemen were involved and ſent to priſon, particularly the Earl of Arundel, who, for reaſons that we have before mentioned, had an old grudge to the Duke of Suffolk, and was no friend to the Duke of Northumberland, and Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton, a very brave man, but a little high ſpirited, whom the two dukes had a mind to bend to their purpoſe (*c*). In the midſt of this confuſion, came the Queen-Dowager of Scotland from France, who was honourably received by King Edward, magnificently entertained, and amongſt other ladies of the blood royal, was complimented by the Lady Jane, who was now at Court and much in the king's favour (*d*). As ſoon as theſe ſolemnities were over, and this princeſs, who was mother to Mary Queen of Scots, ſet out on her journey, the trial of the Duke of Somerſet and his aſſociates was brought on. At this the two Dukes with the Earl of Pembroke aſſiſted, and the Marquis of Wincheſter, Lord-Treaſurer, preſided as Lord High-Steward (*e*). The ruin of this potent duke, left Northumberland, who really managed all, without rival and without oppoſition. By his favour the Earl of Arundel gained his liberty, as did alſo the Lord Grey, but upon hard terms, and a promiſe that they would be faithful and obedient for the time to come (*f*). In the next ſummer, the king with his court made a progreſs with a view to divert the mind of that young prince, to diſpel the diſcontents of the people, and to influence the choice of members for the enſuing parliament (*g*). At this juncture in all probability, Lady Jane went to pay her duty to the king's ſiſter, the Lady Mary, at New-Hall in Eſſex, where reproving the Lady Anne Wharton, for making a low curteſy to the Hoſt, ſome officious perſon carried it to the princeſs's ear, who it is ſaid retained it in her heart, and never loved Lady Jane afterwards (*h*). In January 1553, the king caught a great cold, which grew rather worſe than better, from the medicines that were given him; ſo that when the parliament met in March, they were forced to go from Weſtminſter to Whitehall to him, for otherwiſe his bad ſtate of health would have deprived them of his preſence. They ſat only that month, and having finiſhed a few important affairs that were brought before them, were diſſolved (*i*.) The Dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland were now as great as they could wiſh to be, and the only object of their wiſhes was to preſerve the high authority they had gained, towards which they had taken many ſteps already [*D*]. But in the midſt of this proſperity,

(*s*) Herbert, Godwin, Stowe, Holinſhed.

(*t*) Heylin, Burnet, Strype.

(*u*) Aſchami Epiſt. p. 34.

(*w*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 300.

(*x*) Trin. Rec. 6 E. vi. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 720, 721.

(*y*) King Edward's Journal.

(*z*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 497. Stowe's Annals, p. 605. Heylin's Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 114. Hayward's Life of Edward VI. p. 154. Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 178.

(*a*) Lord Burleigh's Diary.

(*b*) Sir John Hayward's Life and Reign of Edward VI. Burnet, Strype, Collier.

(*c*) Godwin's Annals, p. 246. Dialogue touching the Succeſſion, P. II. c. vi.

(*d*) Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 352. Stowe's Annals, p. 606. King Edward's Journal.

(*e*) Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 179. King Edward's Journal.

(*f*) Heyward, Heylin, Strype.

(*g*) Cooper, Heylin, Burnet, Strype, Collier. King Edward's Journal.

(*h*) Fox's Acts and Monuments. Clarke's Marrow of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, P. II. b. ii. p. 98. Holinſhed's Chronicle, p. 1100.

(*i*) Burnet, Collier, Strype.

This great Duke dying in the full poſſeſſion of his maſter's favour at Guildford, was removed from thence to the collegiate church of Windſor, and there buried at the King's expence, with great ſolemnity (49). We have ſhewn in the text, at what time his two ſons by his laſt wife died, which opened a way for advancing Henry Marquis of Dorſet, to the title of Suffolk, but it will be proper however to remark here, that his other children being but of the half blood, could not inherit any thing from thoſe two Dukes, and therefore in the ſecond of Queen Elizabeth. the deſcendants of Sir William Brandon his Grandfather, being found his next heirs, that great inheritance whereof he died ſeized in fee, came to be ſhared amongſt them, which were theſe, viz. Sir Henry Sydney, Knight, William Cavendiſh, Eſq; Thomas Glemham, Eſq; John Kerſey, and Francis Kerſey, his ſon by Margaret his wife deceaſed, as heir of the ſaid Margaret; Chriſtian Darnell, widow, Walter Aſcoughe, Eſq; and Henry Aſcoughe, his ſon by Elizabeth his wife, and John Trye, Gentleman, and Elizabeth his wife (50).

(49) Lord Herbert's Reign of Henry VIII. p. 529.

(50) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 300.

[*D*] *Towards which they had taken many ſteps already.*] In ſeveral other articles we have had occaſion to take ſome notice of the ſtate of the Engliſh Court at this juncture, and yet ſome points of great conſequence were left to be explained here. Such as can indulge themſelves in a liberty of believing, and which is more, of reporting, that the Duke of Northumberland poiſoned the King his maſter, contrived and executed that plot againſt himſelf, for which the Duke of Somerſet died,

rity, the King's health declining daily, ſeemed to threaten them with ſome ſudden and violent reverſe of fortune (*k*). For this the penetration and ſagacity of the Duke of Northumberland, ſuggeſted no other remedy than altering the ſucceſſion of the Crown, which however he did not think fit to propoſe before certain meaſures were taken for effectually ſecuring the ſafety of his own family, by matching into that to which he meant to transfer the Crown; and having a juſt foreſight of the great hazards to which the muſt be expoſed by ſo bold a meaſure, he contrived to fortify both houſes ſtill more, by other advantageous matches, which, conſidering his preſent high and flouriſhing condition, were eaſily brought about with thoſe who could not ſee ſo far into futurity as this great politician (*l*). His three eldeſt ſons, the Earl of Warwick, then Maſter of the Horſe, Lord Ambroſe, and Lord Robert, were already married, he therefore matched Lord Guilford Dudley his fourth ſon, who of them all, as a certain hiſtorian affirms, had leaſt in him of the father, with our Lady Jane, the Duke of Suffolk's eldeſt daughter (*m*). It was at the ſame time reſolved, that the Lord Herbert, eldeſt ſon to the Earl of Pembroke, ſhould eſpouſe her ſiſter Lady Catherine (*n*); and the ſon of Arthur, Lord Grey of Wilton, was contracted to Lady Mary Grey, the Duke's third daughter, and at that time a perfect child (*o*); the Duke of Northumberland's two daughters were married to Sir Henry Sydney, and the Lord Haſtings, ſon to the Earl of Huntingdon (*p*). On what day the two firſt marriages were celebrated does not any where appear, yet it is certain that it was in the latter end of May, to the King's great ſatisfaction (*q*), who though he was naturally ſparing was however very bountiful upon this occaſion, as may be ſeen at the bottom of the page [*E*]. The

(*k*) Sir John Heyward's Life and Reign of Edward VI. Godwin's Annal. Churchill's Divi Britannici, p. 301, 302, 303.

(*l*) Three Converſions of England, Vol. I. p. 602.

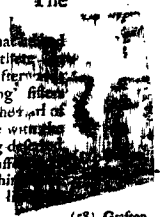
(*m*) Heylin's Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 250.

(*n*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 259.

(*o*) Dialogue touching the Succeſſion, P. II. chap. vi.

(*p*) Heylin, Burnet, Strype.

(*q*) Cooper, Heyward, Stowe.



died, and bent or broke every thing that ſtood in his way, at his pleaſure, may account for all that paſſed in this critical ſituation of affairs without much trouble, but then they are not able to produce any proofs, which is a mode of writing juſtly diſliked at preſent (51). We may indeed agree thus far with them, that this great nobleman meant to eſtabliſh his fortune on the ſtrongeſt foundation poſſible, which was very natural, and his abilities being ſuperior to thoſe of other courtiers he ſucceeded, which is very natural likewiſe. But then if we can point out the means by which he ſucceeded, relying on none but inconteſtable facts, may we not be thought to come nearer the truth, than by recurring to ſuppoſitions that are deſtitute of any tolerable evidence. His firſt ſcheme of greatneſs, was from pulling down of the Duke of Somerſet when Protector, which he managed with great dexterity (52). His next was to reconcile himſelf to that Duke, and to make an alliance between their families; but when he found that notwithſtanding this alliance, the Duke either of himſelf, or through the perſwaſions of his Ducheſs, aimed at recovering his former poſt by his deſtruction; he ſaw plainly that they could not be any longer both ſafe, and being a far better politician, turned the Duke's attempt upon himſelf, and ſacrificed him to his ambition (53). He next ſtruck in with the Duke of Suffolk, and finding him more manageable, projected the maintenance of their greatneſs, by gaining as many of the nobility as it was poſſible to their intereſt, and depriving of all power ſuch as he conceived to be irreconcileable (54). In this too he acted with great dexterity, and in all appearance with great ſucceſs, and not without ſome violence alſo, as appeared in the proſecution of Dr Tonſtall, Biſhop of Durham, the Lord Paget, and ſome others, for all which however he uſed colourable pretences; ſo that his policy ſeemed rather to conſiſt in improving occaſions as they fell out, than in ſuch deſperate contrivances as he is charged with; for if he had really foreſeen the King's death ſo long beforehand, as Heylin (55) and ſome other writers inſinuate, it is not eaſy to conceive why he delayed ſo long the marriage of his ſon with Lady Jane, or why he was ſo late in ſettling the ſucceſſion; for theſe things appear evidently to have been done in a hurry, and with a variety of circumſtances that have much more the appearance of neceſſity than foreſight. His procuring from the King ſuch large grants of the eſtates of the Piercy's, and of the lands belonging to the biſhoprick of Durham, are ſo far from being arguments of his taking meaſures to put the King out of the world, and to ſecure the Crown to his deſcendants, that they are rather evidences to the contrary; for they raiſed him many enemies, and expoſed him to the clamours of the people, which he would probably have avoided, if at this time he had had any ſuch hopes, ſince having his daughter-in-law a Queen, and his ſon perhaps a King, he might then have provided for the reſt of his family with much more decency and ſecurity (56). It is indeed highly probable, that he had earlier and better intelligence of the nature of the King's diſeaſe than others; and it ſeems to be owing to this intelligence that [illegible] time to do what he did, in which however there [illegible] much precipitation, and ſome errors that after[illegible] coſt him dear. ſuch as not ſending for the King's ſiſters in time, confiding as he did in his old enemy the Earl of Arundel, and relying upon his late alliance with the houſe of Huntingdon, who notwithſtanding [illegible] him (57). But with reſpect to the Duke of Suffolk, his numerous family, they all ſtuck cloſe to him, as in their ſuperior fortunes they roſe, ſo they [illegible] fell together (58).

(51) Heyward, Heylin, Parſons, &c.

(52) Churchill's Divi Britannici, p. 302, 303.

(53) Fox, Cooper, Godwin, &c.

(54) England's three Converſions, Vol. I. p. 619, 620.

(55) Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 139.

(56) See his conduct in this reſpect in Heylin, Burnet, and Strype.

(58) Grafton, Holinſhed, Speed.

[*E*] *As may be ſeen at the bottom of the page.*] We have an account of the preparations made for theſe marriages in Strype, who, with a kind of religion if not ſuperſtition, collected every thing that bore the ſtamp of antiquity, ſuppoſing that all things how ſlight and indifferent ſoever they may ſeem, become ſome time or other uſeful, and ought therefore to be laid by; or at the worſt, will ſerve for the amuſement of ſuch as love to look back on paſt times, becauſe they take no pleaſure in what paſſes in their own. Let us now hear what he has collected out of the book of warrants, and the records of the wardrobe, in the time of King Edward (59). 'Anno Domini 1553. A little before 'this time (June) were great preparations making for 'the match, which was celebrated in May, of the 'Lady Jane with Guilford, Northumberland's ſon, 'and ſome other marriages that were to accompany 'that, as the Earl of Pembroke's eldeſt ſon with the 'Lady Katherine, the Duke of Suffolk's ſecond daughter, and the Earl of Huntingdon's eldeſt ſon, with 'the Duke of Northumberland's youngeſt daughter, 'and another of the ſaid Duke's near relations; Sir Andrew Dudley was likewiſe matched near the ſame time 'with Margaret Clifford, the Earl of Cumberland's 'daughter. And for the more ſolemnity and ſplendour 'of this day, the maſter of the wardrobe had divers 'warrants to deliver out of the King's wardrobe, much 'rich apparel and jewels. As to deliver to the Lady 'Frances Ducheſs of Suffolk, to the Ducheſs of Northumberland, to the Lady Marchioneſs of Northampton, to the Lady Jane, daughter to the Duke of Suffolk, 'and to the Lord Guilford Dudley, for wedding apparel (which were certain parcels of iſſues and cloth 'of gold and ſilver, which had been the late Duke and 'Ducheſs of Somerſet's, forfeited to the King) and to 'the Lady Katherine, daughter to the ſaid Duke of 'Suffolk, and the Lord Herbert, for wedding apparel, 'and to the Lord Haſtings, and Lady Katherine, 'daughter to the Duke of Northumberland, for wedding apparel, certain parcels of ſtuffs and jewels. 'Dated from Greenwich, the 24th of April. A warrant alſo there came to the wardrobe, to deliver to 'the King's uſe, for the finiſhing certain chairs for his 'Majeſty, ſix yards of green velvet, and ſix yards of 'green ſattin: another, to deliver to the Lady Mary's 'Grace, his Majeſty's ſiſter, a table diamond with a 'pearl pendant at the ſame; and to the Ducheſs of 'Northumberland, one ſquare tablet of gold enamelled 'black with a clock, late parcel of the Ducheſs of

(59) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 425.

'Somerſet's

The populace, as is commonly the caſe in all countries, were very far from being pleaſed with the exorbitant greatneſs of the Duke of Northumberland, and yet they could not help admiring that beauty and innocence which appeared in Lord Guilford and his bride; but the pomp and ſplendour attending the celebration of their nuptials, was the laſt gleam of joy that ſhone in the palace of King Edward, who grew ſo weak in a few days after, that Northumberland thought it high time to carry his great project into execution, without which he ſaw clearly, that himſelf or his friends could not long continue great, or even ſafe (*r*). Upon theſe motives therefore he determined in the beginning of the month of June, to ſet on foot that ſcheme for which he had been by theſe ſteps preparing, and to conſtrain all upon whom he had any influence, either from love or fear, to do their utmoſt in their reſpective ſtations, to bring about and ſupport that diſpoſition he meant ſhould be made of the Crown (*s*). The firſt motion he knew muſt proceed from the young monarch, and he was unwilling to truſt any but himſelf with the firſt overtures in relation to ſo delicate a ſubject, and at the ſame time there were certain circumſtances that made it no eaſy or acceptable thing for him to break it to a Prince, who though ſo young, was ſo wiſe and worthy in all reſpects as Edward. But neceſſity preſſed him not only in reſpect to the deed, but alſo with regard to the time, of which he had now none to ſpare (*t*). To bring about this contrivance, he ſuggeſted how happy the nation had been under his government, and what a glorious Reformation had been carried on by him: that when ſuch a bleſſing was ſo far advanced, the next point was to ſecure it's continuance, that religion being conveyed to poſterity, in this condition of purity, the public happineſs would be perpetuated, and the beſt proviſion made for the honour of his memory: that if the Crown ſhould deſcend to the Lady Mary, both the civil and religious intereſt of the kingdom would be in great danger: for that it was well known, how ſtrongly that princeſs was inclined to the doctrine and pretenſions of the court of Rome: and in caſe ſhe ſhould marry with ſome powerful prince of that communion, the Engliſh conſtitution might probably be overthrown, and the country made a province to a foreign nation; that both his ſiſters were the iſſue of marriages cenſured and diſallowed in parliament; and beſides, the late King having them by ſeveral venters, they were only of the half blood, and by conſequence could neither be heirs to his highneſs, nor to each other. As for the young Queen of Scots, ſhe had rejected an alliance with his majeſty, engaged with the French, and therefore was no farther to be thought on (*u*). That the Lady Jane, who ſtood next upon the royal line, was a perſon of extraordinary qualities, that her zeal for the Reformation was unqueſtioned, that nothing could be more acceptable to the nation than the proſpect of ſuch a princeſs; that in this caſe, he was bound to ſet aſide all partialities of blood and nearneſs of relation, theſe were inferior conſiderations, and ought to be over-ruled by the public good. In order to corroborate this diſcourſe, the Duke of Northumberland took care to place thoſe about the King, who would make it their buſineſs to touch frequently upon this ſubject; to enlarge upon the accompliſhments of the Lady Jane, and deſcribe her with all imaginable advantages (*w*). The King's affections ſtanding for this diſpoſition of the Crown, he was gained at laſt to overlook his ſiſters, and break through his father's will (*x*). The next thing was to draw an inſtrument, and put the ſettlement in form of law. To this purpoſe, Sir Edward Montague, Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, received an order from the Privy-Council at Greenwich, to come thither the next day, and bring Sir John Baker, Chancellor of the Firſt-fruits and Tenths, Juſtice Bromley, the Attorney and Sollicitor-General along with him (*y*). This order was ſignified by the Lord-Treaſurer, the Duke of Northumberland, the Earls of Bedford, Shrewſbury, and Pembroke, the Lords Clinton and Darcy, Sir John Gate, Sir William Petre, Sir William Cecil, and Sir John Cheke. When Sir Edward Montague and the reſt came to Court, the King told them that his ſickneſs had given him occaſion to conſider the ſtate of the realm, the courſe of the ſucceſſion, and the conſequences likely to enſue. And here he repreſented the danger to religion and the laws, in caſe the Lady Mary ſhould ſucceed him. And therefore, to prevent a misfortune of this nature, his pleaſure was, the Crown ſhould paſs to ſuch perſons, and under ſuch circumſtances, as were ſpecified in certain articles then laid before them:

(*r*) Godwin's Annals. Heylin's Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 138. Churchill's Divi Britannici, p. 302. Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 423. Holinſhed's Chronicle, p. 1083.

(*s*) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 178.

(*t*) Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 358. b.

(*u*) Collier's Church Hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 337.

(*w*) Life and Reign of Edward VI. by Sir John Hayward.

(*x*) Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 358. b.

(*y*) See Sir Edward Montague's account in Fuller's Church Hiſtory, b. viii. p. 2.

'Somerſet's jewels. And laſtly, another warrant to 'Sir Andrew Dudley, to take for the Lady Margaret 'Clifford, daughter of the Earl of Cumberland, and 'to himſelf for their wedding apparel, ſundry ſilks and 'jewels. This laſt warrant bearing date June the 8th.' This paſſage though trivial in appearance, is notwithſtanding clear and ſufficient evidence of ſome points that contribute much to the giving us a right notion of this tranſaction. The contents of it ſhew plainly, that theſe marriages were much to the King's ſatisfaction, and that he meant to expreſs it, by having them celebrated in ſome meaſure at his expence, which with reſpect to Lady Jane, was ſo much the more reaſonable, as ſhe was his very near relation (60). It appears likewiſe from hence, that all was done in a hurry, and with a view to have things ready as ſoon as poſſible, for otherwiſe we cannot conceive that the ſpoils of the Duke of Somerſet's family would have been employed upon this occaſion. Neceſſity may excuſe this, but nothing elſe can. Laſtly, it renders it highly probable, that the deſign of altering the ſucceſſion had not eſcaped from the brain of Northumberland, how long ſoever it had lodged there at this time, for otherwiſe ſome notice would have been taken of it; for though there was enough done for his couſin Jane, yet there was much too little for the preſumptive heir to his Crown; beſides the complement paid to the Lady Mary, carries another appearance, and though this might be appearance only to others, yet the King would not have ſuffered it, if he had underſtood it in this light (61). He was not ſo young or ſo weak as to be impoſed upon groſsly, for what he did afterwards with reſpect to the ſucceſſion, was done ſenſibly and willingly; his underſtanding might be miſled, but he could never have been thus miſled, if he had not had a good underſtanding. This may ſeem ſtrange to ſome, but thoſe who are acquainted with courts, will know it to be truth.

(60) Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 358, b.

(61) There is a letter extant of the Lady Mary acknowledging this mark of favour.

[F] When

them: theſe articles they were to digeſt into method, and draw up an inſtrument to the beſt of their ſkill (z). The Chief-Juſtice and the reſt excepted againſt the order, and deſired to be excuſed: and when further preſſed, moved for time to conſult the ſtatutes and conſider the conſtitution; being afterwards required by a meſſage from the Lords, to go on with expedition, they made their report at the council-board, that having compared the articles with the ſtatutes of ſucceſſion, they found his Majeſty's command impracticable: that in caſe they ſhould draw up an inſtrument purſuant to their inſtructions, not only themſelves, but all their Lordſhips would be in danger of treaſon: that they thought it their duty to inform their Lordſhips how the laws ſtood: that they had not done any thing already, neither had they reſolution enough to run ſuch a riſque, and croſs ſo directly upon the conſtitution (a). The Duke of Northumberland was not in the council-chamber when this anſwer was returned, but being informed of it, he came immediately in. He was highly enraged at the diſappointment, called Sir Edward Montague traitor, ſaid he would fight in his ſhirt with any man in that quarrel, and menaced them to that degree, that Montague and Bromley were afraid he would have ſtruck them. When they appeared next at the board, the King reprimanded them for not diſpatching the inſtrument (b). The Chief-Juſtice told him it would ſignify nothing in law after the King's deceaſe, becauſe the ſucceſſion being ſettled by act of parliament, it could not be alter'd but by the ſame authority. In ſhort, the Chief-Juſtice Montague and the reſt, were at laſt overawed, and drew a ſettlement of the Crown upon the Lady Jane. However they took the beſt precautions the caſe would admit to indemnify themſelves: for they only engaged upon the condition of being authorized under the broad ſeal, and having a general pardon when the inſtrument was finiſhed (c). And to give the conveyance a ſtronger colour of law, all the judges were ſent for, and being required to ſubſcribe the inſtrument, they all put their hands to it, except Sir James Hales, one of the Juſtices of the Common-Pleas (d). None of the Lords of the Council, as far as it appears, ſcrupled the ſigning this inſtrument, except the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. This prelate, though he ap[illegible] the perſon, was not ſatisfied with the method, and therefore endeavoured to fruſtrate the project at it's firſt propoſal. He took the freedom to argue againſt it with the King, the Marquis of Northampton and the Lord Chamberlain Darcy being preſent. He deſired to ſpeak with the King alone, but that could not be granted. The Duke of Northumberland told him, he had miſbehaved himſelf already, in remonſtrating againſt the King's will. The Archbiſhop was not diſcouraged by this rebuke, but bore up againſt Northumberland at the council-board: he inſiſted on his being ſworn to perform the late King's will, and urged the entail of the Crown upon the two Princeſſes Mary and Elizabeth (e). To this the Council oppoſed the reſolution of the judges, and the opinions of others learned in the law, who affirmed, that notwithſtanding this entail the King being in poſſeſſion might diſpoſe of the Crown as he thought fit. This was more than the Archbiſhop could underſtand; but being little ſkilled in the common-law, he ſuffered himſelf to be overcome by the learned in that profeſſion, and more eſpecially the King's Attorney and Sollicitor, and yet in all probability he would not have ventured to ſign, if it had not been for the young King's perſwaſion (f). The concurrence in this meaſure, all things conſidered, was very extraordinary, and it is equally difficult to conceive how ſo many grave and cautious men could be drawn to embark themſelves ſo far as they did, and that after running ſuch a hazard, and knowing their own force, they ſhould notwithſtanding undo all that they had done, and this purely through fear and want of confidence in each other, while their ſtrength was entire, and they had ſuffered nothing either from accident or force (g). But revolutions are always ſudden in this country, and precautions are vain, when the peoples affections are once alienated [F]. This difficult affair once accompliſhed,

(z) Strype, Burnet, Collier.

(a) Sir Edward Montague's Account. Heyward, Heylin, Burnet.

(b) Affirmed by Sir Edward Montague in his Account.

(c) Heyward, Heylin, Burnet, Strype, Collier.

(d) [illegible]'s Memorials, fol. [illegible]'s Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 153. [illegible]'s Memorials, Vol. II.

(e) Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 337. Strype's Memorials of Abp. Cranmer, p. 209. Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 224.

(f) Burnet, Strype, Collier. Foxii MSS.

(g) Churchill's Divi Britannici, p. 302. 303, 304. Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 8. The Reign of Queen Mary in Grafton's Chronicle, which was written by George Ferrers, Eſq;

[F] *When the peoples affections are once alienated.*] It is juſtly obſerved by as ſhrewd a political writer as any who ever meddled with the affairs of this kingdom, that nothing could be more artfully contrived than this ſcheme, conſidered in all it's branches. It was, to ſay the truth, the utmoſt effort of falſe politics, and one of the ſtrongeſt inſtances of the power of faction, that is to be found in our own hiſtory or in any other. The two Dukes, by a variety of alliances, had connected ſo many great perſons in point of intereſt to themſelves, had diſpoſed of all places and offices in ſuch a manner amongſt their friends, and under pretence of zeal for the Proteſtant religion, influenced the inferior clergy in ſuch a manner, that thoſe who diſliked the act, durſt not expreſs themſelves as freely as they deſired to do, or perſiſt in their behaviour, even to that degree which they expreſſed; ſo that what through hope, intereſt, and fear, a more extenſive influence was hardly ever ſeen (62). The inſtrument which the lawyers were afraid to draw, and which for all that was very well drawn, was, after the execution, ſubſcribed by thirty-three members of the Privy-Council, and amongſt theſe, by all the great officers of the Crown, of whom none but the Archbiſhop of Canterbury ſhewed any ſcruple; the Lord High Treaſurer, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chamberlain, and the reſt not only ſubſcribed but promoted it, and took as large a ſhare both before and after (till they found themſelves in danger), and ſeemed as much in earneſt as the two Dukes themſelves could deſire or wiſh (63). This was going a great way, for beſides this capital inſtrument, there was another drawn likewiſe by the King's ſpecial order, of which the more notice ought to be taken, becauſe it is not mentioned by many of our hiſtorians. In this writing they engaged upon their oaths and honour, to adhere to and perform every article and branch contained in the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion; and that if any of them ſhould depart from this engagement, they ſhould look upon it as a ſcandalous infraction, and endeavour to puniſh the offender as a diſturber of the public repoſe. The perſons ſubſcribing are theſe (64). T. Cant. T. Ely. Wincheſter. Northumberland. J. Bedford. H. Suffolk. W. Northampt. F. Shrewſbury. F. Huntindon. Pembroke. E. Clinton. T. Darcy. G. Cobham. T. Cheyne. R. Riche. John Gate. William Petres. Johan. Cheek. W. Cecyll. Edward Mountague. John Bakere. Edward Gryffyn. John Lucas. John Gofnald. One would have thought, that meaſures thus taken, thus ſupported, muſt have ſubſiſted for ſome time, or at leaſt muſt have created ſome ſtruggle before

(62) Churchill's Divi Britannici, p. 302.

(63) Burnet, Strype, Godwin.

(64) Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 337, 338.

compliſhed, and the letters-patents having paſſed the ſeals before the cloſe of the month, the Dukes had nothing to do but to concert in the beſt manner they were able, the propereſt method for carry this new ſettlement into execution, and till that was done, to keep it as ſecret as they could (*b*). Northumberland indeed had formed a project, which if he could have executed would have made all things eaſy and ſecure. He directed letters to the Lady Mary in her brother's name, requiring her attendance at Greenwich, where the Court then was, and ſhe was within half a day's journey of that place when King Edward reſigned his ſoul to his Creator, July the ſixth, 1553 (*i*), of which ſhe had immediately notice given her by the Earl of Arundel, and thereby avoided the ſnare which had been laid with ſo much artifice (*k*). The Dukes, though they had been ſo long contriving, and ſo long expecting this event, were notwithſtanding in very great confuſion when it happened, and therefore concealed it for more than two days, that they might have time to gain the magiſtrates and citizens of London, and to procure the conſent of Lady Jane, who was ſo far from having any hand in this buſineſs, that as yet ſhe was unacquainted with the pains that had been taken to procure her the title of Queen, for as to the power ſhe never had it, and perhaps it was never meant ſhe ſhould (*l*). In the management of their affairs at this delicate conjuncture, the Lords, and thoſe who adhered to them, which as yet was every man in the adminiſtration, had as much ſucceſs as they could reaſonably expect, ſo that they flattered themſelves, the beginning of the new Queen's reign would not be attended with any conſiderable diſturbance (*m*) [G]. It does not appear that they ſuffered

(*b*) Sir John Heyward's Life and Reign of Edward VI. Cecil's MSS. Strype's Memorials, Vol. II.

(*i*) Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 358, b. Stowe's Annals, p. 609. Holinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1084. Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 1. Heylin's Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 154.

(*k*) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 433.

(*l*) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 83. See the Speech of Arundel to the Lords at Baynard's Caſtle.

(*m*) Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 358, b. Churchill's Divi Britannici, p. 34. G. Camden. præfat. ad Annal. Eliz.

fore they had been over-turned. The two Dukes no doubt thought ſo themſelves, but they were diſappointed, and this notwithſtanding they had a conſiderable force at command; which is a leſſon worthy the conſideration of the graveſt politicians; as it ſhews that how broad, how ſtrong ſoever a faction may be, it loſes all it's power, as ſoon as the people comprehend it is but a faction.

[G] *With any conſiderable diſturbance*] The only method of underſtanding this curious but hitherto confuſed part of our hiſtory, is to refer every fact as far as it is practicable to the day on which it happened, and this at the ſame time that it will make the whole ſtory clearer, by throwing things into that natural order in which they fell out, ſo it will afford us an opportunity of diſcovering many falſehoods and inaccuracies that for want of this precaution have eſcaped ſome very diligent writers (65). All agree that the two Dukes, and thoſe who were moſt ſincerely attached to them, uſed the utmoſt caution in order to conceal the King's death, which had it been in their power, they would willingly have done for a fortnight; amongſt other reaſons it is ſaid, in hopes that the Lady Mary might fall into their hands. Of this there would be the more probability, if we could depend upon what a very bitter (66) but a very intelligent writer aſſures us, that Northumberland himſelf kept a ſecret correſpondence with her highneſs, and actually wrote her a letter on the 20th of June, the very day before King Edward's letters-patents paſſed, with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances poſſible of his duty and ſervice. The very next day after the King's death, the Lord High-Treaſurer Wincheſter, the Earl of Shrewſbury, and the Lord High Admiral Clinton, went to the Tower (67), where they turned out Sir James Croſt, who had the charge of that important fortreſs, and adminiſtred the oath of Conſtable to the Lord Admiral Clinton, who immediately gave the neceſſary directions for putting it in a ſtate of defence; for the reception of thoſe who were ſpeedily expected, all which was the more eaſy, ſince ſome (68) ſtep for this purpoſe had been previouſly taken before the death of King Edward. The Tower being thus ſecured, the next ſtep was to ſecure the City, and for this purpoſe, the Council, as it was very common in reſpect to affairs of moment, wrote their letters for Sir George Barnes, with ſix Aldermen, as many Merchant-Adventurers, and the ſame number of the Merchants of the Staple, to repair to the Court, which they accordingly did on Saturday the eighth of July; and being by the Council informed of the ſtate things were in, and of the diſpoſition the King by letters patents had made of the Crown; they were ſworn to Queen Jane and diſmiſſed, with directions to keep the King's death a ſecret (69). We may from hence perceive, that Mr Strype (70) muſt be miſtaken, when he aſſerts that Dr Ridley preached the next day at Paul's-Croſs, in maintenance of Queen Jane's title, who as yet was not proclaimed; and therefore when he ſays there were but two Paul's ſermons preached in this ſhort reign, and the latter by Mr Rogers, who preached only upon the goſpel of the day, it is highly probable that he exchanged the preachers, putting the firſt laſt, and the laſt firſt, as the ſubjects of their ſermons very plainly teſtify, as well as the concurring evidence of the beſt writers (71) of thoſe times, who fix the ſermon of Biſhop Ridley to the ſixteenth, and not to the ninth. Indeed, what probability is there that the Council ſhould recommend ſecrecy to the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, and at the ſame time give or ſend inſtructions to Mr Rogers (72), who really preached on the ninth, or to Biſhop Ridley, as Strype would have it, to declare Queen Jane's title to the people. So far was this from being their purpoſe, that in their firſt letters to the embaſſadors at Bruſſels, which were diſpatched on the ſaturday (73), though they mention the King's death, yet they ſaid nothing of the ſucceſſion; but finding by the Lady Mary's letters the next day, that ſhe was appriſed of it, and that it could not be kept a ſecret; they then wrote to Sir Philip Hoby, Sir Richard Morriſon, and the Biſhop of Norwich, and acquainted them with Queen Jane's acceſſion. At the ſame time they ſwore the guard and the head officers of the houſhold to Jane (74), and took the reſolution of proclaiming her the next day (75). It is very remarkable, that in purſuance of their engagement, the Council at this time ſtuck together, and acted in all outward appearance with the utmoſt harmony; and yet if they were in earneſt now, they could not, conſiſtent with the principles of conſcience or juſtice, diſlike any thing that paſſed afterwards, ſince that was only in maintenance of what was now done, which might indeed be more dangerous then, but not at all more illegal or unjuſt than now; the truth is, that ſeveral were unſatisfied and only wanted courage to declare themſelves; nay, in the opinion of Sir William Cecil (76), who was at this time Secretary of State, the major part of the Council were rather inclined to Queen Mary's title; ſo that he aſcribed it to ſome impropriety in the conduct of one Hungate, who was intruſted with her letters, than to the diſpoſition of the Council that it did not ſucceed. If this ſeems inconſiſtent with that ſtrong ſtile in which their anſwer to the Lady Mary is penned, the reader muſt conſider that this was the buſineſs of Sir John Cheke, who was very hearty; and when he had drawn it while Northumberland was preſent (77), none of the Council was ſtout enough to decline ſigning it. They apprehended that the face of authority and the ſtrength of the nation was with Jane and the two Dukes, and therefore with them they ſtaid till hearing of the forces that reſorted to Mary, they began to wiſh that they had ſtuck to their firſt notions in favour of her title. This is the plain and naked truth, not taken upon the authority of this or that author, or from a biaſs to, or prejudice againſt, either ſide of the queſtion, but drawn from facts that cannot admit of diſpute, and from the declarations not only of thoſe who lived in theſe times, but of ſome of the principal perſons of whoſe conduct we are ſpeaking, ſuch as Archbiſhop Cranmer, Sir William Cecil, Sir John Maſon, and others. By this ſpecimen the reader will find it no difficult matter to account for and form a right judgment of all that afterwards happened.

(65) Stowe's Annals, p. 609. Holinſhed, Speed.

(66) Leiceſter's Commonwealth.

(67) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 2. Heylin's Hiſt. Reform.

(68) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 424, 425.

(69) Stowe's Annals, p. 609.

(70) Memorials, Vol. III. p. 3.

(71) Stowe's Annals, p. 609. Holinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1087.

(72) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 3.

(73) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 234.

(74) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 2, 4, 5.

(75) Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 235.

(76) Cecil's MSS.

(77) Biblioth. Cotton. Titus, b. ii.

ſuffered themſelves to be undeceived in any degree by the letters which they received from Mary, in which, though ſhe did not take the title of Queen, ſhe clearly aſſerted her right to the Crown, took notice of their concealing her brother's death, and of the practices into which they had ſince entered, but intimated that there was ſtill room for reconciliation; and that if they complied with their duty in proclaiming her Queen, ſhe could forgive and even forget what was paſt (*n*). In their anſwer, the Lords and others of the Privy-Council, for it was ſigned by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and twenty others, inſiſt upon the indubitable right, and their own unalterable fidelity to Queen Jane, to whom they perſwaded the Lady Mary to ſubmit (*o*). Theſe previous ſteps being taken, the Tower and the City of London ſecured, the Council quitted Greenwich, and came to London, and on Monday July the tenth in the forenoon, the two Dukes repaired to Durham-houſe, where the Lady Jane reſided with her huſband, as part of Northumberland's family (*p*). There the Duke of Suffolk with much ſolemnity explained to his daughter the diſpoſition the late King had made of his Crown by letters-patents, the clear ſenſe the Privy-Council had of her right, the conſent of the magiſtrates and citizens of London; and when he had made an end of ſpeaking, himſelf and Northumberland fell on their knees and paid their duty to her as Queen of England (*q*). The poor lady ſomewhat aſtoniſhed at their diſcourſe, but not at all affected by their reaſons, or in the leaſt elevated by ſuch unexpected honours, returned them an anſwer to this effect (*r*). 'That 'the laws of the kingdom and natural right ſtanding for the King's ſiſters, ſhe would be- 'ware of burthening her weak conſcience with a yoke which did belong to them; that ſhe 'underſtood the infamy of thoſe who had permitted the violation of right to gain a ſcep- 'ter; that it were to mock God and deride Juſtice, to ſcruple at the ſtealing of a ſhilling, 'and not at the uſurpation of a Crown. Beſides (ſaid ſhe) I am not ſo young nor ſo light 'read in the guiles of fortune, to ſuffer myſelf to be taken by them. If ſhe enthrall me, 'it is but to make them the ſubject of her ſpoil; if ſhe raiſe others, it is but to pluck 'herſelf with their ruins; what ſhe adored but yeſterday, is to day her paſtime. And if 'now permit her to adorn and crown me, I muſt to-morrow ſuffer her to cruſh and break 'me in pieces. Nay, with what Crown doth ſhe preſent me? a Crown which hath been 'violently and ſhamefully wreſted from Katherine of Arragon, made more unfortunate by 'the puniſhment of Anne Boleyn, and others that wore it after her; and why then 'would you have me add my blood to theirs, and be the third victim from whom this fa- 'tal Crown may be raviſhed, with the head that wears it? but in caſe it ſhould not prove 'fatal unto me, and that all it's venom were conſumed, if fortune ſhould give me war- 'ranties of her conſtancy, ſhould I be well adviſed to take upon me theſe thorns which 'would dilacerate, though not kill me out-right; to burthen myſelf with a yoke which 'would not fail to torment me, though I were aſſured not to be ſtrangled with it? my 'liberty is better than the chain you profer me, with what precious ſtones ſoever it be 'adorned, or of what gold ſoever framed. I will not exchange my peace for honourable 'and precious jealouſies, for magnificent and glorious fetters. And if you love me ſin- 'cerely and in good earneſt, you will rather wiſh me a ſecure and quiet fortune though 'mean, than an exalted condition, expoſed to the wind, and followed by ſome diſmal 'fall.' But notwithſtanding the prudence, goodneſs, and eloquence of this ſpeech, ſhe was at length prevailed upon, by the exhortations of her father, the interceſſion of her mother, the artful perſwaſions of Northumberland, and above all, the earneſt deſires of her huſband, whom ſhe tenderly loved, to yield her aſſent to what had been and was to be done (*s*); and thus with a heavy heart ſhe ſuffered herſelf to be conveyed by water to the Tower, where ſhe entered with all the ſtate of a Queen, attended by the principal nobility, and, which is very extraordinary, her train ſupported by the Ducheſs of Suffolk her mother, in whom, if in any of this line, the right of ſucceſſion remained (*t*). About ſix o'clock in the afternoon ſhe was proclaimed with all due ſolemnities in the city, which proclamation we are aſſured Sir William Cecil declined drawing (*u*), and it was therefore penned by Sir John Throckmorton, with great ſkill and elegance, and becauſe it contains the ſubſtance of King Edward's letters-patents, and whatever elſe could caſt any colour of right upon the title of Queen Jane, and this in the moſt conciſe terms (*w*), is inſerted at the bottom of the page [*H*]. The concourſe of people, as is uſual on ſuch occaſions, was

(*n*) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 234. Heylin's Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 157. Speed's Chronicle, p. 816.

(*o*) Holinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1085. Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 235. Speed's Chronicle, p. 816.

(*p*) Heylin's Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 159. Burnet's Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 234.

(*q*) Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 159. Burnet's Hiſt. p. 235. Heylin's Hiſt. p. 159. Burnet's Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 235. Clarke's Martyrology of England. Baker's Hiſtory, P. II. p. 58. Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 334.

(*r*) Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 235. Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 159. Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 334.

(*s*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 2. Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 334.

(*t*) Cooper's Chronicle, P. iii. fol. 358. Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 2. Stowe's Annals, p. 610. Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 158. Life of William Lord Burleigh, p. 19.

(*u*) From an antient printed Copy. Life of William Lord Burleigh, p. 19.

[*H*] *Is inſerted at the bottom of the page.*] There is nothing does more honour to Northumberland's management in this affair, than the ſkill and ſpirit with which the papers were drawn, which came either to the eye of the public, or to the hands of particular perſons; and this is ſo much the more ſingular, as the Secretaries Cecil and Petre were not well diſpoſed, but as far as they were able declined acting, which he paſſed by at this time, as being deſirous to be aſſiſted on ſuch critical occaſions by any, rather than concealed enemies; and therefore when Sir John Cheke was not preſent, he frequently drew the letters, and more frequently the minutes himſelf. As for this proclamation Cecil put it upon the Attorney-General, but after all it was thus penned by Sir John Throckmorton.

'JANE, by the grace of God, Queen of England, 'France, and Ireland, defender of the Faith and of 'the Church of England, and alſo of Ireland, under 'Chriſt in earth the ſupreme head. To all our moſt 'loving, faithful, and obedient ſubjects, and to every 'of them greeting. Whereas our moſt dear couſin 'Edward the Sixth, late King of England, France, and 'Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and in earth the ſu- 'preme head under Chriſt of the Church of England 'and Ireland; by his letters-patents ſigned with his 'own hand, and ſealed with his great ſeal of England, 'bearing date the twenty-firſt day of June, in the ſe- 'venth year of his reign, in the preſence of the moſt part 'of his nobles, his counſellors, judges, and divers other 'grave and ſage perſonages, for the profit and ſurety of 'the whole realm thereto aſſenting and ſubſcribing their 'names to the ſame; hath by the ſame his letters-patents 'recited, That for as much as the Imperial Crown of 'this realm, by an act made in the thirty-fifth year of 'the

was very great, but they came rather out of curioſity, than to teſtify their concurrence or conſent; ſo that their acclamations were but faint, moſt being ſilent, ſome teſtifying their diſlike, and amongſt the crowd a vintner's boy had the boldneſs to vindicate Queen Mary's title, for which he was preſently committed (x). This day likewiſe Jane aſſuming the regal title, confirmed the Lords-Lieutenants throughout the kingdom, and wrote to the Marquis

(x) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 2. Holinſh-d. Vol. II. p. 1084. Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 236.

' the reign of the late King of worthy memory, King ' Henry the Eighth, our progenitor and great uncle, ' was for lack of iſſue of the body of our ſaid late cou- ' ſin King Edward the Sixth, by the ſame act limited ' and appointed to remain to the Lady Mary, by the ' name of the Lady Mary his eldeſt daughter, and to ' the heirs of her body lawfully begotten; and for ' default of ſuch iſſue, the remainder thereof to the ' Lady Elizabeth, by the name of the Lady Elizabeth ' his ſecond daughter, and to the heirs of her body ' lawfully begotten, with ſuch conditions as ſhould be ' limited and appointed by the ſaid late King of wor- ' thy memory, King Henry the Eighth, our progeni- ' tor and great uncle, by his letters-patents under his ' great ſeal, or by his laſt will in writing ſigned with ' his hand. And for as much as the ſaid limitation of ' the Imperial Crown of this realm being limited as is ' aforeſaid to the ſaid Lady Mary and Lady Elizabeth, ' being illegitimate and not lawfully begotten, for that ' the marriage had between the ſaid late King, King ' Henry the Eighth, our progenitor and great uncle, ' and the Lady Katherine, mother to the ſaid Lady [redacted] and alſo the marriage had between the ſaid ' late King, King Henry the Eighth, our progenitor ' and great uncle, and the Lady Anne, mother to the ' ſaid Lady Elizabeth, were clearly and lawfully un- ' done by ſentences of divorces, according to the word ' of God and the Eccleſiaſtical Laws. And which ſaid ' ſeveral divorcements have been ſeverally ratified and ' confirmed by authority of parliament, and eſpecially ' in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of King Henry ' the Eighth, our ſaid progenitor and great uncle, re- ' maining in force, ſtrength, and effect, whereby, as ' well the ſaid Lady Mary, as alſo the ſaid Lady Eli- ' zabeth, to all intents and purpoſes are, and have ' been clearly diſabled to aſk, claim, or challenge the ' ſaid Imperial Crown, or any other of the honours, ' caſtles, manors, lordſhips, lands, tenements, or other ' hereditaments, as heir or heirs, to our ſaid late ' couſin King Edward the Sixth, or as heir or heirs to ' any other perſon or perſons whoſoever, as well for ' the cauſe before rehearſed, as alſo for that the ſaid ' Lady Mary and Lady Elizabeth, were unto our ſaid ' late couſin, but of the half blood, and therefore by ' the ancient laws, ſtatutes, and cuſtoms of this realm, ' be not inheritable unto our ſaid late couſin, although ' they had been born in lawful matrimony, as indeed ' they were not, as by the ſaid ſentences of divorce and ' the ſaid ſtatute of the twenty-eighth year of the reign ' of King Henry the Eighth, our ſaid progenitor and ' great uncle, plainly appeareth. And for as much alſo ' as it is to be thought, or at the leaſt much to be ' doubted, that if the ſaid Lady Mary or Lady Eliza- ' beth ſhould hereafter have and enjoy the ſaid Impe- ' rial Crown of this realm, and ſhould then happen to ' marry a ſtranger born out of this realm, that then the ' ſame ſtranger having the government and the Impe- ' rial Crown in his hands, would adhere and practiſe ' not only to bring this noble free realm into the ty- ' ranny and ſervitude of the Biſhop of Rome, but alſo ' to have the laws and cuſtoms of his or their own na- ' tive country or countries, to be practiſed and put ' in uſe within this realm, rather than the laws, ſta- ' tutes, and cuſtoms, here of long time uſed; where- ' upon the title of inheritance of all and ſingular the ' ſubjects of this realm, do depend to the peril of con- ' ſcience, and the utter ſubverſion of the common weal ' of this realm. Whereupon our ſaid late dear couſin, ' weighing and conſidering with himſelf what ways ' and means were moſt convenient to be had for the ' ſtay of the ſaid ſucceſſion in the ſaid Imperial Crown, ' if it ſhould pleaſe God to call our ſaid late couſin out ' of this tranſitory life, having no iſſue of his body, ' and calling to his rememberance, that we and the ' Lady Katherine and the Lady Mary, our ſiſters, be- ' ing the daughters of the Lady Frances our natural ' mother, and then and yet wife to our natural and ' moſt loving father, Henry Duke of Suffolk, and the ' Lady Margaret, daughter of the Lady Eleanor, then ' deceaſed, ſiſter to the ſaid Lady Frances, and the ' late wife of our couſin Henry Earl of Cumber- ' land, were very nigh of his Grace's blood of the part ' of his father's ſide, our ſaid progenitor and great ' uncle; and being naturally born here within the ' realm, and for the very good opinion our ſaid ' late couſin had of our and our ſaid ſiſters and couſin ' Margaret's good education, did therefore upon good ' deliberation and advice herein had and taken, by his ' ſaid letters patents declare, order, aſſign, limit, and ap- ' point, that if it ſhould fortune himſelf our ſaid late ' couſin King Edward the Sixth to deceaſe, having no ' iſſue of his body lawfully begotten, that then the ' ſaid Imperial Crown of England and Ireland, and ' the confines of the ſame, and his title to the crown ' of the realm of France, and all and ſingular honours, ' caſtles, prerogatives, privileges, pre-eminences, autho- ' rities, juriſdictions, dominions, poſſeſſions, and heredi- ' taments, to our ſaid late couſin King Edward the Sixth, ' or to the ſaid Imperial Crown belonging, or in any wiſe ' appertaining, ſhould for lack of ſuch iſſue of his body ' remain, come, and be unto the eldeſt ſon of the body ' of the ſaid Lady Frances lawfully begotten, being ' born into the world in his life time, and to the heirs ' male of the body of the ſame eldeſt ſon lawfully be- ' gotten, and ſo from ſon to ſon, as he ſhould be of ' antienty in birth, of the body of the ſaid Lady Fran- ' ces lawfully begotten, being born into the world in ' our ſaid late couſin's life-time, and to the heirs ' male of the body of every ſuch ſon lawfully begot- ' ten, and for default of ſuch ſon born into the world ' in his life-time, of the body of the ſaid Lady Frances ' lawfully begotten; and for lack of heirs male of ' every ſuch ſon lawfully begotten, that then the ſaid ' Imperial Crown, and all and ſingular other the pre- ' miſes ſhould remain, come, and be to us by the name ' of the Lady Jane, eldeſt daughter of the ſaid Lady ' Frances, and to the heirs male of our body lawfully ' begotten, and for lack of ſuch heir male of our ' body lawfully begotten, that then the ſaid Im- ' perial Crown, and all other the premiſes, ſhould ' remain, come, and be to the ſaid Lady Kathe- ' rine, our ſaid ſecond ſiſter, and to the heirs male ' of the body of the ſaid Lady Katherine lawfully be- ' gotten, with divers other remainders, as by the ſame ' letters-patents more plainly, and at large may, and ' doth appear. Sithens the making of which letters- ' patents, that is to ſay on thurſday, which was the ' ſixth day of this inſtant month of July, it hath plea- ' ſed God to call to his infinite mercy, our ſaid moſt ' dear and intirely beloved couſin Edward the Sixth, ' whoſe ſoul God pardon; and for as much as he is ' now deceaſed, having no heirs of his body begotten, ' and that alſo there remain at this preſent time, no ' heirs lawfully begotten of the body of our ſaid pro- ' genitor and great uncle King Henry the Eighth; and ' for as much alſo as the ſaid Lady Frances our ſaid ' mother, had no iſſue male begotten of her body, and ' born into the world in the life-time of our ſaid couſin ' King Edward the Sixth, ſo as the ſaid Imperial ' Crown, or other the premiſes to the ſame belonging, ' or in any wiſe appertaining, now be, and remain to ' us in our actual and royal poſſeſſion, by authority of ' the ſaid letters-patents: we do therefore by theſe ' preſents ſignify unto all our moſt loving, faithful, ' and obedient ſubjects, that like as we for our part, ' ſhall by God's grace, ſhew ourſelves a moſt gracious ' and benign ſovereign Queen and Lady, to all our ' good ſubjects, in all their juſt and lawful ſuits and ' cauſes, and to the uttermoſt of our power, ſhall pre- ' ſerve and maintain God's moſt holy word, chriſtian ' policy, and the good laws, cuſtoms, and liberties of ' theſe our realms and dominions; ſo we miſtruſt not but ' they and every of them will again for their parts, at all ' times, and in all caſes, ſhew themſelves unto us their ' natural liege Queen and Lady, moſt faithful, loving, ' and obedient ſubjects, according to their bounden du- ' ties and allegiances, whereby they ſhall pleaſe God, and ' do the thing that ſhall tend to their own preſervations ' and ſureties; willing and commanding all men of all ' eſtates, degrees, and conditions, to ſee our peace and

' accord

Marquis of Northampton, who was Lord Lieutenant of Surry, Northamptonſhire, Bedfordſhire, and Bucks, to aſſiſt and defend her title (y). On tueſday the eleventh, Gilbert Pot, ſervant to Ninion Saunders a vintner, who was convicted of ſpeaking ſeditious words the day before, on the evidence of his maſter a gunner of the Tower; ſtood in the pillory to which his ears were nailed, and when his time of ſtanding was ended, they were cut off, a herald proclaiming his offence, and a trumpet ſounding all the time. An unſeaſonable act of ſeverity, which diſpleaſed rather than terrified the people (z), and which a ſubſequent accident made more remarkable, for his maſter, with one Owen, a gunſmith, coming from the Tower that evening, were drowned in ſhooting London-Bridge (a). On wedneſday the twelfth, a letter was written from Jane to the Emperor, notifying her acceſſion; which was committed to the care of Richard Shelly, who was likewiſe intruſted with the Council's letters to the ambaſſadors at Bruſſels, in which they ſtiled that princeſs our Sovereign Lady (b). This Princeſs and her Council however had their thoughts diverted from matters of form, to things of greater conſequence, by their receiving certain intelligence, that Mary was gone to Keninghall-Caſtle in Norfolk (c), attended by ſome of the nobility, and with ſuch a reſort of the commons, as plainly ſhewed ſhe wanted not thoſe who would ſupport her claim to the Crown, which ſhe had likewiſe ſhewn her own intention to maintain, by aſſuming the title of Queen (d). A ſquadron had been before ſent to cruize upon the coaſt of Suffolk and Norfolk, to prevent her eſcape to Flanders; but now the neceſſity of an army appeared, and the firſt reſolution was, that it ſhould be commanded by the Duke of Suffolk, who had a great ſtake in this buſineſs, and who wanted not either courage or any other abilities to qualify him for that office (e). But the Queen's tenderneſs over-ruled her judgment, and the Council falling eaſily into her opinion, conſented that Suffolk, with the title of guardian to the Queen's perſon, ſhould remain where he was, and that Northumberland, whoſe military talents they magnified, ſhould put himſelf at the head of the forces, which he ſeemed chearfully to accept, becauſe he ſaw [illegible] could not poſſibly be refuſed (f). He then ſignified to the Council, that he would make ready his own power on the morrow after, not doubting but they would ſend theirs with him, or ſpeed them after him; that he muſt recommend the Queen unto their fidelity, of whoſe ſacred perſon he deſired them to be very tender, all which they promiſed him to do (g). And having thus ſettled theſe affairs, they made the Queen acquainted in Northumberland's preſence, with how great readineſs he had taken the danger of that action upon himſelf, to give her the contentment of enjoying her father's company, till the preſent ſtorm was over blown, who humbly thanked the Duke for ſo great a favour, and chearfully deſired him not to be wanting to the public and his perſonal ſafety (h). The ſame day arms and ammunition were ſent from the Tower, for the uſe of the troops that were quickly to be put in motion. On thurſday the thirteenth, after taking due care, ſo far as was in his power, for aſſembling troops ſufficient for the intended enterprize, which was reducing thoſe in arms againſt Queen Jane, and bringing Mary priſoner to the Tower (i); Northumberland went for the laſt time to Court, and having put the nobility and council in mind that Newmarket was the place of rendezvous, he delivered himſelf farther, to this effect (k). 'My Lords (ſaid he) I and theſe other noble perſonages, with the whole 'army that now goes forth, as well for the behalf of you and your's, as for the eſtabliſh-'ing of the Queen's Highneſs, ſhall not only adventure our bodies and lives amongſt the 'bloody ſtrokes, and cruel aſſaults of our adverſaries in the open fields; but alſo we do leave 'the conſervation of ourſelves, children, and families, at home here with you, as toge-'ther committed to your truſt and fidelity. Whom, if we thought you would, through 'malice, conſpiracy, or diſſention, leave us your friends in the briers, and betray us, we 'could as well ſundry ways foreſee and provide for our own ſafe-guards as any of you by 'betraying us can do for your's. But now upon the only truſt and faithfulneſs of your ho-'nours, whereof we think ourſelves moſt aſſured, we hazard our lives, which truſt and 'promiſe if you ſhall violate, hoping thereby of life and promotion, yet God ſhall not 'count you innocent of our bloods, neither acquit you of the ſacred holy oath of alle-'giance, made freely by you to this virtuous lady, the Queen's highneſs, who by your 'and our enticement, is rather of force placed therein, than by her own ſeeking and requeſt. 'Conſider alſo, that God's cauſe, which is the preferment of his word, and the fear of the 'return of Popery, hath been (as ye have heretofore always ſaid) the original cauſe where-'upon ye (even at the firſt motion) granted your good wills and conſents thereunto, as 'by

(y) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 2.

(z) Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 158. Stowe's Annals, p. 610. Speed's Chronicle, p. 816.

(a) Holinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1084. Stowe's Annals, p. 610.

(b) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 4.

(c) Stowe's Annals, p. 610. Holinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1084. Speed's Chronicle, p. 815.

(d) Heylin's [illegible] p. 161. Burnet's [illegible] Reformation, Vol. II. p. 237.

(e) Stowe's Annals, p. 611. Holinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1085. Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 159.

(f) Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 237, 238. Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 334.

(g) Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 160. Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 237, 238.

(h) Holinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1086. Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 160.

(i) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 3. Stowe's Annals, p. 610.

(k) Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 160. Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1086. Speed's Chronicle, p. 816.

'accord kept, and to be obedient to our laws, as they 'tender our favour, and will anſwer for the contrary 'at their extreme perils. In witneſs whereof, we have 'cauſed theſe our letters to be made patents. Witneſs 'ourſelf, at our Tower of London, the tenth day of 'July, in the firſt year of our reign.'

Anno Domini M.D.LIII. God Save the QUEEN.

Londini, in ædibus Ricardi Graftoni, Reginæ a typographia excuſum. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum ſolum.

If Mr Strype (78), had ever ſeen a printed copy of this proclamation, or if the laſt line had been preſerved in that which Biſhop Burnet printed amongſt his records, he would not have been ſo angry, that Grafton, who likewiſe printed the proclamation of Queen Mary, was removed, and John Cawood appointed the Queen's printer in his room, or have attributed it as he does, to his being a Proteſtant, and having printed the Bible in Engliſh, ſince it is far more likely, that the cauſe of his being turned out of his employment and meeting with other hard uſage, was for his printing this proclamation. At leaſt this is ſo good a reaſon, that there is no need of looking for a better.

(78) Memorials, Vol. III. p. 13.

'by your hand writing appeareth. And think not otherwiſe but that if you mean deceit, 'though not forthwith, yet hereafter God will revenge the ſame. I can ſay no more, but 'in this troubleſome time wiſh you to uſe conſtant hearts; abandoning all malice, envy, 'and private affections. Which ſaid, and having paused a little, he ſhut up his addreſs 'in theſe following words: I have not ſpoken to you, my Lords, in this ſort upon any 'miſtruſt that I have of your fidelities, of which always I have hitherto conceived a truſty 'confidence, but I have only put you in remembrance thereof, what chance of variance 'ſoever might grow amongſt you in my abſence. And this I pray you, that you would 'not wiſh me leſs good ſpeed in this journey, than you would have yourſelves.' To which laſt words, one of them is reported to have thus replied: *My Lord, if you miſtruſt any of us in this matter, your Grace is much miſtaken in us. For which of us can waſh his hands clean of the preſent buſineſs; for if we ſhould ſhrink from you, as one that is culpable, which of us can excuſe himſelf as being guiltleſs* (*l*)? Little the more aſſured by this quick return he went to take his leave of the Queen, where he found his commiſſion ready ſealed, together with certain inſtructions ſubſcribed by all the Lords of the Council, in which his marches were laid out and limited from one day to another. This is generally ſuppoſed to have been by his own advice, but that he might have the authority of the Privy-Council to plead, for every motion he made (*m*). At his departure the Earl of Arundel, who had been betraying them all the time, and who meditated their deſtruction now, which he ſoon accompliſhed, came to the Duke, profeſſed his ſorrow that he was not appointed to go with him, in whoſe preſence he could find in his heart to ſpend his blood, and to lay his life down at his feet (*n*). Northumberland, accompanied by the Marquis of Northampton and the Lord Grey, went in his barge to Durham-Houſe, and from thence to Whitehall, where having muſtered his forces, and given the neceſſary orders for their march, he returned to Durham-Houſe for that night (*o*). On friday the 14th of July, he marched with two-thouſand horſe and ſix-thouſand foot through Shoreditch, accompanied by the Lord Grey of Wilton, and Sir John Gates his conſtant friend bringing up the rear (*p*). The Duke of Suffolk having the care of the Queen's perſon and of the Tower, found himſelf very fully employed, and in a very little time perceived what a miſtake had been made in ſending Northumberland into a country where he was univerſally hated, and leaving the direction of the council to him who was no politician (*q*). On ſaturday the fifteenth, thoſe intrigues began which deſtroyed that unanimity that in appearance at leaſt had ſubſiſted in Jane's little Court. Sir William Cecil ſeems to have been the perſon who firſt intimated a diſlike of the condition they were in, and he very quickly found that many were in his ſentiments. He had wiſely declined executing his office of Secretary, ſo that moſt of the papers of ſtate had been drawn by Sir John Cheke, which was certainly no diſadvantage to the cauſe; for as he was one of the moſt learned and polite, he was alſo one of the cleareſt and correcteſt writers of that time (*r*). The perſon applied to by Cecil, was the Lord-Treaſurer Wincheſter, whoſe maxim it was, that in ſtormy times, an oak was more expoſed than a willow, and this gave him ſuch a facility in bending, that we find him well rooted, and flouriſhing in every Court from the days of Henry, to the times of Elizabeth (*s*). Arundel was next tampered with, and he contented himſelf with ſaying, that he liked not that air; Paget and Petre were known to be in the ſame ſentiments; theſe cabals were indeed very ſecret, but it was not long before their effects appeared (*t*). On ſunday July the ſixteenth, Dr Nicholas Ridley, Biſhop of London, preached at Paul's-Croſs, where he very juſtly commended the virtues and abilities of Queen Jane, maintained her title by the beſt arguments he could deviſe, and inveighed againſt the claims of King Henry's daughters (*u*) [*I*]. In all this no doubt he acted with great ſincerity,

(*l*) Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 160. Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1086. Speed's Chronicle, p. 816. Stowe's Annals, p. 611.

(*m*) Fuller's Holy State, p. 296. Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 160.

(*n*) Stowe's Annals, p. 610, 611. Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1086.

(*o*) Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 161. Stowe's Annals, p. 610.

(*p*) Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 238. Strype's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 3. Fuller's Holy State, p. 296. Stowe's Annals, p. 611.

(*q*) Heylin's Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 162.

(*r*) Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 238. Life of Sir John Cheke.

(*s*) Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 239.

(*t*) Roger Alford's Letter to Lord Burleigh, containing a recollection of his conduct in theſe times. Cott. Titus, b. ii.

(*u*) Holinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. III. p. 1087. Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 238. Vol. III. p. 409. in the appendix.

[*I*] *Againſt the claims of King Henry's daughters.*] It has been before ſhewn, that this ſermon muſt have been preached upon the ſixteenth of July, by directions from the Council, as it ſtands in Stowe and other old writers, and as it was underſtood to be by Biſhop Burnet (79); for though that prelate does not expreſsly ſay this, yet he ſays it in effect, ſince he tells us that it was preached on the very ſame day that Dr Sands preached upon the very ſame ſubject at Cambridge, and the time of preaching that ſermon was never liable to any doubt. But the beſt and moſt conciſe account of this we owe to Heylin (80), who ſpeaks thus: 'On 'ſunday the ſixteenth of the month, Dr Nicholas Ridley, 'Biſhop of London, is ordered by the Lords of the 'Council to preach at St Paul's-Croſs, and in his ſer-'mon to advance the title of Queen Jane, and ſhew the 'invalidity of the claim of the Lady Mary. Which he 'performed according to ſuch grounds of law and po-'lity, as had been laid together in the Letters-Patents 'of King Edward, by the authority and conſent of all 'the Lords of the Council, the greateſt judges in the 'land, and almoſt all the peers of the kingdom. But 'then withal, he preſſed the incommodities and incon-'veniences which might ariſe by receiving Mary for 'their Queen, propheſying that which after came to 'paſs: namely, that ſhe would bring in a foreign 'power to reign over this nation, and that ſhe would 'ſubvert the true religion then eſtabliſhed by the laws 'of this realm. He alſo ſhewed, that at ſuch time 'as ſhe lived in his dioceſe, he had travelled much 'with her, to reduce her to the true religion, but that 'though otherwiſe, ſhe had uſed him with great civi-'lity, ſhe ſhewed herſelf ſo ſtiff and obſtinate, that 'there was no hope to be conceived, but that ſhe 'would diſturb and deſtroy all that which with ſuch 'great labour had been ſettled in the reign of her bro-'ther. For which ſermon he incurred ſo much diſ-'pleaſure, that it could never be forgiven him when 'the reſt were pardoned, by whoſe encouragement 'and command he had undertaken it.' But this remark is only that author's conjecture; for if we govern our notions of Queen Mary's temper by facts, we ſhall find that hereſy was with her a more heinous crime than treaſon. However this ought to be a warning to clergymen not to embark themſelves in ſchemes of policy, with which the goſpel has very little to do; and ſurely therefore it had been better if the Proteſtant cauſe had not mingled ſo much in this diſpute, by which it was made ſo obnoxious to Mary; ſo that it is no wonder if ſhe thought that all who were of her brother's religion, were againſt his ſiſter's ſucceeding him, to which this conduct of Biſhop Ridley might not a little contribute; ſo that after all, theſe kind of declarations ſhould be left to thoſe to whom they properly belong,

(79) Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 238.

(80) Hiſt. Reform. p. 162.

cerity, for he was a man of primitive piety and unſpotted integrity; notwithſtanding which, this ſermon is with great probability believed to have coſt him his life (w). That evening the Lord-Treaſurer went privately out of the Tower, which was no ſooner known to the Duke of Suffolk, than he cauſed the gates to be ſhut, though it was but ſeven of the clock; and about midnight, we are told, the Lord-Treaſurer was brought in again (x). On monday the ſeventeenth, the ſpirit of diſcord began to work powerfully, upon the Lord-Treaſurer Wincheſter's reporting that the people in general were for Mary; that many of the nobility who were at liberty had joined her; that the ſhips had revolted to her which were ſent to cruize on the coaſt of Norfolk, and that there was very little hopes of Northumberland's ſucceſs (y). All this was abundantly confirmed by letters from Northumberland himſelf, complaining that they had not ſent the powers they had promiſed to Newmarket; that this had diſcouraged his forces ſo, that they began to dwindle, and preſſing them for the ſake of religion, of the Queen, and of themſelves, to haſten their ſupplies (z). Theſe diſpatches were read and debated upon in council, but in private they were buſy in contriving how to get out of the Tower, in which they were already a kind of priſoners, and to which they were afraid of being ſent by another authority for what they were then doing againſt their will (a). On tueſday the eighteenth, Queen Jane by the advice of her council, wrote to Sir John St Lowe, and Sir Anthony Kingſton, to raiſe forces in Buckinghamſhire for her ſupport (b). Yet whatever they did of this kind, though with all the outward zeal and ſolemnity imaginable, was directly againſt their real ſentiments, and entirely owing to the ſtrictneſs and vigilance with which the forces under the command of the Duke of Suffolk kept the gates, ſo that their ſituation ſeemed equally deſperate with reſpect to the meaſures they were taking, and with regard to their deſired eſcape (c). On wedneſday July the nineteenth, the council was aſſembled in the morning, on account of letters received from Lord Rich, Lieutenant of the county of Eſſex, giving them notice that the Earl of Oxford with the forces under his command had deſerted to the Lady Mary, upon which they wrote in the ſtrongeſt terms that could be deviſed, to keep him to his fidelity and to expreſs their own (d); and they had no ſooner ſigned this letter, than ſome of the ſhrewdeſt amongſt them, made it a handle for executing their deſign of getting out of the Tower (e) [K]. With this view they ſuggeſted the abſolute neceſſity they were under of complying without any longer delay, with their engagements to the Duke of Northumberland, and that it was impoſſible for them to do this, without going to levy and preſs men for the ſervice in perſon, and even marching with them, ſince it appeared how little truſt could be repoſed in ſome men's faith, inſtancing Sir Edward Haſtings, the Earl of Oxford, and others, who had carried the forces, raiſed by their orders for the ſervice of Queen Jane, to her competitor (f). The Duke of Suffolk, who was no deep politician, deceived by theſe appearances, and at the ſame time preſſed by neceſſity, gave way to this motion, and agreed, that all ſhould take the beſt meaſures they could for recruiting Northumberland's army, and for the ſupport of his daughter's ſervice, which moſt of theſe zealous people were about to deſert (g). As ſoon as they found themſelves at liberty, the Earls of Shrewſbury and Pembroke, with Sir Thomas Cheyne and Sir John Maſon, went immediately, under pretence of conferring with the French Ambaſſador, to Baynard's caſtle, a houſe in the city that belonged to the laſt of thoſe lords; and, in a very little time, the reſt of the council repaired thither likewiſe (h); where, as ſoon as they were ſet, the Earl of Arundel in a long and bitter ſpeech, for malice is ever copious, ripped up all the failings of Northumberland, laid every grievance, and every reputed grievance, during the late reign, at his door, and concluded, with adviſing the aſſembly to follow his example, which was, to lay all the guilt upon Dudley, to take all the merit of repentance to themſelves, by returning to their duty, and proclaiming Queen Mary without delay (i). The Earl of Pembroke ſpoke next; Heylin ſays he was an unlettered man (k); but how little ſoever he had read, certain it is that he could

(w) Strype's Memorials. Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 162.

(x) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1087. Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 162. Stowe's Annals, p. 611.

(y) Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 239. Stowe, Sped.

(z) Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 345. Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 163.

(a) Godwin's Annals.

(b) See this letter in the Catalogue of Records, annexed to the third volume of Strype's Memorials.

(c) Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 162.

(d) See the Copy of the letter in the

(e) Godwin's

(f) Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 238. Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 162.

(g) Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 238. Heylin.

(h) Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 239. Stowe's Annals, p. 611.

(i) Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 343, 344.

(k) Hiſt. Reform. p. 163.

belong, that is to the heralds and other inſtruments of ſtate, and not the paſtors or prelates of the Church.

[K] *Of getting out of the Tower.*] It is impoſſible to give the reader any notion of that ſtrange height to which diſſimulation was carried upon this occaſion, without producing the very letter which the Lords of the Council ſigned, the very morning of that day on which they proclaimed Queen Mary (81).

(81) Taken from the appendix to Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 164.

To the Lord RICH, Lord Lieutenant of the County of Eſſex.

'After our right heartie commendations to your 'Lp. although the matter conteined in your letters of 'therle of Oxfords departing to the Lady Mari, be 'grevous unto us for divers reſpects, yet we muſt neades 'give your Lp. our hartie thankes for your redi adver'tiſement thereof. Requiring your Lp. never'theleſs like a nobleman, to remain in that pro'miſe and ſteedfaſtnes to our ſovereign Lady Queen 'Jane's ſervice, as ye ſhall find us readi and firm with 'al our force to the ſame. Which neither with ho'nor nor with ſaftie, nor yet with duty we mai now 'forſaake. From the Toure of London, the xixth 'of Julie 1553.

'Your L. aſſured loving freends,

T. Cant.	T. Ely, Canc.	W. Petre, S.
	H. Suffolk.	Jo. Bakere.
	Pembroke.	J. Bedford.
	William Paget.	F. Shrewſbury.
	Wincheſter.	Rychard Cotton.
	Arundel.	Jo. Cheek.
	T. Darcy.	Robert Bowes.
	T. Cheyne.	

We may without believing the Duke of Suffolk ſo weak a man as ſome writers (82) repreſent him, eaſily apprehend he might be deceived by a meaſure like this; for ſuppoſing him to be, as all our hiſtorians (83) allow he was, a man of a plain, open, ſincere, but haſty temper; we may without difficulty conclude, that this letter laid all jealouſies in him aſleep, and left him without the leaſt ſuſpicion. Beſides, if he had not given them leave to go out, it would have been only the

(82) Stowe, Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 240. Sir John Heyward's Hiſt. of Edward VI.

(83) Fox's Acts and Monuments, Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 95.

could think, and having been a principal manager of thoſe councils which Arundel had ſet forth in ſuch a ſable dreſs, he conceived it neceſſary to do ſomething extraordinary; and therefore not only ſeconded Arundel's motion, but clapped his hand to his ſword, and avowed himſelf ready to fight in defence of Queen Mary's title, who had married his ſon but a month before to the ſiſter of Queen Jane (*l*). This propoſal was quickly cloſed with, and a meſſage thereupon diſpatched to the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen to be ready, and then the Lords and others proceeded from Baynard's-caſtle through St Paul's Church-yard, to the croſs in Cheapſide, where Sir Chriſtopher Barker, Knight of the Bath and Garter King at Arms, proclaimed Mary, the daughter of King Henry the Eighth and Queen Katharine, the undoubted Queen of England, France, and Ireland, with the loudeſt acclamations of a numberleſs multitude of people aſſembled on this occaſion (*m*). They went next to St Paul's church, and there ſung *Te Deum*. On their return to Baynard's-caſtle, the Earl of Arundel and Lord Paget, with thirty horſe, ſet out to carry this good news to Queen Mary, and ſome companies were detached to ſecure the Tower for the ſervice of the new Queen (*n*) [*L*]. The Duke of Suffolk did not wait for new inſtructions from the Council; the ſhouts of the people, flying from ſtreet to ſtreet, had reached the Tower before their meſſengers arrived; and the Duke having not either power or will to reſiſt went immediately to his daughter's apartment, and in the ſofteſt terms he could, acquainted her with the ſituation of their affairs, and that laying aſide the ſtate and dignity of a Queen, ſhe muſt again return to that of a private perſon (*o*). To which, with a ſerene and ſettled countenance, ſhe made this anſwer: *Sir, I better brook this meſſage than my former advancement to royalty: out of obedience to* you *and my* mother *I have grievouſly ſinned, and offered violence to myſelf. Now I do willingly, and as obeying the motions of my ſoul, relinquiſh the crown, and endeavour to ſalve thoſe faults committed by others, if at leaſt ſo great a fault can be ſalved, by a willing relinquiſhment and ingenuous acknowledgment of them* (*p*). Thus we are come to an end of the diary of that ſhort reign, which, from the time of it's continuance, is ſaid to have given birth to the common proverb of *a nine days wonder* (*q*). A reign in which the ſeeming ſovereign was always apprehenſive of ſeeing herſelf ſuddenly ſunk into the character of a guilty ſubject, and to find thoſe the walls of her priſon which ſerved for a ſhort ſpace to encloſe her court (*r*). A reign, upon which not to beſtow a ſhort reflection would argue an incapacity of writing it, and leave the reader room to think hardly of him who could pen ſuch a ſcene unmoved [*M*]. The Duke of Suffolk having depoſed

(*l*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 425. Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 344.

(*m*) Cooper's Chron. P. iii. fol 309. Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 164. Clarke's Marrow of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, P. ii. p. 59. Stowe's Annals, p. 612. Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 239. Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 13. Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1087. Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol II. p. 344. Speed's Chron. p. 817.

(*n*) Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 239.

(*o*) Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 344.

(*p*) Clarke's Marrow of Eccl. Hiſt. P. ii. p. 59.

(*q*) Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 165.

(*r*) Cooper, Fox, Stowe, &c.

the worſe for him, and the better for them, ſince the diſpute would nevertheleſs have been determined by Northumberland's proclaiming Queen Mary at Cambridge (84), which he did, before he received the news of the revolution at London. How this happened, and what really produced ſo ſudden and ſo ſurpriſing a turn, will appear in the next note.

(84) Stowe, Holinſhed, Speed.

[*L*] *For the ſervice of the new Queen.*] We ſhall here as ſuccinctly as poſſible repreſent the motions of Queen Mary, from the time of King Edward's death to that of her being proclaimed at London. It appears ſhe was informed of that event almoſt as early as it was poſſible, for on the day after the King's demiſe (85), ſhe quitted St Edmund's-Bury, under pretence of being afraid of the plague, one of her ſervants having died ſuddenly, and went directly to Keninghall in Norfolk (86), from whence on the eighth, ſhe wrote letters to Sir George Somerſet, Sir William Drury, Sir William Waldgrave, Knights, and Clement Higham, Eſquire, ſignifying unto them the King's death, and thereby her right to the Crown, requiring them to obey no commandment to be iſſued out upon any pretence or gloſs of the deceaſed King's authority, being bound now to be true liegemen unto her only. And laſtly, charging them in all haſte poſſible, to prepare and put themſelves in order to repair to her, where at their coming, they ſhould know farther of her pleaſure. On the ninth, ſhe wrote to the Council (87), and the ſame day to Sir Edward Haſtings (88), who was a warm Papiſt, in the ſame terms ſhe had uſed to Sir George Somerſet; in a few days ſhe was joined by the Earls of Bath and Suſſex (89), and other perſons of nobility and diſtinction. On the twelfth, ſhe ſent orders to the magiſtrates of Norwich to proclaim her Queen, which they refuſed, or rather were afraid to do, as having no certain intelligence of King Edward's death, but being the next day ſatisfied in that particular, they not only complied with her command, but ſent her a ſupply of men, ammunition, and proviſions (90). She removed notwithſtanding this to Framlingham Caſtle (91) in Suffolk, as ſtanding near the ſea, and being at the diſtance of fourſcore miles from London, by which her perſon was more ſecure, time gained for raiſing forces, and an opportunity procured of applying for foreign aſſiſtance, of which however ſhe quickly ſtood in no need, her army being augmented in a few days to thirteen thouſand men, and plentifully furniſhed with proviſions of all kinds (92). This was entirely owing to the general diſpoſition of the nation in her favour, and more eſpecially of the commons, who were in all places devoted to her ſervice, and abſolutely refuſed to act againſt her. What contributed not a little to her ſucceſs, was her promiſes with reſpect to the Proteſtant religion; thoſe who joined her at firſt from Suffolk and Norfolk, being for the moſt part zealous for the Reformation. Of theſe promiſes ſhe was afterwards not forgetful only, but declared her reſolution of breaking them (93), by cauſing Mr Dobbs, a gentleman of Suffolk, to be ſet in the pillory, only for reminding her of them. In proportion as her ſtrength increaſed, Northumberland's diminiſhed, and thoſe that were left about him ſhewed plainly, that they had not either hands or hearts to fight againſt her; nay, when in compliance with the general inclination he had proclaimed her at Cambridge, his very guards ſeized (94) upon his perſon, that he might juſtify them from the guilt of rebellion. Thus it is evident that the people made her Queen, from a perſwaſion of her right, and overturned without bloodſhed, that potent confederacy, which with ſo much art and addreſs had been framed, by thoſe who were at that time in authority, to defeat her ſucceſſion.

(85) Godwin's Annals.

(86) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 9.

(87) Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 157.

(88) See the letter in the Catalogue of Records, annexed to the third volume of Strype's Memorials.

(89) Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 237.

(90) Stowe's Annals, p. 610. Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 161.

(91) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1085.

(92) Stowe's Annals, p. 613.

(93) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. Strype's Memorials, Vol. III.

(94) Stowe's Annals.

[*M*] *Who could pen ſuch a ſcene unmoved.*] There is a very ſingular circumſtance (95), which was preſerved amongſt John Fox's papers, from the information of the very perſon whom it concerned, that will ſerve to ſet the ſuddenneſs of this ſurprizing revolution, in a clearer light than almoſt any other thing that is to be met with. There was one Mr Edward Underhill, deſcended from a good family in Warwickſhire, who for his ſervices in the army, had been taken into the band of gentlemen-penſioners, in which he remained during the reign of Edward, and was now about Queen Jane. He had in his youth been what we call a man of pleaſure, but being converted to the reformed religion, became ſo ſincere and ſo zealous a Proteſtant, that thoſe of the band, who were leſs religious, nick-named him the hot Goſpeller. This gentleman was known to, and very well eſteemed by the Queen, and it fell out while he was upon duty at the Tower, his wife was brought to bed of a ſon. At the chriſtening of this child, which was fixed for the nineteenth of July, 1553, the Duke of Suffolk and the Earl of Pembroke were godfathers by proxy, Queen Jane was godmother, and

(95) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 115.

deposed his daughter, whom he had forced to ascend the throne, went next to the Council, and subscribed the instructions, that were sent to the Duke of Northumberland, by Rose Pursuivant at Arms, requiring him to disband his forces and submit to Queen Mary, if he meant they should become humble suitors to their sovereign for him and his, as well as for themselves (*s*). In this however Northumberland prevented them; for finding how strong the current ran in the country, he suspected it's source to be at London, and had therefore proclaimed Queen Mary at Cambridge before the Pursuivant arrived (*t*). This did not hinder his being siezed soon after, and sent to the Tower, where it must have added no small weight to the Lady Jane's misfortunes, to see the father of her husband, with all his family, and many of the nobility and gentry, brought prisoners (*u*), for having supported her claim to the crown; and this grief must have met with some accession, from his being condemned soon after and brought to the block (*w*). With him died Sir Thomas Palmer and Sir John Gates (*x*), the former (*y*) supposed to have been his instrument in the ruin of the Protector Somerset, which however he did not confess; and the latter (*z*) held his agent, in perswading King Edward to alter the succession, which the Duke denied, affirming him to have done it of his own accord, and to have been thereby the cause of all this mischief; with what degree of probability every man must judge for himself. On the 27th of July in some (*a*), or, as others say (*b*), on the 28th, she had the mortification of seeing her own father the Duke of Suffolk in the same circumstances with herself; but her mother the duchess not only remained exempt from all punishment, but had such an interest with the Queen, as to procure the duke his liberty on the last day of that month (*c*). Lady Jane, and her husband the Lord Guilford Dudley, remaining still in confinement, were, on the third of November, 1553, carried from the Tower to Guildhall, and with Archbishop Cranmer and others arraigned and convicted of high-treason (*d*) before Judge Morgan, who pronounced on them sentence of death, the remembrance of which afterwards affected him so far, that he died raving (*e*). From this time the unfortunate Lady Jane, and her no less unhappy husband, lived in the very shadow of death, and yet not without some gleams of comfort. For in the month of December, the Marquis of Northampton, who in the same cause had fallen into the like circumstances, was pardoned and discharged; and at the same time the strictness of their confinement mitigated, by permission granted to take the air in the Queen's garden (*f*), and other little indulgences, that would however have been so many acts of cruelty, if the Queen had then intended what she afterwards thought fit to inflict. But this, by the consent of our best historians (*g*), is allowed to be altogether improbable; and that there are good reasons to believe the Queen would have spared Lady Jane, since she had already pardoned her father who was much more guilty, and that she would have extended her mercy to Lord Guilford Dudley as well as to his elder brothers. However, in the first parliament of her reign, an act was passed for establishing the validity of such private contracts, as were dated during Jane's nine days administration, with a proviso, that all public acts, grants of lands, or the like, if any such there were, should be void. Another act likewise passed for confirming the attainders of Northumberland, Canterbury, and the rest, who had been convicted of high-treason, which perhaps was thought necessary, to confirm the opinion of the Judges, who had over-ruled their plea; that what they did was in obedience to the supreme authority then subsisting (*h*): but whatever hopes Lady Jane and her husband might entertain, whatever ease they might enjoy, were quickly taken away by an unhappy event, which it was impossible for them to foresee, and in which it is not so much as pretended that either of them had the least hand. There was a great spirit raised in the nation against the Queen's marriage with Philip of Spain; and upon this a general insurrection (*i*) was concerted, which, if it had been executed with any degree of that prudence shewn in the planning of it, or rather if the Providence of God had not interposed, could scarce have failed of succeeding; Sir Thomas Wiat of Kent, a man of a great estate and a greater influence, managed those who were afraid, under colour of this marriage, the kingdom would be delived up to a foreign prince and his partizans (*k*). Sir Peter Carew, in Cornwall, dealt with such as were desirous of seeing the Princess Elizabeth upon the throne, and in the arms of Courtney (*l*), whom the Queen had lately restored to the title of Devonshire, and the Duke of Suffolk, to whom danger had in vain preached discretion, and who could not learn loyalty even from mercy, made use of that great interest which his large estates gave him, though he held them by the Queen's favour, to mislead her subjects from their duty, and to take up arms against her person (*m*). What the real view of this design was even time has not discovered; but by rashness, and misintelligence of those at the head of it, all miscarried (*n*). The Duke of Suffolk, with his brothers Lord John and Lord Thomas Grey, were in arms, and with a body of three hundred

(*s*) Collier's Eccl. Hist. Vol. II. p. 344. Heylin's Hist. Reform. p. 187.

(*t*) Stowe's Annals, p. 612.

(*u*) Cooper's Chronicle, P. iii. fol 359. Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 15.

(*w*) Cooper's Chronicle, P. iii. fol. 360. Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 21, 22.

(*x*) Stowe's Annals, p. 615. Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 360.

(*y*) Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 239, 240.

(*z*) Godwin's Annals.

(*a*) Stowe's Annals, p. 613. Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 16.

(*b*) Holinshed, Speed.

(*c*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 16. Burnet's Hist. Reform. Vol. II. p. 240.

(*d*) Cooper's Chronicle, P. iii. fol. 362. Burnet's Hist. Reform. Vol. II. p. 257. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1093.

(*e*) Clarke's Marrow of Ecclesiastical History, P. ii. p. 67. Burnet's Hist. Reform. Vol. II. p. 272.

(*f*) Stowe's Annals, p. 614. Speed's Chronicle, p. 818.

(*g*) Holinshed, Speed, Burnet.

(*h*) Heylin's History of the Reformation, p. 199. Stowe's Annals, p. 614.

(*i*) Burnet's Hist. Reform. Vol. II. p. 284.

(*k*) Heylin's Hist. Reform. p. 203.

(*l*) Burnet's Hist. Reform. Vol. II. p. 284. Strype's Memorials, Vol. III.

(*m*) Holinshed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1095. Cooper's Chron. fol. 362.

(*n*) Stowe, Heylin, Burnet.

and as a still higher mark of her favour, directed that the child should be called Guilford after her husband. The person sent to represent the Queen, was Lady Throckmorton, the wife of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, who at the time she left the Tower, in order to be present at the ceremony, received the commands of the Queen, in a manner suitable to that rank, and carried them to Mr Underhill's. But on her return to the Tower, her amazement must have been great, to find the canopy of state removed, with all other ensigns of royalty, out of which she was quickly drawn, by an intimation from one of the new officers, that her Lady was a prisoner for high-treason, and that she was to attend her under the like circumstances. This relation is not indeed of any great moment in itself, but, all things considered, the reader will perhaps be of opinion, that there is hardly any thing like it in history.

dred horſe preſented themſelves before the city of Coventry (o), in which they had a ſtrong party; but the Queen having ſent down the Earl of Huntingdon, he ſecured that place (p), and Suffolk finding his deſign abortive, and his people dropping away, retired, with as many as he could keep about him, to a houſe of his in Leiceſterſhire, where, having diſtributed what money he had to thoſe who were the companions of his fortune, he adviſed them to ſhift for themſelves, truſting to the promiſes of one Underwood his park-keeper, who undertook to conceal, and who is ſuſpected to have betrayed him to the Earl of Huntingdon (q), by whom himſelf and his brother Lord John being apprehended, were carried to Coventry, and, after ſome ſtay there, ſent to London under a guard, where they did not arrive 'till the tenth of February, and were then committed to the Tower (r), out of which the Duke never came but to his trial and to his death [N]. This weak and ill managed buſineſs gave the miniſters an opportunity of perſwading the Queen, that her ſafety could be no otherwiſe provided for, than by putting Lady Jane and her huſband to death; to which, a learned prelate aſſures us (s), the Queen was not wrought without much difficulty; and it is very remarkable, that Sanders (t) makes the very ſame obſervation, ſo that the truth of it can hardly be called in queſtion. The news of this fatal reſolution made no great impreſſion upon this excellent lady; the bitterneſs of death was paſſed, ſhe had expected it long, and was ſo well prepared to meet her fate, that ſhe was very little diſcompoſed. But the Queen's charity hurt her more than her juſtice. The day firſt fixed for her death was Friday February the ninth (u), and ſhe had in ſome meaſure taken leave of the world, by writing a letter to her unhappy father, who ſhe heard was more diſturbed with the thoughts of his being the author of her death, than with the apprehenſion of his own; which letter the reader will find in the notes [O]. In this ſerene frame of mind, Dr Feckenham, Abbot of Weſtminſter, came to her (w) from the Queen, who was very deſirous ſhe ſhould follow her father-in-law's example, and be reconciled to the Church of Rome. He was indeed a very fit inſtrument (if any had been fit) for this purpoſe; for he had an acute wit, a very plauſible manner of ſpeaking, and a great tenderneſs in his nature. Lady Jane received him with much civility, and behaved towards him with ſo much calmneſs and ſweetneſs of temper, that he could not help being overcome with her diſtreſs; ſo that either miſtaking or pretending to miſtake her meaning, he procured a reſpite of her execution 'till the twelfth (x). Yet he did not gain any thing upon her in regard

(o) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1095.

(p) Stowe's Annals, p. 622.

(q) Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 362.

(r) Stowe's Annals, p. 622.

(s) Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 272.

(t) De Schiſmate Anglicano, lib. ii. p. 290.

(u) Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 166.

(w) Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 271.

(x) Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 166.

[N] *But to his trial and to his death.*] Our hiſtories give us but very dark and indifferent accounts of this inſurrection, which if we may credit one of our old chronicle writers (96), and his authority John Stowe, was purely to prevent the Queen's marriage with a foreign prince: the paſſage is very ſingular and worth reading. 'Upon ſaturday, being the 17th of Febru-'ary, the Duke of Suffolk was arraigned at Weſtmin-'ſter, and there condemned to die by his peers, the 'Earl of Arundel being that day chief judge. Where 'ſome have written, that he ſhould at his laſt going 'down into the country, make proclamation in his 'daughter's name, that is not ſo; for whereas he 'ſtood by in Leiceſter, when at his commandment the 'proclamation was there made againſt the Queen's 'marriage with the Prince of Spain, &c. Maſter Dam-'port, then Mayor of that town, ſaid to him, My 'Lord, I truſt your Grace meaneth no hurt to the 'Queen's Majeſty. No, faith he, Maſter Mayor, lay-'ing his hand on his ſword, he that would her any 'hurt, I would this ſword were through his heart, for 'ſhe is the mercifulleſt Prince, as I have truly found 'her, that ever reigned, in whoſe defence I am, and 'will be ready to die at her feet.' But to this we may oppoſe the authority of a very learned prelate (97), who likewiſe wrote a chronicle, lived himſelf in thoſe times, and publiſhed it within leſs than ſix years after the event. 'Henry Duke of Suffolk, ſays he, father to Lady Jane, 'lately proclaimed Queen, flying into Leiceſterſhire 'and Warwickſhire, with a ſmall company, in divers 'places as he went, again proclaimed his daughter, 'but the people did not greatly incline unto him.' A very judicious and impartial foreigner (98), who had great opportunities of knowing our affairs at this juncture, not only affirms the ſame thing that Biſhop Cooper does, but acquaints us farther, that Queen Mary had an intention, as ſoon as Wyat's riſing in Kent was known, to put the Duke of Suffolk at the head of the troops that were ſent againſt him; to avoid which, being conſcious of his own engagements, and over perſwaded by his brother Lord Thomas Grey, he departed from his houſe at Sheen, on the 25th of January in the evening, in order to raiſe the counties beforementioned. It is not however impoſſible that he might proclaim his daughter in his paſſage, and finding that not ſo well received as he expected, alter his language at Leiceſter; but this is barely a conjecture, and as ſuch ſubmitted to the reader's judgment.

(96) Holinſhed, Vol. II. p. 1100.

(97) Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 362.

(98) Thuanus, Hiſt. lib. xiii.

[O] *Which letter the reader will find in the notes.*] This letter (99) muſt in all probability have been written before Dr Feckenham procured her reprieve; for upon the firſt of February (100), publick proclamation was made, that the Duke and his company were diſperſed, and ſoon after that (101), himſelf and one of his brothers were taken and carried to Coventry, from whence Lady Jane might have at this time news of his great grief on her account. But it ſo fell out afterwards, that he was brought to the Tower two days before her execution (102), which as ſhe could not poſſibly foreſee, it is improbable ſhe ſhould delay her letter beyond the day firſt fixed for her death.

'FATHER, Although it pleaſeth God to haſten my 'death by you, by whom my life ſhould rather have 'been lengthened; yet can I ſo patiently take it, as 'I yield God more hearty thanks for ſhortening my 'woeful days, than if all the world had been given 'into my poſſeſſion with life lengthened to my will; 'and albeit, I am well aſſured of your impatient do-'lors, redoubled many ways, both in bewailing your 'own woe, and alſo as I hear, eſpecially my unfortunate 'eſtate: yet my dear father, if I may without offence 'rejoice in my miſhaps, methinks in this I may ac-'count myſelf bleſſed; that waſhing my hands with 'the innocency of my fact, my guiltleſs blood may cry 'before the Lord, mercy to the innocent: and yet, tho' 'I muſt needs acknowledge, that being conſtrained, and 'as you well know, continually aſſaied in taking the 'Crown upon me; I ſeemed to conſent, and therein 'grievouſly offended the Queen and her laws: and yet 'do I aſſuredly truſt, that this my offence towards 'God, is ſo much the leſs, in that being in ſo royal an 'eſtate as I was, my inforced honour never mixed with 'my innocent heart; and thus, good father, I have 'opened my ſtate to you, whoſe death at hand, al-'though to you perhaps it may ſeem right woful, to me 'there is nothing that can be more welcome, than, from 'this vale of miſery, to aſpire to that heavenly throne 'of all joys and pleaſure with Chriſt our Saviour: In 'whoſe ſtedfaſt faith, if it be lawful for the daughter to 'write ſo to her father, the Lord that hitherto hath 'ſtrengthened you, ſo continue you, that at laſt we 'may meet in Heaven, with the Father, Son and 'Holy Ghoſt. Amen.

(99) Fox's Acts and Monuments.

(100) Stow.'s Annals, p. 619.

(101) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1095.

(102) Stowe's Annals, p. 622.

[P] *But*

regard to the design upon which he was sent; on the contrary, though she heard him patiently, yet she answered all his arguments with such strength, such clearness, and such a steadiness of mind (y), as shewed plainly that religion had been her principal care, and that the hopes of being happy in a future state, from acting according to the dictates of her conscience in this, had fortified her not only against the fears of death, but against all doubts or apprehensions whatever [P]. On the Sunday evening, which was the last she was to spend in this world, she wrote a letter (z) in the Greek tongue, as some say on the blank leaves at the end of a Testament in the same language, which she bequeathed as a legacy to her sister the Lady Katherine; which piece of her's, if we had no other left, would be sufficient to render her memory immortal, and therefore the substance of it in English is inserted at the bottom of the page [Q]. The fatal morning being come, the

(y) Burnet's Hist. Reform. Vol. II. p. 271.

(z) See the note [Q].

[P] *But against all doubts or apprehensions whatever.*] We have avoided loading these notes with more of this excellent person's writings than were absolutely necessary, and for this reason only we have omitted her letter to Dr Harding, her father's chaplain, and one of her tutors, upon his renouncing the Protestant religion, and reconciling himself to the Church of Rome He had himself about the time of King Edward's death, discovered a clear foresight of all that followed, and exhorted his Protestant brethren to support those trials which they were about to undergo, with christian patience and fortitude. This in all probability induced Lady Jane to write with so much vehemence and zeal, as to one who in her own opinion had quitted his faith through fear, and taken up a new profession in order to escape danger. Dr Aylmer her tutor (103), and who had lived with Harding in the Marquis of Dorset's family, published this letter in his exile, which affords us the clearest proof of it's being genuine.

(103) See Strype's Life of Bp Aylmer, p. 2.

But Feckenham could know nothing of this, otherwise in all appearance he would not have undertaken Lady Jane's conversion. He thought he should have found her in great disorder and confusion, and that it would be no difficult matter to triumph over the feeble understanding of a dejected and heart-broken young woman, but he found it quite otherwise; notwithstanding which, she would have declined the dispute, telling him she had no time to spare, that controversy might be fit for the living, but not for the dying, and that thererefore, the truest sign of his having that compassion for her, of which he made such strong professions, would be to leave her undisturbed in making her peace with God. It was upon this, that he applied himself to the Queen for a short reprieve, with which, when he acquainted this admirable woman, she told him, *That he had entirely misunderstood her sense of her situation, that far from desiring her death might be delayed, she expected and wished for it as the period of her miseries, and her entrance into eternal happiness* (104).

(104) Fox's Acts and Monuments.

Yet she could not then avoid entering into discourse with him, more especially when he desired her to give him a brief account of her faith, that he might clearly understand it, and make a true report thereof to the world. Upon this they discussed the doctrine of the real presence in the Sacrament, which Lady Jane denied in the sense that Feckenham asserted, and that posterity might not be imposed upon by any fallacious account of this conference, she drew up and subscribed a clear and concise account of it, to which, if the reader has any curiosity, he may easily have recourse (105). At length finding he could make no impression, he took his leave of her, and said Madam, 'I am sorry for 'you and your obstinacy, and now I am assured you 'and I shall never meet again.' 'It is most true, Sir, 'said she, we shall never meet again, except God 'turn your heart; for I stand undoubtedly assured, 'that unless you repent and turn to God, you are in a 'sad and desperate case: and I pray to God in the 'bowels of his mercy, to send you his holy spirit, for 'he hath given you his great gift of utterance, if it 'please him to open the eyes of your heart to his 'truth'

(105) Phœnix, Vol. II. p. 28.

We must conceive that this was understood as it was spoken, as flowing from a religious zeal, and not from any distaste of contradiction, or any dislike to his person, since we find that Feckenham, far from deserting, attended her to the very last, and that the Lady Jane shewed a very proper sense of his attention and respect for her, in the sight and hearing of all who were upon or near the scaffold (106). Before we close this note, it may not be amiss to say something of the papers we have inserted, and of those to which we refer, that it may appear we have taken some pains to satisfy ourselves, in order to the reader's satisfaction, that they are really her's. First then with respect to her capacity there can be no doubt at all, Bishop Aylmer was her tutor, Ascham knew her intimately, Sir Thomas Chaloner, Dr Parkhurst, John Fox, John Bale, were her contemporaries, and knew her likewise. Secondly, most of her papers are signed Jane Dudley, which in itself may be presumed a preservative against forgery. Thirdly, they were printed and published as the precious remains of that incomparable person, immediately after her death, and in every bodies hands (107) Fourthly, the titles of them are to be found in John Bale's great work (108), and the first line of the several pieces, which as he tells us, he finished in 1558, within four years of her death, and almost as many before, they were involved in John Fox's voluminous work. Lastly, they have been printed verbatim from the original edition in a late collection of ancient tracts (109), which from the value of those it contains, is now become not very common; taking therefore all this evidence together, there seems to be no colour left to doubt that these pious and extraordinary performances are the very same that fell from the pen of that great and good woman, which intitled her to the universal compassion of those with whom she lived; and [illegible] ought to entitle her, as far as it is possible, to an immortal memory, towards which we have willingly bestowed some diligence in the construction of this little monument.

(106) Thuan. Hist. lib. xiii.

(107) An old quarto without date.

(108) De Script[illegible] [illegible] p. 159.

(109) The P[illegible] [illegible] 1708. 8vo. [illegible] Vol. II p. 37.

[Q] *At the bottom of the page*] We shall in another note have occasion to speak more at large of this Lady Katherine Grey, sister in merit and learning, as well as by blood, to Lady Jane, and her sister likewise in misfortunes; which though they brought her not to die in the same manner, yet occasioned her dying in the same place, in a way, which if less violent was more grievous, she had therefore many years, in which she might practise those excellent lessons, bestowed upon her in this prophetic legacy (110).

(110) From an old printed copy of the pieces written by Lady Jane Grey.

'I have here sent you, my dear sister Katherine, a 'book, which although it be not outwardly trimmed 'with gold, or the curious embroidery of the artfullest 'needles, yet inwardly it is more worth than all the 'precious mines which the vast world can boast of It 'is the book, my only best and best loved sister, of the 'law of the Lord: It is the testament and last will 'which he bequeathed unto us wretches and wretched 'sinners, which shall lead you to the path of eternal 'joy: and if you with a good mind read it, and with 'an earnest desire follow it, no doubt it shall bring 'you to an immortal and everlasting life. It will teach 'you to live, and learn you to die: it shall win you 'more, and endow you with greater felicity than you 'should have gained by the possession of our woful father's lands; for as if God had prospered him, you 'should have inherited his honours and manors; 'so if you apply diligently this book, seeking to direct your life according to the rule of the same, you 'shall be an inheritor of such riches, as neither the covetous shall withdraw from you, neither the thief 'shall steal, neither yet the moths corrupt Desire 'with David, my best sister, to understand the law of 'the Lord your God; live still to die, that you by 'death may purchase eternal life; and trust not that 'the tenderness of your age shall lengthen your life; 'for unto God when he calleth, all hours, times, and 'seasons are alike, and blessed are they whose lamps 'are furnished when he cometh, for as soon will the 'Lord be glorified in the young as in the old. My 'good sister, once again more let me intreat thee to 'learn to die; deny the world, defy the devil, and 'despise the flesh, and delight yourself only in the 'Lord

the Lord Guilford earneſtly deſired the officers that he might take his laſt farewel of her (*a*). Which though they willingly permitted, yet upon notice ſhe adviſed the contrary, aſſuring him, that ſuch a meeting would rather add to his afflictions, than increaſe that quiet wherewith they had poſſeſſed their ſoul's for the ſtroke of death; that he demanded a lenitive which would put fire into the wound, and that it was to be feared her preſence would rather weaken than ſtrengthen him; that he ought to take courage from his reaſon, and derive conſtancy from his own heart; that if his ſoul were not firm and ſettled, ſhe could not ſettle it by her eyes nor confirm it by her words; that he ſhould do well to remit this interview to the other world; that there indeed friendſhips were happy and unions indiſſolvable, and that theirs would be eternal if their ſouls carried nothing with them of terreſtrial, which might hinder them from rejoicing. All ſhe could do was to give him a farewel out of a window as he paſſed toward the place of his diſſolution, which he ſuffered on the ſcaffold on Tower-Hill with much Chriſtian meekneſs (*b*). His dead body being laid in a car and his head wrapped up in a linnen cloth, were carried to the chapel within the Tower, in the way to which, they were to paſs under the window of the Lady Jane; which ſad ſpectacle ſhe likewiſe beheld (*c*), but of her own accord, and not either by accident, or as ſome (*d*), without any colour of truth, have inſinuated, by deſign, and with a view to increaſe the weight of her afflictions [*R*]. About an hour after the death of her huſband, ſhe was led out by the Lieutenant to the ſcaffold (*e*) that was prepared upon the green over-againſt the White-Tower. It is ſaid that the court had once taken a reſolution (*f*) to have her beheaded on the ſame ſcaffold with her huſband; but conſidering how much they were both pitied, and how generally Lady Jane was beloved, it was determined, to prevent any commotions, that this execution ſhould be performed within the Tower. She was attended to and upon the ſcaffold by Feckenham (*g*), but ſhe was obſerved not to give much heed to his diſcourſes, keeping her eyes ſteadily fixed on a book of prayers which ſhe had in her hand, after ſome ſhort recollection ſhe ſaluted thoſe who were preſent with a countenance perfectly compoſed; then taking leave of Dr Feckenham, ſhe ſaid, *God will abundantly requite you, good Sir, for your humanity to me, though your diſcourſes gave me more uneaſineſs than all the terrors of my approaching death* (*h*). She next addreſſed herſelf to the ſpectators in a plain and ſhort ſpeech, which is inſerted in the notes [*S*]. Then

(*a*) Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 167.

(*b*) Clarke's Marrow of Eccl. Hiſt. P. ii. p. 65. Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1099.

(*c*) Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 167.

(*d*) Fox's Martyrs.

(*e*) Stowe's Annals, p. 622. Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Vol. II. p. 272.

(*f*) Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 167. Strype's Memorials.

(*g*) Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 167.

(*h*) Godwin's Annals.

'Lord; be penitent for your ſins, and yet deſpair not; 'be ſtrong in faith, yet preſume not; and deſire with 'St Paul, to be diſſolved and to be with Chriſt, with 'whom even in death there is life. Be like the good 'ſervant, and even at midnight be waking, leſt when 'death cometh and ſtealeth upon you like a thief in 'the night, you be with the ſervants of darkneſs 'found ſleeping; and leſt for lack of oil, you be found 'like the five fooliſh virgins, or like him that had not 'on the wedding garment, and then you be caſt into 'darkneſs, or baniſhed from the marriage. Rejoice in 'Chriſt, as I truſt you do, and ſeeing you have the 'name of a Chriſtian, as near as you can follow the 'ſteps, and be a true imitator of your maſter Chriſt Je'ſus, and take up your croſs, lay your ſins on his back, 'and always embrace him. Now as touching my death; 'rejoice as I do, my deareſt ſiſter, that I ſhall be de'livered of this corruption, and put on incorruption; 'for I am aſſured that I ſhall for loſing of a mortal life, 'win one that is immortal, joyful, and everlaſting, 'the which I pray God grant you in his moſt bleſſed 'hour, and ſend you his all-ſaving grace to live in his 'fear, and to die in the true Chriſtian faith. From 'which, in God's name, I exhort you, that you never 'ſwerve, neither for hope of life nor fear of death; 'for if you will deny his truth, to give length to a 'weary and corrupt breath, God himſelf will deny 'you, and by vengeance make ſhort what you by your 'ſoul's loſs would prolong; but if you will cleave to 'him, he will ſtretch forth your days to an uncircum'ſcribed comfort, and to his own glory. To the 'which glory God bring me now, and you hereafter, 'when it ſhall pleaſe him to call you. Farewell once 'again, my beloved ſiſter, and put your only truſt in 'God, who only muſt help you. Amen.'

Your loving ſiſter,

JANE DUDLEY.

had the laſt ſight of her Lord living and dead. It was after this ſad ſight that ſhe wrote three ſhort ſentences in her table book (113), in Greek, Latin, and Engliſh, and this very book, upon Sir John's intreaty that ſhe would beſtow upon him ſome memorial, ſhe preſented him as an acknowledgment for the civility ſhe received from him. By this accident the world came to learn with what ſteadineſs, and at the ſame time with what tenderneſs ſhe looked upon thoſe dear remains. The ſenſe of the Greek ſentence was.

(113) Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. P. 167.

If his ſlain body ſhall give teſtimony againſt me before men, his moſt bleſſed ſoul ſhall render an eternal proof of my innocence in the preſence of God.

The Latin was to this effect.

The juſtice of men took away his body, but the divine mercy has preſerved his ſoul.

The Engliſh ran thus.

If my fault deſerved puniſhment, my youth at leaſt, and my imprudence were worthy of excuſe, God and poſterity will ſhew me favour.

In the place of her confinement, theſe verſes were found as ſome ſay, written with a pin (114).

(114) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1100.

Non aliena putes homini quæ obtingere poſſunt:
Sors hodierna mihi, cras erat illi tibi.

Stand not ſecure, who ſtand in mortal ſtate,
What's mine to day, ſhall next day be thy fate.

Deo juvante nil nocet livor malus,
Et non juvante, nil juvat labor gravis.
Poſt tenebras, ſpero lucem.

If Heaven protect, Hell's malice cannot wound,
By Heaven deſerted, peace can ne'er be found.
Theſe ſhadows paſt, I hope for light.

[*R*] *And with a view to increaſe the weight of her afflictions*] The Lieutenant of the Tower at this time was Sir John Bridges (111), the anceſtor of the preſent moſt noble family of that name Dukes of Chandos, and who in the month of April following, was himſelf created a Baron (112) by that title, and the ſame to whom ſhe afterwards gave her prayer book upon the ſcaffold. He was with her in the apartment which ſhe had at Mr Partridge's, from the windows of which ſhe

(111) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1100.

(112) Stowe's Annals, p. 623.

[*S*] *Which is inſerted in the notes.*] This we find printed as her laſt ſpeech by more authors than one, but we publiſh from that little collection (115) of pieces before mentioned, which ſeems to be the moſt authentic.

(115) From an old printed copy of the papers written by Lady Jane Grey.

The

Then kneeling down ſhe ſaid the Miſerere in Engliſh, after which ſhe ſtood up, and gave her women, Mrs Elizabeth Tilney and Mrs Helen, her gloves (*i*) and her handkerchief; and to the Lieutenant of the Tower, whom Heylin (*k*) calls Sir John Gage, but Holinſhed (*l*) Bridges, her prayer-book. When ſhe untied her gown the executioner offered to aſſiſt her (*m*), but ſhe deſired him to let her alone; and turning to her women, they undreſſed, and gave her a handkerchief to bind about her eyes (*n*). The executioner kneeling, deſired her pardon; to which ſhe anſwered moſt willingly (*o*). He deſiring her to ſtand upon the ſtraw, which bringing her within ſight of the block, ſhe ſaid, *I pray diſpatch me quickly*; adding preſently after, *Will you take it off before I lay me down* (*p*); the executioner ſaid, *No Madam*: upon this, the handkerchief being bound cloſe over her eyes, ſhe began to feel for the block, to which ſhe was guided by one of the ſpectators; when ſhe felt it, ſhe ſtretched herſelf forward and ſaid, *Lord, into thy hands I commend my ſpirit*, and immediately, at one ſtroke, her head was divided from her body (*q*). Her fate was univerſally deplored, even by thoſe who were beſt affected to Queen Mary; and as ſhe is allowed to have been a princeſs of great piety, it muſt certainly have given her much diſquiet to begin her reign with ſuch an unuſual effuſion of blood; and, in the preſent caſe, of her near relation, one formerly honoured with her friendſhip and favour, who had indeed uſurped, but without deſiring or enjoying, the royal diadem, which ſhe aſſumed, by the conſtraint of an ambitious father and an imperious mother; and which, at the firſt motion, ſhe chearfully and willingly reſigned. This made her exceedingly lamented at home and abroad, the fame of her learning and virtue having reached over Europe, ſo as to excite many commendations, and ſome expreſs panegyrics in different nations and in different languages. But whereas, ſome of our own writers ſeem to doubt whether ſhe was with child or not at the time of her deceaſe, and foreigners have improved this into a direct aſſertion, that ſhe was five months gone, it ſeems to be improbable, ſince there were at that time ſo many buſy and inquiſitive people, that if the fact had been true it muſt have been known, and would have been perpetually repeated in thoſe pieces that were every day ſent abroad, in order to exaſperate the nation againſt the Queen and her miniſters. On the twenty firſt of the ſame month, the father of Queen Jane, Henry Grey Duke of Suffolk (*r*), loſt his head upon Tower-hill: neither was the jealouſy excited by King Edward's appointment, and their nearneſs in blood to the royal line, ſo fully extinguiſhed by the blood of ſo many victims, but that it revived in the ſucceeding reign, and proved a new ſource of diſquiet to the ſad remains of this unhappy family [*T*]. We have treated this article the more largely, becauſe hitherto, excepting Heylin, none of our hiſtorians have repreſented the public and private life of this admirable perſon with any tolerable degree of diſtinctneſs; but have been content to hurry over her ſhort poſſeſſion of the crown, as if it had been an ordinary

(*i*) Holinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1110. Clarke's Marrow of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, P. ii. p. 66.

(*k*) Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 167.

(*l*) Chron. Vol. II. p. 1100.

(*m*) Clarke's Marrow of Eccl. Hiſt. P. ii. p. 66. Holinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1110.

(*n*) Clarke's Marrow of Eccl. Hiſt. P. ii. p. 66. Heylin's Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 168.

(*o*) Holinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1100.

(*p*) Clarke's Marrow of Eccl. Hiſt. P. ii. p. 66.

(*q*) Holinſhed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1100. Heylin's Hiſt. of the Reformation, p. 168.

(*r*) Camden's Annals, fol. 320. Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 272.

The cloſe varies in words, but not from the ſenſe of what is ſet down in the text.

'My Lords, and you good chriſtian people which 'come to ſee me die; I am under a law, and by that 'law, as a never erring judge, I am condemned to die, 'not for any thing I have offended the Queen's Maje'ſty, for I will waſh my hands guiltleſs thereof, and 'deliver to my God, a ſoul as pure from ſuch treſpaſs, 'as innocence from injuſtice; but only for that I con'ſented to the thing I was forced unto, conſtraint mak'ing the law believe I did that which I never under'ſtood, notwithſtanding I have offended Almighty 'God, in that I have followed over much the luſt of 'mine own fleſh, and the pleaſures of this wretched 'world; neither have I lived according to the know'ledge that God hath given me, for which cauſe God 'hath appointed unto me this kind of death, and that 'moſt worthily according to my deſerts; howbeit I 'thank him heartily that he hath given me time to re'pent of my ſins here in this world, and to reconcile 'myſelf to my Redeemer, whom my former vanities 'had in a great meaſure diſpleaſed. Wherefore (my 'Lords, and all you good chriſtian people) I moſt 'earneſtly deſire you all to pray with me, and for me, 'whilſt I am yet alive, that God of his infinite good'neſs and mercy will forgive me my ſins, how num'berleſs and grievous ſoever againſt him: and I be'ſeech you all to bear me witneſs, that I here die a 'true chriſtian woman, profeſſing and avouching from 'my ſoul, that I truſt to be ſaved by the blood, paſ'ſion, and merits of Jeſus Chriſt my Saviour only, and 'by no other means, caſting far behind me all the 'works and merits of mine own actions, as things ſo 'far ſhort of the true duty I owe, that I quake to think 'how much they may ſtand up againſt me. And now 'I pray you all pray for me and with me.' And at thoſe words ſhe repeated the Pſalm of Miſerere mei; which done ſhe ſaid, Lord, ſave my ſoul, which now I commend into thy hands. *And ſo with all meekneſs of* ſpirit and a ſaint-like patience, ſhe prepared herſelf to the block.

We find theſe Latin verſes written to her memory (116).

Regia ſtirps triſti cinxi diademate crines:
Regna ſed omnipotens hinc meliora dedit.

From Kings deſcended, crown'd on earth with care,
But now in Heaven, an olive-crown I wear.

(116) Clarke's Marrow of Eccl. Hiſt. P. ii. p. 69.

It is impoſſible to cloſe this account of her better, or more truly, than by this diſtich written by John Fox (117).

Tu quibus iſta legis incertum eſt, lector, ocellis:
Ipſe quidem ſiccis ſcribere non potui.

How thine eyes feel, kind reader, know I not:
Mine were *not* dry, when I this ſtory wrot.

(117) Fox's Acts and Monuments.

[*T*] *To the ſad remains of this unhappy family.*] We have ſhewn in the text how ſtrangely the Duke of Suffolk involved thoſe who ought to have been, and who without doubt were neareſt in blood, and deareſt to him in affection, in his laſt, as well as in his firſt misfortunes. It is indeed ſaid, that his brother, Lord Thomas Grey, perſuaded him to concur with Wyat, and if this was proved, it is no great wonder that he felt the ſtroke of juſtice (118) as well as the Duke. However that be, certain it is, that he loſt his head on the 27th of April, being taken in Wales, whither he fled after their defeat in Leiceſterſhire. But Lord John Grey following the Duke rather out of fraternal love, than any principle of diſloyalty, was pardoned by the Queen, (119), and we find him often mentioned afterwards in the next reign, by the title of Lord John Grey of Pyrgo in Eſſex, but his ſon Sir Henry Grey, was again enobled by King James the Firſt, who created him Baron of Groby (120), in the county of Leiceſter, and his grandſon Henry, was raiſed to the title of Earl of Stamford, by Charles (121) the Firſt, which honours are now enjoyed by his deſcendant (122), with a very conſiderable

(118) Stowe's Annals.

(119) Holinſhed's Chron. Stryte's Annals.

(120) Pat. Jac. I. p. 14.

(121) Pat. 3 Car. I. p. 6.

(122) Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 232.

ordinary inſurrection, and to ſpeak of her death in general terms of compaſſion, with an exaggeration of ſome and a ſuppreſſion of other circumſtances, ſo as to put it out of the power of the reader to form a juſt notion of the whole tranſaction, which we have laboured to deſcribe as accurately and with as much impartiality as poſſible.

conſiderable part of the old family eſtate of the Marquis's of Dorſet Frances Ducheſs of Suffolk ſurvived her huſband many years, ending a miſerable life as Camden (123) tells us, in 1563, after forgetting her greatneſs ſo far, to uſe the words of the ſame author, as to accept for her huſband, Adrian Stokes, a gentleman in low circumſtances (one of her domeſticks) which how much ſoever it might tend to her diſcredit, yet ſeemed to anſwer the view with which it was done, by contributing to her ſecurity. Her ſecond daughter, Katherine, being left by the huſband of her good fortune, who preſently after eſpouſed another Katherine (124), daughter to the Earl of Shrewſbury, lamented for ſome years the diſtreſſes of her family and her own. She was ever looked upon with jealouſy in the Court of Elizabeth, more eſpecially after it was diſcovered that the (125) Spaniards in 1559, had formed a deſign of ſtealing her away. About two years after this, ſhe privately married the Earl of Hertford's eldeſt ſon, by whom proving with child (126), the Queen treated this as an affair of ſtate, and committed both the parties. A ſuit was alſo commenced, and being brought before a court of delegates, where the Archbiſhop of Canterbury ſat as chief, a definitive ſentence (127) was pronounced, that their cohabitation was unlawful, and that for their incontinence, they both deſerved to be puniſhed; but notwithſtanding this, procuring acceſs to her in the Tower, ſhe became again with child, and brought him another ſon (128). Upon this he was charged in the Star-Chamber, with having ſeduced a virgin of the royal blood in the Queen's palace, with breaking priſon, and with abuſing her a ſecond time, and for theſe crimes he was fined five thouſand pounds, and condemned to nine years impriſonment (129). Lady Katherine remained in the Tower to the time of her deceaſe, January 26, 1567. But in a ſucceeding and leſs jealous reign, the validity of her marriage was brought to the deciſion of a jury, of which John Digby, Eſq; (130) was the foreman, and the reſt, gentlemen, who, upon the oath of the miniſter that married them, and other circumſtances, found it to be good; and from the iſſue of this lady, deſcended the late Duke of Somerſet, and the noble families of Northumberland and Egremont, by the female line deſcend; as for the third ſiſter, Lady Mary Grey, though contracted in her nonage to a perſon of equal quality (131, yet ſhe afterwards thought it more ſafe to follow her mother's example, than to hazard the like fate with her elder ſiſters, and therefore took to her bed (132) Martin Keyes, Eſq; Serjeant-Porter to Queen Elizabeth, and by this humble marriage, having no iſſue, ſhe died April 20, 1578 (133).

(123) Annal. Eliz. p. 105.

(124) Heylin's Hiſt. Reform. p. 203.

(125) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 89.

(126) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Parker, p. 107.

(127) Life of Sir Thomas Smith, p. 123.

(128) Strype's Life of Parker, p. 119.

(129) Camdeni Annal. Eliz. p. 89.

(130) Dugd'e's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 369.

(131) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 425.

(132) Stowe's Annals.

(133) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 548. Collins's Peerage, Vol. II. p. 231.

E

GRIMSTON [Sir HARBOTTLE], a famous Lawyer, and Maſter of the Rolls, in the laſt century, was deſcended from a very antient and good family [*A*], and born at Bradfield-Hall near Maningtree in Eſſex, about the year 1594 [*B*]. In what ſchool he received his education, or whether he was ever a member of one of our univerſities, unleſs it were Cambridge, I am not able to learn. However, he ſtudied the municipal laws of the land, at Lincoln's-Inn (*a*), with great induſtry and ſucceſs; and practiſed in that profeſſion with conſiderable applauſe and eſteem. In Auguſt, 1638, he was choſen Recorder of Colcheſter (*b*), and having purchaſed the houſe of the late diſſolved Crouched-Friers in that town, made it the place of his reſidence. And ſo great did his intereſt become there, that he was choſen one of the repreſentatives of the ſame, in the Parliament which met at Weſtminſter, April 13, 1640; and again in the Parliament which met November 3, the ſame year (*c*). He was then a diſguſted perſon, and one of thoſe anti-courtiers who were branded with the name of Puritans, as appears by ſome printed violent ſpeeches of

(*a*) As appears by ſeveral letters of his in my poſſeſſion.

(*b*) From his letters, M.S.

(*c*) Ruſhworth's Hiſt. Col. Vol. III. p. 1107. Liſt of the repreſentatives in the Hiſtory of Colcheſter.

[*A*] *Was deſcended from a very antient and good family.*] The pedigree of this family is derived from Silveſter Grimſton, of Grimſton, who was Standard-bearer to William the Conqueror, at the battle of Haſtings; and afterwards did homage to that prince for Grimſton, Horton, and Tunſted; and other lands he held of the Lord Roos, as of his manor of Roos in Holderneſs in the county of York: [which Lord Roos, was Chamberlain of the houſhold to King William, and not our Silveſter, as the author of the Iriſh Compendium aſſerts] (1). The three immediate deſcendants of this Silveſter, were Daniel; Sir Thomas, Kt. who lived in King Stephen's time; and John. This laſt had iſſue William, living in 1231; who by ——— his wife, daughter and co-heir of Sir John Callam, of Callam, Knight, had two ſons, Alexander that died without iſſue; and Roger, his eldeſt ſon and heir: this Roger marrying —— daughter of Fulk Conſtable, of Fryſemarſh, had by her Gerard, that left no iſſue; and Walter, who by —— his wife, daughter and heir of Herbert Flinton, of Flinton in Holderneſs, had theſe three ſons, John, Dean of Rocheſter, and afterwards Abbot of Selby; Gerard, that died without iſſue; and William, whoſe wife was Armetruda, daughter of Roland Ryſonn, of Ryſonn in Holderneſs: by her he had three ſons, Thomas, living in 1410; who by Dionyſia his wife, daughter of Guzins Sutton, Baron of Sayre, and Lord of Sutton, had iſſue Robert, that had no children; and Thomas, whoſe poſterity remained ſettled at Grimſton in Yorkſhire.——The two other ſons of William Grimſton abovementioned, were, John, Dean of Rocheſter in the time of King Henry V. and VI. and ROBERT, who came and fixed himſelf at Ipſwich: by his wife ——— daughter of Antony Spilman of Suffolk, he had his only ſon and heir, Edward Grimſton, of Reſing hall and Ipſwich in the ſame county, who married two wives, 1. Mary, daughter of William Drury, of Rougham in Suffolk, and 2. Philippa Lady Roos, daughter and heir of John Lord Tiptoft, and widow of Thomas Lord Roos. By this laſt lady he had no children; but by the firſt he had, John, who died without iſſue, Edward, born 24 March, 1451, Thomas, born 5 July, 1453, Anne, born 26 July, 1457, Elizabeth, born 17 November, 1458, Alice, born 15 February, 1459, Chriſtopher, born 3 July, 1456, and John, who became ſeated with his poſterity at Oxborough in Norfolk. Edward, laſt mentioned, married Margaret, daughter to Thomas Harvey Eſq; and had iſſue Edward; who marrying Anne, daughter of John Garniſh, of Kenton, Suffolk, had a ſon, named Edward, knighted afterwards; and ſome other children. This laſt Edward, was father of another Edward, ſeated at Bradfield in the county of Eſſex; and alſo of Edmund, Serjeant at Arms to King James I. Edward the eldeſt ſon and heir, died 15 Auguſt, 1610. By Joanna his wife, ſecond daughter and coheir of Thomas Riſby, of Lavenham in the county of Suffolk (by —— daughter and heir of —— Harbottle), he had iſſue, Mary the wife of Tho. Cornwallys, Eſq; Harbottle Grimſton, of Bradfield, Eſq; made a Knight, and one of the firſt 200 Baronets created by King James I; and Henry, alſo knighted. Sir Harbottle married Elizabeth, one of the daughters of Ralph Coppinger, of Stoke in Kent; by which he had Edward, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Tho. Marſham, Eſq; but had no ſurviving iſſue; Sir Harbottle, concerning whom we are writing; Henry, and Elizabeth (2).

(1) Edit. 1735, p. 254.

(2) MS. Geneal. of T. Jekyll, Eſq; Iriſh Compend. ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *And born —— about the year* 1594.] He muſt have been born about that time; conſidering that he was aged 90, on the 31ſt of December 1683 when he died; as A. Wood informs us (3).

(3) Athenæ Oxon. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 15.

[C] *As*

of his [C]. And he not only ſpoke, but acted alſo, with vehemence againſt the Court meaſures, as is manifeſt from ſome original letters of his, of which abſtracts are given in the note [D]; as alſo from this other inſtance, that he was in moſt of the committees for

[C] *As appears by ſome printed ſpeeches of his*] He was the firſt that ſtood up in the Houſe of Commons, April 16, 1640, after the reading of the petition from the county of Hertford againſt ſhip-money, projects, monopolies, ſtar-chamber, high-commiſſion-courts, and other grievances; and, in his ſpeech, has theſe words. ——'The Commonwealth hath been miſerably torn 'and maſſacred, and all property and liberty ſhaken, 'the Church diſtracted, the Goſpel and profeſſors of 'it perſecuted, and the whole nation over-run with 'ſwarms of projecting canker-worms and caterpillars, 'the worſt of all the Egyptian plagues: Then, as the 'caſe now ſtands with us, I conceive there are two 'points very conſiderable in it. The firſt is, what 'hath been done any way to impeach the liberties of 'the ſubjects, contrary to the petition of right? the 'ſecond is, who have been the authors and cauſes 'of it? the ſerious examination and diſcuſſion of theſe 'two queſtions, do highly concern his Majeſty in point 'of honour, and his ſubjects in point of intereſt. And 'all that I ſhall ſay to it, are but the words that Ezra 'uſed to King Artaxerxes.——Whoſoever hath not 'done the laws of God and the King, let judgment be 'ſpeedily executed upon him, whether it be unto ba-'niſhment, or to confiſcation of goods, or to impri-'ſonment.——His Majeſty yeſterday did graciouſly 'confirm unto us, our great and ancient liberties of 'freedom of ſpeech; and having his kingly word for 'it, I ſhall reſt as confidently upon it, as the greateſt 'ſecurity under heaven, whileſt I have the honour to 'have a place here, and I ſhall with all humility be 'bold to expreſs myſelf like a freeman (4).'———In the next parliament, November 9, 1640, when the nation's ſpirits were in general much embittered by the haſty diſſolution of the former, he ſpoke in a much ſeverer manner againſt the grievances then complained of, viz. The Speaker's refuſing to put the queſtion in the laſt parliament; adjourning the houſe without the conſent of the ſame; impriſoning ſome of the members, and ſearching their ſtudies and pockets, the new canons, and the oath, et cætera. Towards the concluſion, he breaks out thus. 'Mr Speaker, This is the age; this 'is the age, Mr Speaker, that hath produced and 'brought forth Achitophels, Hamans, Woolſies, Emp-'ſons and Dudleys, Treſilians, and Belknaps. Vipers 'and monſters of all ſorts (5).'——However he adds, 'I doubt not but when his Majeſty ſhall be truely in-'formed of ſuch matters, as we are able to charge them 'withal, we ſhall have the ſame juſtice againſt theſe, 'which heretofore hath been againſt their predeceſ-'ſor, in whoſe wicked ſteps they have trodden.' And that there he retained a due reverence for the regal dignity ——The 18th of December following, he made a virulent ſpeech againſt Archbiſhop Laud, wherein he hath theſe furious words ——'We are now 'faln upon the great man, the Archbiſhop of Can-'terbury; look upon him as he is in highneſs, and he 'is the ſtye of all peſtilential filth that hath infected the 'ſtate and government of this Commonwealth: look 'upon him in his dependences, and he is the man, the 'only man, that hath raiſed and advanced all thoſe, 'that together with himſelf have been the authors and 'cauſers of all our ruins, miſeries, and calamities we 'now groan under. Who is it but he only that hath 'brought the Earl of Strafford to all his great places 'and imployments; a fit ſpirit and inſtrument to act 'and execute all his wicked and bloody deſigns in theſe 'kingdoms? who is it but he only that brought in 'Secretary Windebank into this place of ſervice of 'truſt, the very broker and pander to the whore 'of Babylon? who is it, Mr Speaker, but he only that 'hath advanced all our Popiſh Biſhops. I ſhall name 'but ſome of them, Biſhop Manwaring, the Biſhop of 'Bath and Wells, [William Pierce] the Biſhop of Ox-'ford, [John Bancroft] and Biſhop Wren, the leaſt of 'all theſe birds, but one of the moſt unclean ones.'—— And he concludes with adviſing, that the Archbiſhop ſhould be immediately accuſed of high-treaſon (6).—— He was much more moderate in his next ſpeech, Feb. 9, 1640-1, concerning Epiſcopacy, wherein is this paragraph;——'I muſt confeſs, when I look upon the 'Biſhops, or at leaſt upon ſome of them, and the way 'of their government, I wonder not at all at the multitude of petitioners, and petitions that have this parliament been preferred againſt them.——But it is neceſſary we ſhould diſtinguiſh between the perſons of 'the Biſhops, which are ſo obnoxious, and their functions and offices; for there is no more weight in the 'argument, that becauſe the Biſhops have done amiſs, 'therefore take away Epiſcopacy, than there is in it, 'becauſe the judges of the common law are in fault, 'therefore take away judges, and take away the com-'mon law (7).'

(4) Ruſhworth, ubi ſupra, p. 1129. Nalſon's Collect. Vol. I. p. 319.

(5) Nalſon, ubi ſupra, p. 508, &c. Ruſhworth, p. 1349, 1353, 1354, 1356.

(6) Nalſon, ubi ſupra, p. 690.

(7) Nalſon, ubi ſupra, p. 771.

[D] *As is manifeſt from ſome original letters of his.*] The firſt to Mr Wade, Mayor of Colcheſter, is as follows.

'Mr Mayor,

'I received a letter the laſt weeke from Mr Alder-'man Cole, in your abſence when you were att Nor-'wich, it came not to my hands 'till the Frydaie mor-'ninge, after I had diſpatched my letter to you with 'the intelligence of ſuch occurrencies, as happened 'that weeke heere in Parliament; thereuppon I 'thought fitt immediately to give ſome direccons in the 'buſines of Mr Payne, to examine Mr Paine whether 'hee had ſent awaie into Ireland Sir John Byron's 'letter; if it were gone, then to knowe to whome it 'was directed; if otherwiſe, uppon the producinge of 'it, to open it, and to ſee whether there were any 'thinge of danger in it: ſoe ſoone as I came to the 'Parliament-houſe I acquainted the Parliament with 'it, whereuppon they made an order for the ſearchinge 'of Mrs Paine's houſe, and to diſarme her, and to in-'tercept all letters; I doubt not but Mr Cole hath 'imparted the buſines to you. And I ſhould bin 'bene glad this weeke to have heard from you what 'hath beene done in it; I would likewiſe adviſe, that 'att the next quarter ſeſſions of the peace the [illegible] 'for our borrough, that Mrs Paine, and ſoe many of 'her companie and ſervants who come not to church, 'that they ſhould bee indicted, and proclamacion made 'thereuppon accordinge to the ſtatute, that they maie 'bee convicted. As for newes, wee had letters out of 'Ireland uppon Saterdaie laſt, whereby wee are in-'formed, that the rebells do everie day gather ſtrength 'and increaſe in number; that there is a total defec-'cion of nyne counties, and that they expect their ap-'proach to Dublyn very ſuddainely. Wee have alrea-'dy ſent over fyfty thouſand pounds, and are bor-'roweinge two hundred thouſand pounds more for that 'ſervice. The Lo. Leiuetenante is goeinge over with 'ten regiments, which are to be devided into three 'briggades. The firſt is to bee under the command 'of my Lo. himſelf, the ſecond under his Leiutenante 'generall, and the third under Sir Symon Harcourt, 'who is to lie with his forces at Dublyn. The Chardge 'of a regiment for a yeare will come to threeſcore and 'ſix thouſand pownds att the leaſt, which beinge mul-'tiplied by tenn does come to a mighty ſome of mo-'ney, which muſt goe out of our purſes; and tis 'thought that that will not doe it, for the rebells are 'very ſtronge, and have already gotten moſt of the 'greateſt townes of conſequence in Ireland, and where 'they meet with any oppoſicion from the Engliſh they 'cutt their throats, and where they ſubmitte, they 'ſtripp them and turne them out of all they have. 'Sir Symon Harcourt is now goeinge downe into 'Cheſheire with Sir William Brewerton, to beat upp 'drummes, and to raiſe men in thoſe parts beinge 'neereſt, and beinge moſt convenient to bee ſent over 'from thence. Wee have likewiſe ſent awaie inſtruc-'cions to the Parliament of Scotland for the raiſinge of 'men in the north parte of that kingdome. A fleete 'is preparinge to guard and ſecure the Iriſh partes for 'feare they ſhould have releif from forraigne partes, 'It is heere confidently reported, that the Kinge will 'bee at Yorke uppon Thurſdaie next; and Sir Arthur 'Ingram tells mee that his Majeſtie is to lie att his 'houſe, which makes mee give the better credit to 'myne intelligence. Yeaſterdaie one Thomas Beale 'came to the Houſe of Commons, and informed that 'beinge under a bankes ſide, hee heard two men ſaie 'that they had, with two hundred more, taken an 'oath of ſecrecie att a lord's houſe who muſt not yett 'be named. The buſines they were to doe was this,

'uppon

for the redreſs of grievances [*E*], and for bringing thoſe to juſtice who had rendered themſelves moſt obnoxious to the people (*d*). In 1642, he was made one of the Lieutenants of the county of Eſſex, in purſuance of the Parliament's ordinance for the militia (*e*); and in Auguſt the ſame year came down to his borough, and with Sir Thomas Barrington, the other repreſentative of it, publiſhed two orders againſt Sir John Lucas, proclaiming him guilty of high-treaſon, for intending to aſſiſt the King, &c. (*f*). But in proceſs of time, ſhocked at thoſe dangerous extremes which ſome were driving at, he appeared to be one of the worthy patriots who were for reforming the government, and not for totally ſubverting of it, like Cromwell, and other deteſtable tools of ambition. And therefore, from about the year 1644, though he continued in the Houſe of Commons, he concurred not with all the violent meaſures there taken (*g*). However, he ſo well maintained his reputation with all perſons of honeſty, candour, and moderation, that in September 1647, he was appointed one of the Parliament's Commiſſioners at the treaty of Newport in the iſle of Wight (*b*). There he behaved himſelf ſo handſomely to King

(*d*) Nalſon, Vol. I. p. 679, 690. Vol. II. p. 7, 11, &c.

(*e*) Whitelock's Memorials, edit. 1732, p. 59.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 62. Mercurius Ruſticus, edit. 1646, p. 5.

(*g*) 'And continued rather than concurred with them,' as the Lord Clarendon expreſſes it. Hiſtory of the Rebellion, edit. 1751, 8vo. Vol. VI. p. 755.

(*b*) Ibid. Ruſhworth's Hiſt. Col. Vol. VII. p. 1263. Whitelock's Memorials, p. 334. Sir Edw. Walker's Hiſtorical Diſcourſes.

'uppon this daie they ſhould have come to the houſe, 'and quarteringe themſelves in ſeverall places about 'the paſſages from our houſe (being armed with ſwords 'and piſtalls) they ſhould have cutt all our throats; 'at laſt they diſcovered this man; whereuppon, one 'of them ſwearinge a great oath that they were diſco-'vered, ranne his ſword att him, and thought hee had 'killed him, but the hurt proves to bee very ſlight; 'this man is now under examination, and the Earle of 'Worceſter's houſe and other great recuſants have 'beene this daie ſearched, but the men diſcribed can-'not bee mett withall, nor any thinge yet of juſt feare 'diſcovered: The Lord More hath given ſome of re-'bells in Ireland a defeate; with one thouſand men 'hee mett with five thouſand Iriſh, and killed about 'a thouſand of their men and made the reſt runne 'awaie; it is hoped that this loſſe will give them ſome 'diſcouragement. The Kinge of Portugall is in great 'diſtreſſe, and in great danger of looſinge his king-'dome againe; I ſent the order for diſarminge of Mrs 'Paine, and intercepting of letters down to Mr Cole 'the laſt weeke, and my man delivered the letter to 'Mr Humberſton; and the Parliament havinge bene 'poſſeſſed with the buſines, I ſhall bee glad to knowe 'what hath beene done in it. And ſoe with the re-'membrance of my kinde reſpects and love to yourſelf 'and the reſt of the Aldermen your brethren, I reſt

'Your aſſured lovinge friend,

Lyncolnes Inne, 9ber 17, 1641.

'HAR. GRIMSTON.'

Another letter of his, dated November 4, 1642, runs thus:

'MR MAYOR,

'I had intelligence yeaſterdaie, about 3 of the clock, 'that ſome horſes were come from Hamburgh, where-'of 3 were at Maningtree, and the reſt ſtill on ſhip-'board at Harwich; whereuppon imediately I ſent 'downe my warrant to ſtaie them at Maningtree, and 'likewiſe another warrant to the Mayor of Harwich 'and the Captaine of Langerfort, to ſeize upon thoſe 'horſes that are there on ſhippboard, with order to 'ſett riders of our owne uppon them, and to carrie 'them to the Parliament. Praie make ſtaie of thoſe 'horſes att Colcheſter, and ſoe ſoone as I heare from 'Harwich I will give your further direccions in this 'buſines; there came out a declaracion not longe ſince, 'diſcoveringe thus much, that horſes were providinge 'at Hamburgh and in Denmarke to be brought over 'hether to the kinge. That declaracion, together 'with thoſe inſtruccions which myſelf and the reſt of 'the Deputie-Leiuetenants of this county have re-'ceived from both houſes of Parliament, givinge us 'authoritie to ſeaze uppon all horſes, money, and 'plate, which wee ſhall ſuſpect to bee intended to bee 'imploied againſt the kingdome.'

In another letter to the Mayor of the ſame town, dated the next day, he hath theſe words:

'I received yeaſternight late an order from the Par-'liament concerning the ſpeedinge away of our horſes 'for draggoones, whereof I have here incloſed ſent 'you a coppie. I doubt not but you knowe by this 'time the great ſtraightes wee are in; the kinge beinge 'now approached very neare to the cittie with a great 'army; and our army att a great diſtance, ſoe as I 'feare the Earle of Eſſex will not bee able to come in 'time enough to releive us; by this order you maie 'perceive wee are commanded to appoint receivers of 'the horſes, as for this parte of the country noe place 'ſoe fitt as Colcheſter—I therefore I muſt intreate you 'to take the care of this buſines—I have made out 'warrants into all theſe partes to the conſtables, for 'the callinge in of ſuch monies as are ſubſcribed for, 'as allſoe to return the names of ſuch as have not ſub-'ſcribed, or not in a proportion anſwearable to their 'eſtates.'

Another letter of his to the ſame, dated November 16, 1642, is as follows:

'We have received letters from Mr Strickland, 'agent for the Parliament in the Low-Countries, that 'the queene is cominge over with many ſhipps, in 'which ſhee bringes with her money, amunition, and '3000 old ſouldiers, and that her purpoſe is to land 'att Harwich; by his intelligence ſhee ſhould ſett out 'to ſea this day, but the winde is croſſe, which I 'hope will ſtaie her a while, untill wee bee a little 'better provided for her comeinge in our parts. I 'ſuppoſe the deſigne is to make Kent and Eſſex the 'ſeat of the warre, for the kinge is gone over the 'Thames at Kingſton, and tis thought hee will paſſe 'through Surrey into Kent. And if the kinge with 'his forces on the one ſide, and the queene with her 'forces on the other ſide, ſhall comand the Thames 'eaſtward, they will then bee able not onely to inter-'cept all manner of releif of fewell or victuall which 'maie bee brought to the cittie that waie, but like-'wiſe overthrowe their trade, which evidently in a 'ſhort time wil bee their ruine and deſtruction. If the 'queene doe land there, Colcheſter is likely to bee 'the firſt towne they will fall upon.'

In another letter of the 23d following, he has theſe words:

'Since my laſt letter wee have received advertiſe-'ments out of the Low-Countries, that the queene 'hath altered her reſolution of landing at Harwich; 'nevertheleſſe I thinke it very neceſſary you ſhould 'take into your conſiderations the fortifying of your 'towne, for it is poſſible that this is given out to make 'us the more ſecure.—You knowe the Parliament 'hath given 1500l. for the makinge your towne and 'the blockhouſe defenſible; if that will not doe it 'wee muſt ſtraine ourſelves, rather than hazzard the 'towne together with our lives and eſtates—As for 'the men you ſent upp with a fortnight's pay in hand, 'they ſay it was given them but to come upp, and 'they will have paie heere likewiſe for that time, or 'elſe they will not ſerve; and they wil bee comanded 'but by whome they liſt, and goe noe further than 'they pleaſe. They have moſt of them diſcharged 'themſelves.'

[*E*] *He was in moſt of the committees for the redreſs of grievances.*] Namely, in the year 1640, in the committee that examined the new canons (8); and in the committee appointed to conſider of the breach of privileges, in the two former parliaments (9). He was, in 1641, one of the committee to prepare the charge againſt the Earl of Strafford; and one of thoſe members of the Houſe of Commons, who were appointed to be preſent at the examination of witneſſes, preparatory to that Earl's tryal (10). In 1642, he was in the committee, named for vindicating the privileges of parliament, upon occaſion of the King's going to the Houſe of Commons to demand the five members: and in the committee for Iriſh affairs; in which laſt he made, January 5, 1641-2, an excellent ſpeech, at Guild-hall, concerning the power and privileges of parliament.

(8) Nalſon, Vol. I. p. 679.

(9) Ibid. p. 690.

(10) Idem. Vol. II. p. 7, 21.

[*F*] *That*

King Charles the First, that his Majesty was well satisfied with him; and after his return to parliament, he presſed the acceptance of the King's conceſſions: on which account, and becauſe he was one of the commiſſioners for diſbanding the army, he was in the number of thoſe who were forcibly excluded the Houſe by a party of ſoldiers (*i*). After the cruel and violent death of King Charles the First, he ſeems to have ſo much diſliked his own country, and the new form of government, that he quitted his recorderſhip of Colcheſter, and went and travelled beyond-ſea for a while [*F*]. How long he ſtaid abroad doth not appear; but, in 1656, he was elected one of the ſixteen repreſentatives for the county of Eſſex, in Oliver Cromwell's parliament, according to the new inſtrument of government. And not being approved by the Council, he joined in a moſt excellent remonſtrance with ſeveral other perſons of the greateſt worth and eſtates, thus diſapproved and ſet aſide (*k*). In February 1659-60, he was choſen one of the new Council of State [*G*]; in whom the executive power was lodged by the remains of the Long-Parliament that reſtored King Charles the Second (*l*). And a few months after, was alſo choſen Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in the Healing Parliament, which met April 25, 1660 (*m*). May 11, following, he ſailed to Holland with Sir John Granville, in order to wait upon King Charles the Second at Breda (*n*). After the King's arrival in his dominions Sir Harbottle was much in his favour, and had the honour of entertaining him, on the 25th of June, at his houſe in Lincoln's-inn-fields (*o*). Upon preſenting the money-bills to his Majeſty, September 13, he made an elegant and loyal ſpeech, of which part is given in the note [*H*]. Having thus heartily concurred in the reſtoration and eſtabliſhment of King Charles the Second, he was rewarded, on the third of November, 1660, with the Maſterſhip of the Rolls (*p*); which honourable office he diſcharged for above three and twenty years (*q*) with great abilities and integrity (*r*). He was alſo appointed, in 1660, Chief-Steward of the Burgh of St Albans (*s*), and Recorder of Harwich (*t*); and from the Reſtoration to the time of his death, continued one of the repreſentatives in Parliament for the Burgh of Colcheſter (*u*). For ſeveral years he entertained Dr Gilbert Burnet, afterwards Biſhop of Saliſbury, as his chaplain, or preacher at the Rolls (*w*) [illegible] aſſiſted and encouraged him in his Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of England [*I*]. Sir Harbottle never obliged the world with any thing of his own, but he publiſhed the Reports of his father-in-law Sir George Croke, Knight [*K*]. He died [illegible] 31, 1683, aged about ninety (*x*); and was buried in the chancel of St Mich[illegible] in St Albans [*L*]. He was twice married: His firſt lady was Mary, daughter of Sir George Croke juſt now mentioned, by whom he had iſſue, George, Samuel, Mary, and Elizabeth. George married Sarah, daughter and co-heir of Sir Edward Alſton of London, M. D. but died without iſſue. Whereupon the title and eſtate deſcended to Samuel the [illegible] record.

(*i*) Clarendon, ibid. Whitelock, as above, p. 648, col. 1.

(*k*) Whitelock, as above, p. 572, 655.

(*l*) Phillips's Contin. of Sir R. Baker's Chron. p. 690. Bp. Kennet's Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. edit. 1728, fol. p. 66.

(*m*) Phillips, ib. p. 701. Kennet, p. 123.

(*n*) Kennet, ibid. p. 146.

(*o*) The hiſtorical Antiquities of Hertfordſhire, by Sir Henry Chauncy, p. 374.

(*p*) Idem ibid. p. 307.

(*q*) Not 26 years, as Sir Henry Chauncy affirms ubi ſupra, p. 465.

(*r*) Chauncy, ibid. p. 465.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 457.

(*t*) S. Taylor's Hiſtory of Harwich, edit. 1730. 4to. p. 218.

(*u*) Hiſtory of Colcheſter, in Reſt of the repreſentatives.

(*w*) See [illegible] the article [illegible] RNET, GILBERT.

(*x*) Wood, ubi ſupra, [illegible]

[*F*] *That he quitted his recorderſhip of Colcheſter.*] Upon which occaſion, he writ the following letter, July 6, 1649, to the Mayor of that town.

'Soe long as I was in a capacitie of ſerveing the 'towne of Colcheſter, with a poſſibility of reſettling 'myſelf in the county, I was willing to retayne the 'place of Recorder there, *but a ſad hand of Providence 'hath nowe otherwiſe diſpoſed of affayres*, and having 'loſt my deare yooke fellow, I knowe not howe to 'ſpend my tyme better, than in giveing my ſonne 'ſome education abroad, with whom I intend to travell, 'if I may have leave ſo to do, which I hope to obteyne, therefore out of conſcience, and the true love 'and affection which I beare to the towne, that their 'ſervice may not ſuffer by my abſence, I do hereby 'abſolutely make void the place by my ſurrender, deſiring you to enter it amongſt your records, and to 'give notice thereof to the free-burgiſſes, at a general 'hall, where according to your charter and conſtitutions, you may procede to the choice of another '(11).'

(11) Book of Aſſemblies of that town, July 26, 1649.

[*G*] *He was choſen one of the new Council of State.*] This council conſiſted of thirty-one perſons, with General Monk at their head: moſt of them men of integrity, and well affected to kingly government, as J. Phillips affirms (12). Or, according to Dr Skinner (13), moſt of them for their character, and good inclinations towards the King's ſervice, were accounted of the very choice and flower of the Houſe of Commons.

(12) Ubi ſupra.

(13) Life of Gen. Monk, edit. 1724, 8vo. p. 246.

[*H*] *He made an elegant and loyal ſpeech, of which part is given in the note.*] It began thus, 'Sir, The 'royal favour and fatherly kindneſs unto your people, 'hath naturalized their affections to your perſon, and 'their obedience to your precepts. And as it is their 'duty, ſo it is their deſire to manifeſt the truth and 'reality thereof, by ſupporting and upholding that 'grandeur and ſplendor which is due to the majeſty of 'ſo meritorious a prince as yourſelf. And therefore 'they have reſolved *uno flatu* and *nemine contradicente*, 'to make up your Majeſty's conſtant and ordinary re'venue, twelve hundred thouſand pounds *per annum*, '&c (14).'

(14) Kennet, ubi ſupra, &c. p. 254.

[*I*] *And greatly aſſiſted and encouraged him in his Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of England.*] This the Doctor thankfully acknowledges in the following words,——'I muſt acknowledge myſelf highly 'obliged by the favour and bounty of the honourable 'Maſter of the Rolls, Sir Harebottle Grimſtone, of 'whoſe worth and goodneſs to me I muſt make a large 'digreſſion, if I would undertake to ſay all that the 'ſubject will bear: the whole nation expreſſed their 'value of him, upon the moſt ſignal occaſion, when 'they made him their mouth and ſpeaker in that bleſſed aſſembly which called home their King, after 'which real evidence, all little commendations may be 'well forborn. The obligations he has laid on me are 'ſuch, that as the gratitude and ſervice of my whole 'life, is the only equal return I can make for them; 'ſo, as a ſmall tribute, I judge myſelf obliged to make 'my acknowledgements in this manner, for the leiſure 'I enjoy under his protection, and the ſupport I receive from him; and if this work does the world 'any ſervice, the beſt part of the thanks is due to him, 'that furniſhed me with particular opportunities of 'carrying it on (15).'

(15) Preface to Part I. of the Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 3.

[*K*] *But he publiſhed the reports of his father-in-law Sir George Croke, Knight.*] They were publiſhed under the title of, 'Reports and ſelect caſes of law, &c' in three volumes folio: the firſt containing caſes and reports in the reign of Queen Elizabeth: the ſecond, in the reign of King James I. and the third, in the reign of King Charles I. Lond. 1657, 1658, 1661. Sir George Croke was one of the juſtices of the King's Bench, and died 15 February, 1641-2 (16).

(16) Wood's Athenæ, as above, col. 15.

[*L*] *And was buried in the chancel of St Michael's church in St Albans.*] And not in the church of Gorhambury, as Mr Wood ſays by a miſtake (17), there being no ſuch church. Gorhambury is a manor in the pariſh of St Michael's, famous for having been the reſidence of Sir Nicolas Bacon, Lord-Keeper, and of his ſon, Francis Lord Viſcount Verulam (18). C

(17) Ubi ſupra, col. 15.

(18) Chauncy, ubi ſupra, p. 464.

ſecond ſon, who married, firſt, Elizabeth, daughter of Heneage Finch Earl of Nottingham; and ſecondly, Anne, daughter of John Tufton Earl of Thanet, and left a daughter by each of them, but no ſon. Of Sir Harbottle's two daughters, Mary was married to Sir Capel Luckyn of Meſſing-hall in Eſſex, and was grandmother to the preſent Lord Grimſton, whoſe father was adoptive heir to Sir Samuel Grimſton; and Elizabeth became the wife of Sir George Grubham-How, of Banvick in the county of Wilts, Bart. Sir Harbottle's ſecond lady was Anne, daughter of Sir Nathaniel Bacon of Culford-hall in Suffolk, Knight, and relict of Sir Thomas Meautys, of Gorhambury near St Alban's, of whoſe heirs Sir Harbottle bought that manor and eſtate (y). Sir Henry Chauncy gives this character of him (z). He had a nimble fancy, a quick apprehenſion, a rare memory, an eloquent tongue, and a ſound judgment, which parts he held to the laſt: he was a perſon of free acceſs, ſociable in company, ſincere to his friend, hoſpitable in his houſe, charitable to the poor, and an excellent maſter to his ſervants.

(y) Chauncy, ubi ſupra, p. 465. T. Jekyll's Gen. MS. Iriſh Cotnpendium, edit. 1735, p. 254.

(z) Pag. 465.

GRINDAL [EDMUND], a very learned and pious prelate of the XVIth century, and one of the firſt reformers of our religion under Queen Elizabeth, was born about the year 1519, in a little angle of the county of Cumberland, called Cowpland or Copland, at Henſingham in the pariſh of St Begh's. The hiſtorian of his life, the laborious Mr Strype, gives us no account of his family, which he ſays (a) he is unable to trace. Our prelate, after having gone through his grammar ſtudies, was ſent to the univerſity of Cambridge, where three colleges may boaſt of him; Magdalen college firſt entertained him, and gave him his earlieſt ſeaſoning; afterwards he became a member of Chriſt's college, probably with a view of ſome exhibition or other encouragement; and from thence removed to Pembroke-Hall, where he was choſen fellow in 1538, as ſoon as he was capable of a fellowſhip, being then Bachelor of Arts *. In 1540 he was choſen Junior-Treaſurer of the college, and next year commenced Maſter of Arts. In 1548 he was declared public Proctor of the univerſity, and next year became Preſident of Pembroke-College (b), and is often called in the acts of the univerſity, *Aſſiſtens Vicecancellarii in judiciis, i. e.* the Vicechancellor's aſſiſtant in matters judiciary. Being now Bachelor in Divinity, he was this ſame year, 1549, admitted Lady Margaret's public preacher in Cambridge, by the unanimous conſent of the Maſters and Preſidents of the univerſity (c); and when an extraordinary Act was commenced this year for the entertainment of King Edward's viſitors at Cambridge, Grindal was one of the four diſputants choſen out of the whole univerſity [A]; at which diſputation he acquitted himſelf with great honour and applauſe. Thus our divine made a very conſiderable figure in the univerſity before he began to be diſtinguiſhed in the Church, where his firſt appearance was in 1550, when he removed to London, being appointed by Ridley, then Biſhop of that ſee, to be his chaplain [B]; and the year following, Auguſt 24, was collated to the chantorſhip of St Paul's cathedral, by his patron Biſhop Ridley, who had before deſigned him the prebend of Cantrelles in the church of St Paul's, but was obſtructed by the Council [C]. The ſame year he was, through Ridley's means, made one of the King's chaplains [D]. In July 1552 a Prebend of Weſtminſter was conferred on him for life †, though he afterwards reſigned it to Biſhop Bonner. In November following he was nominated for a Biſhopric in the North, but

(a) Pag. 3.

* Reg. Acad.

(b) MS. de Cuſt. Pembrochian. Faſti Eccl. Ang. p. 394. Le Neve's Lives of the Biſhops, &c. P. i. p. 30.

(c) Ex Regiſtr. Acad.

† Reg. Weſt.

[A] *Grindal was one of the four diſputants ſelected out of the whole univerſity.*] The viſitors appointed by King Edward VI. were, Goodrich, Biſhop of Ely; Ridley, Biſhop of Rocheſter; Sir William Paget, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir John Cheke, Dr Mey, and Dr Wendy, all very learned men; and the queſtions to be diſputed were, 'Whether tranſubſtantiation could be 'proved by plain and manifeſt words of ſcripture; 'and, whether *it* might be collected and confirmed by 'the conſent of Fathers for theſe thouſand years paſt (1)?' Grindal was one who aſſerted the negative, the other three diſputants being Pern, Gueſt, and Pilkington (2). The diſputation may be ſeen at large in Fox's Martyrology.

(1) Mr Strype, who by miſtake quotes Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. for this paſſage, inſtead of his Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambridge, p. 127, thinks theſe laſt words ſhould rather be, For 1000 years after Chriſt.

(2) Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambridge, p. 127.

[B] *In 1550 he removed to London, being appointed Biſhop Ridley's chaplain.*] Soon after his removal, Martin Bucer, the King's Divinity-Profeſſor, having occaſion to write from Cambridge, upon certain buſineſs of the Biſhop, ſtiles our divine, *eximium eruditione & pietate, membrum Chriſti præcipuum, & collegam ſuum in ſanctiſſimo adminiſtrandi verbi Dei munere*; i. e. 'eminent for his learning and piety, a chief member 'of Chriſt, and his aſſociate in the moſt ſacred miniſtry 'of the word of God.' Such a character, from ſo great a man, does too much honour to our prelate, to be paſſed over in ſilence.

[C] *He deſigned him the prebend of Cantrelles, but was obſtructed by the Council.*] When the Biſhop, upon a vacancy of this prebendſhip, was going to collate his chaplain Grindal to it, one Thomas, clerk of the Council and a great favourite with King Edward, laboured with the King and Council to obtain it for himſelf; but the Biſhop not caring to beſtow it upon him, letters were written to the Biſhop by ſome of the Council, to ſtay his collation of the prebend; ſome of them having procured it to be ſettled for the furniſhing the King's ſtables. This extremely troubled the Biſhop, who thereupon applied to Cheke, Wroth, and Cecyl, at Court, to interpoſe with the King, that with the favour of the Council he might have leave to give this living to his 'well-deſerving chaplain, who was with-'out preferment, and to whom he would grant it with 'all his heart, that ſo he might have him continually 'with him, and in his dioceſe to preach, adding, that 'he was known to be both of vertue, honeſty, diſ-'cretion, wiſdom, and learning.' Mr Strype ſays, he cannot tell whether, after all this, Grindal enjoyed Cantrelles or not, but the Chantorſhip of St Paul's, which was of greater value, becoming vacant ſoon after, the Biſhop gave him that (3).

(3) Strype, p. 5, 6.

[D] *Was appointed one of the King's chaplains.*] In December 1551, a reſolution was taken by the King's Council, that his Majeſty ſhould retain ſix chaplains, whoſe employment was thus fixed. Two of them were always to be with the King in waiting; the other four to be ſent over the kingdom, eſpecially the remoter counties, to preach to the common people, and to inſtruct them in the principles of true religion, and obedience to their prince. Theſe ſix were afterwards reduced to four, and Grindal was one of theſe; the others being Dr Bill, Dr Harley, (afterwards Biſhop of Hereford) and Dr Pern. Their annual ſalaries were 40 l. each (4).

(4) Fuller, ubi ſupra.

[E] *He*

but did not obtain it [E]; and a little before King Edward's death, a report went, that Ridley being to be tranſlated to the ſee of Durham, Grindal was to ſucceed him in London, being then but 33 years old. Upon the death of King Edward in 1553, he retired into Germany, to avoid the perſecution under Queen Mary, and ſettled at Straſburg, and applied himſelf with great diligence to learn the German language, in order that he might preach in the churches there. In 1554 he was engaged in the diſputes among the Engliſh at Franckfort, concerning a new model and form of worſhip, varying from the laſt corrected liturgy under King Edward the Sixth. He was alſo a moſt diligent collector of the writings and accounts of the ſufferers in England for the Proteſtant religion, and greatly aſſiſted Mr John Fox in compiling his Martyrology, both by his continual advice, and by ſupplying him with materials for it, moſt of which he drew up and methodized himſelf, ſo that Fox's work was only to tranſlate into Latin (e). Upon the death of Queen Mary, in 1558, he returned to England, and was employed in many weighty eccleſiaſtical affairs for the reformation of religion, under Queen Elizabeth. He was concerned in drawing up a form of prayer and public worſhip, which was to be preſented to the Queen's firſt Parliament; and was alſo one of the eight Proteſtant divines, choſen to enter the liſt againſt the Popiſh prelates, in a public diſputation, a more particular account of which is to be found in Strype's Annals of the Reformation (f). He was generally appointed to preach before the Queen, Privy-Council, &c. upon public occaſions; and was likewiſe one of her Majeſty's commiſſioners in the North for the royal viſitation, to require the oath of ſupremacy, to inſpect cathedrals and the manners of the clergy, to deſtroy the inſtruments of ſuperſtition and idolatry, &c. This viſitation alſo extended to the univerſities; and at that of Cambridge, Dr Young was removed from the Maſterſhip of Pembroke-hall for refuſing the oath of ſupremacy, and Grindal choſen in his room in 1559 *, though he at firſt declined it; but the college urged him ſo ſtrongly to accept it, that at laſt he yielded to their ſollicitations [F]. The ſame year he was nominated to the biſhopric of London, in the room of Biſhop Bonner depoſed; but labouring under ſome ſcruples with regard to the habits, and certain ceremonies required to be uſed by ſuch as were Biſhops, he conſulted Peter Martyr, then Profeſſor of Divinity at Zurich in Switzerland [G]; and

(d) Godwin's Catalogue of Biſhops, p. 178.

(e) See the Life of JOHN FOX in this work.

(f) Annals of the Reformation, chap. v. p. 88.

* Le Neve's Faſti, p. 424. P. I.

[E] *He was nominated for a biſhopric in the North, but did not obtain it*] What this northern biſhopric was, to which Grindal was nominated, we are left to conjecture. It was concluded in the year 1552, by the King and his Council, that the biſhopric of Durham, then void by the deprivation of Tonſtal, ſhould be divided into two, and they had it under conſideration how to place fit and able perſons in them, as appears by King Edward's memorial, publiſhed by Mr Strype, in his life of Archbiſhop Cranmer (5). There is little doubt but that Grindal, being a north country man, was pitched upon for one of theſe biſhoprics; for the King's memorial, juſt mentioned, was writ by him in October, 1552, and in the next month Biſhop Ridley wrote a letter to Sir John Gate and Sir William Cecil, wherein he gives God thanks, 'for that it had pleaſed 'him to move the heart of the King's Majeſty to chuſe 'ſuch a man, of ſuch godly qualities as Grindal, unto 'ſuch a room;' and begs to have the collation of the prebend which would be vacant upon Grindal's remove. But all this came to nothing, 'there being then, ſays 'Mr Strype, a great topping courtier, that put an end 'to this pious purpoſe of ſupplying thoſe parts where 'ignorance and ſuperſtition moſt prevailed, with two 'Biſhops. For by his ſway he got the whole biſhopric 'diſſolved, and ſettled as a temporal eſtate upon him-'ſelf (6).'

(5) Strype's Life of Abp Cranmer, lib. ii. c. 5.

(6) Strype, p. 8.

[F] *The college urged him ſo ſtrongly to accept it, that at laſt he yielded to their ſollicitations.*] The college now looked on Grindal, who was at this time Biſhop elect of London, as deſigned for the higheſt honours of the Church, and therefore, as well as in regard to his ſuperior merit, they were very deſirous of ſecuring him for their patron, and wrote him a moſt affectionate letter, upon the removal of their late maſter Dr Young, ſaying, 'The time was now come, that they had the 'liberty to chooſe him not only for their Maſter, but 'alſo their Patron and Defender. That the very day 'after Dr Young's deprivation, they haſtened, and, with 'one mind and vote, unanimouſly choſe him their 'Cuſtos: adding, that they hoped he would not refuſe 'that houſe which educated him, nor reject the higheſt 'place there, ſince there was a time when he had not 'refuſed the loweſt; nor yet forſake thoſe men who 'had preſerved his memory when he was abſent; and 'laſtly, they prayed him to embrace them who ſtrove 'together in loving him; and to receive them into his 'protection.' And when Grindal declined their offer, they wrote to the King's viſitors, to deſire them to 'exhort him by their influence and authority to accept 'it;' and alſo wrote again to him, to perſwade him, notwithſtanding his advancement to the biſhopric, to be their head, telling him they had had ſeveral Biſhops for their Maſters. He was prevailed on by this renewed entreaty, to accept the government of their college, which he held but a little time, his other weighty affairs in the Church hindring his reſidence there; and he ſeems to have reſigned in May 1562, if not before (7). The three next maſters who ſucceeded were all recommended by him, ſo great was the reſpect and eſteem the college bore him, and which they took every opportunity of teſtifying. In one of their letters to him, (and there are ſeveral preſerved in the college, expreſſing the love, honour, and high veneration they had for him) there is this paſſage; 'From the time you firſt purged us from the dregs of 'Popery, and took us under your care, we have had 'ample experience of your patronage and favour, and 'in you alone we have repoſed all our counſel and 'hope.'

(7) Strype, p. 310.

[G] *But labouring under ſome ſcruples with regard to the habits and certain ceremonies required to be uſed by Biſhops, he conſulted Peter Martyr.*] The Reformed in thoſe times thought, that in order to the compleat freeing the Church of Chriſt from the errors and corruptions of Rome, every uſage and cuſtom practiſed by that apoſtate and idolatrous Church ſhould be aboliſhed; that all the ceremonies and circumſtances of religious worſhip ſhould be entirely abrogated, and that the ſervice of God ſhould be moſt ſimple, ſtripped of all that ſhew, pomp, and appearance, that had been uſed before. This opinion, which the late Engliſh exiles had more particularly imbibed, gave riſe to Grindal's doubts, whether he might with a ſafe conſcience accept of a biſhopric, as he muſt ſubmit to many of theſe things if he did; therefore he communicated his doubts in a letter to Peter Martyr, in Auguſt 1559, which came to his hands in October following, deſiring his ſpeedy reſolution of them, that he might, according to the light which he ſhould give him, accept the epiſcopal office, or refuſe it. One of theſe doubts was concerning impropriations which were to be annexed to biſhoprics: for the Queen, chiefly to gratify ſome of her courtiers, now made exchanges with her Biſhops, by the authority of a late act of parliament, taking to herſelf their antient good manors and lordſhips, and making over to them in exchange, tythes and impropriations. This was extremely regretted by thoſe firſt Biſhops, who ſcrupled whether they ſhould comply in a point ſo injurious to the revenues of their reſpective

and though he was nominated to the biſhopric in July, he did not abſolutely accept it 'till December, being conſecrated the 21ſt of that month, together with Cox Biſhop elect of Ely, Barlow of Chicheſter, and Scory of Hereford; and theſe four (together with Parker, preferred to the ſee of Canterbury) were the firſt made prelates in the reign of Queen Elizabeth [*H*]. In the year 1560, our Biſhop was made one of the Queen's eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners, appointed by the Parliament to inſpect into the manners of the clergy, and regulate all matters of the Church. He was alſo appointed by the Queen's ſpecial letters to be one of her commiſſioners for changing certain chapters uſed for leſſons, for others more edifying to the common people; and for the making a new calendar for the Book of Common-Prayer, for adorning of chancels, and preſcribing good orders for the collegiate churches. The ſame year he, in conjunction with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and the Biſhop of Ely, wrote a private letter to the Queen, to perſwade her to marry. He alſo, with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, this year reformed the kalendar, and ordered that the ten commandments in Engliſh ſhould be ſet upon the eaſt wall of every church throughout the kingdom. In the year 1561, our Biſhop united the pariſh church of St Mary Axe to St Andrew Underſhaft, upon the ſpecial petition of the pariſhioners of the former, who for ſeveral years had been without an incumbent, on account of the narrow revenue of the living (*g*). This year the Biſhop alſo held his primary viſitation of his dioceſe. In 1563,

(*g*) Stryps's Life of Abp. Grindal, p. 53. The inſtrument for uniting the pariſh of St Mary Axe to St Andrew Underſhaft, may be ſeen at large in the appendix to the Repertorium Eccleſiaſticum, No. iii.

ſees, which muſt ſuffer conſiderably by theſe exchanges, and by which all hope would be cut off of reſtoring the tythes ſo long unjuſtly detained from the reſpective churches for the maintenance of the incumbents. Another point at which Grindal ſtuck, was wearing certain peculiar garments, whether *extra ſacra*, or *in ſacris*. Peter Martyr, in the beginning of November wrote him an anſwer. And firſt with regard to impropriations, he thought that Grindal had no occaſion to be ſollicitous; ſince it was a thing not in his power, whence, or how the Queen thought proper to provide a ſupport for her Biſhops and the pariſh miniſters. With reſpect to wearing a cap, whether round or ſquare, and a gown upon ordinary occaſions, when they were not employed about holy things, his judgment was, that they ſhould not diſpute more than was neceſſary about them, ſince ſuperſtition ſeemed not properly concerned in them. But as for the habits to be uſed in the miniſtry of holy things, ſince they carried an appearance of the maſs, and were mere remains of Popery, he obſerved that it was the opinion of Bullinger the chief miniſter of Zurich, that they were to be refrained from by Grindal, leſt by his example, a thing that was ſcandalous, ſhould be confirmed. But Martyr ſaid, that though he was always againſt the uſe of ſuch ornaments, yet he ſaw the preſent danger, leſt they ſhould be excluded the office of preaching; and that perhaps there might be ſome hopes, that as altars and images were already taken away, ſo thoſe appearances of the maſs might in time be likewiſe removed, if Mr Grindal and others, who had taken upon them epiſcopacy, would uſe their endeavours. But notwithſtanding, if it came not to good effect, yet if he ſhould decline the office, another might ſucceed in his place, who would not care to have thoſe relics rejected, but perhaps would rather defend, cheriſh, and maintain them. He was therefore, he ſaid, more backward to adviſe him to refuſe the biſhopric, than to refuſe the uſe of veſtments. But becauſe he ſaw that ſcandals of that kind were by all means to be avoided, he more eaſily had yielded to Bullinger's opinion abovementioned. But if altars and images had been continued and preſerved, then he plainly thought that Grindal ought not by any means to engage in the epiſcopal office. In general, he adviſed him to do nothing againſt his conſcience. He acknowledged that the queſtions he had ſent him, had difficulty in them; and therefore excuſed himſelf that he had not imparted his counſel ſooner, ſince it could not be eaſily given. He added, that when he was at Oxford, though he was a canon, he would never wear a ſurplice in the choir. He knew that his example was no juſt confirmation of Grindal, but that which moved him then, and ſtill did, might perhaps have ſome force with him, viz. that that was not to be done which might confirm the practice of what his conſcience did not approve. The ſame year, in October and November, Mr Grindal wrote other letters to Martyr, for his advice. One of his queſtions was, Whether, ſeeing he was not at liberty with regard to the veſtments, he ſhould accept of the epiſcopal function offered him, becauſe of the impoſition of the matters abovementioned? Martyr's anſwer came too late, for Grindal had accepted of the biſhopric before he received it: but Martyr's advice was agreeable to what Grindal had done, that he ſhould not decline it, becauſe of the great want of miniſters (8), for that it was greatly to be hoped, that if ſuch men as he ſat at the helm, many, if not all, of theſe things might be redreſſed. Grindal had alſo aſked his advice in other matters; firſt, as to the dealing with obnoxious papiſts, and whether popiſh prieſts ſhould be continued in their places, or admitted to livings. Martyr adviſed, that for peace ſake, all paſt ſhould be forgotten, but for the future nothing ſhould be admitted contrary to the preſent religion, and that ſuch as ſhould hereafter be preſented by patrons to the Biſhops for livings, ſhould not be by them inſtituted, unleſs they ſubſcribed to the religion eſtabliſhed. Secondly, whether the ſacramental bread ſhould be unleavened; that is, wafer. Martyr anſwered, the Churches abroad every where uſed it. Thirdly, about going the perambulation in the Rogation weeks, which ſeemed to have been derived from the perambulations or walkings of the heathens. Martyr anſwered, that if God only were prayed to therein, ſuperſtition would be avoided; but that endeavours ought to be uſed to explode ſuch cuſtoms as relicks of the Amorites, and both magiſtrates and people ought to be inſtructed againſt them. In purſuance of this advice, Grindal, the firſt Rogation ſeaſon after his conſecration, ordered that the miniſters ſhould make a perambulation only, not a proceſſion; that they ſhould ſuffer *no* banners, or other marks of ſuperſtition to be carried; that the miniſters ſhould go without ſurplices or lights, and uſe no drinkings, except the diſtance of the place required ſome neceſſary relief; and to uſe at convenient places, the form of prayers and thankſgivings appointed by the Queen's injunctions.

(8) Ibid. p. 28, 29, 30.

[*H*] *Theſe were the firſt made prelates in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.*] It ought to be remembred, that theſe five prelates had the honeſty and courage to prefer a petition to the Queen, for the granting ſeveral things of great uſe and benefit to the Church: as, to ſtop the exchanging of Biſhops lands for the great tythes and impropriations in the Crown, which the Parliament had empowered her to do, to the great detriment of the epiſcopal ſees, and diſabling the Biſhops from encouraging learning, and exerciſing that hoſpitality which was expected from them: and they offered her as an equivalent, 1000 marks a year during their lives. They alſo beſought her Majeſty, in behalf of ſmall biſhoprics, and of the inferior clergy, as may be ſeen more at large in the annals of the Reformation (9). The excellent letter itſelf may alſo be ſeen in the life of Archbiſhop Parker. The petition however had but little effect.

(9) Annal. Reform. p. 98.

It muſt be obſerved, that an exchange of lands was in hand between the Queen and our Biſhop, even before his conſecration, but was not fully ſettled; and ſtill this was done, he could not compound for his firſt fruits, the conſequence of which was, that it hindered him from exerciſing his epiſcopal function; to remedy which inconvenience, he was obliged to have the Queen's expreſs authority, which ſhe gave him by letter, to impower him to exerciſe his eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction.

[*I*] *He*

1563, he, together with the Archbiſhop and ſome Civilians, was employed in preparing a book of ſtatutes for Chriſt-Church Oxford, which as yet had no fixed ſtatutes. This year he alſo greatly aſſiſted the Engliſh Merchants in their ſettlement at Embden in Eaſt-Friezeland (*b*) [*I*]. The ſame year he wrote animadverſions upon Juſtus Velſius's *Chriſtiani Hominis Norma* [*K*]. April 15, 1564, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity at Cambridge; and the ſame year, by the Queen's peremptory command, he began to preſs the clergy to uniformity [*L*]. October 3, the ſame year, he preached at St Paul's at the celebration of the Emperor Ferdinand's funeral, and his ſermon was afterwards printed [*M*]. In

(*b*) Strype, p. 86, 87, 88, &c.

[*I*] *He aſſiſted the Engliſh merchants in their ſettlement at Embden in Eaſt-Friezeland.*] Our merchants ſettled at Antwerp, and other places in the dominions of Spain, being provoked with the repeated exactions and ill uſage of the Spaniards, thought of removing out of their territories, and fixed upon Embden as the moſt convenient place both for freedom of religion and of trade. To obtain which, they made the Biſhop their friend; they having been formerly ſerviceable to the exiles in Queen Mary's reign, and he chearfully eſpouſed their cauſe, was their mediator with the Queen, and treated with the agent appointed by the Counteſs and Earl of Eaſt-Friezeland; and, in ſhort, managed the affair ſo dextrouſly, that the merchants were ſoon ſettled at Embden.

[*K*] *He wrote animadverſions upon Juſtus Velſius's Chriſtiani Hominis Norma.*] This Velſius was of the Hague in Holland, a man of learning, but very enthuſiaſtical, and held ſome peculiar opinions, and had ſome followers and admirers. He drew up at London, a ſummary of his religion under this title: *Chriſtiani Hominis Norma, ad quam ſe explorare perpetuo quivis debet:* i. e. 'The rule of a Chriſtian man, according to 'which every one ought continually to try himſelf.' It was compoſed by way of queſtion and anſwer. The firſt queſtion was, *What is a Chriſtian?* the anſwer to which was, *one who by participation and grace is rendered, and to be rendered, that which Chriſt was, and is of himſelf, and by nature.* The next queſtion was, *What Chriſt was, and is of himſelf and by nature?* to which is anſwered, *God in man, and afterwards man God.* Velſius likewiſe affirmed in this piece, that *while the Word was made fleſh and dwelt in us, he brought down God from Heaven to us, joined and united him to our paſſible nature; and that by his glorious reſurrection the fleſh was made the Word, and dwelt in God, and lifted up man to God.* He ſpoke of a double regeneration, one of the internal man, and the other of the external; and aſſerted, that the one made Chriſtians *God in man*, in this world; and the other made them *Men-Gods*, in the world to come. Mr Strype has publiſhed this piece in the appendix, No 8. to the firſt book of the life of Grindal. In March, Velſius wrote bold letters to Sir William Cecil the Secretary, and even to the Queen herſelf; ſending his *Norma* to them, which he had done alſo two months before to our Biſhop, who thought fit, upon the Secretary's advice, to write animadverſions upon that piece, extant in the paper office, and publiſhed from thence by Mr Strype, in the appendix No 9, to the firſt book of his life of our Biſhop. Velſius fancied himſelf endued with the ſpirit of prophecy, and that Chriſt dwelt in him. By this authority he took upon him to denounce judgments upon perſons and places, and particularly upon the Queen and the kingdom, in his letter to her, unleſs ſhe and her ſubjects received his doctrine. He ſolemnly by a writing excommunicated Peter Delane, miniſter of the Dutch congregation in London, and delivered him up to Satan, becauſe he would not allow of a challenge to a public diſputation, which Velſius made to one Nicholas, a preacher there. Velſius being cited before the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, Biſhop Grindal, the Biſhop of Winchеſter, and the Dean of St Paul's, repreſented to him the erroneous doctrine of his *Norma*, which he obſtinately defending, they at laſt charged him in the Queen's name to depart the kingdom. This he complained of in very rude terms to the Queen, telling her, that he could not obey their order, pretending ſome miracle from God to confirm his doctrine (10).

(10) Strype's Life of Grindal, p. 91, 92, 93, 94.

[*L*] *He began to preſs the clergy to uniformity.*] An agreement and uniformity among the clergy in wearing the ſame habits, and uſing the ſame rites in divine ſervice, was hitherto neglected, eſpecially in London, where many of them rejected the orders of the book of Common-Prayer. The plague of late ſpreading itſelf in London and other places, the Biſhops could not take that cognizance, and exerciſe the diſcipline requiſite for this purpoſe. But towards the latter end of this year, by a peremptory order from the Queen to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, uniformity in the habits and ceremonies were required of the clergy; whereas many hitherto ſhe ſaid, had taken a liberty of varying from her injunctions in this regard. The Archbiſhop therefore having this order, immediately diſpatched his letters to our Biſhop, to ſignify the Queen's mind and reſolution to the reſt of the Biſhops of the province, and that they ſhould ſee the laws and ordinances already eſtabliſhed, ſet forth and complied with every where, and to ſend up thoſe of the clergy who were incompliant. The greateſt difficulty was to correct theſe neglects in London, where there were many who neither wore ſurplice, tippet, nor ſquare cap, and did not uſe the other ceremonies preſcribed in the book of Common-Prayer. This work was incumbent upon our Biſhop, who found great difficulty in redreſſing theſe matters among the city miniſters, after whoſe example the clergy in other parts of the nation would be apt to govern themſelves. So that throughout this and ſome other part of the next year, Biſhop Grindal frequently ſat in eccleſiaſtical commiſſion with the Archbiſhop and other commiſſioners, for the regulating the city clergy, and trying all gentle methods to bring them to conformity. In the beginning of this work, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury thought fit to excite and quicken our Biſhop now and then to ſet diligently upon reforming his London clergy, as he was otherwiſe ſlow in his proceedings againſt them. And by the Archdeacon's means, the Archbiſhop procured a ſpecial letter from the Queen to him, to look particularly after uniformity in thoſe under his charge in London; and he charged him, as he would anſwer it to God, to be diligent in puniſhing all recuſants, by cenſures eccleſiaſtical, ſince the Biſhops had power and authority by act of parliament to uſe them. Mr Strype ſays, the Biſhop went thus tenderly about this work, becauſe he knew the ſcarcity of miniſters at that time; and therefore uſed all gentleneſs and meekneſs with them. But afterwards obſerving the ignorance and obſtinacy of ſome, and the dangerous principles of others, ſtriking at the very eccleſiaſtical order itſelf, he proceeded with more reſolution, and reduced many to compliance; ſome were ſequeſtered, others ſuſpended, and even deprived; ſome, who were Papiſts, went beyond ſea, and ſome were afterwards put in priſon for their diſobedience. Mr Strype ſays (12), that the puritan party, becauſe our Biſhop was not forward to uſe theſe extremities, 'confided 'much in him, and gave out that my Lord of London 'was their own, and all that he did was upon a force, 'and unwillingly, as they flattered themſelves.' However, Biſhop Grindal was not wanting in his endeavours to bring over the Non-conformiſts to be ſatisfied with what was enjoined; and among other means, he publiſhed a letter of Henry Bullinger, the chief miniſter in Switzerland, addreſſed to him and two other Biſhops, viz. Dr Horn of Winchеſter, and Dr Parkhurſt of Norwich, concerning the lawfulneſs of wearing the habits, but drawn up for the ſatisfaction of Samſon and Humfrey, two Oxford divines of great eminence, the former, Dean of Chriſt-Church, and the latter Preſident of Magdalen College. 'The letter was written 'with ſuch a clearneſs of reaſon, ſuch evidence from 'ſcripture, and in ſuch a fatherly compaſſionate ſtyle, 'that it had a very good effect upon many that before 'were ready to leave their miniſtry, but having read 'it were ſatisfied (13).'

(12) P. 105.

(13) Ibid. p. 105.

[*M*] *He preached the Emperor Ferdinand's funeral ſermon at St Paul's.*] It was cuſtomary in thoſe days to celebrate the funerals of crowned heads, with as much ſolemnity as if their bodies were actually depoſited here. Thus at this of the Emperor's, the choir was hung with black, and adorned with eſcutcheons of his arms, of ſundry ſorts, and in it was erected an

In 1567 he convented ſome Separatiſts before him [*N*], and prohibited unlicenſed preachers. In 1568 he made a contribution for the perſecuted Proteſtants abroad, by way of benevolence, or collection from his clergy, for which he was threatened by ſome of them, diſaffected to this cauſe, with a premunire, for laying a charge upon the clergy without authority from the Queen. But this did not diſcourage him. In 1569 he procured the liberty of ſeveral Puritan Separatiſts who had been in priſon, for holding private aſſemblies, and uſing a form of prayer different from that allowed and enjoined by law; and yet theſe very men complained of the Biſhop this ſame year to the Privy Council, which occaſioned him to write a vindication of himſelf to the Council [*O*]. The laſt piece of ſervice our Biſhop did in his dioceſe, before his tranſlation to the ſee of York, was the reformation of the hoſpital of the Savoy, a charitable foundation for the relief and entertainment of poor travellers, which was almoſt brought to utter ruin by the abuſes and ill conduct of it's maſter, whom the Biſhop, having procured a commiſſion from the Queen to viſit the hoſpital, deprived. The ſame year, May 1, 1570, the Biſhop was tranſlated to the archbiſhopric of York [*P*]. One of his firſt ſervices to this ſee was, his recovering

hearſe richly garniſhed; the Queen, by proxy, was chief mourner, attended by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and many of the prime nobility. In the ſermon, our Biſhop ſet forth with much eloquence, the Emperor's quality, deſcent, and virtues; and is, as Mr Strype thinks, the only diſcourſe, except one, that was ever printed, and being very ſcarce, he has given part of it in his life of the Biſhop (14).

(14) Ibid. p. 100, 101.

[*N*] *In 1567, he convented ſome Separatiſts before him.*] Mr Strype obſerves, that the refuſers of the orders of the Church, who by this time were commonly called Puritans, were now grown into two factions. The one was of a more quiet and peaceable demeanor, who indeed would not uſe the habits, nor ſubſcribe to the ceremonies enjoined, as kneeling at the Sacrament, the croſs in Baptiſm, the ring in Marriage; but held the Communion of the Church, and willingly and devoutly joined with the common-prayers. But there was another ſort who diſliked the whole conſtitution of the Church lately reformed, charging it with many groſs remainders of Popery, and that it was ſtill full of corruptions not to be tolerated, and anti-chriſtian; and eſpecially the habits which the clergy were enjoined to uſe upon ordinary occaſions, and in their miniſtration. Theſe latter ſeparated themſelves into private aſſemblies, meeting together not in churches, but in private houſes, where they had miniſters of their own. At theſe meetings they rejecting wholly the book of Common-Prayer, uſed a book of prayers framed at Geneva for the congegration of Engliſh exiles lately ſojourning there. This book had been reviſed and allowed by Calvin and the reſt of the divines there, and indeed was for the moſt part taken out of the Geneva form. At theſe private congregations they had not only prayers and ſermons, but the Lord's Supper likewiſe ſometimes adminiſtred. This gave great offence to the Queen, who iſſued out her letters to the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners, which were ſubſcribed by the Privy-Council, and were to this effect; That they ſhould move theſe Non-conformiſts by gentle means to conformity, or elſe for their firſt puniſhment to loſe their freedom of the city, and afterwards to ſuffer what would follow. About an hundred of theſe Separatiſts having hired Plumber's-Hall, upon pretence of keeping a wedding there, but in reality for a religious meeting, on the 19th of June, they were diſturbed by the Sheriffs, and about fourteen or fifteen of the chief of them ſeized, and examined the next day before the Lord-Mayor, the Biſhop of London, and others of the Queen's commiſſioners. The Biſhop argued with them with great mildneſs, and endeavoured by arguments and reaſoning to convince them of their errors, but was treated by ſome of them with reproaches and rude language, inſomuch, ſays Mr Strype, 'That much notice was taken of it; and finding them ſo irreclaimable, it abated much of the favour which he was inclinable to ſhew them. Beza, the chief miniſter of Geneva, otherwiſe a great favourer of this ſort of men, liked not of their behaviour, and ſignified his diſallowance of it, in an epiſtle to this our Biſhop, wherein he commended his lenity and his patience. They were very ſevere upon him afterwards in their prints, by ſlandering of him in a moſt high manner; and therefore it is the leſs wonder, that this mild and patient man was ſome years after provoked, (obſerving alſo their unquiet diſpoſition) to expreſs himſelf ſomewhat ſeverely againſt them.' As we ſhall ſee in the next note.

[*O*] *He was complained of to the Privy-Council, which occaſioned him to write a vindication of himſelf.*] The ground of the Separatiſts complaint againſt the Biſhop was this. The Separatiſts who in the beginning of this year had the favour ſhewn them, to be ſet at liberty by that Biſhop, ſtill continued their former practices of having private aſſemblies, and performing religious offices in their own way, notwithſtanding the Biſhop's admonition to them at their diſmiſſion, and the threatnings of the Council read to them. Their chief teachers were Bonham and Crane, who at theſe meetings uſed to preach and expound the Scriptures, baptize, adminiſter the communion, marry, (according to the Geneva book, which they ſtiled *the moſt ſincere order*) and withal would inveigh very vehemently againſt the government and religious uſages of the Church of England. When theſe men had been ſet at liberty, through the Biſhop's interceſſion, they promiſed before the Biſhop's vicar-general, and Bonham gave it under his hand, that for the future they would neither preach, nor be preſent at any preaching, contrary to the laws of the land. After which, the Biſhop granted Bonham the liberty of preaching, which he abuſed, and married and baptized according to another form, and ſo did Crane alſo; wherefore Bonham was taken up again by the Biſhop's order, and Crane was forbid to preach any more in his dioceſe. Upon this, the Londoners of their party, who had alſo been under confinement in Bridewell and ſet at liberty, were very angry with the Biſhop, and had even the impudence to lodge a complaint againſt him to the Privy-Council, as though he had broke his word with them, as having allowed them to abſent themſelves from their pariſh churches, and tolerated their different ways and modes of divine ſervice, and given licence to Bonham and Crane to hold private lectures. The Council ſent this petition to the Biſhop, and alſo wrote him a letter, deſiring to know how he had proceeded with them, and what courſe, in his opinion, was fit to be uſed with them. The Biſhop was touched with the ungrateful behaviour of thoſe people, to whom he had ſhewed ſuch gentleneſs and mercy, and eſpecially when he ſaw that they had wrongfully repreſented his dealings with them; he therefore diſpatched an anſwer to the Council's letter, and ſhewed particularly what he had done in the affair, and withal gave his opinion, 'That all the heads of this unhappy faction ſhould be with all expedition ſeverely puniſhed, to the example of others, as people fanatical and incurable. Which puniſhment would breed the greater terror, if it proceeded from their Lordſhips. And becauſe all priſoners, for any colour of any religion, be it never ſo wicked, find great ſupport and comfort in London, it would not be amiſs that ſix of the moſt deſperate of them ſhould be ſent to the common goal of Cambridge, and ſix likewiſe to Oxford, and others of them to other goals near London (15).'

(15) Strype, p. 154, 155, 156.

[*P*] *He was tranſlated to the archbiſhopric of York.*] By the original inſtrument in vellum, of the Dean and Chapter of York, it appears that the Queen's letters-patent to them, to permit them to chuſe a paſtor for their church, bore date at Windſor, April 1ſt, 1570, and they in their letters to the Queen, April 11, declare their election of Grindal for their and for the metropolitical church of York's Archbiſhop (16). This ſee had been vacant ever ſince June 1568, by the death of archbiſhop Young (17). The Lord Henry Howard, brother to the

(16) MS.

(17) Faſti, p. 311.

recovering by law a houſe at Batterſea in Surry, formerly belonging to the Archbiſhops of York, together with 80 acres of demeſne land; which houſe and lands were for the convenience of the Archbiſhops, when they came up to parliament or convocation, or other buſineſs at court *. The ſame year, 1570, the famous Thomas Cartwright having attacked the government of the Church, in his lectures at Cambridge, and thereby occaſioned great diſorders and diſturbances in the univerſity, our Archbiſhop wrote a letter to Secretary Cecil, that a ſtop might be put thereto, and Cartwright ſilenced. This letter Mr Strype has preſerved, and our Church hiſtorian, Mr Collier, has alſo given it at length, in order, as he ſays, to do juſtice to the Archbiſhop's memory, and clear him from all imputation of Puritaniſm (*t*). The year following, 1571, he began his metropolitan viſitation, and gave forth his own injunctions to the clergy and laity, conſiſting of 25 articles, in which he ſhewed a becoming zeal for the diſcipline and good government of the Church. This viſitation continued the next year, 1572, and then the Archbiſhop viſited the Dean and Chapter of York, and gave them alſo injunctions conſiſting of 19 articles. In 1573, he interceded for the clergy oppreſſed by concealments [Q]. In 1574 he held an eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, took an account of ſome Papiſts, and ſent a certificate up of the proceedings againſt them, who were only five in number; for by the great care and diligence of the good Archbiſhop, the number of Papiſts daily diminiſhed in his dioceſe, who a few years before were many and powerful. For one of his chief cares ever ſince the eccleſiaſtical power and conduct had been committed to him, was, to ſupply the churches under him with preachers, of which there was a great ſcarcity every where in his time, though the people then the moſt wanted them, when ſuperſtition and ignorance had, by popiſh policy, ſo much overſpread them. And it muſt be obſerved, to the honour of our Archbiſhop, that while he preſided in the ſee of York, he procured above forty learned preachers, and they Graduates, within leſs than ſix years, to be placed in that dioceſe, (a great number in theſe times) beſides thoſe he found there; 'the fruits of whoſe travails 'in preaching, as he told the Queen, ſhe was like to reap daily, by moſt aſſured daily 'obedience of her ſubjects in thoſe parts.' For his opinion firmly was, that by frequent preaching the word of God, two very good things would prevail among the people, viz. true religion towards God, and obedience and loyalty towards the prince. As a proof of the latter, he mentioned a remarkable inſtance which happened ſome time before in the Queen's reign; which was, that in 1569, when almoſt all the North had roſe and rebelled, the town of Halliſax, which had been better inſtructed than the reſt by good preaching, remained firm and loyal to her, and ſent forth 4000 men armed to quell the rebellion. Our Archbiſhop however was extremely careful in his choice of the miniſtry, he

* Strype, p. 175.

(*t*) Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. of G. Brit. Vol. II. p. 525.

the Duke of Norfolk, aſpired to it, and had made great intereſt to obtain it, but being popiſhly inclined, his endeavours proved vain, and Grindal was at length preferred to it, through the favour and intereſt of Secretary Cecyl, and with the approbation of Archbiſhop Parker, who was conſulted about it, and declared, 'That he liked well of his removal, for he 'reckoned him not reſolute and ſevere enough for the 'government of London; ſince many of the miniſters 'and people thereof, notwithſtanding all his pains, 'ſtill leaned much to their former prejudices againſt 'the eccleſiaſtical conſtitution.' But withal he told the Secretary, 'That my Lord of London would be 'very fit for York, who were *a heady and ſtout people*; 'witty, but yet able to be dealt with by good govern-'ance, as long as good laws could be executed, and 'men backed.' When the ſee of York firſt became vacant in 1568, Dr Matthew Hutton, Dean of York, ſenſible of the great need that province ſtood in of a fit and able paſtor, wrote a letter to Secretary Cecyl, ſhewing what qualifications he that was to be ſent among them ought to have, viz. 'That he ſhould be a 'teacher, becauſe the country was ignorant; a virtu-'ous and godly man, becauſe the country was given 'to ſift ſuch a man's life: a ſtout and courageous man 'in God's cauſe, becauſe the country otherwiſe would 'abuſe him; and yet a ſober and diſcreet man, leſt 'too much rigour ſhould harden the hearts of ſome, 'who by fair means might be mollified, &c. and ſuch 'a biſhop likewiſe as was both learned himſelf, and 'alſo loved learning, that that rude and blind country 'might be furniſhed with learned preachers.' And all theſe excellent qualities he reckoned centred in Grindal, for, he adds, '*Such a man was the biſhop of Lon-'don known to be*; and therefore he wiſhed that LONDON were tranſlated to YORK (18).' This agrees very well with the account our Archbiſhop gives of the ſtate of this people, at his firſt coming among them, in a letter to Secretary Cecyl: 'The greateſt part of 'our gentlemen, ſays he, as I am informed, are not 'well affected to godly religion, and that among the 'people there are many remanents of the old. They 'keep holy days and faſts abrogated. They offer 'money, eggs, &c, at the burial of their dead. They 'pray beads, &c. ſo as this ſeems to be another Church, 'as it were, rather than a member of the reſt. And 'for the little experience I have of this people, me-'thinks I ſee in them three evil qualities; which are 'great ignorance, much dulneſs to conceive better in-'ſtruction, and great ſtiffneſs to return to their wonted 'errors. I will labour as much as I can, to cure every 'of theſe, committing the ſucceſs to God.'

(18) Epiſtle dedicatory to the Life of Abp. Grindal, p. 3.

[Q] *He interceded for the clergy oppreſſed by concealments.*] The Queen had by her letters-patent, granted to her Gentlemen-Penſioners, the penalties incurred and forfeited by the clergy, under pretence of concealment of lands and rents given for ſuperſtitious uſes, belonging now by Act of Parliament to the Crown. Upon this they ſent deputies through the kingdom, who being indigent men uſed great extortion, and extremely oppreſſed the clergy. This occaſioned our Archbiſhop to make complaint thereof to the Lord-Treaſurer, who, though he approved not of the thing itſelf, yet the letters-patent being paſſed, wrote back to the Archbiſhop, that the Gentlemen-Penſioners might enjoy the penalties forfeited by the clergy, ſince it was ſo appointed by the Queen, and beſtowed upon them. The Archbiſhop then ſhewed his Lordſhip that he did not intend they ſhould be abridged of it, but that he found fault with their manner of proceeding, which was troubleſome, chargeable, and diſhonourable, ſince they ſummoned all the clergy, as well innocent as faulty, as others of good reputation, to appear before them as the Queen's commiſſioners, whereas they had no ſuch commiſſion; and that they compounded with the clergy for offences paſt and to come; which tended not to the reſtraint of abuſes, but was rather a means to increaſe them. And laſtly, that they were men noted formerly for evil dealing and bribery. He deſired therefore, that for the preventing of theſe troubles, the Gentlemen-Penſioners would ſend him down in articles, a form of proceeding to be obſerved by their deputies, by which the inconveniencies abovementioned might be avoided (19).

(19) Strype, p. 182, 183.

[R] *That*

he allowed that none but men of ſome learning and abilities might might be admitted to the cure of ſouls [*R*]. For this purpoſe he provided, that all who came for inſtitution to livings ſhould be well examined firſt, and ſuch as were found unlearned he rejected, notwithſtanding their preſentations. We ſhall give an inſtance of this in the note [*S*], which may ſerve to ſhew how groſsly ignorant ſome of thoſe who pretended to ſerve God in his Church were in thoſe days. Upon the Death of Dr Matthew Parker in 1575, our prelate was advanced to the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, in which he was confirmed February 15 (*k*) [*T*]. The ſame year a Convocation was held under him, in which, among other things for the advantage of the Church and State, ſome articles for the regulation of the clergy were agreed upon, entitled, 'Articles touching the admiſſion of apt 'and fit perſons to the Miniſtry, and the eſtabliſhing of good order in the Church;' which were publiſhed and printed by the Queen's authority (*l*), The next year he procured a new eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, which was very extenſive, as may be ſeen in Mr Strype's Appendix, No. VI. b. ii. He alſo ſet about reforming ſeveral abuſes and diſorders in his courts, regulated diſpenſations, inhibitions, &c. in which he was aſſiſted at his own deſire by the moſt learned lawyers and civilians of thoſe times. The ſame year he held a metropolitical viſitation; and perceiving ſtill the ignorance and ſloth of the clergy, and the great need there was of more frequent preaching, for the inſtruction of the people in the grounds and truth of religion, upon his firſt coming to the ſee of Canterbury, he ſhewed himſelf more favourable to the exerciſe of propheſying than his predeceſſor had been, and not only attempted to regulate it, but to bring the Queen and Council to have a favourable opinion of it. Theſe exerciſes or propheſyings had been uſed before (but with ſome abuſes) in moſt dioceſes, and had the countenance of the reſpective Biſhops [*U*]. But the well-meaning

(*k*) Strype, p. 190, 193.

(*l*) See Mr Strype's Appendix, No. IV. to b. ii.

[*R*] *That none but men of ſome learning and abilities might be admitted to the cure of ſouls.*] Our Archbiſhop once made proteſtation of this to the Queen. 'That for 'his part, be it ſpoken without oſtentation, he was very 'careful in allowing ſuch perſons only, as were able 'and ſufficient to be preachers, both for their know-'ledge in the ſcriptures, and alſo for teſtimony of their 'good life and converſation; and that he gave great 'charge to the reſt of the Biſhops of the province to 'do the like. That he admitted no man to that of-'fice, that profeſſed either *Papiſtry*, or *Puritaniſm*; 'and that generally the graduates of the Univerſity, 'were only admitted to be preachers; unleſs it were 'ſome few, that had excellent gifts of knowledge in 'the ſcriptures, joined with good utterance, and godly 'perſwaſion.'

[*S*] *We ſhall give an inſtance of this in the note.*] In May 1574, one William Ireland having been preſented to the rectory of Harthil, came to the Archbiſhop to be inſtituted, and was examined by his Grace's chaplain. In his preſentation were the words *veſtri humiles & obedientes*, which the chaplain requiring him to tranſlate, he expounded them, *your humbleneſs and obedience*. The chaplain then aſked him who brought up the people of Iſrael out of Egypt? he anſwered, *King Saul*. And being aſked, who was firſt circumciſed, he could not anſwer. Upon this the Archbiſhop rejected him, and one Hugh Caſſon was preſented to and obtained the benefice of Harthil, which he enjoyed fifty years (20).

(20) Strype, p. 188.

[*T*] *In 1575, he was advanced to the archbiſhopric of Canterbury.*] Archbiſhop Parker died in Auguſt, and the Queen, after three months deliberation, who was fitteſt to ſucceed to that high ſtation, pitched upon Grindal, recommended by the Lord-Treaſurer, his patron. But this honour was not of our Archbiſhop's ſeeking; on the contrary, he had many inward motions to decline it, being very diffident of his own abilities for ſo exalted a ſtation, but was ſwayed thereto by the fears of giving offence; and when the Lord-Treaſurer adviſed him by letter of the Queen's intention to remove him to the ſee of Canterbury, the Archbiſhop did not anſwer his letter till after fifteen days conſideration, the Lord-Treaſurer's letter being dated 25th November, and the Archbiſhop's anſwer 10th December from Biſhopthorpe, in which he ſays, 'I underſtand by your Lordſhip's letter of the 25th of 'of November, what your Lordſhip thinketh of her 'Majeſties inclination for my remove. If her Majeſty 'ſhould ſo reſolve, (although I have had heretofore 'many conflicts with myſelf about that matter) yet I 'have in the end determined to yield unto the ordi-'nary vocation, leaſt in reſiſting of the ſame, I might 'with Jonas offend God, occaſion a tempeſt, &c Be-'ſeeching God to aſſiſt me with his grace, if that 'weighty charge be laid upon me: to the ſuſtaining 'whereof I find great inſufficiency in myſelf.' Grindal was ſucceeded in the archbiſhopric of York, as he had been before in the ſee of London, by Dr Edward Sandys, Biſhop of London; and it is remarkable, that theſe two prelates both ſprung from the town of St Bees, lived together in the Univerſity, and were both fellow exiles in the time of perſecution. Our Archbiſhop, as a ſtanding memorial of his riſing in three removes, from a private ſtation, to the higheſt advancement in the Church, cauſed to be painted upon glaſs, four coats of arms; and to be ſet up at Bekeſbourn, near Canterbury, where was formerly a palace of the archbiſhops of that dioceſe. The firſt was the coat of Grindal by itſelf: the ſecond, ſignificative of his firſt advance, was the coat of the ſee of London, impaled with Grindal. The third, that of York, and the fourth of Canterbury. And though that palace hath been now long demoliſhed, yet, as Mr Strype tells us, 'Theſe four panes of glaſs are yet preſerved in a gen-'tleman's houſe in that pariſh, as ſome remembrance 'of this good man (21).' We muſt not omit here, the compliments paid him by Pembroke-Hall, upon his promotion to the metropolitical ſee of Cantebury, in a congratulatory addreſs, elegantly penned in Latin, wherein after thanking him for ſome late endowment of their college, from his foundation of the ſchool of St Bees, they take notice, 'How in the height of 'his honour he ſtill ſpake moſt affectionately of their 'college, and of the care he ſtill took of them and their 'concerns. And what could be more advantageous, 'more glorious, for Pembroke-Hall, than to be un-'der the kind eye, not only of an excellently learn-'ed and ſingularly pious man, but of a Biſhop, an 'Archbiſhop, and, in one word, of GRINDAL. That 'never was there any nurtured in that univerſity, 'educated in their college, of greateſt fame in hiſtory 'for learning, to whoſe fidelity, virtue, and integrity, 'they would ſooner recommend themſelves, than his; 'that in him, now Primate of all England, the Pem-'brochians gloried; that divers Biſhops, as of Carliſle, 'Exon, Winton, Durham, London, York, formerly 'ſcholars of their college, were praiſe worthy for their 'notable learning and virtue; but now at laſt, to their 'eternal honour, they had not only an Archbiſhop of 'Canterbury, a Metropolitan, a Primate, and the firſt 'prelate of the whole realm, but him adorned with all 'the ornaments of mind and fortune. They triumph-'ed in ſuch a learned Mæcenas, and right noble pa-'tron: And conclude with their earneſt prayers for 'him, that God would long preſerve and protect his 'Grace, as well for their own private benefit, as for 'the common good of Church and State, &c.' Mr Strype has printed the original Latin letter, in the appendix to his life of our Archbiſhop, No. 21. B. 2d.

(21) Pag. 191.

[*U*] *He applied himſelf to encourage and regulate the exerciſes called propheſyings, which had been uſed in moſt dioceſes before, but with ſome abuſes*] The method of theſe exerciſes was thus. The miniſters of a particular diviſion, at a ſet time met together in ſome church belonging to a market town, or other large town; and there

meaning Archbiſhop could not ſucceed in his deſign, being checked in it very angrily by the Queen, who diſapproved of them becauſe they were practiſed by the Puritans, to confirm them in their diſlike of the eſtabliſhed religion; nor did ſhe like that the laity ſhould neglect their ſecular affairs by repairing to theſe meetings; which ſhe likewiſe thought might fill their heads with notions and opinions that might occaſion diſſenſions, and render them turbulent to the State. Add to this, that the Queen ſaw how apt they were to be abuſed; and there had been ſome diſorders at one of theſe conferences, the report of which had been brought and aggravated to the Queen, which ſo provoked her, that ſhe was reſolved to have them all put down; and the Archbiſhop being at Court, ſhe particularly declared herſelf offended at the number of preachers as well as at the exerciſes, and ordered him to redreſs both, urging that it was good for the Church to have few preachers, that three or four might ſuffice for a county, and that the reading of the Homilies to the people was ſufficient. In ſhort, ſhe required him to do theſe two things, viz. to abridge the number of preachers, and to put down the exerciſes. This was no ſmall affliction to the Archbiſhop, who thought ſhe encroached upon his office, to whom the higheſt truſt in the Church of England, next to herſelf, was committed; and therefore that ſhe was ſomewhat too peremptory in requiring this to be done, without adviſing at all with him in a matter ſo directly regarding religion: nor could he in conſcience comply with her commands, having quite different ſentiments of theſe exerciſes, believing they tended much to the improving the clergy, and the exciting them to the ſtudy of the ſcriptures, as well as to the edifying of the people. When he came home therefore, he reſolved to write his mind to the Queen at large, which he did with ſuch a noble ſpirit as became a virtuous man and an Engliſh prelate. We have inſerted the ſubſtance of this famous letter in the note [*W*]. But it was impoſſible to get Elizabeth over her prepoſſeſſions in matters of religion;

there each in their order explained, according to their ability, ſome particular portion of ſcripture allotted them before. And after they had all done, a moderator, who was one of the graveſt and beſt learned amongſt them, made his obſervations upon what the reſt had ſaid, and determined the true ſenſe of the place. All this was to be diſpatched within a ſet ſpace of time. At theſe aſſemblies there was commonly a great concourſe of people to hear and learn, which obliged the miniſters and curates to read authors, and conſult expoſitors and commentators, and to follow their ſtudies, that they might ſpeak to the purpoſe when they were to appear in public, and thus they conſiderably profited themſelves in the knowledge of the ſcriptures. But the exerciſes were attended with ſome inconveniencies, which occaſioned confuſion and diſturbances. For the laity as well as clergy being here allowed to ſpeak, they would ſometimes hold forth, and affect to ſhew their parts, and confute the clergy. Sometimes they would advance heterodox opinions; and ſome who had been ſilenced from preaching, or ſuſpended, or deprived for nonconformity, would intrude themſelves here, and take the liberty to declaim againſt the liturgy, and government of the Church. Sometimes their ſatire was played againſt the State. Sometimes they glanced upon perſons, and run out into particular invectives. The people alſo fell to arguing and diſputing much about religion, in ſhort, the exerciſes degenerated into factions, diviſions, and cenſurings, which brought them into ſome diſreputation. Our Archbiſhop believing theſe irregularities only accidental to the exerciſes laboured to redreſs them, being unwilling utterly to aboliſh a practice, the deſign of which he thought was ſerviceable for the improvement of the people and clergy, and therefore endeavoured to make it anſwer upon experiment, and bring the practice up to the plan. To this purpoſe he drew up a ſet of rules and orders for the better management of the exerciſes, and which would have effectually removed all occaſions of diſorder thereat. They are digeſted into articles or heads, and are extant in the Cotton Library, and alſo publiſhed by Mr Strype (22), and Mr Collier (23).

(22) Pag. 220.

(23) Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. b. ii. p. 553.

[*W*] *He wrote his mind to the Queen at large in a letter, the ſubſtance of which is in the note.*] The Archbiſhop takes notice, that the Queen's not being pleaſed to hear him out upon the argument at his laſt waiting upon her, was the occaſion of his addreſſing this way. He begins with a profeſſion, that nothing but neceſſity and conſcience ſhould make him incompliant. He believes her zeal and meaning were of the beſt, but good princes may be ſometimes miſtaken. He then expoſtulates with her about keeping in the Church but a few preachers, ſhewing her, 'That nothing was 'more plain in Scripture, than that the goſpel of Chriſt 'ſhould be plentifully preached, and that plenty of la-'bourers ſhould be ſent into the Lord's harveſt.' Then he ſhews the great benefit of preaching, not only to religion, but to the State; and in anſwer to what the Queen had ſaid to him, that the reading of the Homilies to the people was ſufficient, he ſays, 'The Homi-'lies have their uſe, but were nothing comparable to 'the office of preaching. That the preacher could ap-'ply his ſpeech according to the difference of times, 'places, and hearers, which could not be done in Ho-'milies. That exhortations, reprehenſions, and per-'ſwaſions, were uttered with more affection to the 'moving of the hearers in ſermons than in Homi-'lies. That they were only deviſed in King Edward's 'time to ſupply the want of preachers, and were by 'his ſtatute not to be preferred, but to give place to 'ſermons, whenever they might be had. And laſtly, 'they were never thought in themſelves alone to con-'tain ſufficient inſtruction for the Church of England.' With regard to the ſecond point, concerning learned exerciſes and conferences amongſt the miniſters, he ſaid, 'He had conferred with diverſe of his brethren the bi-'ſhops, by letters, who thought as he did, that it was 'a thing profitable to the Church, and therefore ex-'pedient to be continued. And he hoped, that her 'Majeſty would alſo think the ſame, when ſhe ſhould 'be informed of the manner and order thereof, and 'what authority they had from ſcripture; what uſe 'they were of, and what inconveniencies would fol-'low if they ſhould be abſolutely taken away.' Then he proceeded to give her an account of theſe exerciſes; 'That both Samuel and Eliza practiſed them. That 'St Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. makes expreſs mention, that the 'like in effect was uſed in the primitive Church, and 'gives rules for the order of the ſame. That he calls 'them prophecies, and the ſpeakers, prophets; names 'odious in our days, becauſe not rightly underſtood; 'for St Paul, by prophecies, does not mean prediction 'of things, but the interpretation and expoſition of the 'ſcriptures; and therefore he attributes to thoſe he 'calls prophets, (in the ſame chapter) doctrine to edi-'fication, exhortation, and comfort.' Then he obſerves, that many biſhops, as of London, Wincheſter, Bath and Wells, Lichfield, Glouceſter, Lincoln, Chicheſter, Exeter, and St Davids, had ſignified by letter to him, the profit and advantage which had accrued by theſe exerciſes; particularly, 'That the miniſters of 'the Church became more ſkilful and ready in the 'ſcriptures, that it reſtrained them from idleneſs; 'and that ſome, ſuſpected in doctrine, were brought 'to open confeſſion of the truth. That ignorant 'miniſters were induced to ſtudy, if not for con-'ſcience, yet for ſhame. That the opinion of the 'laymen concerning the ignorance of the clergy was 'removed. That nothing was ſo ſucceſsful in demo-'liſhing of popery. That where before there were 'not three able preachers, there were now thirty qua-'lified to preach at St Paul's croſs, and forty or fifty 'beſides capable of inſtructing their own cures. That 'only men backward in religion, and contemners of 'learning

religion, and therefore the Archbiſhop's letter availed nothing. She repeated her orders to him for ſuppreſſing the propheſyings, as he did his excellent remonſtrances to her for regulating and tolerating them; and the Queen finding that he was inflexible on that head, in May 1577 ſent her letters to the biſhops to do what the archbiſhop could not be perſwaded to do, viz. to forbid all Exerciſes and Propheſyings, and all preachers and teachers not lawfully called, of which there was no ſmall number. In June, the Archbiſhop ſtill refuſing any compliance, which the Queen and ſeveral of the lords in the ſtar-chamber had required of him, the ſaid lords, by virtue of their eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, confined him to his houſe, and ſequeſtred him from his juriſdiction for ſix months (*m*) [*X*].

(*m*) Strype, ubi ſupra.

Towards

'learning ſet themſelves againſt thoſe exerciſes. That 'the diſſolution of them would occaſion the adverſary 'to triumph. That abuſes might be reformed, and what 'was good be retained; and that he could not with a 'ſafe conſcience, and without the offence of the Maje-'ſty of God, give his aſſent to the ſuppreſſing of theſe 'exerciſes, much leſs could he ſend out any injunction 'for the utter and univerſal ſubverſion of the ſame. 'And that if it were her Majeſty's pleaſure, for this or 'any other cauſe, to remove him out of this place, he 'would with all humility yield thereto, and render a-'gain to her Majeſty that which he received of her. 'That he conſidered with himſelf what an horrible 'thing it was to fall into the hands of the living God; 'and that he that acted againſt his conſcience, *edified* '*to Hell.* And what ſhould he win if he gained (he 'would not ſay a biſhopric but) the whole world and 'loſt his own ſoul.' He then, like an archbiſhop and chief governor of the Church, took upon him to adviſe and warn her in two things, wherein ſhe ſeemed to have gone ſomewhat beyond the limits of her duty. The firſt was, 'That ſhe would refer all eccleſiaſtical mat-'ters which concerned religion, or the doctrine and 'diſcipline of the Church, unto the biſhops and divines 'of her realm, according to the examples of all godly 'Chriſtian emperors and princes in all ages. For that 'they were things to be judged, as an antient Father 'writ, in the Church or Synod, not in the palace. 'That when her Majeſty had queſtion of the laws of 'her realm, ſhe did not decide the ſame in her court, 'but ſent them to her judges to be determined. Like-'wiſe for doubts in matters of religion or diſcipline of 'the Church, the ordinary way was to refer the deci-'ſion of the ſame to the biſhops, and other head mini-'ſters of the Church.' And he quoted to her the words of St Ambroſe to an emperor, for this purpoſe, 'That in caſe of the faith, the biſhops were wont to 'judge of Chriſtian emperors, not emperors of the bi-'ſhops.' The other advice, which he prudently called by the name of a petition, was, 'That when ſhe 'dealt in matters of faith and religion, or that touched 'the Church of Chriſt, ſhe would not uſe to pronounce 'ſo reſolutely and peremptorily, *quaſi ex authoritate*, 'as ſhe might do in civil and external matters; but al-'ways remember that in God's cauſes, his will, and 'not the will of any earthly creature, is to take place. 'That it was the anti-chriſtian voice of the Pope, *ſic* '*volo, ſic jubeo*, and that in God's matters, all princes 'ought to bow their ſceptres to the ſon of God.' He further exhorted her to remember, that ſhe was a mortal creature; and to look not only, as it was ſaid to Theodoſius, upon the purple and princely array where-with ſhe was apparelled, but to conſider withal, what it was that was covered therewith. Was it not fleſh and blood? was it not duſt and aſhes? was it not a corrup-tible body, which muſt return to it's earth again, God knew how ſoon? 'Muſt you not, added he, appear 'alſo one day before the dreadful tribunal of the cru-'cified Chriſt, to receive according as you have done 'in the body? although you are a mighty princeſs, yet 'remember that he that dwelleth in heaven is mightier. 'Take care you never once think of declining from 'God, leſt that be verified of you, which is written of '*Joaſh*, who continued a prince of good and godly 'government for many years together; and afterwards '*when he was ſtrengthned*, ſaith the text, *his heart* '*was lifted up to his deſtruction*; and he neglected the 'Lord. You have done many things well, but ex-'cept you perſevere to the end, you cannot be bleſſed. 'For if you turn away from God, then God will turn 'away his merciful countenance from you.' A re-proof proceeding, probably, from an obſervation the Archbiſhop had made, of ſome lukewarmneſs into which the Queen of late had ſeemed to have ſunk. There is ſo much honeſty, freedom, and plainneſs in this declara-tion of his mind to the Queen, as does honour to his memory; he offers freely the reſignation of the higheſt and nobleſt preferment in the Church, and to be turned again into private life, rather than do any thing againſt conſcience, though the command of his ſovereign, which in all indifferent things bore, as it ought to do, a great ſway with him. Fuller has publiſhed this memorable letter (24), but very incorrectly and imperfectly; and is miſtaken in aſſigning the time when it was written, which he is confident to have been in 1580, whereas it appears to have been written four years before in December 1576. Mr Strype however is not quite cor-rect in his date of it, which is 20th of December, whereas it muſt have been about the 8th, becauſe there is a letter wrote by the Archbiſhop to the Lord-Treaſurer, dated the 16th, wherein he ſays, 'I writt my 'opinion to her Majeſty *about eight days ago*, touching 'the two matters wherewith her Highneſs ſhewed her-'ſelf offended at my laſt beeing at Courte. My Lord 'of Leyceſter delivered my ſaid writing to her Maje-'ſtie. I thank him therefore. But I cannot yet un-'derſtande whether her Highneſs hath redde it or no; 'moche leſſe whether ſhe lyke or diſlyke of it. The 'writing was ſomewhat long, and could not be other-'wiſe, if any proofſes ſhould be uſed.' This letter is taken from a manuſcript, which the author of this life has in his hands of Mr Strype's own hand writing contain-ing a great number of additions and alteration to his life of Archbiſhop Grindal. The next day the Lord-Treaſurer aſſured the Archbiſhop, that he would be careful of this cauſe of the Church. The Earl of Lei-ceſter alſo wrote to him the ſame day his opinion con-cerning the exerciſes, and ſeeming to object only againſt the lay-peoples being preſent at thoſe meetings, the Archbiſhop ſent an anſwer, which he incloſed together with the Earl's letter, in one to the Lord-Treaſurer, dated 17th December, as follows, 'I thank your Lord-'ſhip that you are ſo careful in this cauſe of the Church. 'My Lord of Leyceſter writeth to me in forme as you 'ſee. I pray your Lordſhip return me his letter. I 'ſee no reaſon why the people ſhould be excluded, ſee-'ing St Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. giveth ſo great commenda-'tion to that which was uſed in the primitive Church, 'ſpecially for the benefit that growed thereby to the 'hearers. I have written thanks to my Lord of Ley-'ceſter. I pray your Lordſhip let one of your ſervants 'deliver my letter, &c (25).' The Archbiſhop to give himſelf, or rather others, full ſatisfaction in the law-fulneſs, nay divine authority, of the exerciſe of prophe-ſying, employed ſeveral of his chaplains or other di-vines to tranſcribe what diverſe Fathers, and other mo-dern learned men, had writ concerning the interpreta-tion of the Apoſtle in 1 Cor. xiv; as Chryſoſtom, Hom. 36. Greg. Nazianzen, Ambroſe, Lyra, Calvin, Peter Martyr, &c (26). All which tranſcripts Mr Strype, in this manuſcript, ſays he has in his hands.

(24) Ch. Hiſt. b. ix. 123.

(25) MSS.

(26) Ibid.

[*X*] *The lords confined him to his houſe, and ſeque-ſtred him for ſix months.*] This was an extraordinary thing, ſays Mr Strype (27), to tye up the hands of an archbiſhop of Canterbury, who is the great mover under the prince in eccleſiaſtical matters, and the govern-ment of the Church; the archbiſhop being now alſo in the midſt of his viſitation (28). Cox, biſhop of Ely, was much troubled at this reſentment of the Queen a-gainſt the Archbiſhop, and thought it had been better for him at this juncture to have complied with the Queen, for the ſtop of theſe exerciſes for the preſent; and that in convenient time good rules being made and enjoined for them, they might be renewed again, knowing how very uſeful they were for the improving of the clergy in knowledge (29). Of this diſgrace put upon the Archbiſhop, and of the injury religion ſeemed to ſuffer by it, Sir Robert Cotton hath theſe words. 'In thoſe days there was an emulation between the 'clergy and the laity; and a ſtrife whether of them

(27) Pag 231.

(28) Ibid.

(29) MSS. ubi ſupra.

'ſhould

Towards the expiration whereof, in November following, the Lord-Treaſurer wrote the Archbiſhop a friendly letter, to acquaint him in what manner the ſtar-chamber would proceed further againſt him, and adviſed him to declare his approbation of the Queen's proceedings in ſuppreſſing the propheſyings; to own himſelf ſorry for his incompliance; to make a general acknowledgment of his fault, and beg the Queen's pardon. The Archbiſhop not conſcious of any crime, refuſed to betray his innocence, and give into ſo abſolute a ſubmiſſion; nor did he appear in perſon before the lords in the ſtar-chamber. However he ſent them a very dutiful though no mean letter, ſubmitting to their cenſure, but apologizing for his conduct, and deſiring they would intercede with the Queen for his liberty, and for the taking off his ſequeſtration, which he had ſuffered for ſix months patiently, and declaring his great trouble of mind at the Queen's diſpleaſure. But as he had not expreſsly owned himſelf to be in the fault, neither this letter, nor a declaration of the inconveniencies and miſchiefs attending this ſequeſtration of the Archbiſhop, as they were drawn up by ſome learned civilian at that time, would procure him either his liberty or the exerciſe of his juriſdiction; and in January following there was even a talk of depriving him, but the deſign was laid aſide [*Y*]. In 1579 his confinement was either taken off, or elſe he had leave for his health ſake to retire to his houſe at Croydon, for we find him there then, conſecrating Dr John Wolton Biſhop of Exeter, Auguſt 2; and in 1580 he conſecrated Dr John Watſon, Biſhop of Wincheſter, at Croydon, alſo Dr Overton Biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry; ſo that he exerciſed this part of his archiepiſcopal function, by commiſſion from the Queen, even under his ſequeſtration. The other affairs of his ſee during this interval were managed by two civilians appointed by the Queen and Council for that purpoſe (two of the Archbiſhop's nomination being ſet aſide), from whom iſſuedall licences to preach, &c. inſtitutions to benefices, commiſſions to viſitations, and the like; yet ſtill with deference to the Archbiſhop, and conſultation with him in what they did. But ſometimes upon letters ſent to him from the Queen or the lords of the Council, he acted in perſon, and iſſued out orders in his own name, was employed upon ſeveral occaſions during his ſequeſtration, and was, as much as may be, active and vigilant in the care of his dioceſe as occaſion offered. In 1580, when there was a violent earthquake, our Archbiſhop, after having iſſued out an order for prayers and humiliations, compoſed a prayer for families throughout his dioceſe, which was allowed of by the Council, who in a letter to him commended his great zeal, and required him to enjoin the obſervation of his new order of prayer in all other dioceſes (*n*). The ſame year the Council referred to the Archbiſhop the deciſion of a diſpute that happened in Merton college, Oxford, where he was viſitor(*o*); and ſoon afterwards he was employed by the Lord Treaſurer in a controverſy between the vice-chancellor and doctors of the town of Cambridge, and the maſters and heads of colleges (*p*). This year alſo the metropolitical viſitation, which had been begun by our Archbiſhop upon his firſt entrance into the ſee of Canterbury, but had been interrupted by his troubles and diſgrace, was renewed; but the commiſſion did not iſſue from the Archbiſhop, but from the civilians who officiated for him. The ſame year a Convocation met at St Paul's, at which, though our Archbiſhop did not appear, yet he had a principal ſhare in the tranſactions of it [*Z*]. Some of the members of this ſynod were

(*n*) Strype, p. 248.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 249.

(*p*) Pag. 250.

'ſhould ſhew themſelves moſt affectionate to the Goſ-
'pel. Miniſters haunted the houſes of the worthieſt
'men, where jeſuits now build their tabernacles; and
'poor country churches were frequented with the beſt
'of the ſhire. The word of God was precious: prayer
'and preaching went hand in hand together: until
'Archbiſhop Grindal's diſgrace, Hatfield's (perhaps
'Hatton's) hard conceit of propheſying, brought the
'flowing of theſe good graces to a ſtill water (30).'

(30) Strype, p. 230, 231.

[*Y*] *There was a talk of depriving him, but this deſign was laid aſide.*] This deſign of depriving the Archbiſhop, ſays Mr Strype (31), was was very much reſented by the true Proteſtants, and they were highly concerned at it, urging how much it would prove the encouragement and joy of Papiſts. Sir Francis Knowles, treaſurer of the Queen's chamber, wrote to this purpoſe, to Secretary Wylſon. 'If her Majeſty
'will be ſafe, ſays he, ſhe muſt comfort the hearts of
'thoſe that be her moſt faithful ſubjects, even for con-
'ſcience ſake. But if the Archbiſhop of Canterbury
'ſhall be deprived, then up ſtarts the pride and prac-
'tice of the Papiſts, and down declines the comfort and
'ſtrength of her Majeſty's ſafery: and then King Ri-
'chard the Second's men will flock in court apace, and
'will ſhew themſelves in their colours. From the
'which company, the Lord bleſs her Majeſty: and
'the thinking thereof doth ſo abhorr me, that I am
'more fit to die in a private life, than to live a cour-
'tier, unleſs a preventing heart may enter into her
'Majeſty betimes.' Upon the whole, when it was conſidered that the deprivation of the Archbiſhop, eſpecially for a crime that did not merit it, would give ſo great diſguſt, it was determined to proceed more mildly, and that he ſhould only continue under his ſequeſtration (32).

(31) Pag. 238.

(32) Strype, p. 239.

[*Z*] *At which, though our Archbiſhop did not appear, he had a principal ſhare in the tranſactions of it.*] Elmer, Biſhop of London preſided at this Synod, in the room of our Archbiſhop. Though Fuller (33) calls this a Silent Convocation, yet ſeveral weighty affairs were treated of, and laboured to be rectified; as concerning making of miniſters; concerning faculties, commutation of penance and excommunication, and a foundation was laid for ſome good regulations which afterwards took place. Our Archbiſhop, as Mr Strype believes (34), drew up a writing, ſhewing an expedient for keeping up the authority of the ſpiritual courts, againſt ſuch as contemned and diſobeyed them, whereby they incurred the crime of contumacy, commonly puniſhed by excommunication; in the room of which, he propoſed that this cenſure ſhould be wholly aboliſhed, but the conſequence of it, impriſonment after forty days, ſhould remain in force; and that inſtead of a writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, ſhould be a writ *de contemptore juriſdictionis eccleſiaſticæ capiendo*. This is a very good paper, and is preſerved by Mr Strype (35). The writer ſhews that this terrible Church-cenſure was to be uſed very ſparingly, as it was formerly. That in all crimes of the moſt heinous nature, excommunications might be pronounced by the Archbiſhops and biſhops in their own perſons, as was wont to be in the Primitive Church. The handling this weighty ſubject of excommunication, which had been ſo abuſed, was owing in a great meaſure to our archbiſhop, who earneſtly recommended the conſideration and reformation of it to this ſynod. He alſo laboured the reformation of

(33) Ch. Hiſt. b. ix. p. 135.

(34) Pag. 259.

(35) Appendix, No. XV. to b. ii.

were ſo ſtrongly affected with the diſgrace of the Archbiſhop's ſequeſtration, that out of a generous zeal for their metropolitan, they moved againſt entering upon any buſineſs, or ſo much as granting a ſubſidy, 'till the ſequeſtration was taken off, and the Archbiſhop reſtored. But the majority being fearful of offending the Queen, they came to an unanimous reſolution to draw up an humble addreſs to her, for the Archbiſhop's reſtitution. Though this petition was preſented to the Queen it proved ineffectual [*A A*]; nordoes it clearly appear at what preciſe time his ſequeſtration was taken off, though it ſeems moſt probable to have been in the year 1582; but it is certain the ſeverity uſed towards him was far from bringing him over, and the furtheſt advances he made, were only ſuch a ſubmiſſion as became a dutiful ſubject to his ſovereign [*B B*], though he does not ſeem ever after to have enjoyed much of the Queen's favour. In the year 1583, finding himſelf under great infirmities by the loſs of his ſight, which had failed him ſome time before, as alſo by the ſtone, ſtrangury, and colic [*C C*], he reſigned his archbiſhopric, and retired upon a penſion to Croydon [*D D*], where he died two months after, July 6, 1583, (*q*), aged

(*q*) Faſti Angl. Eccl. p. 8.

of another great and neceſſary part of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, that of penance for open ſins; and that it might not be performed merely as a matter of form, but produce a good effect, to bring the ſinner to amendment, and to ſerve as a ſeaſonable warning and example to all; our Archbiſhop did himſelf draw a form of penance to be for the future obſerved, and laid it before the Synod. The reader may ſee it in Mr Strype's Life of our archbiſhop (36).

(36) Pag. 261.

[*A A*] *The Convocation, at their firſt meeting, drew up an humble petition to the Queen in favour of the Archbiſhop*]. This was done in Latin by the elegant pen of Toby Matthew, Dean of Chriſt-church, in the name of the whole Synod; in this petition, they not only, as far as they dare, endeavour to leſſen his offence to the Queen in reſpect of his conſcience, but alſo ſet forth how well he deſerved of the Church, and 'how exceedingly grieved they were, that he ſhould, 'after ſo many years, fall into ſo great and ſo durable 'an offence of her Majeſty: that he was a man that 'did not often offend, and but once in his life 'ſeemed to have diſpleaſed her, and that not ſo much 'with a wilful mind as by a tender conſcience; of 'which, ſo great was the force, that eminent authors 'and the beſt men had writ, that whatſoever was done, '(the conſcience reclaiming, or erring, or doubting) 'was done amiſs, and to be condemned as no little ſin. 'That the Archbiſhop had led a life free not only of all 'crime, but even from the ſuſpicion of a crime; preſerved his religion not only from all corruption of 'popery, but from ſchiſm, and had ſuffered perſecution 'for righteouſneſs ſake, having wandered abroad in other 'countries for the cauſe of the Goſpel. Therefore 'they moſt humbly and unanimouſly beſeeched her, not 'only to lift up the Archbiſhop, broken and feeble 'with grief, but to reſtore the Church to him and him 'to the Church, to her ſubjects, to his own brethren, 'to foreign nations, and, in a word, to all pious peo'ple,' &c. Fuller ſays (37), that this petition was preſented, but failed of ſucceſs. That ſuch an addreſs was preſented is not to be doubted, but that it was paſſed as an act of Convocation, is more than appears by the extracts from the journal And the learned Dr Heylin, who peruſed the Convocation records at length, ſays he found no ſuch petition (38).

(37) Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. b. ix. p. 120.

(38) Journal Convoc. fol. 144.

[*B B*] *The furtheſt advances he made, extended only to ſuch a ſubmiſſion as became a dutiful ſubject to his ſovereign.*] Mr Strype (39) tells us, that he has ſeen a ſubmiſſion made by the Archbiſhop, without mention of the month or year, which being well taken of the Queen, he thinks might occaſion the taking off his ſuſpenſion After this ſubmiſſion, the lords of the Council ſignified to him the reaſon of the Queen's diſpleaſure againſt him: upon which the Archbiſhop made this following further confeſſion and declaration. 'That 'being advertiſed of the cauſe of her Majeſty's offence, 'as was ſet down by the lords of the Council, and of 'her gracious inclination towards him upon his humble 'ſubmiſſion, doth confeſs, that he is moſt heartily ſor'ry that her Majeſty hath been offended with him, as 'a matter more grievous to him than any worldly ca'lamity. And though he refuſed to execute her Ma'jeſty's commandment by reaſon of ſcruple of conſci'ence, which moved him to think that the Exerciſes 'might have been in ſome points reformed, and ſo 'continued; and underſtanding that her Majeſty there'in did uſe the advice and allowance of certain biſhops, 'his brethren, who by likelyhood certified, that they 'in their own dioceſes found the ſame more hurtful 'than profitable; in and for that he is perſwaded that 'ſhe had herein a ſincere and Godly meaning, to the 'quietneſs of her people; and that alſo her command'ment was not againſt poſitive law or conſtitution 'of the realm; he cannot but think and ſpeak honou'rably and dutifully of her Majeſty's doings, as of a 'Godly prince, meaning well of the Church and her 'people in this her Majeſty's direction and command'ment. And as he is moſt heartily ſorry that he hath 'incurred her Majeſty's grievous offence, for not ob'ſerving that her commandment, ſo doth he moſt 'humbly and lowly beſeech her Highneſs, not to im'pute the ſame to any obſtinate intent, meaning to 'diſobey her Majeſty, but only that he was then 'moved in conſcience to be an humble ſuitor to her 'Majeſty, to be ſpared from being the ſpecial inſtru'ment in ſuppreſſing the ſaid exerciſes. And to the 'intent her Majeſty may think that he meant no diſo'bedience in any maintenance of them to continue 'contrary to her commandment, he doth pray her 'Majeſty to be truly informed how he himſelf did in 'his own biſhopric, and other peculiar juriſdictions 'ſuffer no ſuch exerciſes to be uſed after the time of 'her Majeſty's ſaid commandment.' This ſubmiſſion is as much an excuſe or apology for the Queen's conduct as for the Archbiſhop's, and is far from amounting to a confeſſion that he was in fault, only that he had no fixed purpoſe or intention of offending the Queen, and that he acted only according to the dictates of his own conſcience. Mr Strype places this tranſaction in the year 1582, becauſe there appears to have been a commiſſion iſſued out January 20 that year, in the Archbiſhop's own name, to viſit the city and dioceſe of Lichfield; and alſo an inhibition to the biſhop of Coventry, iſſued out likewiſe from the Archbiſhop himſelf Feb. 18; ſo that he muſt at this time have been reſtored to the exerciſe of his eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, and his ſequeſtration taken off; though Mr Strype (40) mentions alſo a commiſſion for the commiſſaryſhip of Canterbury, dated January 30, 1581, granted by the Archbiſhop himſelf in his own proper perſon; ſo that it cannot be certainly known when he was reſtored.

(39) P. 271.

(40) Pag. 268.

[*C C*] *As alſo by the ſtone, colic, and ſtrangury.*] The Archbiſhop had been long afflicted with theſe diſorders, as appears from a letter of his to the Lord-Treaſurer in 1547 (41); wherein he ſays, 'I am glad 'to underſtand by your chaplain, that your Lordſhip's 'health hath of late been better than afore; my fits of 'colic, ſtone, and ſtrangury, are very grievous when 'they come, but God ſendeth me ſome intervals, elſe 'they were intolerable'

(41) M. SS. ut ſupra.

[*D D*] *He reſigned his archbiſhopric, and retired upon a penſion to Croydon.*] We are not exactly informed when this was done, nor indeed whether it was done at all. The biſhop had formerly deſired leave to reſign, which the Queen would not then grant; but, in conſideration of his infirmities, it was now thought reaſonable, and in January 1582, the Queen ſent Piers, biſhop of Sarum her almoner, to the Archbiſhop, to ſignify that it was her pleaſure that he might reſign, and have an honourable penſion for life: and ſhe ſoon after ſignified the ſame by the Lord-Treaſurer, to whom the Archbiſhop ſent an anſwer, ſhewing the reaſons that had hindered him from again offering a reſignation after he had been refuſed and that knowing her Majeſty's pleaſure, he would now very willingly reſign, but hoped that he might be permitted to continue in his place till Michaelmas, when the audit of the ſee was kept for the whole year, and that the Queen would grant him

aged 63. He was, at his own deſire, buried in the chancel of the church of Croydon, where a ſtone monument, with his effigies lying at length, is erected on the ſouth ſide of the communion table, againſt the wall [*E E*]. His common motto was, *Turris fortiſſima nomen Domini* (*r*). He lived and died unmarried. He had a brother named Robert, who with his wife and only ſon died in 1567, leaving four daughters, orphans; the ſecond of whom, Anne, married, againſt the Archbiſhop's conſent, William Dacres, ſon of Richard Dacres, Gent. (*s*), which William Dacres was in the rebellion in Cumberland in 1569. The archbiſhop had likewiſe ſeveral nieces by his ſiſter Elizabeth Woodhall. He does not ſeem to have amaſſed much wealth, which is the more admirable, conſidering the large revenues he poſſeſſed, and the length of time he enjoyed them in the three ſees of London, York, and Canterbury, and that all the time free from the incumbrance of a family. This, as Fuller obſerves, may perhaps be imputed erroneouſly to his prodigality, which more truly is to be aſcribed to his contempt of the world, unwilling to die *guilty of much wealth*. The little he had, as it was well gotten, was well beſtowed in pious uſes on the two univerſities, and the building and endowing a free-ſchool at St Begh's, his native place; of which, together with ſome charitable benefactions and legacies left by his will, we ſhall give an account in the note [*F F*]. We do not find that our Archbiſhop left

(*r*) Le Neve's Lives of the Biſhops, P. i. p. 45.

(*s*) Strype, p. 3.

the houſe at Croydon, with ſome land belonging to it, that he might retire to, ſhewing that in all reſignations of biſhops, there had been always one houſe at leaſt belonging to the ſee, aſſigned to the reſigner, for which he cited Matthew Paris. The Queen however would only allow the Archbiſhop till Lady-day to reſign his ſee; which drawing near, and his penſion, the proportioning of which lay very much in the appointment of the Lord-Treaſurer, not being yet ſettled, the Lord-Treaſurer, being then abſent from Court, ſent to put the Queen in mind, that the Archbiſhop was ready to reſign; that he yielded himſelf to her Majeſty's goodneſs to have ſome penſion during his ſhort life, which he (the Treaſurer) wiſhed to be great and honourable, although it ſhould be to the ſucceſſor burthenous for the preſent. But he that ſhould have it, muſt ſhape his garment with his cloth for the time. That he had ſeen into the value of the archbiſhop's poſſeſſions, and found them to be above 2780 l. per ann. according to the rate of the book of firſt-fruits; that he had alſo ſeen the particular books of the annual receipts, which grew ſomewhat, but not much above; and if the then archbiſhop might have ſeven or eight hundred pound a year penſion, he thought his ſucceſſor with good huſbandry might make the reſt to be 2000 l according to which he might compound for his firſt-fruits, and for no more. The letter itſelf written by the Lord-Treaſurer, we find among his memorials (42). The Archbiſhop's reſignation however was not compleated at Lady-day, and in April 1583, being then in a bad ſtate of health, beſides the loſs of his ſight, and growing weary of his burthen, he again ſignified to the Lord-Treaſurer that he was ready to reſign, and tranſmitted a draught of his reſignation to this miniſter, which it is probable was but imperfect, neither ſigned nor ſealed, and only put into the Treaſurer's hands for his approbation: and in this condition we have it in the paper-office, without date, ſeal, or ſubſcription. And indeed it ſeems probable, as Mr Strype ſuppoſes (43), that the Queen was not yet provided with a ſucceſſor for the archbiſhop, Whitgift, biſhop of Worceſter, (according to Fuller, refuſing the Queen to accept of it) (44), reſolving not to enter upon that ſee while Grindal was alive (45). That the reſignation was not executed before the 8th of May following, appears from his will which bears date that day, and wherein he ſtiles himſelf *Archbiſhop of Canterbury, whole of mind and of perfect remembrance*, and in about two months after, he died; neither does it appear the reſignation was further preſſed during this interval; nor was the ſee filled till near a month after Grindal's deceaſe (46), by Whitgift, a divine who had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his learning, and regard for the Church of England.

(42) M.SS. ut ſupra.

(43) Pag. 286.

(44) See Records, No. 90.

(45) Fuller, p. 163. b. viii.

(46) Reg. Whitgift. Strype's Life of Abp. Whitgift, p. 111.

[*E E*] *His monument is erected on the ſouth ſide of the communion table, againſt the wall*] In one part of the monument are theſe verſes placed, as a character of him.

Grindallus *doctus, prudens, Gravitate verendus,*
Juſtus, munificus, ſub cruce fortis erat.
Poſt crucis ærumnas Chriſti gregis Anglia fecit
Signiferum, Chriſtus cælica regna dedit.

Beneath his effigies on one ſide are theſe verſes.

Præſulis eximii ter poſtquam eſt auctus honore,
Pervigilique greges rexit moderamine ſacro,
Confectum ſenio, duriſque laboribus, ecce
Tranſtulit in placidam mors exoptata quietem.

On the other ſide theſe.

Mortua marmoreo conduntur membra ſepulchro,
Sed mens ſancta viget, fama perennis erit.
Nam ſtudia et Muſæ, quas magnis cenſibus auxit,
Grindalli nomen tempus in omne ferent.

The epitaph or inſcription upon his monument is long, and being only hiſtorical, containing a recital of his charitable benefactions, which we ſhall give an account of in another place, we ſhall not inſert it here.

[*F F*] *He founded and endowed a freel ſchool at St Begh's, of which, together with ſome charitable benefactions, and legacies left by his will, we ſhall give an account in the note.*] The ſchool of St Begh's was incorporated by Queen Elizabeth, her letters-patent bearing date the 15th of June, in the 27th year of her reign, by the name of the *Wardens and governors of the poſſeſſions, revenues, and goods, of the free grammar-ſchool of* Edmund Grindal *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, in Kirkby Beacook, *alias* St Begh's, *in the county of* Cumberland. The pious founder drew up ſome excellent ſtatutes for the good government of the ſchool before his death, and gave 366 l. 13 s. 4 d. for building and furniſhing it, which was done by his executors, upon a piece of ground given by Thomas Chaloner, Eſq; (ſon of Sir Thomas Chaloner) who alſo gave forty loads of coals yearly out of his coal-mines at St Begh's, for the uſe of the ſchool, reſerving a right of placing two ſcholars there by the name of Chaloner's ſcholars. The Archbiſhop ſettled 30 l. per ann. upon the ſchool, viz. 20 l. to the ſchool-maſter; 3 l. 6 s 8 d. to a poor ſcholar to be uſher there; and the remaining 6 l. 13 s. 4 d. to the repairs of the ſchool, and to be laid up for the purchaſe of revenues from time to time, for the maintenance of poor ſcholars in the Univerſities. Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven, added a fair library to the ſchool, and a benefaction of 5 l. a year. Dr Lamplugh, archbiſhop of York, alſo gave 5 l. per ann. to it, but this is ſaid to be ſince withdrawn (47). The moſt remarkable of our Archbiſhop's other charitable benefactions and legacies, are theſe. In yearly revenues to Pembroke-hall in Cambridge, 22 l. viz to the reader of Greek, 2 l. for the maintenance of a fellow, 10 l. of two ſcholars, 6 l. 13 s. 4 d. the reſidue to the uſe of the college. The fellow and ſcholars to be choſen out of ſuch as have been brought up at St Begh's ſchool. This college had at ſeveral times experienced the Archbiſhop's good will and bounty to them. They had enjoyed the ſtipend of 40 s. a year for a Greek reader ever ſince the year 1568, and the inheritance of it was confirmed to them by the Archbiſhop's laſt will. It was about the ſame time that he obtained from a widow lady a perpetual ſcholarſhip for the college. In 1570, he obtained a licence for the college, to purchaſe lands in mortmain to the value of forty pounds. He likewiſe appointed, that out of the

(47) Strype, ut ſupra, p. 291, 292. Ex inform. Ralph Thoreſby Arm. & D. Guil. D. Epiſc. Carliol.

Our Archbiſhop himſelf profeſſed, that the loſs of the Queen's favour was one of the greateſt afflictions of his life; and therefore his advancement to the chair of Canterbury may be reckoned among his chief misfortunes, ſince he was no ſooner ſeated in it than it brought upon him the Queen's frowns, who before mightily eſteemed and valued him for his great goodneſs and excellent abilities. Yet would he take no undue means for the averting this evil, being endued with that immutable conſtancy of mind, in perſiſting in what he thought his duty in the faithful diſcharge of his office; hence his plain but humble refuſal of the Queen's commands to put down the Exerciſes, may be juſtly eſteemed one of the nobleſt paſſages of his life. It proceeded not from any elation of mind on account of his high place and dignity; for ſuch external accidental things made no change in his temper and diſpoſition, which was ever at the ſame ſtay of meekneſs and gentleneſs; however he had been ſeverely charged by ſome with pride, covetouſneſs, perſecution, and the like, which are common imputations upon thoſe who fill ſuch exalted ſtations in the Church as he did. Thomas Sampſon the Puritan, his old acquaintance, and late Dean of Chriſt-church Oxford, took occaſion to tell him of theſe things at large in a letter. The good Archbiſhop returned him a very friendly and obliging anſwer, written (as he ſaid) *ſine fuco aut faſtu*, laying aſide all ſtate, and at large related to him what his own temper really was, and ſolemnly proteſted himſelf to be free and innocent of thoſe rude reports that went of him, and that he loved ſome godly brethren that wiſhed ſuch things reformed as were amiſs; inſomuch that Sampſon in another letter declared himſelf ſatisfied, and that he knew now what to ſay, when hereafter he ſhould hear any ſuch ſlanders ſtarted concerning him (*a*). In fine, the Engliſh nation generally held this Archbiſhop in great honour and eſteem; and ſo likewiſe did the Proteſtant ſtrangers and foreigners reſiding here, who choſe him, when he was biſhop of London, ſuperintendant of their church in Auſtin-friars London, and appealed to him in any differences ariſing among them about matters of religion. And as for the clergy of the land, what high eſteem and veneration they had for him, appears from the concern they took in his diſgrace, and their zealous endeavours to have him reſtored to the Church, by the petition of the Convocation to the Queen in 1580, as we have related above. To conclude, our Archbiſhop, ſays Mr Strype (*b*), in the diſcharge of his high function, lived and died unblameable, and was univerſally eſteemed and beloved. Fair and honourable are the characters our beſt hiſtorians, his contemporaries, give of him with one conſent. Their teſtimonies are too important to the eſtabliſhing his character, and rectifying the ſtrange miſapprehenſions that have been taken up of him, to be omitted here. We have therefore inſerted them in the note [*I I*], that,

(*a*) Strype's Life of Grindal, p. 300, 301.

(*b*) Pag. 304.

flectingly upon the Archbiſhop, ſoon after his diſgrace, the Lord-Treaſurer Burghley wrote to him and charged him therewith. Barnes wrote an anſwer to the Lord-Treaſurer, in which it is obſervable, he does not charge the Archbiſhop with want of ſincerity towards the Church, nor condemns the exerciſes; only, like a courtier, and one who ſought for further favours from the throne, accuſed him of 'Wilfulneſs in contemning the 'regal power, and obſtinacy in not yielding to that 'which their Honours of the Star-Chamber had ſet 'down. And as for the Exerciſes, he confeſſed, that 'being well ordered, they were *De bene eſſe religionis*, 'yet they were not *de eſſe religionis ſinceræ*. And 'therefore not to be urged ſo as to contend with her 'Highneſs and her Council. He ſaid he had ſpoken of 'this only to two or three perſons, and that only in de-'fence of her Majeſty when reports had been ſpread 'that the Archbiſhop had been cruelly dealt with, and 'had not deſerved ſuch treatment; and that the Lord 'Leiceſter and others ſhould further his troubles, which 'he ſaid he knew to be moſt falſe; and that he was 'therefore under a kind of neceſſity to aſſert the Arch-'biſhop's wilfulneſs and undutifulneſs to be the juſt oc-'caſion thereof; and more than this he affirmed he had 'not done; nor, but that he was forced, he ſhould 'not have done or ſaid any thing of him at all.' Mr Strype adds, 'That biſhop Barnes had no good will to-'wards the Archbiſhop, who not long before had dealt 'againſt him for ſome defects, either in diſcharge of 'his epiſcopal function, or for his bribe-taking officers '(54).' As to what biſhop Barnes ſays concerning the report of the Earl of Leiceſter's incenſing the Queen againſt the Archbiſhop, Fuller affirms the ſame thing (55); that about the time of the Archbiſhop's writing his bold letter to the Queen about the exerciſes, the Earl of Leiceſter took occaſion to quarrel with the Archbiſhop, and would have gotten Lambeth houſe from him, and that this was really the reaſon of the Queen's diſpleaſure, the Earl having ſecretly exaſperated her Majeſty againſt him. But it appears that the Earl and Archbiſhop were then good friends, ſince the Archbiſhop made him deliverer of his letter to the Queen; and the Earl and he correſponded together in a friendly manner, as we have ſhewn before. However there was a conjecture, which was current ſince that time, that the Queen was provoked againſt our prelate by that Earl, who had taken offence at him for denying to give a favourable ſentence in behalf of one Dr Julio, the Earl's Phyſician, who had married another man's wife, having alſo one of his own, and was reſolutely proſecuted for the ſame by Grindal, when biſhop of London, notwithſtanding the Earl's interceſſion for him. This is alſo related by Camden (56); who ſeems, ſays Mr Strype, too lightly to have taken it up from the malicious author of Leiceſter's Common wealth, who ſays, that 'This Archbiſhop's overthrow was principally 'wrought by this tyrant, for contraryng his will in ſo 'baſe a command (57).'

(54) Dedicat. P. 4, 5.

(55) Ch. Hiſt. p. 123.

(56) Hiſt. of Q. Elizabeth, p. 287, edit. 1675.

(57) Strype, p. 224.

[*I I*] *We have inſerted the honourable teſtimonies of hiſtorians concerning our Archbiſhop in the note*] Archbiſhop Parker, in his book *De Antiq. Britan. Eccleſ.* writes thus of him, *Vir ſpectatæ gravitatis & prudentiæ*, &c. 'He was a man of reſpected gravity and 'prudence; and who in that commiſſion of the Queen 'for eccleſiaſtical cauſes, underwent many labours both 'by day and night, not leſs diligently than ſucceſsfully; and whoſe ſeverity in a buſineſs of that great im-'port was neceſſary, that ſuch as would not be drawn 'by gentleneſs and clemency to the ſervice of God and 'the laws, and ſtood obſtinately in their opinion, 'might more hardly be dealt with, and compelled by 'ſharper chaſtiſement.' Camden in one place ſtiles him *an excellent divine* (58); and when he comes to relate his death (59), ſays, 'He was a religious and 'grave man, that flouriſhed in great grace with the 'Queen, until, by the cunning artifices of his adverſa-'ries, he quite loſt her favour; as if he had leaned to 'conventicles of turbulent and hot-ſpirited miniſters, 'and their prophecies, as they called them; but in 'truth, becauſe he had condemned the unlawful mar-'riage of one Julio, the Italian Phyſician, with ano-'ther man's wife, while Leiceſter in vain oppoſed his 'proceedings therein.' (See the latter part of the preceding note). Holinſhed obſerves (60), that 'This 'good man in his life-time was ſo ſtudious, that his 'books were his bride, and his ſtudy his bride-chamber; 'whereupon he ſpent both his eye ſight, his ſtrength, 'and his health, &c. of whom much might be ſpoken 'for

(58) Camd. Eliz. P. 30. edit. 1675.

(59) Pag. 287.

(60) Holinſhed's Chronicle, p. 1354. a.

that, as juſtice and religion require, right be done to the name and memory of this moſt venerable and apoſtolical Primate. This was the laudable motive, as Mr Strype acquaints us;

' for other's imitation; but this ſhall ſuffice, that as ' his learning and virtues were inſeparable companions, ' ſo the reward of both is the good name that he hath ' left behind him, as a monument perpetual.' Stowe, another faithful hiſtorian and his contemporary, in mentioning the death of our Archbiſhop, ſpeaks of his numerous benefactions: ſo doth Godwin, in his Catalogue of biſhops. Mr Thomas Rogers, chaplain to Archbiſhop Bancroft, in the preface to his book, intitled, *The Faith, Doctrine, and Religion, profeſſed and protected in the realm*, printed in 1607, ſtiles Archbiſhop Grindal ' A zealous confeſſor and tried ſoldier, ' and right worthy prelate.' And remarks that, ' His ' care was great to further the glory of God, but that ' through the envy and malice of his ill-willers, his ' power was but ſmall; his place high, but himſelf ' made low through ſome diſgrace brought upon him ' by his potent adverſaries, which he meekly and patiently endured.' He remarks, that there were two inconveniences which our Archbiſhop's troubles and ſequeſtration occaſioned; the one, the flocking of Jeſuits into the kingdom; the other, the inſolence and boldneſs of the home faction, by which Mr Rogers means the Puritans. And laſtly, this hiſtorian ranks our prelate with the excellent archbiſhops, from Cranmer to Bancroft, all of famous and venerable memory. Sir John Harrington, who lived in and after the time of Queen Elizabeth, undertakes to give ſome ſtrictures of her biſhops, which, ſays Mr Strype, are commonly but light rumours of Court, and often idle and trifling; yet what he ſays of Archbiſhop Grindal points not to any miſgovernment of the Church: but whereas it was commonly ſaid that he was blind ſome years before his death, Sir John would make a myſtery of it, telling us that he was not blind, but that when the Queen enjoined him to keep his houſe, his friends gave out that he was blind, and that he kept at home the better to conceal his puniſhment which the Queen had laid upon him. ' This would have been very likely, ſays Mr (61) Pag. 306. ' Strype (61), had the report of his blindneſs happened ' at the time that the Queen had commanded his con' finement, but he was not blind 'till five years after at ' leaſt. And that he was then blind, I have ſeen the ' ſubſcription of his name, that evidently ſhews it to ' have been written by a blind man. Some other paſſages he ventures to write of the Archbiſhop, ſo ſlight ' and improbable, that I ſhall not repeat them. But ' this author writes not one word of his remiſſneſs in ' government, or countenance towards ſuch as oppoſed ' the conſtitutions of the Church. Mr Fuller appears ' to have been the firſt who vented this notion concern' ing our prelate. His accounts ſeem to be rather ' hear-ſays, than built upon any good authority either (62) Ch. Hiſt. b. ix. p. 130. ' of records or manuſcripts.' He tells us (62), that Grindal was generally condemned for remiſſneſs, in parting with more from the ſee than ever his ſucceſſors thanked him for. Mr Strype obſerves, that this is an hard charge, but ſpoken in general terms; and that if Fuller means exchanges with the Queen, Grindal, and all the reſt of the biſhops, were obliged to make theſe exchanges by an Act of Parliament which paſſed for that purpoſe in the beginning of her reign; but that he and two or three others of the firſt elects wrote a private letter to her Majeſty, and made a voluntary offer of a large yearly equivalent, to forbear making uſe of that power which the parliament had given her, as hath been ſhewn before. And that Grindal was not ſo eaſy to part with the revenues of his biſhopric this hiſtorian ſhew himſelf, by relating how ſtrongly he oppoſed parting with the palace at Lambeth to the great favourite, which, he ſays himſelf, brought upon him the malice of the Leiceſtrian faction. Fuller likewiſe ſpeaks of ſome, ' Who ſtrained a parallel between Eli and Grindal, in ' reſpect of his being guilty of dangerous indulgence ' to offenders; and as a father of the Church, he was ' accuſed of too much conniving at the factious diſtur(63) B. ix. p. 163. ' bers thereof (63).' Mr Strype, in vindication of our Archbiſhop, obſerves, ' That Fuller does not give one ' inſtance thereof; that he ſeems to note theſe things ' concerning the Archbiſhop, rather as reports and rumours taken up in his times, than as matters of un' doubted truth. That after all, he places the Arch' biſhop's remiſſneſs and neglect in requiring ſubſcrip' tion to the laſt year of his life but one; and attri' butes it to his age and impotency; though he adds; ' (to make what he had ſaid before conſiſtent) that in ' greater ſtrength, he did but weakly urge conformity: ' He ſhould not have forgot to mention the Archbi' ſhop's ſuſpenſion, whereby his hands were very much ' tied up from acting in his place and function; during ' which time, great liberty was taken by ſuch as were ' diſaffected to the Church and it's conſtitution.' In the concluſion however, Fuller calls our Archbiſhop, a prelate moſt primitive in all his converſation; and an impartial corrector of mens vicious converſations, and that he undeſervedly fell under the Queen's diſpleaſure, through the malice of his enemies *. Dr Heylin, another of our modern hiſtorians, ſpeaking of thoſe Engliſh Proteſtants who in the beginning of the Reformation ſtood affected to the diſcipline of Geneva, writes (64), that they made uſe of Biſhop Grindal to bring about their purpoſe, by making him inſtrumental to the ſetting up of a church in London for the French Proteſtant refugees, to worſhip God according to the manner uſed in their own reformed churches at home; for, ' That he was known to have a great reſpect to ' the name of Calvin; and that in this church, they ' were not only to erect the Geneva diſcipline, but to ' ſet up a form of prayer that ſhould hold no confor' mity with the Engliſh liturgy; and that Calvin gave ' Grindal thanks for his favour in this tranſaction.' Mr Strype obſerves, that Grindal, no doubt, had a great reſpect to the name of Calvin, as well as to thoſe of Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, Peter Martyr, Bullinger, Zanchy, and the reſt of the pious foreign reformers of religion, with whom he had contracted a friendſhip, and ſtill correſponded: but that the liberty now granted to foreigners, was no more than what had been a little before granted to Grindal and his fellow exiles, in the cities and places abroad, where they ſojourned. The letter, from whence Dr Heylin took the above account, and which *is* extant among Calvin's epiſtles, dated May 15*th*, 1560 (65), is only to return thanks to our Biſhop for his care of the poor French Proteſtants that had ſettled themſelves in London, by his obtaining for them a licence from the Queen of worſhiping God purely, (that is, without the ſuperſtitions of the Romiſh Church) and to deſire that they might have a faithful miniſter of their own to preach God's word, and perform other miniſterial offices among them, And it appears, that to this civil letter of Calvin, the Biſhop gave as reſpectful an anſwer, and withal deſired him to recommend ſome able and fit miniſter to that congregation. And not long afterwards Calvin ſent, by conſent, Nicholas Galaſius, a man of great piety and worth, to ſupply that place: and this was the beginning of the Walloon church, ſituated in Threadneedle-ſtreet, London, which hath continued ever ſince for the uſe of the French nation. ' And ſurely, ſays Mr ' Strype, Biſhop Grindal could do no leſs than this, ' ſince he was too grateful to forget the like reſpects ' ſhewn to him and many others of the Engliſh nation, ' that fled abroad in the laſt reign upon the ſame ac' count of religion, as theſe godly French now did ' hither: and ſince he and they received the like free' dom and favour in the ſeveral places in Germany and ' Switzerland, where they had but lately ſettled them' ſelves. And likewiſe that he might teſtify that chri' ſtian communion and brotherly concord which he bore ' to all the reformed churches.' Our more modern hiſtorians, among whom the chief is Mr Collier, are very favourable to the character of our Archbiſhop. We have already ſhewn that Mr Collier clears him from all imputations of Puritaniſm. The ſame writer alſo obſerves, upon the Archbiſhop's articles at one of his metropolitical viſitations, ' That he was no negli' gent governor, nor a perſon of latitude and indiffe' rence for the ceremonies of the Church (66).' And with regard to the Archbiſhop's behaviour in the matter of the Exerciſes, he writes, ' That Grindal was a ' prelate of more conſcience and courage, than to be ' dazzled with the luſtre of a court, to reſign againſt ' his judgment, and be over-ruled into inſignificancy. ' That his letter to the Queen was penned with a mix' ture of freedom and regard. That *he* writes with the ' ſpirit of a primitive biſhop, like a ſubject in the State, ' and a governor in the Church, and takes care neither ' to forget her Majeſty nor himſelf. His application is ' religiouſly

* Fuller, ubi ſupra.

(64) Hiſt. of the Reform. p. 305.

(65) Ep. Calv. 295.

(66) Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. b. 6. p. 553.

left much in print behind him. We have already mentioned the ſhare he had in the *Acts and Monuments of the Church*, publiſhed by J. Fox; we ſhall only add, that he wrote a *Dialogue between Cuſtom and Truth*, ſoon after his coming back into England, which is extant in Mr Fox's work (*t*) [*G G*]. It ought not to be forgot that our Archbiſhop, when he returned home from his exile, firſt brought the tamariſk into England, ſo uſeful in medicine againſt diſeaſes of the ſpleen (*u*). We ſhall conclude this article with the character of our prelate as given by Mr Strype, the faithful hiſtorian of his life, backed with the teſtimony of many learned hiſtorians, contempararies of the Archbiſhop. Mr Strype obſerves (*w*), that it has been Archbiſhop Grindal's misfortune to be of later times deemed an ill governor of this Church; but in the time wherein he lived (when he was better known) his epiſcopal abilities and admirable endowments for ſpiritual government, as well as his ſingular learning, were much celebrated. In order therefore to revive the memory, and do right to the name of this holy Primate, Mr Strype (*x*) proceeds to make ſome obſervations upon his temper and qualifications, as a man, as a chriſtian, as a miniſter, a biſhop and chief paſtor of the Church of Chriſt in this kingdom. He always led, ſays he, an unblemiſhed and uſeful life, devoting himſelf to the ſervice of God and the advancement of pure religion, purged from all the dregs of Popiſh ſuperſtition, and for theſe ends ſaved by the good providence of God out of the Romiſh fires, wherein ſeveral of his companions periſhed under Queen Mary. He was a man of great firmneſs and reſolution, though of a mild and affable temper, and friendly diſpoſition; in his deportment courteous and engaging, not eaſily provoked, well ſpoken, and eaſy of acceſs, and that even in his elation, not at all affecting grandeur or ſtate, always obliging in his carriage, kind and grateful to his ſervants, and of a free and generous ſpirit. His fear of God

(*t*) Acts and Monuments of the Church, p. 1263.

(*u*) Fuller, b. ix. p. 164. Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 73.

(*w*) Epiſtle Dedicatory to Grindal's Life, p. 3.

(*x*) Pag. 295.

monies ariſing from the foundation of St Begh's ſchool, every eighth year for ever, ſome new fund ſhould be purchaſed for the maintaining of a ſcholar. And that this college, and that of Queen's in Oxford, ſhould alternately enjoy the benefit accruing from thence every eighth year. But Mr Strype ſays (48), that this has never been done but once, of which the college has complained. The Archbiſhop alſo left the college ſeveral books, ſome of which were Greek of the curious print of Henry Stephens. He alſo gave to the maſter's ſtudy, a curious Hebrew Bible, in ſeveral tomes in ſixteens, which formerly belonged to Thomas Watts, Archdeacon of Middleſex, and was preſerved in an oval box. He alſo gave them a ſtanding cup of above forty ounces, double gilt, which in honour of him they called, *Poculum Cantuarienſe*, i. e. The *Canterbury Cup*. This was a preſent from the Queen to the Archbiſhop the year after his promotion to the ſee of Canterbury. In yearly revenues to Queen's-college, Oxon, he gave 20 l. and 6 l. 13 s. 4 d. yearly for the maintenance of a fellow and two ſcholars, to be choſen out of St Begh's ſchool. He alſo gave them ſome books, a neſt of bowls, and 50 l. in money. To Magdalen-college, Cambridge, he gave 100 l. to purchaſe 5 l. a year for the maintenance of a ſcholar, to be choſen of ſuch as come from St Begh's ſchool. To Chriſt's-college, Cambridge, a ſtanding cup value 13 l. 6 s. 8 d. To the city of Canterbury, to ſet the poor to work, 100 l. To the poor of Lambeth and Croydon, 20 l. For the purchaſe of lands, or other profits, for the relief of the poor alms-houſes in Croydon, 50 l. For the repairs of the pariſh church there, 5 l. To the poor of St Begh's, 13 l. 6 s. 8 d. To the pariſh church of St Begh's, his communion cup and cover double gilt, and his beſt great Bible. To the Queen, a curious Greek Teſtament of Stephens's impreſſion. To his ſucceſſors ſeveral pictures and implements. To his old patron and friend the Lord-Treaſurer Burleigh, a ſtanding cup of fifty ounces, which the Queen had given him the laſt new year's day before he died. To Sir Francis Walſingham, a ſtanding cup of forty ounces. Beſides theſe, there are many other legacies to relations, friends, and ſervants, not material to inſert here, but the reader may ſee them in the will itſelf, No 20, in Mr Strype's appendix (49). Thus did this good Archbiſhop die, poor in eſtate, but rich in good works. He had been very liberal in his benefactions to St Paul's church, having beſtowed on the repairs thereof, at ſeveral times, when he was biſhop of London, 1184 l. 18 s. 11 d. as his executors made appear when they were ſued for dilapidations, by Whitgift his ſucceſſor in the ſee of Canterbury. They alſo proved that he had expended upon London Houſe, during his incumbency, 147 l. 2 s. 2 d. on Fulham-Houſe and the bridges, 356 l. 15 s. 7 d. and upon Hadham-houſe, 200 l. 10 s. 9 d. Thus it appears how freely the Archbiſhop beſtowed a ſhare of his revenues in repairing and keeping up the edifices belonging to the ſees over which he preſided, which he thought it no leſs his duty to do, than to preſerve their revenues. Yet would not this ſave his executors from being troubled for dilapidations, though they affirmed to the Lord-Treaſurer and Secretary Walſingham, the overſeers of the Archbiſhop's will, to whom they appealed, that in general he left his houſes in much better condition than he found them at his predeceſſor Parker's death.

(48) Pag. 310, 311.

(49) Pag. 103, 104, & ſeq.

[*G G*] *He wrote a dialogue between Cuſtom and Truth, extant in Mr Fox's Acts and Monuments of the Church.*] Mr Strype ſays (50), this piece is written in a clear method, and with much rational evidence, againſt the real, that is, the groſs and corporeal, preſence in the Sacrament. That Grindal was the author of it, Mr Strype is informed, from the manuſcript before cited, wrote by biſhop Wren, and preſerved in Pembroke-hall. Fox indeed has concealed the author's name, (forbid probably by him to diſcloſe it) and only ſays, 'That it 'was writ by a certain learned and reverend perſon of 'this realm, and who, under the perſons of Cuſtom and 'Verity, manifeſtly laid open before our eyes, and 'taught all men not to meaſure religion by cuſtom, 'but to try cuſtom by truth, and the word of God.' He has thought fit to place this diſcourſe next after a public diſputation upon the ſame argument, of the learned Peter Martyr at Oxon. and another by the other learned men before the King's viſitors at Cambridge, and the determination by biſhop Ridley, as a full and ſatisfactory diſpatch of the groſs papal tranſubſtantiation Our author wrote this diſcourſe ſoon after his coming back into England, for the better ſervice of the Church, that was then to be purged of Popiſh doctrines and ſuperſtitions; as appears from this paſſage, wherein Cuſtom is brought in ſpeaking thus. 'Are 'you ſo great a ſtranger in theſe parts? hear you not 'how men do daily ſpeak againſt the ſacrament of the 'altar, denying it to be the real body of Chriſt?' Verity anſwers, 'In ſooth, I have been a great while a-'broad, and returned but of late into this country. 'Wherefore you muſt pardon me if my anſwers be to 'ſeek in ſuch queſtions. But you have been longer 'here, &c.' In this tract, after the author had excellently explained the ſenſe of thoſe words of Chriſt, *this is my body*, he proceeded to produce divers ſentences out of the antient biſhops and doctors of the Church to confirm his interpretation; becauſe Cuſtom had boaſted of doctors and old writers, and men inſpired with the Holy Ghoſt, that were againſt the doctrine of the Proteſtants; and that in theſe days the wiſeſt and beſt learned called them heretics; and at length in the concluſion of the diſcourſe he tells Cuſtom, 'That as ſhortly 'and in as few words as he could, he had declared unto 'him what Chriſt meant by thoſe words, *this is my* '*body*, what the Apoſtles thought thereof, and in what 'ſort they delivered them to their ſucceſſors; and in 'what ſenſe and meaning the holy Fathers and old 'writers, and the univerſal and catholic Church had 'always taken them.'

(50) Pag. 313.

[*H H*] *We*

God and ſincere love of religion, evidently appeared in his willingly foregoing of his own country, his eaſe, his preſidentſhip in Pembroke-hall, his good prebends in the churches of St Paul and Weſtminſter, and all his preferments and hopes; and living abroad in a ſtrange land, that he might preſerve his conſcience, and ſerve God in purity and truth. He was a great preacher in King Edward the Sixth's time, and one of the moſt eminent both at court and univerſity; and in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, when the Proteſtant Religion was to be declared and inculcated to the people, he was one of the chief employed to that end, frequently in the pulpit at St Paul's, and before the Queen and nobility. He was a prelate of great moderation towards the Puritans, and it was perhaps owing to their intereſt in the cabinet, as well as to his own merits, that he was preferred. He is indeed generally thought to have held the reins too looſe in reſpect to this ſort of men, and is commonly blamed for his ſlackneſs in his government of the Church's affairs. But, as Mr Strype obſerves, this ſeems to be an unjuſt accuſation, by what it is evident he did towards them. He beſt knew what courſes were fitteſt to be uſed, who lived in thoſe times, and obſerved how things then ſtood in the State and Church; and if Grindal be condemned for gentle uſage, Whitgift, his ſucceſſor, is commended for the ſame by Sir George Paul, who writes thus: 'Happy ſure it was for that 'crazy ſtate of the Church, not to meet with too rough and boiſterous a Phyſicician. 'For he preſerved it with conſerves and electuaries, and ſome gentle purges, which with 'ſtrong purges, in all likelihood, might have been much more in danger.' And again that author profeſſes, 'He could not ſufficiently expreſs that Archbiſhop's ſingular wiſdom 'and clemency, albeit ſome younger ſpirits were of opinion that he was much to blame in 'that kind, and imputed it unto his years and want of courage (*y*).' Which words may well enough be applied to our Archbiſhop, when his mildneſs is cenſured, eſpecially ſince that upon occaſion was joined with ſeverity too. Certainly his zeal and affection for the reformed Church ſhewed itſelf particularly, in his endeavouring to reclaim theſe Puritans and Preciſians, as they were called, who for ſome little ceremonies made a breach in Chriſtian Communion. Yet when all his mild perſwaſions and arguments proved ineffectual, when he ſaw that rigour was neceſſary, he thought himſelf bound, as a faithful and careful overſeer of the Church, to make uſe of the ſeverer methods warranted by the laws againſt them. There is nothing, as Mr Strype obſerves (*z*), that lies ſo heavy upon our Archbiſhop, as the matter of the exerciſes and his ſuſpenſion. 'This, ſays he, is the 'ſtumbling block and the rock of offence, whence many have ſurmized an inclination in 'him towards a diſcipline in this Church, different to what was eſtabliſhed.' In order therefore to vindicate our Archbiſhop from any ſeeming compliance with the innovators, or doing any thing, by his countenancing theſe exerciſes, to the prejudice of the religion eſtabliſhed, but rather to the general edification of clergy and people, we have thrown together ſome further remarks upon the uſe and practice of propheſying in the note [*H H*]. Our

(*y*) Strype's Life of Abp. Whitgift, p. 82.

(*z*) Epiſtle Dedicatory, p. 3.

[*H H*] *We have thrown together ſome further remarks upon the uſe and practice of propheſying in the note*] Whether the exerciſes were ſuppreſſed in the province of York, as well as that of Canterbury, or whether the Queen had a better opinion of them afterwards, upon ſome regulation made, is uncertain; but it is certain that not above a year or two after they were forbidden, in 1578, Archbiſhop Sandys in his metropolitical viſitation of his province of York, enjoined them to his clergy there; and even took a part in them himſelf, and as he ſays, did as much as the reſt (51). Whence it appears that theſe prophecies were ſtill countenanced and practiſed; and the biſhops thought them ſtill the beſt means to promote good preaching, and the increaſe of learning in the clergy. It was not above ſeven or eight years after our Archbiſhop's diſgrace, that King James of Scotland, publickly allowed and encouraged them in his kingdom, as excellently conducive to Chriſtian knowledge, without any ſuſpicion of the inconvenience of them, ſince his biſhops were concerned in the appointing and regulating them. The fifth article of his declaration runs thus (52): 'That his Majeſties intentioun was, to main-'tene the exerciſe of prophecy: for the incres and 'continuing of knawledge amongis the miniſtry. In 'the quhilk ane wiſe and grave man ſelectit by the 'biſhop, or commiſſioner, at the ſynodal aſſembly, ſall 'preſide; and rander ane compt of the adminiſtration 'of that bounds quhair the exerciſe is hald in For the 'quhilk cauſe ſome reſpect of leving ſall be had unto 'him, quha ſuſteinis the burding.' From whence it may appear, in what eſteem and requeſt propheſying was in the neighbouring nation among thoſe of the epiſcopal perſwaſion; and that at the ſame time the King had diſcharged the Preſbyterian Church Government, and eſtabliſhed Epiſcopacy, he took particular care for the maintenance of this exerciſe, for the increaſe of knowledge in the clergy, according to the judgment and experience of our Archbiſhop in this kingdom. And further, it is obſervable, that for the more regular and quiet management of theſe propheſyings, the king trod in the Archbiſhop's ſteps, in appointing that there ſhould be ſome wiſe and grave perſon ſelected by the biſhop, or commiſſioner, to preſide within the reſpective bounds of the ſeveral exerciſes. Let us add the judgment of the learned Lord Bacon, in a diſcourſe to King James, then King of England (53): where he conſidered, 'Whether it were not requiſite to renew that good 'exerciſe which was practiſed in this Church ſome years, 'and afterwards put down by order indeed from the 'Church, in regard of ſome abuſes thereof, inconvenient for thoſe times; and yet againſt the advice and 'opinion of *the greateſt and graveſt prelate of the land*, '(as he worthily ſtiled our Archbiſhop) and was commonly called propheſying.' He then deſcribes the manner of it, and ſays, 'That in his opinion, it was 'the beſt way to frame and train up preachers, to 'handle the word of God as it ought to be handled, 'that had been practiſed. Orators have their declamations; Lawyers their moots; Logicians their ſophems; and every practice of ſcience hath an exer-'ciſe of erudition and initiation, before it come to the 'life: only preaching, which is the worthieſt, and 'wherein it is moſt in danger to be amiſs, wanteth an 'introduction.' Mr Collier the hiſtorian ſays, 'He 'will not pretend to determine whether Grindal 'was right or not in pleading for the propheſying meetings, though it muſt be ſaid he has offered a great 'deal in defence of them; and 'tis moſt likely, could 'they have been kept within the compaſs of his regu-'lation, they would have proved ſerviceable to the 'Church*.' We ſhall only add one circumſtance more upon this ſubject, to ſhew the high eſteem our Archbiſhop had even at that juncture, when he lay under his prince's frowns, and that it was not his favour to another Church's diſcipline, and diſlike of this, that was the cauſe of his diſgrace. When Barnes biſhop of Durham, had taken the liberty to ſpeak ſomewhat reflectingly

(51) Int. Epiſt. Edwin Archiep. Ebor. penes J. Strype.

(52) Declaration of the King's Intentioun and meaning towards the laſt Actis of Parliament, imprinted at Edinb. anno 1585.

(53) Conſiderat. of the Edificat. of the Ch. of Engl.

* Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. b. ii. p. 557.

us, that produced the excellent life of him, which with great labour and industry he compiled, from authentic manuscripts, records, papers of State, private letters, and registers. For (c), 'Tis humane, says he, to vindicate the reputations of the dead, who cannot 'speak for themselves. It is the part of a Christian to do it for those who have been 'confessors for religion, and lived and died constantly in the true faith of Christ. But it 'is the duty of a member of the Church of England, to preserve the memory, fair and 'unspotted, of one that had been advanced to the highest honour and trust in it, and bore 'so great a part in the first reformation of it.'

(c) Dedication, p. 2.

'religiously brave, and has not the least appearance of 'interest or fear. Besides the piety of the address, 'tis 'managed with great force and advantage. The ad- 'vice is admirable and well directed; nothing could 'be more serviceable to disengage the Queen from the 'flattery of her court, and bring her off from lofty mi- 'stakes her favourites seemed to have led her into '(67).'

(67) Collier, ut supra, p. 554, 557.

GROVE [HENRY], a very learned divine, was born at Taunton in the county of Somerset, January 4, 1683, being the youngest of fourteen children, of whom he only and a sister survived their parents. He was descended, both by his father and mother, from families of considerable repute and antiquity, and which for several generations had been remarkable for strict piety, sincere goodness, and a steady attachment to religious liberty, and the rights of conscience; the Groves of Wiltshire and the Rowes of Devon (a). His grandfather Grove was, soon after the Restoration, ejected from a good Living in Devonshire for nonconformity, at that distinguished period of Church-history, when so many hundreds of the ministers of Christianity gave a noble proof, that their religious profession was not the result of secular policy, but of conscience, by giving up the most considerable worldly interests to preserve the peace and integrity of their minds. His father suffered much and chearfully in the same cause, for lay-nonconformity, under Charles and James the Second (b). The eminent piety of Mr Rowe, his grandfather by the mother's side, may be known from his life, long since published by the learned Mr Theophilus Gale. The character of Mr Grove's parents, with his grateful sense of his obligations to their pious care and tenderness, will be best represented in his own words to Mr Ball (c), printed in the note [A]. His father, in particular, filled a life of eighty years honourably and usefully, and died universally esteemed and lamented, having been remarkable for uncommon prudence and temper, unspotted integrity, a strict yet chearful and amiable piety, and a generous charity. From such parents as these, Mr Grove derived an excellent natural disposition for religion, which discovered itself very soon: he was naturally very modest and benevolent, and had a strong sense of honour, which appeared in variety of instances in early life. His quickness of apprehension and love of literature were soon visible, and carried him through the learning preparatory for the college much sooner than is usual; and he was at fourteen, possessed of as large a stock of classical learning as is commonly thought a sufficient preparation for the academy. The acquaintance he began with the classics at the grammar-school was continued through life, and his relish for them increased, as his judgment and knowledge of mankind improved; the Latin poets, philosophers, and historians, and the Greek moralists, were his delightful companions [B]. Mr

(a) Preface to Mr Grove's Posthumous Works, p. 7.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Letter to the Rev. Mr Ball, p. 19.

[A] *In his own words to Mr Ball, printed in the note*] It runs thus: 'I thank you for the ho- 'nourable mention you make of those two persons, 'whose memory will be ever precious to me. It is 'with pleasure I recollect the example they gave of 'the reality and excellency of every christian virtue in 'their own lives; how far their parental instructions 'were from having any thing sour, austere, and dis- 'couraging in them, and their government from being 'severe and rigid; and that they finished life with 'great decency, wholly taken in exercises becoming 'their age, and in preparation for that better world on 'which they were about to enter. I repeat my thanks, 'Sir, for your having given me an opportunity to of- 'fer this small tribute of grateful acknowledgment to 'the memory of those, to whom, under the supream 'author of my being, I am so much indebted.'

[B] *The Latin poets, philosophers, and historians, and the Greek moralists, were his delightful companions.*] Among the Latin poets, Horace was a favourite, for the delicacy of his sentiments and expression, his knowledge of human life, and nice discernment of the decorum of characters, and the ridicule of vice, appearing peculiarly in his satires and epistles. He was much conversant with Cicero's philosophical works, esteeming his treatise of laws, to contain the solid principles on which the unalterable excellence and obligation of morality is founded; his offices he thought a fine delineation of the beautiful form of virtue; and his discourses of the nature of the Gods, and the immortality of the soul, an unanswerable demonstration of the great necessity and advantage of the Christian revelation against those who would pretend, that when Christ appeared to enlighten and reform the world, he was not wanted, and that unassisted reason was sufficient for this end; for the uncertainty in which Cicero, one of the greatest genius's of paganism, was involved, and represents all their philosophers as involved, with regard to one of the most important doctrines, of the existence, perfection, and providence of God, and their own future existence and state, is an argument from fact which overturns all the specious theories of modern deists; and showed too their great ingratitude, who, enlightened by the gospel, and thus enabled to think more clearly and justly on these subjects, refuse to own their obligations, and employed as an argument against Revelation, the light they really received from it. Among the Latin historians, Mr Grove chiefly admired Sallust and Tacitus; and among the Greek writers, he was greatly pleased with the easy and clear reasonings and fine morality of Xenophon, and the sublime of Plato; the plain, but strong reasoning and virtue of Epictetus, and the unaffected nobleness of thought and substantial worth of the Emperor Antonine, charmed him through all the negligence of his method and expression. Though Mr Grove wanted not a taste for the real beauties of Homer, yet he would often declare himself tired with his everlasting fightings and slaughters, and disgusted with the barbarous manners of his heroes, and the follies and vices of his gods, and on this occasion frequently quotes those lines of Roscommon:

For who, without a qualm, hath ever look'd
On holy garbage, tho' by Homer cook'd?
Whose railing heroes, and whose wounded Gods
Make some suspect he snores, as well as nods (1).

(1) Lord Roscommon's Essay on translated Verse.

For

Mr Grove went through a courſe of academical learning under the Reverend Mr Matthew Warren of Taunton, who was for many years at the head of a flouriſhing academy. Here he read Locke and Le Clerc, and acquainted himſelf with the ſtrong reaſonings and excellent morality of Cumberland. Having gone through a courſe of philoſophy and divinity under Mr Warren, Mr Grove removed to London, and ſtudied ſome time under the Reverend Mr Thomas Rowe, to whom he was nearly related. At this time Mr Grove contracted an acquaintance and friendſhip with Dr Watts, which continued with great mutual eſteem 'till his death, though their judgments were different as to ſeveral points warmly controverted among divines. While he ſtudied under Mr Rowe, he contracted an intimacy with ſeveral other perſons of merit: Mr Rowe was a zealous Carteſian, which occaſioned Mr Grove's examining with a particular exactneſs the philoſophy of Deſcartes; and though he was not entirely ſatisfied with his metaphyſics, and yet leſs with his phyſics; he ſtill thought the learned world very much obliged to that great man: but it was only in the Newtonian philoſophy Mr Grove could find ſatisfaction as to the conſtitution and laws of the material world; and he thus expreſſes his high veneration of that incomparable man (*d*): 'How doth ſuch a genius as Sir Iſaac Newton, from amidſt the darkneſs that 'involves human underſtanding, break forth and appear like one of another ſpecies. 'The vaſt machine we inhabit lies open to him; he ſeems not unacquainted with the ge- 'neral laws that govern it: and while, with the tranſport of a philoſopher, he beholds 'and admires the glorious work, he is capable of paying at once a more devout and more 'rational homage to his Maker.' After ſpending about two years in London, Mr Grove returned into the country, and began preaching with great reputation. An exact judgment, a lively and beautiful imagination, a warmth of devotion, and a rational and amiable repreſentation of Chriſtianity, made his ſermons, delivered by a voice, which though not ſtrong, was ſweet and well governed, generally admired. There appears alſo, even in his firſt diſcourſes, a larger ſtock of well-digeſted learning than could be expected at the age of two and twenty The ſpirit of amiable exalted devotion, which prevailed in his ſermons, early procured him the eſteem and friendſhip of Mrs Singer, afterwards Mrs Rowe; which ſhe expreſſed in a fine manner in an ode on Death, addreſſed to Mr Grove; and the friendſhip begun by this ſimilitude of taſte and temper was improved, and flouriſhed 'till Mrs Rowe's death. Soon after his beginning to preach he married, and at the age of twenty-three was, upon the death of Mr Warren, who had been long tutor of the academy at Taunton, choſen to ſucceed him, by the unanimous vote of a great number of miniſters aſſembled for that purpoſe; and he, with two others, continued the academy, which was then very full. This was an uncommon teſtimony to his early worth The province firſt aſſigned him was Ethics and Pneumatology. His undertaking Ethics was of conſiderable advantage to himſelf as a preacher, as well as to the ſtudents who came under his care. His concern with the academy obliging him to a reſidence at Taunton, he preached for eighteen years to two ſmall congregations in the neighbourhood; and though his ſalary from both was leſs than twenty pounds a year, and he had a growing family, he went through it chearfully. At his firſt entering into the academy he compoſed ſyſtems of Ethics and Pneumatology, and was continually improving His Ethics particularly was his favourite work, which he deſigned for public view, when he had given it all the perfection of which it was capable. Juſt before his death he had begun to tranſcribe it, and give it his laſt hand in order to a publication (*e*). As it is publiſhed in his poſthumous works, though not finiſhed in all it's parts, yet for the clearneſs and ſtrength with which he eſtabliſhes in it the principles of morality, the juſt and beautiful deſcriptions there given of the ſeveral virtues, and excellent directions for attaining them, and the noble repreſentation it contains of the ſupreme happineſs of man, it is well deſerving of the public view. From his ſyſtem of Pneumatology, was taken his *Eſſay on the Immateriality of the Soul*, and a great part of his *Diſcourſe on the Proofs from Reaſon of it's Immortality*; and ſince his death, the *Eſſay to demonſtrate the Being and Perfections of God*; and by theſe the public may judge of the other parts. In the year 1708, Mr Grove publiſhed his *Regulation of Diverſions*, which he drew up for the uſe of his pupils, with a view to take off their attention to pleaſures, and diſpoſe them to improve their time in purſuing cloſely and ſucceſsfully the pleaſures of knowledge and virtue. This his firſt offering to the public ſhews a ſolidity of judgment, and a knowledge of human nature much above his years; and the agreeable manner in which he gives his advice, is well fitted to engage the attention of that age of life, above all, bent on pleaſure, and averſe to harſh inſtruction. About this time, Dr Samuel Clarke publiſhed his excellent diſcourſe on the *Being and Attributes of God*. His proof from our neceſſary ideas of ſpace and duration not convincing Mr Grove, he wrote to the doctor for information and ſatisfaction upon that head. This occaſioned their exchanging ſeveral letters on theſe abſtruſe ſubjects; and after ſome time, not being able to convince each other, the debate was dropped, with expreſſions of great mutual eſteem. The next offering of note which Mr Grove made the public, was ſeveral papers in the eighth volume of the Spectators, viz. No.

(*d*) Spectator, Vol. VIII. No. 635.

(*e*) Sermons and Tracts, in four volumes.

For beauty, variety and grandeur of deſcriptions, as well as true ſublime in ſentiments, he thought our countryman Milton greatly preferable; and though he allowed Homer the praiſe of a very great genius, he thought the Iliad would no more bear a compariſon with Paradiſe Loſt, than the pagan ſcheme of theology with the Chriſtian.

No. 588, 601, 626, and 635. Their finding a place in that celebrated work is ſufficient proof of their worth. By theſe papers Mr Grove ſhewed himſelf well acquainted with the lovely and generous affections of the human ſoul, as well as it's ſurprizing dignity and large capacities for happineſs, which he has repreſented in a manner fit to inſpire his readers with a ſtrong concern to act a part anſwerably generous and noble. The laſt of theſe papers was re-publiſhed by the direction of the Right Reverend Dr Gibſon biſhop of London, in an excellent treatiſe, entitled, *The Evidences of the Chriſtian Religion*, by Joſeph Addiſon, Eſq; 12mo 1731 *(f)*. In 1718, Mr Grove publiſhed his *Eſſay towards a Demonſtration of the Soul's Immateriality*. Mr Grove's continual application weakened a conſtitution naturally tender, ſubjected him to frequent head-aches, and ſcarce a ſpring paſſed without a fever. In the year 1718, a fever brought his life into extreme danger, but it pleaſed God to recover him; upon which occaſion he compoſed the noble ode ſince printed, and juſtly admired for the eaſy harmony of the numbers, and the exalted piety of the ſentiments. Amidſt his various engagements as a tutor and miniſter, Mr Grove did not neglect any of the virtues of a private Chriſtian, but was a moſt amiable example of all. Having been a good ſon, he naturally proceeded to be a good huſband, father, maſter, and friend. He had a large ſtock of natural benevolence, which cheriſhed and improved by Reaſon and Chriſtianity, led him to diſcharge every ſocial duty in the beſt manner; and he was an example of the character he ſo well deſcribes in the Spectator, No. 601. 'Perſons conſcious of their own integrity, ſatisfied with themſelves and with 'their condition, and full of confidence in a Supreme Being, and the hope of immortali-'ty; ſurvey all about them with a flow of good-will. As trees that like their ſoil, they 'ſhoot out in expreſſions of kindneſs, and bend beneath their precious load to the hand of 'the gatherer.' Though his family was growing, and his income as a tutor and a miniſter inſufficient to ſupport it without breaking in on his paternal eſtate, yet he knew not how to refuſe any call of charity, and was bountiful far beyond his fortune. And though his uncommon merit, and the reputation it had gained him, would have given him a fair proſpect of making his fortune in the Church, would he have conformed to the eſtabliſhment, yet he could never turn his thoughts that way: the further he carried his enquiries in religion, the greater reaſon he thought appeared to him for diſliking various doctrines and practices, which had the ſanction of the civil authority; and no worldly intereſt could ever tempt him to ſubſcribe articles, or uſe expreſſions or practices in religion, which he did not inwardly approve: he valued the peace and approbation of his own mind, an unreſtrained liberty to purſue truth, and profeſs and practiſe religion in (what he thought) it's genuine ſimplicity, before all the wealth and grandeur of life; at the ſame time thinking and ſpeaking with great candour and charity of thoſe who could reconcile their judgments to the public forms. The principles on which he founded his conſtant ſelf-enjoyment, and the rules he purſued to improve the goods of life, and brighten the darker occurrences of it, cannot be better repreſented, than he has done them in a letter to a particular friend; for a copy of which the reader cannot but think himſelf obliged *(g)* [C]. Though Mr Grove's great modeſty and love of retirement kept him pretty much out of the way of public notice, yet his uncommon worth would not ſuffer him to be concealed. When he preached occaſionally in ſome of the more conſiderable congregations, he did not fail of gaining numbers of admirers, and had ſeveral invitations to places of note, as Exeter, &c. which he declined, in a great meaſure through his ſtrong affection

(f) Preface to the Poſthumous Works, p. 29.

(g) Ibid.

[C] *For a copy of which, the reader cannot but think himſelf obliged.*] 'It will not, ſays he, be altogether 'out of character, if I write down a few reflections on 'the art of improving human life, ſo as to paſs it in 'peace and tranquillity, and make it yield the nobleſt 'pleaſures it is capable of affording us. The firſt rule, 'and in a manner comprehenſive of all the reſt, is al-'ways to conſider human life in it's connection, as a 'ſtate of tryal, with an everlaſting exiſtence. How 'does this ſingle thought at once raiſe and ſink the 'value of every thing under the ſun? ſink it as part of 'our worldly portion; raiſe it as a means and oppor-'tunity of promoting the glory of the great author of 'all good, and the happineſs, preſent and future, of 'our fellow creatures as well as our own? ——In 'the next place, we are to lay down this for a certain 'maxim, and conſtantly attend to it, that our happi-'neſs muſt ariſe from our own temper and actions, not 'immediately from any external circumſtances. Theſe, 'at beſt, are only conſiderable, as they ſupply a larger 'field to the exerciſe of our virtue, and more leiſure 'for the improvements and entertainments of the mind: 'whereas, the chief delights of a reaſonable being, 'muſt reſult from it's own operations, and reflections 'upon them as conſonant to it's nature, and the order 'it holds in the univerſe. How do I feel myſelf with-'in? am I in my natural ſtate? do I put my faculties 'to their right uſe?——

'To require leſs from others, than is commonly 'done, in order to be pleaſed, and to be more ſtudious 'to pleaſe them, not from a meanneſs of ſpirit, not 'from artful views, but from an unaffected benevo-'lence, is another rule of greater importance than is 'eaſily imagined; and more effectually reaches all that 'is aimed at by ſelf-love, without deſigning it.—— 'To this add, that though we ſhould be impartial, yet 'not ſevere in the judgment we paſs, and the demands 'we make upon ourſelves; watchful againſt the infir-'mities and errors too incident to human nature, but 'not ſuppoſing that we ſhall be entirely free from 'them, nor afflicting ourſelves beyond meaſure to find 'that we are not. Such an over-ſtrained ſeverity 'breaks the force of the mind, and hinders it's pro-'greſs towards perfection.——In the choice of con-'ditions, or making any ſteps in life, 'tis a dictate of 'wiſdom to prefer reality to appearance, and to follow 'Providence as our guide.——To be more indiffe-'rent to life, and all things in it, which the leſs we 'value, the more we ſhall enjoy.——And laſtly, 'to conſider that the happineſs of the preſent ſtate 'conſiſts more in repoſe than pleaſure; and in thoſe 'pleaſures that are pure and calm (which are likewiſe 'the moſt laſting) rather than in thoſe which violently 'agitate the paſſions. Happy are we, when our plea-'ſures flow from the regularity of our paſſions, an 'even courſe of piety and goodneſs, an humble confi-'dence in the mercy of God, and from the hope of 'immortality! not to be contented without a perpetual 'ſucceſſion of other pleaſures beſides theſe, is the way 'never to know contentment.'

[D] *From*

affection to quiet, liberty, and independence; and from his desire to pursue and enjoy, with the least interruption possible, the pleasures of truth, goodness, and devotion [*D*]. Mr Grove's aversion to engage in those angry disputes, which about the year 1719 unhappily divided the Dissenters, was another reason that made him more fond of his retirement. His moderate conduct drew on him the censures and displeasure of some, as if he were indifferent to the truths of the gospel; but they could not prevail on him to alter it, or bring him to believe that the wrath of man could ever work the righteousness of God; or that interposing the authority and decision of fallible man was a proper way of ending controversies of faith, and establishing divine truths. The reasons for this moderate conduct he hath given more largely in his *Essay on the Terms of Christian Communion* [*E*]. No one was better qualified to handle devotional disputes than Mr Grove; his discourse on secret prayer, published since in 1723, at the request of several ministers of note in London, is a proof how well he could treat such subjects, with a warmth free from enthusiasm, and an exactness of judgment without coldness. He added to the second edition two discourses; one upon the rational grounds of prayer, and the other on the qualifications necessary to render it accepted; in which, by arguments brought down to common understandings, he establishes the wisdom and advantage of prayer, in a manner not to be overturned by the most subtile enemy to devotion. In the beginning of the year 1725 he lost his partner in the academy, the Reverend Mr James, with whom he lived in perfect harmony, and to whose character he did justice, in a sermon published on occasion of his death. Mr Grove was now obliged to take the students in divinity under his direction. The duties of this post he discharged with the greatest ease, having made all his other studies center in this one great point, the establishing and illustrating the principal truths and duties of religion; and giving in his preaching a pattern of the best manner of recommending these. He confined himself to no system in divinity, directing his pupils to the best writers on natural and revealed religion; and an impartial examination of the chief controversies therein. He likewise succeeded Mr James in his pastoral charge at Fulwood near Taunton, and engaged his nephew to undertake the other parts of Mr James's work as a tutor. Mr Grove continued at Fulwood 'till his death. He had several invitations from London and other parts during this period, but nothing could prevail on him to quit his settlement. In 1728, he published, at the request of an assembly of ministers, the *Friendly Monitor*; in which he discovered the great delicacy of his moral discernment, and pointed out with great judgment some of the principal errors and imperfections in the conduct of Christians, by which they lessen both their own reputation and that of their religion. In the same year, in a sermon preached and published on occasion of the death of a young lady of great merit, he considered the fear of death as a natural passion, both with respect to the grounds of it, and the remedies against it. He treated the subject in so masterly a manner, that a person of considerable rank in the learned world declared, that after reading it, he could have laid down and died with as much readiness and satisfaction as he had ever done any action of his life (*b*). In 1730 he published the *Evidence of our Saviour's Resurrection considered*, with the improvement of this important doctrine. A late Lord Chief-Baron expressed

(*b*) Preface, p. 44.

[*D*] *From his desire to enjoy the pleasures of truth, goodness, and devotion.*] Mr Grove's temper and taste of life was much like Cowley's; the spirit of whose essays he much admired, and would often repeat, with a peculiar emphasis, those lines of his:

> The wise example of the heavenly lark,
> Thy fellow-poet, Cowley, mark.
> Above the clouds let thy proud music sound,
> Thy humble nest build on the ground.

How much there is in such a turn of mind, we may learn from some observations of one of the best judges of human excellence (*z*). 'I have been inclined to 'think, says he, that there are greater men who lie 'concealed among the species, than those who come 'out and draw upon themselves the eyes and admira'tion of mankind.——If we suppose there are spirits 'or angels, who look into the ways of men, how dif'ferent are the notions which they entertain of us, 'from those which we are apt to form of one another? 'we are dazzled with the splendor of titles, the often'tation of learning, the noise of victories; they, on 'the contrary, see the philosopher in the cottage, who 'possesses his soul in patience and thankfulness, under 'the pressures of what little souls call poverty and di'stress. They do not look for great men at the head 'of armies, or among the pomp of a court; but often 'find them out in shades and solitudes, in the private 'walks and by-path's of life. The evenings walk of a 'wise man is more illustrious in their sight, than the 'march of a General at the head of an hundred thou'sand men. A contemplation of God's works; a vo'luntary act of justice to our own detriment; tears that 'are shed in silence for the misery of others; a private 'desire or resentment broken or subdued; in short, an 'unfeigned exercise of humility, or any other virtue; 'are such actions as are glorious in their sight; and de'nominate men great and reputable. The most famous 'among us are often looked upon with pity, with con'tempt, or with indignation; while those who are 'most obscure among their own species are regarded 'with love, with approbation, and esteem.'

(*z*) Mr Addison, Spectator, Vol. VIII. No. 610.

[*E*] *The reasons for this moderate conduct he hat given, &c.*] Mr Grove has likewise in a sermon of his, on the blessedness of the peace-maker, thus described his own temper and conduct. 'He is not for 'widening of differences, nor representing the diffe'rences in opinion, or in other things, greater than 'really they are; would bring Christians as near to'gether as he can, and perswade them to be of one 'heart at least, if they cannot be of one mind; which 'in this state of doubt and imperfection, is hardly to 'be expected, If his judgment were to be followed, 'all things should continue in the Christian Church as 'the head of it has left them, indifferent things in a 'state of indifference; things disputable, or of less im'portance, to be freely disputed, and never imposed. 'He always acts upon this principle, that liberty and 'charity, in religious disputes, do at once most effec'tually secure the peace of the Church, and we may 'add, the genuine truths of the gospel, and tend to the 'advancement of the power and practice of true godli'ness.'

expreſſed a high value for this performance, as having not only placed the arguments uſually urged, in a very advantageous light, but offered ſeveral thoughts entirely new, as well as of great ſtrength.—The ſame year he publiſhed *Some Thoughts concerning the Proof of a Future State from Reaſon*, in anſwer to the Reverend Mr Hallet, junior, who in his great zeal for the Chriſtian Revelation, and to make it appear abſolutely neceſſary, had endeavoured to weaken the arguments from reaſon for a future ſtate. Mr Hallet replied to this anſwer; and Mr Grove, though very averſe to controverſy, yet this being with him a favourite ſubject, and, as he apprehended, of the laſt importance, to vindicate the moral government of God, determined to review the debate; in which Mr Grove had, beſides the introduction, finiſhed one chapter of the *Weight of Tradition concerning a Future State*, in a manner to make it juſtly regretted that his other avocations firſt, and his death afterwards, prevented his compleating the deſign,. Clamours having been raiſed by divines, more zealous than judicious, againſt ſome paſſages in which Mr Grove had repreſented the uſefulneſs of reaſon in religion; to ſatisfy them if poſſible, that reaſon, of which they were ſo much afraid, was in reality the beſt friend to the goſpel, he publiſhed, in 1732, without his name, *Some Queries offered to the Conſideration of thoſe who think it an Injury to Religion to ſhew the Reaſonableneſs of it*; in which he has ſaid enough to ſatisfy thoſe who think coolly and impartially, and ſilence thoſe who will not. His diſcourſes on *Saving Faith*, on the *Reſurrection of Chriſt*, the *Lord's Supper*, and the *Perfection of the Chriſtian Religion*, not to name others, are a ſufficient proof, that a man may be a friend to Reaſon, yet worthily eſteem Chriſtianity, and be zealous for natural religion, without being indifferent to revealed. In the ſame year he printed a diſcourſe *Concerning the Nature and Deſign of the Lord's Supper*, and treated the ſubject with a plainneſs that makes it inſtructive to common underſtandings, and a judiciouſneſs which will make it approved by all thoſe who are deſirous to obſerve this inſtitution in it's original ſimplicity, and as a means of making them better; not as an imagined equivalent for the want of real holineſs, and an uniform obedience to the Goſpel. In the ſecond edition, he added ſome *Devotional Exerciſes relating to the Lord's Supper*, in which are as much warmth and light united, as are to be found together in any compoſitions of this kind. In 1734 Mr Grove publiſhed, without his name, *Wiſdom, the firſt Spring of Action in the Deity*; in which he endeavours to demonſtrate, that the moral perfections of the Deity, as well as moral virtue and goodneſs in man, are founded in the unalterable relations of things, and the eſſential fitneſs or unfitneſs of actions and diſpoſitions ariſing from hence. This treatiſe, the writer of Mr Grove's life is informed, has been pronounced by a prelate of the moſt diſtinguiſhed merit, and who, if named, would be allowed to be one of the beſt judges of writings of this kind, a maſterly performance, and inferior to none which this age has produced on this argument. And Mr Balguy, whoſe excellent writings on this ſubject muſt give great weight to his approbation, even where he differs from Mr Grove, ſays, the diſcourſe abounds in ſolid remarks and ſound reaſonings. In 1736, Mr Grove publiſhed a *Diſcourſe on Saving Faith*, in which he has not only with great clearneſs repreſented the ſcripture notion of it, and reſcued it from enthuſiaſtical or contradictory interpretations; but, which is entirely new, ſhewn the reaſons why the writers of the New Teſtament often ſpeak of Faith as a great part of religion, and ſometimes as in a manner the whole of it. This treatiſe has alſo had the honour of being particularly approved by the excellent prelate juſt mentioned. About this time Mr Grove met with an affliction, which gave him an opportunity of ſhewing the ſtrength of his Chriſtian patience and pious reſignation; this was no leſs than the death of his wife; from which time he ſeemed to apprehend his own was not far off; for he wrote on the ſermon he preached after her death, *O may I prepare to follow!* And in that ſermon he has ſeveral reflections which ſeemed deſigned to reconcile himſelf to the expectation of a ſpeedy departure out of the body, and his friends to their loſs in his death. And in a little more than a year after this, Providence called him to the tryal; for, having preached on ſunday February 19, 1737-8, and both in his prayers and ſermons had an uncommon flow of ſpirits, which he ſaid he could hardly govern, and which, attended with a pain in his head, made him apprehend an approaching fever; he was violently ſeized at night, and the fever increaſing, in ſpight of all means uſed to abate it, or bring it to an intermiſſion, he died the ninth day, February 27, about ſeven in the morning. This diſorder in a great degree affecting his head, unfitted him for thinking or ſpeaking much, yet left him the uſe of his reaſon 'till the day before he died, and in a capacity of concluding life as he had always lived, with a modeſt greatneſs, and a ſerene compoſure of mind. It is not eaſy to expreſs the concern which the apprehenſion of his death occaſioned in London amongſt his friends, as well as in the country. There was a great deal of beauty and juſtneſs in what one of his hearers ſaid after his death, ſpeaking of the general grief and concern his illneſs excited. 'Our 'ſorrow for Mr Grove's ſickneſs was not like our concern for other friends when dying, 'whom we pity and lament; but a ſorrow ariſing as from the apprehenſion of the re'moval of one of the higher order of beings, who had condeſcended to live on earth 'for a while to teach us the way to Heaven, and was now about to return to his native 'place.' And it may with ſtrict truth be ſaid, that few of his ſituation in life lived more entirely eſteemed and beloved, or died more regretted. His friends erected an handſome monument

monument near his grave, on which is a latin inſcription, compoſed by the very learned Profeſſor of Rhetoric at Greſham-college, who obliges the public alſo with the Engliſh verſion of it; both which ſee in the note [F]. And the generous ſubſcription to his poſthumous works is a proof what rank he bore, not only in the eſteem of the principal gentlemen and miniſters in the diſſenting intereſt, but of ſome of the beſt judges of merit in the eſtabliſhed Church [G]. Mr Grove had thirteen children by his wife, five of whom ſurvived him; the death of ſeveral of them, on account of the ſenſibility of his temper, and the prevalency of the ſofter affections in his conſtitution, gave him opportunities for manifeſting great degrees of a pious reſignation to God. He deſcribes the working of his own heart on theſe occaſions, in the ſermon entitled, *The Mourning Parent*, in the firſt volume of his poſthumous works, which was compoſed upon the death of a very promiſing child. Beſides what may be learnt of Mr Grove's character from the preceding account, all who knew him will agree, that he had a judgment in an uncommon degree, quick and ſolid, together with what does not often attend it, an imagination ſtrong and beautiful,

[F] *Both which ſee in the note F.*

H. S. E.
HENRICUS GROVIUS
Optimorum parentum proles optima
Patrem enim ex antiqua Groviorum familia Wiltunenſi
Matrem ex Roviorum in agro Devonienſi haud minus vetuſta
Ortos pietate et Beneficentia inſignes habuit
Utriuſque Virtutum Filius Hæres
Bonarum Literarum Studiis tam ſedulo ſe applicuit
Ut anno Ætatis viceſimo tertio in frequenti Theologorum Coetu
Ad Juventutem liberalibus Diſciplinis inſtituendam
Omnium ſuffragiis Eligeretur
Ad quod munus animus etiam ingenuus morumque ſuavitas
Natura illum finxiſſe videbantur
Neque ſpem eventus fefellit
Annos enim amplius triginta haud minore ſua Laude
Quam bono publico in eo verſatus
Mentes juveniles omnigena pariter virtute
Ac optimis artibus excolere ſtudioſe laboravit
Paſtoris interim officio fungens
Pari Fedelitate Gregi ſuo invigilavit
Eaque quibus ſalus humana præcipue afficitur
Tam in Concionibus quam Scriptis inculcans
Nihil ad Gratiam aut partium ſtudio dicere ſuſtinuit
Simplex autem veriquè Studioſiſſimus
Pietatem in Deum in Homines Charitatem
Cupiditatem Moderationem et ſumma Religionis capita
Omnium approbationi commendavit
Ea ingenii Felicitate uſus eſt
Ut in quodcunque argumentum ſeſe convertit
Acute cogitare ſubtiliter diſtinguere graviter judicare
Senſaque animi facile exponere poſſet
Tam modeſte autem de ſe ſenſit
Ut nemini quod in alia *effet* ſententia *Litem moveret*
Sorte ſua licet modica contentus fuit
Aliorum rebus lautioribus haud invidens nec cupiens
Tot tantiſque Virtutibus ornatus
Omnibus ſibi notis Amatus vixit obiit defleſtus
III. Cal. Martii Anno Domini MDCCXXXVII.
Ætatis ſuæ 55.

In *Engliſh.*

Here lieth
HENRY GROVE.
A worthy ſon of worthy parents
For his father deſcended from the antient family of the Groves in Wiltſhire
And his mother from the Rowes in Devonſhire. A family no leſs antient
And were both eminent for their piety and beneficence
The ſon who inherited their virtues
Applied himſelf ſo diligently to his ſtudies
That in the twenty-third year of his age he was unanimouſly choſen
By a large aſſembly of divines
To inſtruct youth in the liberal ſciences
For which province his ingenuous temper and ingaging behaviour
Seemed naturally to have formed him
Nor were their hopes diſappointed by the event
For being *employed in that ſtation upwards of thirty* years
With no leſs reputation to himſelf than the benefit of the public
He *carefully* endeavoured to cultivate the minds of his pupils
As well with every virtue as *with the beſt* arts
At the ſame time being *ingaged in the paſtoral office*
He watched *over his flock* with equal fidelity
And both in his ſermons and writings
Inculcating thoſe things which are of the greateſt concern to mankind
Advanced nothing from party views or affection
But with plainneſs and a zeal for truth
Recommended to every one's conſcience
Piety towards God charity towards men and ſelf-government
As the chief doctrines of religion
His mind was ſo happily framed
That to whatever ſubject he applied himſelf
He could think juſtly, diſtinguiſh clearly, judge ſolidly,
And expreſs his ſentiments with eaſe.
But he had ſo modeſt an opinion of himſelf
That he would contend with no one for differing from him
He was contented with his circumſtances though but moderate
Neither envying nor deſiring the greater affluence of others
Adorned with ſo many and great virtues
He was beloved while living and died lamented by all who knew him
On the 27th of February 1737
And the 55th of his age.

[G] *And the generous ſubſcription to his poſthumous works is a proof what rank he bore, &c.*] The poſthumous works of Mr Grove are extant in four volumes in octavo, publiſhed in 1740, from the author's manuſcript. They conſiſt of ſermons and tracts, and the life and character of the author, by Mr Thomas Amory; and the names of near ſeven hundred ſubſcribers of all ranks.

Beſides the ſeveral works of Mr Grove, mentioned in his life, he likewiſe publiſhed a great many ſermons upon ſeveral occaſions, and on variety of ſubjects, and ſome charges delivered by him upon particular occaſions; and alſo a volume of miſcellanies in proſe and verſe.

tiful, yet always under government. He was thus qualified not only to think clearly and juſtly, but to repreſent truth and virtue in a moſt engaging light, and to be a good judge in works of imagination and polite literature, as well as of reaſon and argument; and in theſe latter his genius improved by continual exerciſe and ſtudy, and preſerved uncorrupt by a prevailing love of truth and goodneſs, gave him a right to be ranked amongſt the moſt diſcerning. His moral ſenſe was delicate; his piety as modeſt and unaffected as it was warm and elevated: his benevolence was warm, active, and conſtant; and he was perfectly free from all artifice and diſſimulation. He could converſe with the great without meanneſs, with a reſpectful freedom and an eaſy complaiſance; was obliging in his behaviour to all, and enlivened converſation with a good-natured wit, and enriched it by a ſuperior knowledge of books and men. His taſte for the nobler pleaſures of knowledge, devotion, and goodneſs, made it very eaſy for him to obſerve the ſtricteſt rules of temperance with regard to bodily pleaſures, as his firm faith in the Divine Providence made it eaſy to deſpiſe the wealth and ſhew of the world. How much Mr Grove ſtudied the Scriptures, and how much he valued them, appears from the ſhare they have in his compoſitions. They make a part of his ſtyle, and are not quoted injudiciouſly, and merely by the ſound, but according to their genuine conſiſtent meaning; which he eſtimated by an agreement with the evident principles of natural religion, and the rules of a ſound criticiſm. He had taken great pains on ſome of the moſt difficult parts of Scripture, particularly the Epiſtles to the Romans and Epheſians; and his expoſitions on theſe, had he given them the laſt hand, would have well deſerved the public notice, containing many important obſervations, proper to ſet the Apoſtle's reaſoning throughout in a clear and conſiſtent light. His great knowledge of human nature and human life, qualified him to reach the heart with a peculiar efficacy, in all thoſe diſcourſes where there was room for thoſe ſubjects to enter; and there were few wherein ſomething of them might not properly appear. He made it the great aim of his preaching not to inſpire his hearers with a fondneſs for party notions, but with a love of God and of mankind; with a noble indifference to the intereſts and pleaſures of life. The diſtinguiſhing excellency which runs through his compoſures, is not merely the clearneſs of his thought and expreſſion, and the juſtneſs of his reaſoning; but his every where repreſenting religion in a rational and amiable view, and animating all with a warmth delivered from a ſublime devotion. As for popularity and ſtriking the paſſions, though few were better qualified for this than Mr Grove, yet he would never addreſs the paſſions 'till he had convinced the judgment, nor aim to raiſe the paſſions higher than the ſobereſt reaſon would approve. The contrary practice he thought very miſchievous in religion, leading men to place the main of it, not in ſubſtantial goodneſs, but in a ſudden heat raiſed they ſcarce knew how or why, and vaniſhing without any laſting beneficial effects on the temper or conduct. As a tutor, he was for free philoſophy, as well as for a Scripture Creed. As much as he admired Locke and Newton, he implicitly ſubmitted his underſtanding to neither, but was ſolely determined by the evidence they offered:

Nullius addictus jurare in verba magiſtri.

His great concern with his pupils, was to inſpire and cheriſh in them a prevailing love of truth, virtue, liberty, and genuine religion, without violent attachments or prejudices in favour of any party of Chriſtians; and his reputation on this account, as well as on account of his uncommon abilities, learning, and probity, was ſo great, that ſeveral gentlemen of the eſtabliſhment choſe to place their ſons under his care; and the many perſons of diſtinguiſhed merit in the learned profeſſions, but chiefly in divinity, who were formed under him, will be a laſting proof of his great abilities and fidelity as a tutor, and give the friends to knowledge and goodneſs reaſon to regret, that a man of ſuch eminent abilities, and ſo heartily engaged in ſerving the preſent, as well as the future immortal happineſs of mankind, was removed from among us in the midſt of his days and uſefulneſs (*i*). H

(*i*) Preface to his Poſthumous Works.

GUNTER [EDMUND], an excellent Mathematician, a learned writer, and Profeſſor of Aſtronomy in Greſham-college in the ſeventeenth century. He was the ſon of a gentleman of good fortune in Hertfordſhire, and a native of that county, though deſcended from a family of ſome antiquity, ſeated at Gunter's town in the county of Brecknock in South-Wales (*a*). He was born in 1581, and received the firſt part of his education at Weſtminſter-ſchool; from which royal foundation, when he was about the age of eighteen, he was elected to Chriſt-Church-college in Oxford (*b*). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in that univerſity, December 12, 1603 (*c*); as he did that of Maſter, July 2, 1606 (*d*). As he applied very early to the ſtudy of the mathematics, ſo about this time he invented and explained in Latin, thoſe curious and uſeful lines laid down by him upon that admirable inſtrument the SECTOR, which was about this time made according to his directions, though the large Engliſh deſcription thereof, in three books, was not compoſed or

(*a*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 271.

(*b*) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 77.

(*c*) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 165.

(*d*) Idem ibid. col. 174.

*

or publiſhed 'till many years after (e) [A]. He entered into Holy Orders, and took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, November 23, 1615 (f): but it is not true, tho' poſitively aſſerted by Mr Wood, that he was at this time Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Greſham-college, or that he became ſo upon the demiſe of the learned Edward Brerewood, who was the firſt perſon elected into that office (g); though Mr Wood's miſtake may well be excuſed, ſince this was aſſerted as a fact by a very grave and great man (h), through a ſlip of his memory, by whoſe authority the Oxford Antiquary might be eaſily miſled [B]. The real ſtate of the caſe was this, Mr Brerewood was ſucceeded in his Profeſſorſhip by Thomas Williams, Maſter of Arts of Chriſt-Church-college in Oxford, who was the ſon of John Williams of London, Mercer, formerly ſervant to Sir Thomas Greſham; and our author was elected into his place, March 6, 1619, two days after Mr Williams's reſignation (i). A few months after he was ſettled at Greſham-college, he gave the public an authentic teſtimony of the wiſe choice made by his electors, by ſending abroad his CANON TRIANGULORUM, which was the firſt book of it's kind, and which, if he had publiſhed nothing elſe, might alone have preſerved his memory to lateſt poſterity, as it was an admirable help to ſuch as were ſtudious in that ſcience, and as ſuch is gratefully commemorated and highly commended by ſeveral of the moſt eminent Mathematicians who were his contemporaries (k) [C]. But his acute and active genius led him

(e) Poſtſcript to Mr Gunter's Deſcription of the Sector.

(f) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 271.

(g) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 391, 508. Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 271.

(h) Oughtred's Apologetical Epiſtle to the Engliſh Gentry againſt Mr R. Delamain.

(i) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 76, 77.

(k) Burton's Anatomy of Melancholly, p. 265; Mr Henry Bond's Advertiſement at the cloſe of Norwood's Epitome of Navigation.

[A] *Till many years after.*] The reader will obſerve, that we do not in the text attribute abſolutely the invention of the Sector to Mr Gunter, becauſe there is reaſon to believe, that an inſtrument of that name, though different in it's conſtruction from his, had been in uſe before, as may appear from the following paſſage, in a work written by one of his ſucceſſors (1), upon his improving this very inſtrument of our author's. 'Amongſt the many writers, ſays he, that have been 'upon the Sector, Mr Gunter hath done beſt, the lines 'of his inſtrument being moſt in number, and of the 'moſt formal contrivance, and moſt largely commented upon.' The ſame may be likewiſe collected, and moſt of the facts delivered on this head, confirmed from Mr Gunter's concluſion to the reader, at the end of his treatiſe on the Sector, dated Greſham college, May the firſt, 1623, and conceived in the following terms (2). 'It is well known to many of you, that 'this Sector was thus contrived, the moſt part of this 'book written in Latin, many copies tranſcribed and 'diſperſed, more than ſixteen years ſince. I am at the 'laſt contented to give way that it come forth in En'gliſh. Not that I think it worthy either of my la'bour or the public view, but partly to ſatisfy their 'importunity, who not underſtanding the Latin, yet 'were at the charge to buy the inſtrument, and partly 'for my own eaſe: for as it is painful for others to 'tranſcribe my copy, ſo it is troubleſome for me to 'give ſatisfaction herein to all that deſire it. If I find 'this to give you content, it ſhall encourage me to do 'the like for my Croſſe-ſtaffe, and ſome other inſtru'ments. In the mean time bear with the Printer's 'faults, and ſo I reſt.' It is worthy of notice, that in ſpeaking of the inſtrument he deſcribed, he calls it *this ſector*, by which one may fairly ſuppoſe he meant to diſtinguiſh it from any thing of the like ſort. We have no certainty what became of his original Latin treatiſe, or whether it was ever printed. His Engliſh treatiſe bore this ſhort and modeſt title.

Deſcription of the Sector, *in* three *books*, Lond. 1624, 4to. It was afterwards joined to his deſcription of the Croſſe-ſtaffe; and after his deceaſe, the fourth edition of it was diligently corrected by Mr Henry Bond, and with the addition of the Sector altered, by Mr Samuel Foſter, publiſhed in 1661; and a fifth time, with the reſt of our author's works, by Mr William Leybourn, who has likewiſe made ſome alterations, and from theſe the Sectors now in uſe differ conſiderably. The French from it's uſes, inſtead of the Sector, call it the compaſs of proportion, and have ſeveral uſeful treatiſes upon it in their own language.

(1) Foſter's Sector improved, p. i.

(2) Gunter's Works, p. 154.

[B] *Might be eaſily miſled.*] The famous Mr William Oughtred, in a ſmall piece of his publiſhed ſeven years after our author's death, has this paſſage (3). 'In the ſpring, 1618, I being at London, went to ſee 'my honoured friend Maſter Henry Briggs at Greſham-'college, who then brought me acquainted with Ma'ſter Gunter, lately choſen aſtronomy reader there, 'and was at that time in Dr Brooks his chamber, with 'whom falling into ſpeech about his quadrant, I 'ſhewed him my horizontal inſtrument. He viewed it 'very heedfully, and queſtioned about the projecture 'and uſe thereof, often ſaying theſe words, *It is a very 'good one.* And not long after he delivered to maſter Briggs, to be ſent to me, mine own inſtrument 'printed off from one cut in braſs, which afterwards I 'underſtood he preſented to the Right Honourable the 'Earl of Bridgewater. And in his book of the Sector, 'printed ſix years after, among other projections, ſet'teth down this; herein ingenuous, that he did not 'challenge it to himſelf as our challenger doth, but 'not ingenuouſly enough acknowledging from whom 'he had it. But ſuch is the providence of God, I 'kept that very letter of Maſter Briggs, wherein he ſent 'me that print from Maſter Gunter, dated from Gre'ſham-college, June 2d, 1618, and the poſtſcript, 'June 4th, and which came to my hands June the '10th. In which letter are theſe words, *Maſter* Gun'ter *doth here ſend you the print of a horizontal diall 'of his drawing after your inſtrument.* This very let'ter hath been left by me in the hands of Elias Allen, 'above theſe two years, to be ſeen of any one that 'will require it.' In reſpect to the time, it is very plain that Mr Oughtred might be right in his facts, though certainly wrong in the circumſtances of Mr Gunter's being then Aſtronomy-Profeſſor, into which he might be eaſily drawn by the company in which he found him, and his coming afterwards into that office. Mr Wood taking it therefore for certain, that he was Profeſſor in 1618, concluded from thence that he muſt have ſucceeded Mr Brerewood, whereas Mr Williams came in between them (4). In reſpect to the horizontal dial, this reverend perſon had certainly no reaſon to complain of Mr Gunter at all, who, if he had ever intended to have laid claim to that invention, would never have furniſhed two ſuch evidences againſt himſelf as the print and Mr Briggs's letter. The former ſent by him, and the latter written at his requeſt. What he delivers in his book of the Sector, is incidentally only, having before ſhewn how the ſame thing might be done another way; but in the ſame work he has ſpoken ſo plainly of other perſons from whom he borrowed, that it is very hard to imagine he had any ſiniſter view in not mentioning Mr Oughtred, who lived a very retired life, and affected ſuch a degree of privacy, that it is very probable Mr Gunter was unwilling to mention him for fear of offending him. Be that as it will, the beſt evidence that learned perſon had to produce againſt his adverſary, was this paſſage in Mr Gunter's book, and this letter from Mr Briggs, as he tacitly admits, by leaving it in the hands of his publiſher. It is indeed evident enough from all Mr Gunter's writings, that his principal aim was to be uſeful to the public, and that he was very far from being ambitious or jealous of reputation, a circumſtance that does him great honour, ſince a deſire to do good is a much more elevated virtue than the thirſt of fame, which however, ſo long as it is kept within due bounds, ought not to be eſteemed a vice.

(3) Oughtred's Letter Apologetical, p. 21.

(4) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 391, 508.

[C] *Who were his contemporaries.*] The title of this book in the firſt edition runs thus:

Canon Triangulorum, five, *Tabulæ ſinuum artificialium ad radium* 10,0000000 *& ad ſcrupula prima quadrantis.* Lond. 1620, 8vo. This was dedicated to his moſt honoured Lord John Earl of Bridgewater, Viſcount Brackley, &c. but in the ſecond edition, the title runs thus:

him continually to freſh purſuits, in which his quick penetration and very great ſagacity gave him aſtoniſhing ſucceſs. For he it was, that in the very ſame year made that important diſcovery in magnetiſm, which has ſince exerciſed the underſtandings of ſome of the ableſt Philoſophers and Mathematicians in all nations, viz. *That the variation of the* magnetic needle *varies* (*l*); and though this, as we have in another place obſerved, has been aſcribed by Dr Wallis to Mr Gellibrand, as it alſo was by Dr Hook to Mr Foſter, yet it was really due to our author, as will be fully ſhewn in the notes [*D*]. He alſo invented that famous RULE *of* PROPORTION which ſtill bears his name, and which, not long after he made it public, was carried over to France by his friend Edmund Wingate, Eſq; who wrote a treatiſe to explain the uſes of it in French, as our author himſelf alſo did in Engliſh (*m*), with that plainneſs and perſpicuity which were his peculiar talents, and of which he ſeems to have had a juſt eſteem, as appears from the anſwer he made Mr Wingate, when preſſed by him to write upon it ſtill more fully; *it is not to be expected that the* rule *ſhould ſpeak* (*n*); intimating that ſomething was to be left to the diſcretion and induſtry of thoſe who uſed it. By the help of this admirable contrivance, ſuch things as before appeared ſo dark and abſtruſe, as to diſcourage people of ordinary capacities from attempting them, became ſo eaſy and practicable, as to invite even the common ſort to theſe ſtudies, which were of wonderful utility in the ordinary employments of life, and in perfecting mechanic arts; which was a thing of prodigious conſequence, and which was entirely owing

(*l*) Gellibrand's Diſcourſe Mathematical on the Variation.

(*m*) The Croſſe-ſtaffe, lib. i. c. 6.

(*n*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 207.

Canon Triangulorum, *or table of artificial Sines and Tangents to a Radius of* 10,0000000 parts *to each minute of the Quadrant. By* Edm. Gunter, *Profeſſor of Aſtronomy in* Greſham-college, Lond. 1624, 4to.

In this edition, the logarithms were continued from 1000 to 10000, and a rule given at the end for augmenting them to 100,000. How careful he was to avoid all ſuſpicion of aſſuming to himſelf the credit of other men's labours, and how modeſtly he ſpeaks of his own, appears from the following account of the uſe of his canon (5). 'This canon, ſays he, hath like 'uſe as the tables of right ſines and tangents ſet forth 'by others, but the practice ſomewhat more eaſy. For 'keeping to their rules and working by theſe tables, 'you may uſe addition inſtead of their multiplication, 'and ſubtraction inſtead of their diviſion: and ſo reſolve all ſpherical triangles without the help of ſecants 'or verſed-ſines. The like may be done for the ſolution of right lined triangles, by the help of the logarithms of my old collegue and worthy friend Mr 'Henry Briggs (10000 whereof follow). For both 'proceed from the ſame ground, and ſo require the 'ſame manner of work, as I often ſhew in my public 'lectures in Greſham-college. Where I reſt a friend 'to all that are ſtudious of mathematical practice.' But his right to this improvement of logarithms in their application to ſpherical triangles, is largely and clearly aſſerted by Edmund Wingate, Eſq (6); by Mr Burton (7), by Mr Henry Bond, ſenior (8), who was himſelf an eminent mathematician, and never queſtioned by any.

(5) Prefixed to the table of Logarithms in Gunter's Works.

(6) Preface to the Conſtruction and Uſe of Logarithmical Tables.

(7) Anatomy of Melancholly, p. 285.

(8) Advertiſement at the cloſe of Norwood's Epitome of Navigation.

To this work of his, Mr Gunter prefixed a large diſcourſe concerning the general uſe of the canon and table of logarithms, written with admirable plainneſs, and calculated, as all his other performances were, to leſſen the difficulties in learning, and to excite a ſpirit of induſtry in proſecuting mathematical knowledge, by demonſtrating it's extenſive utility, and by what ſhort and eaſy methods thoſe ſpeculations which had coſt him ſuch infinite pains and labour, might be rendered uſeful in the hands of others.

[*D*] *As will be fully ſhewn in the notes.*] The very learned Dr Wallis, in a letter to Sir Hans Sloane, dated Oxford, September the 30th, 1701, ſhews a very great zeal in vindicating Engliſh inventions and diſcoveries, and diſcourſing on that head, has the following paſſage (9). 'I think it is now agreed on all 'hands, that what we call the Variation of the Variation, is an Engliſh diſcovery of Mr Gellibrand, if I 'miſtake not, one of Sir Thomas Greſham's profeſſors 'at Greſham-college, about the year 1635.' In another letter directed to Captain Edmund Halley, dated Oxford, May 23d, 1702, he proſecutes this matter ſtill farther, 'The doctrine of the magnet, ſays he, 'hath been moſtly improved at Greſham-college, or 'by thoſe related thereunto, and there converſant for 'an age or two laſt paſt; as Blagrave, Gunter, Gelli'brand, Gilbert, Norwood, Wright, Briggs, Foſter, '&c. and of late by yourſelf. If I have miſtaken 'ſome names, or miſplaced them, or omitted others, 'you will be able to rectify it. I have given ſome 'intimation of it, but very imperfectly, in a letter of 'mine inſerted in the Tranſactions for the month of 'December 1701, where beſide divers literal faults, 'they have unhappily miſ-printed 1635, inſtead of '1625.' Dr Robert Hooke, in treating of this ſubject, in one diſcourſe of his, ſays (10), 'Later ob- (10) Ibid. No. CCLXXVIII.
'ſervations have found that this magnetical variation 'varies, though the parts of the earth do not ſeem at 'all to have altered their poſition; this was found by 'Mr Foſter and others, in the year 1635.' In a lecture read at Greſham-college, July the 7th, 1686, he treats this matter expreſsly and at large, and delivers himſelf thus (11). 'It was ſuppoſed, ſays he, that va- (11) Hook's Poſthumous Works, p. 482, 483.
'riations would be found always regular and the ſame, 'in the ſame place at all times, as proceeding from 'the greater attraction from the parts of the earth, 'which were prominent and elevated, and which were 'not likely to be altered by time, at leaſt, not enough 'to make a ſenſible variation of the variation. This 'was Dr Gilbert's, but in proceſs of time this was by 'Mr Gellibrand of this college and ſome others found 'to alter, and there was found a variation of the variation of the magnetic needle in the ſame place, and 'that not verified in one, but in thouſands of places. 'This overthrew all the former hypotheſes, and we are 'now to ſeek a new one; Mr Bond and Mr Philips, 'and ſome others, have been hammering at a new hypotheſis, wherein they make the magnetic virtue to 'be in the air, and ſo the magnetic poles to be moveable in circles round about the poles of the æquinoc'tial, and the magnetic axis of the earth, to have a 'conical motion about the axis of the diurnal revolution: which conical motion they ſuppoſe to be per'formed in a certain number of years; ſo that at 'length the polar points of the magnetic virtue, after 'they have revolved a periodick circle, return from 'the ſame point from which they did begin.' But as Mr Ward very candidly obſerves (12), if this diſcovery (12) Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 80. See Mr Petit's curious letter to Mr Oldenburgh in Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. XXVII. p. 530.
thereſore was owing to one of Sir Thomas Greſham's profeſſors, and made ſo early as 1625, it muſt be attributed to Mr Gunter, and not to Mr Gellibrand, who did not come from Oxford to Greſham-college, till the latter end of the year following, upon Mr Gunter's death. The truth of the matter ſeems to be, that our author has a clear right to this diſcovery, for theſe reaſons: I. His experiment at Deptford, was in 1622, while Mr Gellibrand was at Oxford, and ſoon after he began to apply himſelf to the mathematicks, ſo that in point of time, it is the earlieſt of which we have any good account. II. The variation obſerved, was within two minutes of five degrees, which made it very remarkable, and removed all ſuſpicion of it's proceeding from any accident or error in obſervation, and therefore could not fail of exciting the attention of ſo able a mathematician. III. Mr Gellibrand himſelf acknowledges, that it was Mr Gunter's obſervation that induced him to make another at the ſame place, that is at Deptford, in 1634, and finding then a variation of above two degrees in twelve years, it put him upon writing his diſcourſe on that important ſubject.

(9) Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. CCLXXVI. p. 1036.

[*E*] Of

owing to the quickneſs of his invention, and to that wonderful facility he had of communicating his conceptions to others (o) [E]. Our author likewiſe drew the lines on the dials in Whitehall-garden, and wrote the deſcription and uſe of them by the direction of Prince Charles, in a ſmall tract which he afterwards printed by order of his Majeſty King James, in the year 1624 (p). The dials were placed, as he deſcribes them, on a ſtone, which, at the baſe, was a ſquare of ſomewhat more than four feet and an half, the height three feet and three quarters, and unwrought contained above eighty feet, or five ton of ſtone. Five dials were deſcribed on the upper part, one on each of the four corners, and a fifth in the middle, which was the chief of all, the great horizontal concave. Beſides the dials at the top, there were others on each of the ſides, eaſt, weſt, north, and ſouth. But for the ſeveral lines drawn upon theſe dials, and the uſes of them, I muſt refer to the book itſelf (q). There was, as he tells us, a ſtone of the ſame ſize and form, with the like planes and concaves, and dials on them, in that place before; but the lines on his dials were much different, excepting thoſe which ſhewed the hour of the day. This ſtone remained to our times, and was removed not many years ago; but the dials were in a great meaſure defaced by the drunken frolics of a nobleman in the reign of King Charles the Second (r), from whence our author's book, by the ſole aſſiſtance of which they may be at any time and in any place reſtored, is become ſo much the more valuable [F]. To him alſo we are indebted for the invention of a ſmall portable quadrant, and ſeveral other inſtruments, which were ſucceſſively made the ſubjects of his lectures at Greſham-college, and afterwards diſpoſed into treatiſes, and printed in his works (s) [G]. There is

(o) See the authors before cited, and all the Epitome's and other Treatiſes on Navigation.

(p) See this point explained in note [F].

(q) Deſcription and uſe of his Majeſty's Dials in Whitehall-garden, 4to.

(r) Ward's Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 80.

(s) See Gunter's Works, 1662, 4to.

[E] *Of communicating his conceptions to others.*] When we ſpeak only of the *Line* of *Numbers*, it is commonly called *Gunter's Line*, and with very great propriety, ſince he firſt thought of this eaſy and excellent method of combining Arithmetic and Geometry, and this not in a matter of ſpeculation, but in a manner adapted to practice, and which very far tranſcended whatever had been done upon any mathematical rulers before; but when we ſpeak of *Gunter's Scale*, it takes in all the other lines laid down and fitted to the line of numbers, all which are admirably explained by our author himſelf, in that book of his which we ſhall preſently mention. His title to this invention, than which there hardly ever was one of ſo general uſe, is confeſſed by Mr Oughtred, in as clear terms as could be expected (13). 'With regard to the circles of proportion, he confeſſes that he had not ſo good a claim againſt all men, as for his horizontal inſtrument, tho' againſt Mr Delamain he had. The honour of the invention, ſays he, next to the Lord of Merchiſton, and our Maſter Briggs, belongeth (if I have not been wrongly informed) to Maſter Gunter, who expoſed their numbers upon a ſtreight line, which being once done, was there any ſuch maſtery to bring the ſame line about a circle? and what doth this new inſtrument (call it the circles of proportion, or call it the ring, or what other name you liſt) ought elſe, but only bowe and inflect Maſter Gunter's line or ruler.' This is candid and clear, and as his circles of proportion, ſo Brown's ſpiral, and all the tribe of ſliding rulers flow from hence. It is not intended by any thing here ſaid, to prejudice the inventions or improvements of other men, for that would be a barbarous and invidious taſk; but to ſhew the excellence of Mr Gunter's capacity, and to vindicate his title as the parent of inſtrumental arithmetic, and whatever depends upon it.

(13) Oughtred's Letter Apologetical, p. 22.

[F] *Is become ſo much the more valuable.*] The title of our author's book runs at large thus:

The deſcription and uſe of his Majeſty's Dials *in* Whitehall *Garden*, Lond 1624, 4to.

In reſpect to theſe dials, however, there is a great miſtake in Dr Wallis's letter before cited, to Captain Halley (14). 'It was, ſays he, about the beginning of the reign of King Charles the Firſt, that Mr Gellibrand (if I have not been miſ informed) cauſed the great concave dial to be erected in the Privy-Garden at Whitehall, (which I think is yet remaining) with great care to fix a true meridian line, and with a large magnetic needle, ſhewing it's variation from that meridian from time to time. I think it were not amiſs if exact obſervation were now made, whether the meridian be now juſt the ſame as it was then. For it is very poſſible that the pole of the earth may in time ſuffer ſome little variation, which may not readily be diſcerned, which may cauſe an alteration of the meridian line. And this, if ſo, will be more diſcernible nearer the pole than farther off. And tho' ſuch proviſion as was now ſayd, were made at Whitehall, for obſerving the needle's variation from the true North; and though no doubt notice have been given many times (there and elſewhere) what the variation hath been at ſuch times: yet I doubt no regiſter hath been kept of ſuch obſervations, whence we might form a ſcheme how ſuch variations do proceed from time to time.' We may very eaſily pardon this miſtake, though in juſtice to our author, we could not avoid taking notice of it, when we conſider the honeſt deſign of the doctor, which was to excite a deſire of preſerving the memory of paſt improvements as neceſſary helps towards increaſing the ſtock of true ſcience in times to come; his generous zeal for the honour of his country, founded upon the true baſis of the worthy deeds of it's inhabitants; and what not only atones for theſe ſmall imperfections, but ſhould teach us to admire him, he inforces his petitions, by obſerving that he was then eighty-ſix; that it was probably his laſt requeſt, and that he made it for the public and not for himſelf. But after all, there were once in the ſame place ſome other dials equally curious and extraordinary, made by one Francis Hall, alias Line, an Engliſh Jeſuit, erected on a ſtone pedeſtal in the year 1669. Theſe dials were placed in ſix ranks one above another, in form of a pyramid. But as the ſurface of them was all of glaſs and expoſed to the weather, they ſoon decayed for want of a cover. The contriver publiſhed a deſcription of them a few years after they were ſet up (15), at which time they were, as he complains, much damaged.

(14) Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. CCLXXVIII. p. 1107, 1108.

[G] *And afterwards diſpoſed into treatiſes, and printed in his works.*] The ſhorteſt method of anſwering the intention of this note, is to give the reader the title at large of the only treatiſe of our author, which has not been hitherto mentioned.

The Croſſe-Staffe, *in three* books; *the* firſt, *containing it's deſcription and the uſe thereof in taking of* heights *and* diſtances; *the* ſecond, *contains the uſe of the* lines *thereon in the meaſuring of all manner of* ſuperficies *and* ſolids, *as board, glaſs, land, timber, ſtone, and gauging of veſſels, as alſo in the famous art of navigation*; *the* third, *contains the uſe of the* lines *of* numbers, *ſines and tangents in* dialling, *and an excellent and compendious treatiſe, fully teaching, and amply explaining, the grounds and reaſons thereof, from a projection of the* ſphere *in plano*. To which is added an appendix, *containing the deſcription and uſe of a ſmall* portable quadrant, *for the more eaſy finding the* hour *and* azimuth, *and other* ſolar *concluſions of more frequent uſe. By* Edmund Gunter, London, 1624, 4to.

All his works collected together were printed in quarto, carefully corrected by Mr Henry Bond, and the fourth edition of them appeared in 1662, with the addition of two new inventions, and tracts deſcribing them, by Samuel Foſter, as we have mentioned elſewhere; the fifth edition was publiſhed by William Leybourn, who was the printer of the former edition, and the editor and corrector of this, in which he inſerted, as he ſays, divers neceſſary things and matters through the whole work; but, as Mr Ward judiciouſly obſerves, it

(15) An Explication of the Dial ſet up in the King's garden at London, anno 1669, in which very many ſorts of dials are contained, by which, beſides the hours of all kinds diverſly expreſſed, many things alſo belonging to Geography, Aſtrology, and Aſtronomy, are by the ſun's ſhadow made viſible to the eye; amongſt which very many dials, eſpecially the moſt curious, are new inventions, hitherto divulged by none: all theſe particulars are ſhortly yet clearly ſet forth for the common good, by the Reverend Father Francis Hall, otherwiſe Line, of the Society of Jeſus, Profeſſor of Mathematics. Printed at large by Guiſlm Hene ry Street, in the year of our Lord 1673. Superiorum Permiſſu. 4to. p. 60.

is no reaſon to doubt, conſidering the many great things he performed in ſo ſhort a time, that the public would have reaped ſtill greater advantages from the fertility of his genius, and that laudable diſpoſition to communicate his diſcoveries, if he had lived to an advanced age; but he was removed from his life and labours, December 10, 1626, in the forty-fifth year of his age, at his apartment in Greſham-college (*t*). He was buried in the pariſh of St Peter le Poor in Broadſtreet, without any monument or inſcription, as the judicious and accurate Mr Ward obſerves; the want of which, however, will be the leſs regretted, ſince the publication of his excellent work (*u*).

(*t*) Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 271.

(*u*) Lives of Greſham Profeſſors, p. 81.

it is to be wiſhed he had ſo printed them, that they might have been diſtinguiſhed from what belongs to his author. This laſt edition was alſo printed at London in 1673, in quarto; for though we ſometimes meet with books which bear in their title the ſixth edition 1680, yet that title is all that is new in them, as the inquiſitive reader will eaſily perceive. E

H.

HACKET [JOHN], Biſhop of Lichfield and Coventry in the XVIIth century, was born in the Strand near Exeter-houſe, within the pariſh of St Martin's in the fields and liberty of Weſtminſter, September 1, 1592 (*a*). His father Andrew Hacket, deſcended from an antient family of that name at Putferin *in* Scotland (*b*), was then a Senior Burgeſs of Weſtminſter, and afterwards of the Robes to *Prince Henry* [*A*]. When very young, he was admitted into Weſtminſter-ſchool, where he became known to Dr Lancelot Andrews, Dean of the collegiate church there; who, in the neceſſary abſence of the maſter, coming ſometimes into the ſchool to teach the boys, took notice of this young ſcholar for his great diligence, modeſty, pregnancy of parts, and ſtrong inclination to learning and virtue, which he afterwards conſtantly cheriſhed both at the ſchool and univerſity. In 1608, he was elected, with Mr George Herbert the pious poet, into Trinity-college in Cambridge [*B*]; where he was ſoon taken notice of, not only for his parts and learning, but alſo for his ſobriety and great integrity. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1612, and was choſen Fellow of his college as ſoon as capable according to the Statutes (*c*). In 1615 he commenced Maſter of Arts (*d*), and grew into ſuch credit, that he had many pupils, and of many of the beſt families in England. One month in the long vacation, retiring with his pupil, afterwards Lord Byron, into Nottinghamſhire, he there compoſed a Latin comedy intituled Loyola, which was twice acted before King James the Firſt (*e*), and printed in 1648 (*f*). At his return to college, he applied himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of Divinity; and, in December 1618, received Holy Orders from Dr J. King Biſhop of London, who expreſſed a ſingular affection and kindneſs for him upon all occaſions: as did alſo Biſhop Andrews, from whom he oftentimes received preſents of money to buy books. But, above all others, he was taken notice of by Dr John Williams, Dean of Weſtminſter and Biſhop of Lincoln: for he being appointed Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal in 1621, choſe Mr Hacket for his chaplain, and ever loved and eſteemed him above the reſt of his chaplains. In 1623 he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity; and the ſame year was made chaplain in ordinary to King James the Firſt [*C*], and collated December 20 to the prebend of Aileſbury in Lincoln-cathedral

(*a*) Account of the Life and Death of Biſhop Hacket, prefixed to his Century of Sermons, by T. Plume, D. D. Lond. 1675. fol. p. 3.

(*b*) Ibid. A. Wood's Athen. edit. 1721, Vol II col. 1147.

(*c*) Account, &c. by Plume, p. 5, 6. Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 1148.

(*d*) From the Univerſity Regiſter. He was incorporated Maſter of Arts at Oxford, July 9, 1616. Wood's Faſti, Vol. I. col. 202.

(*e*) Account, &c. p. 6.

(*f*) London, 8vo. Wood's Faſti, Vol. I. col. 202.

[*A*] *Was then a ſenior burgeſs of Weſtminſter, and afterwards of the Robes to Prince Henry.*] His father and mother were both true Proteſtants, and great lovers of the Church of England, conſtant repairers to the divine prayers and ſervice thereof; and would often bewail to their young ſon after the coming in of their countrymen with King James, the ſeed of Fanaticiſm then laid in the ſcandalous neglect of the publick liturgy, which all Q. Elizabeth's time was exceedingly frequented, the people then reſorting as devoutly to prayers, as they would afterwards to hear any famous preacher about the town (1).

(1) Account, &c. by Plume, as above, p. 3.

[*B*] *In* 1608, *he was elected, with Mr George Herbert the pious poet, into Trinity-college in Cambridge.*] When his father (though unacquainted) ſpoke in his behalf to Dr Nevil, Maſter of Trinity-college; the Doctor preſently bid him ſpare further ſpeaking to any one; 'For that boy ſhould go to Cambridge, or he 'would carry him upon his own back.' And his maſter, Mr Ireland, ſaid, at parting, to him and George Herbert. That he expected to have credit by them two at the Univerſity, or would never hope for it afterwards by any while he lived (2).

(2) Ibid. p. 5.

[*C*] *And chaplain in ordinary to K. James I.*] He preached in his courſe before his Majeſty; particularly once upon the *Gowries Conſpiracy*, for which a Thankſgiving was continued all that King's reign on Auguſt the 5th. And though ſome people have denied the treaſon, 'Yet (ſays Dr Plume) our good biſhop was 'aſſured, that the moſt religious Biſhop Andrews once 'fell down upon his knees before King James, and be-'ſought his Majeſty to ſpare his cuſtomary pains upon 'that day, that he might not mock God unleſs the 'thing were true:' the King replied, 'Thoſe people 'were much to blame who would never believe a trea-'ſon unleſs their Prince were actually murdered: but 'did aſſure him in the faith of a Chriſtian, and upon 'the word of a King, their treaſonable attempt againſt 'him was too true (3).'

(3) Account, &c. as above, p. 8.

dral (g). The year following, upon the Lord-Keeper's recommendation, he was preſented to the rectory of St Andrew's Holbourn by his Majeſty, in whoſe diſpoſal that living was, by reaſon of the minority of Thomas Earl of Southampton. His patron procured him alſo, the ſame year, the rectory of Cheam in Surrey [D], fallen likewiſe into the King's gift by the promotion of Dr Senhouſe to the biſhopric of Carliſle. In 1625, he was named by the King himſelf to attend an embaſſador into Germany: yet, upon ſecond thoughts, he was diſſwaded from the journey, by reaſon, that being the author of the comedy of Loyola abovementioned, which ſeverely reflected upon the Jeſuits, he was told, he would never be able to go ſafe though in an embaſſador's train. In 1628 he commenced Doctor in Divinity. At his return to Holbourn his fame increaſed exceedingly; for, by indefatigable ſtudy, conſtant preaching, and wiſe government, he reduced that great pariſh to a perfect and regular conformity (b); and, by his charity and exemplary piety and converſation, endeared himſelf to all (i). In the year 1631, his patron Dr Williams, Biſhop of Lincoln, conſtituted him Archdeacon of Bedford, to which he was collated October 4 (k) [E]. His church of St Andrew's being very old and decayed, he undertook to rebuild it [F]; and, for that purpoſe, obtained very large ſubſcriptions from the nobility and gentry, and from many other of his well-affected pariſhioners. About the year 1639 he had got together many thouſand pounds, in ſtock and in ſubſcriptions; but, upon the breaking out of the civil wars, the Parliament ſeized them, as well as what had been gathered for the repair of St Paul's cathedral. In March 1641, he was one of the ſub-committee appointed by the Houſe of Lords, to conſult of what was amiſs and wanted correction in the Liturgy [G], in hopes by that means to diſpel the cloud then hanging over the Church. Whilſt the bill for taking away deans and chapters was depending in the Houſe of Commons, ſeveral members of that Houſe being friends to the Hierarchy, moved, that no man's freehold might be taken away in Parliament, without hearing them ſpeak for themſelves: whereupon, the whole committee abovementioned, deſired Dr Hacket forthwith to depart to his own houſe, and meet them again the next morning, prepared to ſpeak as the Advocate of the Church of England in the behalf of deans and chapters. Accordingly he made a ſpeech the day following [H], which had a very

(g) Survey of the Cathedral of Lincoln, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. II. p. 134.

(b) Account &c. p. 6—10.

(i) Ib. p. 13, 14.

(k) Ibid. Br. Willis, ubi ſupra, p. 125.

[D] *His patron procured him alſo, the ſame year, the rectory of Cheam in Surrey.*] Telling him, that he intended him Holbourn for wealth, and Cheam for health. Theſe two livings, being within a ſmall diſtance of ten miles, he held till the troubles came, and though he was a great lover of reſidence, and would ſay non-reſidence was never to be excuſed, but when utility to the Church, or neceſſity to the perſon for his real health or fitting ſtate, required it: yet he would often diſpute the neceſſity of a country living for a London miniſter to retire to in hot ſummer-time, out of the ſepulchral air of a church-yard. At Holbourn he generally reſided till the end of Trinity-term, and then retired to Cheam for health and privacy till Michaelmas-term (4).

(4) Ibid. p. 8, 9.

[E] *Dr Williams, biſhop of Lincoln, conſtituted him Archdeacon of Bedford, &c.*] In his charges to his clergy, he uſed to exhort them, to keep ſtrictly to the orders of the Church, to all regular conformity to the doctrine and diſcipline by law eſtabliſhed, without *under* or *over* doing; aſſerting in his opinion, that Puritaniſm lay on both ſides; whoſoever did more than the Church commanded, as well as leſs, were guilty of it. And that he only was a true ſon of the Church, that broke not the bounds of it either way (5).

(5) Account, &c. by Plume, p. 12.

[F] *He undertook to rebuild it.*] It muſt alſo be remembred, That in 1625, when there was a very great plague; upon complaint of the common-council-men of his pariſh, that *they* wanted room to bury *their* dead, he purchaſed for that end the new church-yard in Shoelane (6).

(6) Ibid. p. 15.

[G] *In May 1641, he was one of the ſub committee appointed by the Houſe of Lords, &c.*] That houſe ſettled (among many other committees) a committee for religion, conſiſting of ten Earls, ten Biſhops, and ten Barons: and, at the ſame time, appointed a ſub committee to prepare matters fit for their cognizance. The Biſhop of Lincoln was chairman in both, and was authorized to call together divers biſhops and other divines, to conſult about what was amiſs, and to ſettle peace. Of the ſub-committee, thoſe that appeared and conſulted together, were, beſides the chairman, Ja. Uſher Archbiſhop of Armagh, Tho. Morton biſhop of Durham, Joſ. Hall, then biſhop of Exeter; the Doctors, Sam. Ward, John Prideaux, Wi. Twiſſe, Rob. Sanderſon, Dan. Featly, Ralph Brounrigg, Ric. Holdſworth, Joh. Hacket, Corne. Burges; Mr John White, Steph. Marſhall, Edm. Calamy, and Tho. Hill. The place of their meeting was the Jeruſalem-chamber, in the Dean of Weſtminſter's houſe. And the points they conſulted upon, were, innovations in doctrine, and diſcipline; concerning the Common-prayer-book; the regulation of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, &c. The committee condeſcended, to print the liturgick pſalms of the laſt tranſlation, to expunge all apocryphal leſſons, and alter ſome paſſages in the body of the Common-prayer-book, and certain other things, which divers of the Preſbyterian divines ſaid were ſatisfactory. And when a furious party ſtill preſſed at conferences for further abatement of conformity, and the laws eſtabliſhed, J. White told them, time would come when they would wiſh they had been content with what was offered. Theſe conſultations were held on ſix ſeveral days, till the middle of May, when the bringing in the bill into the Houſe of Commons for taking away deans and chapters, defeated all theſe pacific ſchemes (7).

(7) Ibid. p. 16, 17. T. Fuller's Church-Hiſtory, book xi. p. 174, 175.

[H] *Accordingly, he made a ſpeech the day following.*] Which was the 12th of May. This ſpeech is publiſhed at length in the biſhop's life, by Dr Plume, from a copy found among his papers. Dr Hacket began with obſerving, that, 'The unexpectedneſs to be 'thus employed was joined with another diſadvantage, 'namely, the not having heard upon what crimes or 'offences of the deans and chapters, ſo great a patri-'mony as they enjoyed was called in queſtion, that 'they might purge themſelves of ſuch imputations; 'but only reports flying abroad had arrived to their 'ears.' That cathedral and collegiate churches with their chapters, were accounted by ſome to be of no uſe or convenience.——In anſwer to which, he ſhews the great uſe and convenience of them, 1. In the daily ſervice of public prayer. 2. In conſtant preaching. 3. For the advancement and encouragement of learning; our principal grammar-ſchools being maintained by the charity of thoſe churches; and the preferments there, an encouragement, as well as a reward and maintenance to the greateſt men in the kingdom. 4. That the deans and chapters are the council of the biſhops, to aſſiſt him in his juriſdiction. 5. That the firſt monuments of piety built in this kingdom, were cathedral churches.——Then he offers the following additional arguments. That multitudes of officers have their maintenance, and no other livelihood but by them, ſome one cathedral church having three hundred perſons and more depending upon it. That the tenants had proſpered better by holding leaſes from deans and chapters, than farmers elſewhere under other incorporations. That the cities, eſpecially thoſe that were not maritime, are very poor in trade, but very much in-riched

very good effect upon the House: so that, notwithstanding Dr Corn. Burges's reply, it was put to the question, and carried by a great majority, that the revenues of deans and chapters should not be taken away. Yet not long after, in the same session, after an unparliamentary manner, they put it to a second vote; and without a second hearing voted the contrary (*l*). The committee being thus at an end, private meetings were held at the Doctor's house by bishops and other eminent clergy, who wrote letters to all divines in England of learning and reputation, to exhort them to stand fast in the cause of the King and Church. They also desired the opinion of the most celebrated foreign divines upon the points in debate, which they freely communicated (*m*). March 28, 1642, he was presented by the King to a Prebend and Residentiary's place in the church of St Paul's London, vacant, and fallen into his Majesty's disposal by the promotion of Dr Thomas Winniff to the see of Lincoln (*n*). But the troubles coming on, he had no quiet enjoyment of it, nor of his rectory of St Andrew's [*I*]: and besides, some of his parishioners there having articled against him at the Committee of Plunderers, his friend Mr Selden told him, it was in vain to make defences, and advised him to retire to Cheam, where he would endeavour to keep him quiet. But he could not be long so; for the Earl of Essex's army marching that way, took him prisoner along with them: and he rejecting great offers made him by the Earl and others, if he would turn to their side, they dismissed him after a while. From that time he lay hid in his retirement at Cheam, where he constantly officiated [*K*], and did much good in the country, by keeping many gentlemen firm to the Protestant religion, who were much assaulted by lurking Romish Priests (*o*). In 1648-9, he attended, in his last moments, Henry Rich Earl of Holland, who was beheaded for attempting the relief of Colchester (*p*). At the restoration of King Charles the Second, Dr Hacket recovered all his preferments, and was offered the bishopric of Gloucester, which he refused: but he accepted shortly after of that of Lichfield and Coventry [*L*], and was consecrated December 22, 1661 (*q*), upon the same day that he had forty-three years before received his first orders (*r*). The spring following he repaired to Lichfield; where finding the beautiful cathedral almost ruined to the ground [*M*], he set up, in eight years, a compleat church again, better than ever it was before, at the expence of twenty thousand pounds, a thousand pounds of which he had from the dean and chapter, and the rest was of his own charge and procuring from benefactors. Being finished, he dedicated it anew with proper solemnity on the 24th of December, 1669, and feasted three companies for three days (*s*). He laid out also a thousand pounds upon a prebendal house, which he was forced to live in (his palaces at Lichfield and Eccleshall having been demolished during the civil wars), and thought to procure an Act of Parliament for annexing it to the see, but did not (*t*). And likewise he added to Trinity-college in Cambridge a peculiar building called Bishops-Hostel, which cost him twelve hundred pounds; ordering, that the rents of the chambers should be laid out in buying books for the college library (*u*). Besides these great acts of munificence, he left several benefactions by will [*N*]. Having arrived to a good old age of seventy-eight years, one month, and twenty-seven days, he died at Lichfield, October 28, 1670, and was buried in his cathedral, under

(*l*) Plume, p. 16—25. T. Fuller's Church-History, book xi. p. 174—179.

(*m*) Plume, p. 25, 26.

(*n*) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 1814.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 26, 27, 28.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 27.

(*q*) Reg. Juxon. Bp. Kenner's Chronicle, edit. 1728. p. 587.

(*r*) Plume, p. 30.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 31, 34, 35.

(*t*) Ibid. p. 35.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 48.

riched partly by the hospitality of the clergy, partly by great numbers of the inhabitants being chosen to be the officers of those churches, and partly by the frequent resort unto them. That this kingdom affording better livelihood to most degrees and ranks than the neighbouring kingdoms do; it is but reasonable, that the clergy should have a better maintenance than in the neighbour reformed Churches. And, finally, That the clergy paid greater sums to the Exchequer by first-fruits, tenths, and subsidies, according to the proportions enjoyed by them, than any other estates or corporations in the kingdom; besides finding horse and arms for the defence of the realm. He concludes with this epiphonema; Upon the ruins of the rewards of learning no structure can be raised up but ignorance; and upon the chaos of ignorance no structure can be built but profaneness and confusion (8).——T. Fuller hath inserted in his Church-history (9), the brief heads of this speech, copied (with the Doctor's leave) out of his own papers.

(8) Account, &c. by Plume, p. 28—25.

(9) Book xi. p. 177, &c.

[*I*] *Nor of his rectory of St Andrew's.*] One sunday while he was reading the common-prayer in this church, a soldier of the Earl of Essex came, and clapped a pistol to his breast, commanding him to read no further. The doctor smiled at his insolency in that sacred place, and not at all terrified, said, he would do what became a divine, and he might do what became a soldier; so the tumult for that time was quieted, and the doctor permitted to proceed (10).

(10) Plume, as above, p. 26.

[*K*] *Where he constantly officiated.*] He preached there every sunday morning, expounded the Church Catechism every afternoon, read the common-prayer all sundays and holidays, continued his wonted charity to all poor people, that resorted to it upon the week days, in money, besides other relief out of his kitchen, 'till the committee of Surrey enjoyned him to forbear the use of it by order of Parliament at any time, and his catechising out of it upon sunday in the afternoon. Yet, after this order, he ever still kept up the use of it in most parts, never omitting the Creed, Lord's-Prayer, and Ten Commandments, Confession and Absolution, and many other particular collects (11).

(11) Ibid.

[*L*] *But he accepted of that of Litchfield and Coventry.*] After it had been kept vacant about a year, to try whether R. Baxter would conform, and take it (12).

(12) Wood's Ath. Vol. II. col. 1147.

[*M*] *Where finding the beautiful cathedral almost ruined to the ground.*] For the stone-roof, the timber, lead, and iron, glass, stalls, organs, and utensils of rich value, were all embezelled. Two thousand great shot, and fifteen hundred granadoes, that had been discharged against it, had quite battered down the spire, and most of the fabrick. But the bishop, the very next morning after his arrival, set his own coach-horses on work, together with other teams, to carry away the rubbish; which being cleared, he procured the best workmen of all sorts: and, in eight years, as is said above, caused the whole roof from one end to the other to be all repaired with stone, 411 feet in length; to be all laid with good timber, given by K. Charles II; and all leaded throughly *. He also beautified the choir with comely stalls of exquisite workmanship; and set up an excellent organ, which cost above 600l. He had even contracted for six large bells, but lived only to have the tenor hanged, the rest being done by his executor (13).

* Plume, p. 31.

(13) Ibid. p. 52.

[*N*] *He left several benefactions by will.*] Among the rest, fifty pounds to Clare-hall; to St John's-college in Cambridge fifty pounds; and to the University-library, he bequeathed all his own books, which had cost him about 1500l (14).

(14) Ibid. p. 49.

[*O*] *Under*

under a handſome tomb [O], erected by his eldeſt ſon Sir Andrew Hacket, a Maſter in Chancery (w). By his firſt wife, which died in 1637, he had ſeveral children, as he had alſo by his ſecond wife; and by both lived to ſee thirty-two children and grandchildren (x). We ſhall give his character in the note [P]. He publiſhed only the comedy of Loyola abovementioned; and a ſermon preached before the King at Whitehall, March 22, 1660, on Acts xv. 39. Lond. But after his deceaſe, 'A Century of 'his Sermons upon ſeveral remarkable ſubjects, was publiſhed by Thomas Plume, D. D.' Lond. 1675, fol. And 'The Life of Archbiſhop Williams', written by him, was printed at London in 1693, fol. of which an excellent and improved abridgment was publiſhed in 1700, 8vo. by Ambroſe Phillips. His ſtyle is but indifferent, very diffuſe and verboſe, and full of ſcraps of Latin and new-coined words. He intended to have written the Life of King James the Firſt, and for that purpoſe the Lord-Keeper Williams had given him Mr Camden's manuſcript notes or annals of that King's reign, [which therefore our author did not ſteal, as Mr Wood invidiouſly ſuggeſts (y)], but having loſt many of his books and papers upon his ſequeſtration at Holbourn, he was diſabled from going through that undertaking (z).

(w) Ibid. p. 54, 55. Wood's Athen. ubi ſupra.

(x) Plume, p. 10.

(y) Athen. Vol. I. col. 484.

(z) Plume, p. 10.

[O] *Under a handſome tomb.*] Of which there is a repreſentation at the end of his life, prefixed to his Century of ſermons. That part of the epitaph thereon which includes his character, is in the following words:

Primævæ pietatis
Et ſummæ eloquentiæ præſulem,
Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ & fidei orthodoxæ
Aſſertorem ſtrenuum,
Concionatorem etiam ad ultimum aſſiduum,
Et
Superſtitionis Babylonicæ tam maturum hoſtem,
Ut penè in cunis ſtraverit Loyolitas;
Vitæ denique integritate, & innocentiâ,
Morum ſuavitate & candore,
Charitate erga pauperes eximiâ,
Et liberalitate erga ſuos inſignem typum, &c.

[P] *We ſhall give his character in the note.*] As to his perſon; he was ſmall and ſlender of ſtature, in all parts clean and well ſhaped, of a very ſerene and comely countenance, lively eyes, with an uncommon alacrity and ſweetneſs of aſpect: his conſtitution was rather delicate than ſtrong, yet through temperance and cuſtom, grown patient of long fitting and hard ſtudy. His voice was wonderfully ſweet and clear, and called by ſome the fineſt bell in the univerſity (15). In his behaviour, he was modeſt, humble, genteel, and civil; and though naturally irritable, and ſubject to great irruptions of anger, yet he was exceeding placable, and ready to be appeaſed; and too generous to be revengeful (16). He was extremely charitable; and when made a biſhop, no man was leſs greedy of gain: for he deſired to hold nothing in commendam; he renewed all his leaſes for years, and not for lives, and upon very moderate fines; and ſpent a very conſiderable ſhare thereof upon the repairs of his cathedral. His bounty ſometimes extended to perſons of a differing religion, with whom he held no Chriſtian communion but in this one thing of giving, and never looking to receive again (17). His dreſs was always plain, not moroſe or careleſs, but never coſtly (18). He was very hoſpitable, chearful and pleaſant at table, and free, communicative, and improving in his converſation (19). When young, he had a moſt lively and acute wit, which rendered him acceptable to all companies, but ever tempered with wiſdom and learning, that rendered him more acceptable to the beſt; and with it he had a prodigious and immortal memory, whereby he ever bore about him a conſtant chronicle of all occurrences, ſo that he was able to give a preſent account of whatſoever he had at any time read, heard, or ſeen (20): By a conſtant ſtudy he had ſearched into all kinds of learning, and particularly into Natural Hiſtory; but could never make himſelf maſter of the eaſtern languages. And indeed he often bewailed, that many good wits of late years proſecuted the eaſtern learning ſo much, as to neglect the weſtern learning and diſcretion too. And Mr Selden and Biſhop Creighton both affirmed to him, that they often read ten pages for one line of ſenſe, and one word of moment, and did confeſs there was no learning like to what ſcholars may find in Greek authors, as Plato, Plutarch, &c (21). He had taken great pains in the ſtudy of Antiquity; and in the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory was inferior to very few: but in the hiſtory of our own Church, there was nothing whereof he was ignorant (22). In his younger time he had been much addicted to ſchool-learning, then much uſed in the univerſity; but afterwards grew weary of it, and profeſſed he found more ſhadows and names than ſolid juice and ſubſtance in it; and would much diſlike their horrid and barbarous terms more proper for incantation than divinity (23) He was an enemy to all ſeparation from the Church of England, of whatſoever faction or ſect; and in all points a perfect Proteſtant according to the articles of the Church of England. But in the Predeſtinarian controverſy, he was of the ſame ſentiments as Biſhop Davenant and Dr Ward, under whom he was bred (24). He thought the increaſe of Popery ought to be ſtrictly watched, not only for the perniciouſneſs of it's tenets, as being in his opinion idolatrous and favouring of rebellion, but likewiſe for the cruelty and ſanguinary minds of Papiſts themſelves; for whereas Proteſtants expreſs a charitable reſpect towards the ſouls and bodies of Papiſts, abhorring all bloody perſecutions of them; on the other ſide *deſignant nos oculis ad mortem*; Papiſts ever bear bloody minds towards us, and want nothing but power and opportunity to make as many bonfires in England, as they had done formerly (25). He abounded not only with great learning, acute wit, excellent judgment and memory, but with an incomparable integrity, prudence, juſtice, piety, charity, conſtancy to God and to his friend in adverſity, and in his friendſhip was moſt induſtrious to fulfil it with good offices (26). His motto was, Serve God and be chearfull.

(15) Plume, ubi ſupra, p. 51.

(16) Ibid. p. 48.

(17) Ibid. p. 49.

(18) Ibid. p. 51.

(19) Ibid. p. 46.

(20) Ibid. p. 52.

(21) Ibid. p. 51.

(22) Ibid. p. 40.

(23) Ibid. p. 52.

(24) Ibid. p. 43.

(25) Ibid. p. 41, 42.

(26) Ibid. p. 52.

C

HADDON [WALTER], an excellent Orator and Poet, and a great reſtorer of the learned languages in England, in the XVIth century, was born of a knightly family in Buckinghamſhire, in the year 1516 (a) [A]. His education in Grammar-learning was at Eaton-ſchool, under Richard Cox, then maſter [B], afterwards Biſhop of Ely (b); by whom,

(a) J. Balei Scriptorum Brytanniæ Centuria IX. No. 87, p. 762. Fuller's Worthies in Buckinghamſhire, p. 221.

(b) See above, the article COX [RICHARD]. and Wood Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 204. & Faſti, ibid. col. 78.

Haddoni Lucubrat. edit 1567, 4to. p. 17, 33, 35.

[A] *In the year* 1516.] This is manifeſt from his age at the time of his death; as appears from his epitaph ſet down below. The Haddon family took their ſurname, either from Haddon in Derbyſhire, or Haddon in the counties of Northampton or Huntingdon: and were wont to write their name de Haddon. For we find John de Haddon, Prebendary of Welton-Beckhall, in the Church of Lincoln, from 1363 to 1372 (1).

[B] *His education in grammar-learning was at Eaton-ſchool, under Richard Cox, then maſter.*] This, Mr Strype poſitively affirms (2): and it is quite plain from ſeveral paſſages in Dr Haddon's works; where writing to Dr Cox, or ſpeaking of him, he calls him *præceptorem*

(1) Survey of the Cathedral of Lincoln, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. II. p. 255.

(2) Life of Archbiſhop Parker, edit. 1711, fol. p. 36b.

whom, very probably, he was not only grounded in polite literature, but alſo in the principles of the Proteſtant religion. In 1533, he was elected ſcholar (c), and ſoon after fellow, of King's-college in Cambridge; of which he became one of the greateſt ornaments, nay of the whole univerſity, in his time. For, being a moſt diligent and accurate reader of the beſt antient authors, particularly of Tully's works, he attained to a fine Ciceronian ſtyle [C], and was accounted one of the moſt elegant Latin writers among all his contemporaries (d). He ſtudied alſo the Civil Law (of which he took the degree of Doctor), and read public lectures in that faculty at Cambridge in 1547, and the two years following: which ſo endeared him to the univerſity, that upon a vacancy in the Profeſſor's chair, in 1550, they recommended him in the ſtrongeſt terms to King Edward the Sixth and his Council [D], as the propereſt perſon to fill that place (e). He was alſo for ſome time Profeſſor of Rhetoric, and Orator of the univerſity (f). During King Edward's reign, he was one of the brighteſt lights of the Reformation, in that noble ſeminary of learning wherein he was planted, and promoted it to the utmoſt of his power. Upon the deprivation of Biſhop Stephen Gardiner, he was conſtituted, in his room, Maſter of Trinity-hall, and ſerved the office of Vice-Chancellor in 1550 (g). Through the earneſt recommendation of the Court, though not qualified according to the ſtatutes, he was choſen, September 30, 1552, Preſident of Magdalen-college in Oxford; and incorporated, the ſecond of December following, Doctor of Laws in that univerſity. But he quitted his Preſident's place, October 30, 1553 (h), upon the death of King Edward the Sixth and acceſſion of Queen Mary, for fear of being expelled, or worſe uſed, at the time of Biſhop Gardiner's viſitation of the ſaid college. Some have ranked him among the Engliſh exiles in Queen Mary's days (i); but others have affirmed, with more probability, that he ſheltered himſelf in private during that reign (k, [E]. On the acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth to the throne, he was ordered by the Privy-Council to repair to her Majeſty at Hatfield in Hertfordſhire (l); and ſoon after was conſtituted by her one of the Maſters of the Court of Requeſts (m) [F] His good friend and intimate acquaintance, Dr Matthew Parker Archbiſhop of Canterbury, made him alſo Judge of his Prerogative Court (n). In the royal viſitation of the univerſity of Cambridge, performed in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, he was one of her Majeſty's commiſſioners, as appears by the ſpeech he then made, which is printed among his works (o). But, in the years 1565 and 1566,

(c) Wood's Faſti, ibid.

(d) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 422; and Life of M. Parker, p. 366.

(e) Vide Aſchami Epiſt. edit. Oxon. 1703. p. 299, 300.

(f) Vide Haddoni Lucubrationes, p. 1, 59, 64. and Strype's Life of Cheke, p. 78.

(g) T. Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 127.

(h) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib ii. p. 191. & Faſti ut ſupra, col. 78.

(i) Strype's Life of M. Parker, as above, p. 366.

(k) Wood's Faſti, ubi ſupra.

(l) Strype's Annals of the Reformation, Vol. I. edit. 1725, p. 6.

(m) Wood's Faſti.

(n) Strype's Life of M. Parker, p. 365.

(o) Lucubrat. p. 134. See Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſity of Cambridge, p. 135.

(3) Haddoni Lucubrat. p. 17, 33, 35, 17, 183, 184, 189, 190, 193.

(4) Ibid. p. 185.

(5) Ibid. p. 191.

(6) Ibid. p. 141.

(7) Lucubrationes, p. 117.

(8) Ibid. p. 150.

(9) Epiſt. p. 299, 300.

præceptorem meum (3), my maſter; *& excellentiſſime & ornatiſſime præceptor:* and himſelf, *alumnus diſciplinæ tuæ* (4), *& ego tuus diſcipulus* (5), i. e. his ſcholar —— As to his being educated at Eaton-ſchool, he acknowledges it in theſe elegant words, which are the beginning of an oration he made to the Eaton ſcholars. —— *Magnam locus admonitionis vim habet, ſuaviſſimi pueri. Nam hæc ipſa cernens, quondam mea, nunc veſtra ſtudiorum incunabula, communium memini veſtrarum literarum, & vos amo tenentes illum vitæ curſum, in quo vos ipſe ſum antegreſſus. Quales enim vos nunc eſtis tales nos olim pueri fuimus, & quales nos jam eſſe cernitis, tales vos dies efficiet* (6).

[C] *He attained to a fine Ciceronian ſtyle.*] So that his own words were applicable to him. *In omni vero dicendi ratione, nos & ſcribendi, Cicero expolit* (7), i. e. We learn from Cicero all the polite arts of ſpeaking and writing. And he recommends to Henry Brandon Duke of Suffolk, the continual reading of Cicero, in words, that ſhew, he himſelf was not inſenſible of the praiſes beſtowed upon him on account of his Ciceronian ſtyle. *Si continua Ciceronis lectione confirmabitur unus aut alter annus, talem nobis Suffolcienſem afferet, qualis nunquam Haddonus fuit, quem multitudo aliquid eſſe credit, nimirum ipſa quoniam parum intelligit* (8).

[D] *They recommended him in the ſtrongeſt terms to K. Edward VI and his Council.*] For that purpoſe they made uſe of the elegant pen of Roger Aſcham (9), whoſe recommendation to the King was in theſe words: *Princeps prudentiſſimus Henricus octavus pater tuus, Illuſtriſſime Rex, maximam & ſibi laudem, ad ſempiternam nominis memoriam: & huic Academiæ ſpem, ad ſingularem Doctrinæ cultum excitavit: cujus divino beneficio factum eſt, ut omnium linguarum & optimarum ſcientiarum optimi profeſſores, ampliſſimis ab eo donati præmiis, in hac Academia conſtituerentur. Inter hæc patris tui immortalia monumenta, munus profitendi juris civilis nunc vacuum eſt. Cujus ſcientiæ præclaram doctrinam, tanto ingenio, eruditione, & aſſiduitate, frequentiſſimo hominum concurſu Gualterus Haddonus hoc triennium apud nos tradidit, ut nihil prius, univerſi nos una voce a Majeſtate tua contendamus, quam ut hoc docendi munus huic doctiſſimo viro conferatur. Et talem virum Majeſtati tuæ commendamus, cujus unius ingenio, & illuſtri doctrina, univerſa hæc Academia commendatior exiſtit.*——Part of the recommendation to the Privy-Council was as follows.—— *Schola Juris Civilis nunc apud nos conticeſcit. Quæ cum hos aliquos præteritos annos, doctiſſima Gualteri Haddoni voce, ad illius immenſam laudem, ad Academiæ ſummam utilitatem, circumſonuit: lubentes quidem hoc tempore facimus, ut cujus divino ingenio, & ſingulari doctrina, univerſa hæc Academia mirifice illuſtrata eſt, is ipſe etiam, publica Academiæ voce, viciſſim ad hoc munus commendaretur. Quanquam non Haddoni cauſſam, ſed literarum cum præſentem ſalutem, tum poſteram ſpem agimus.*——The ſubſtance of which is, That K. Henry VIII. to his immortal praiſe, and the ſingular benefit of learning, having founded profeſſorſhips for all languages, and the beſt ſciences, in the univerſity of Cambridge; and the profeſſorſhip of civil law being then vacant, they unanimouſly and earneſtly beſought his Majeſty, to confer that office upon the moſt learned Dr Walter Haddon; who had, for three years before, read lectures in that ſcience, with great ingenuity, learning, and applauſe; to his own honour, and the advantage of the univerſity, &c.

[E] *Some have ranked him among the Engliſh exiles in Queen Mary's days, &c.*] Particularly the induſtrious Mr Strype *; grounding himſelf upon this paſſage of John Bradford the martyr's letter to the univerſity of Cambridge, in 1555, a little before his martyrdom, viz. 'Call to mind the threatnings of God, now 'ſomething ſeen by thy children, Lever and others. Let 'the exile of Lever, Pilkington, Grindal, Haddon, 'Horne, Scory, Ponet, &c. ſomething admoniſh thee.' But it appears from the Diſcourſe of the troubles at Franckford (10), that it was James Haddon, the doctor's brother (11), who was one of the exiles abroad, during Queen Mary's cruel and perſecuting reign.

* Life of M. Parker, p. 365, 366.

(10) Edit. 1575, 4to. p. 13, 16, 23.

(11) Vide Haddoni Lucubrationes inter Poemata, p. 100.

[F] *One of the Maſters of the Court of Requeſts.*] The Court of Requeſts was a court of equity of the ſame nature with the Court of Chancery, but inferior to it; and inſtituted principally for the relief of ſuch petitioners, as in conſcionable caſes addreſſed themſelves by requeſt, or ſupplication, to the King or Queen. Of this court, the Lord Privy-Seal was chief judge, aſſiſted by the two Maſters of Requeſts. It began firſt about the 9th of Henry VII. and was taken away by ſtatute 16 and 17 Caroli I. c. 10. Some have called it the Poor Man's Court, becauſe there he was to have juſtice without paying any money: [No wonder therefore it was ſuppreſſed!] otherwiſe the Court of Conſcience (12).

(12) See the Commonwealth of England, by Sir Tho. Smith, edit 1635, 12mo. p. 234.

1566, he was engaged in affairs of a more public nature. For he was one of the three Engliſh Agents (*p*) ſent to Bruges, for reſtoring the commerce between England and the Netherlands upon the antient terms (*q*) [*G*]. Some authors affirm that he was employed in ſeveral embaſſies (*r*), which ſeems to be a miſtake; for he doth not appear to have been employed in any other but that juſt now mentioned. He died January 21, 1571-2, in the 56th year of his age, and was buried the 25th of the ſame month, in Chriſt's Church in London; where a fair monument was erected to his memory [*H*], which was deſtroyed with that church by the great fire in the year 1666 (*s*). An account of his writings is given below in the note [*I*]. Throughout every part of them, his piety appears equal to his learning and politeneſs. The famous Leland celebrates him in his poems (*t*), as does alſo Biſhop Parkhurſt (*u*).

(*p*) The others were, the Lord Viſcount Montacute and Nicholas Wotton.

(*q*) Camden's Annales Elizabeth. ad annum 1564.

(*r*) Fuller's Worthies. Wood's Faſti, as above.

(*s*) Wood's Faſti, ubi ſupr. col. 78.

(*t*) Encomia, &c. edit. 1589, 4to. p. 102.

(*u*) Epigram. edit. 1573, 4to. p. 157.

[*G*] *For reſtoring commerce between England and the Netherlands, upon the ancient terms*] The cruelties of the Duke of Alva, and the perſecutions of Cardinal Granvell, together with the fears of the Inquiſition, had cauſed the Engliſh, about this time, to remove the mart from the Netherlands to Embden. But Diego Guſman de Sylva, then embaſſador in England, a wiſe man, and zealous for the intereſt of his maſter, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to reconcile all differences. For, as Mr Camden rightly obſerves (13), 'He we'l knew, 'how great gainers the Flemings were by their trade 'with England, ſince Lodowic Malanus Earl of Flan-'ders, about the year 1338, had allured the Engliſh, 'by the grant of very ample privileges, to ſettle the 'ſtaple of Engliſh wool at Bruges From that time, 'the reſort was ſo general of people of all nations 'into Flanders, to buy the Engliſh cloth, and 'other Engliſh goods, and to diſpoſe of their own; 'that 'tis incredible, what an advance it made in the 'merchants, and retale trade, and how much it im-'proved the fiſhery and ſhipping of the Nether-'lands. Inſomuch, that the Engliſh wool has proved 'to them a true Golden Fleece; to which the famous 'order of the Golden Fleece owes it's origin, and the 'Dukes of Burgundy their great riches.' The ſame learned author adds, that 'In this time, (as appeared 'by authentic accounts) the trade between England 'and the Netherlands amounted to above twelve mil-'lions of ducats of gold (14) per annum; and the En-'gliſh cloths yearly exported to Antwerp, (without 'reckoning the lead, tin, &c.) were valued at five 'millions of ducats of gold. D. Guſman therefore 'wrought ſo hard and ſo effectually, that the trade, 'which had been interrupted, was reſtored to it's 'former ſtate; and whatever ordinances had been 'made on both ſides to the contrary from Jan. 1. in 'the firſt year of Queen Elizabeth, were ſuſpended, 'till further orders from commiſſioners of both nations. 'But the year following (1565) when the Lord Viſ-'count Montacute, Nicolas Wotton, and Walter 'Haddon, deputies from England; Montigni, Aſſon-'ville, and Joachim Giles, commiſſioners for the 'Flemings, came to treat upon thoſe points at Bruges, 'the troubles in the Netherlands put a ſtop to the con-'ferences; after it had been agreed, that there ſhould 'be an open trade, 'till one prince denounced war a-'gainſt the other; and the merchants in that caſe to 'have forty days notice to diſpoſe of themſelves and 'their effects.'

(13) Annal. ad ann. 1564.

(14) XII millionaes aureorum.

[*H*] *Where a fair monument was erected to his memory.*] With this Epitaph, *S. Memoriæ Gualtero Haddono, Equeſtri loco nato, Juriſconſulto, Oratori, Poetæ celeberrimo, Græcæ Latinæque eloquntiæ ſui temporis facilè principi; ſapientia & ſanctitate vitæ, in id evecto, ut Reginæ Elizabethæ a ſupplicum libellis Magiſter eſſet: Deſtinareturque majoribus, niſi fato immaturius ceſſiſſet. Interim in omni gradu viro longe eminentiſſimo, conjugi ſuo optimo meritiſſimoque, Anna Suttona, uxor ejus 2 flens, mœrens, deſiderii ſui ſignum poſuit. Obiit anno Salut. hum.* 1572. *Ætatis* 56 (15). i. e. 'To the memory of Walter Haddon, born 'of a knightly family; a moſt famous lawyer, orator, 'and poet; and the greateſt maſter of the Greek and 'Latin eloquence in his time; raiſed by Queen Eliza-'beth, on account of his wiſdom and exemplary life, 'to the office of Maſter of Requeſts; and deſigned for 'higher employments had he not been ſnatched away 'by an untimely death, &c.'——His ſecond wife, Anne, daughter of Sir Henry Sutton, erected this monument, but the name of the firſt is not there mentioned; nor his iſſue. In one of his letters he mentions the death of his firſt wife, in 1566, in the moſt tender and affectionate words (16). Her name was Margaret, daughter of Sir John Clere of Ormeſby in Norfolk; by whom he had Clere Haddon his ſon and heir, born in 1553, who was afterwards drowned at Cambridge †.

(15) Stowe's Survey of London, with Strype's additions, edit. 1720. Vol. I. book iii. p. 136.

(16) Lucubr. p. 341.

† Extract of Heraldical Collections from the library of the late Sir Henry St George, by W. O'dys, Eſq; 4to. p. 18.

[*I*] *An account of his writings is given below in the note.*] I. He, and Sir John Cheke, rendered into elegant Latin, and were partly concerned in drawing up, that uſeful code of eccleſiaſtical law, publiſhed, in 1571, by the learned John Foxe, under this title, *Reformatio Legum Eccleſiaſticarum*, 4to. As appears by this paſſage in the editor's preface 'Summæ negotii præ-'fuit *Theo. Cranmerus*, Archiepiſc. Cant. Orationis lumen '& ſplendorem addidit *Gualterus Haddonus*, vir diſer-'tus, & in hac ipſa juris facultate non imperitus. 'Quin nec ſatis ſcio an *Joan. Checi* viri ſingularis eidem 'negotio adjutrix fuerit manus (17).' 'Tis pity that ſo neceſſary a work was not confirmed by parliament; but the lovers of the glorious uncertainties in the law have always oppoſed it: becauſe, as Biſhop Burnet obſerves, 'It was found more for the greatneſs of the Preroga-'tive, and the authority [and intereſt] of the civil 'courts, to keep that undetermined (18).' II. He publiſhed in 1563, a letter, or anſwer to an epiſtle directed to Queen Elizabeth, by Hierom Oſorio Biſhop of Silva in Portugal, and intituled *Admonitio ad Elizabetham Reginam Angliæ* (19). Wherein the Engliſh nation, and the reformation of the Church of England, were miſrepreſented, abuſed, and treated in a harſh and ſcurrilous manner. This anſwer of Dr Haddon is publiſhed among the reſt of his Lucubrations; and an abſtract of it is given in Engliſh, by the induſtrious Mr Strype, in his Annals of the Reformation (20). H. Oſorio's letter being tranſlated into French, and alſo into Engliſh, and printed at Lornin in 1565, under the title of *A Pearl for a Prince*; one Abra. Hartwell publiſhed, the ſame year, a tranſlation of Dr Haddon's anſwer, which he intitled *A ſight of the Portugal Pearl, in anſwer to the Epiſtle of Hierom Oſorius, entit. A Pearl for a Prince.* And Oſorio having replied to Dr Haddon, in three books, intitled, *In Gualterum Haddonum Elizabethæ reginæ Magiſtrum libellorum ſupplicum de vera Religione libri* III. Oliſſipone 1567, 4to. The Doctor began an anſwer; but, when he had gone about through half of it, being prevented by death, John Foxe compleated it, and publiſhed it in 1577, under this title, *Contra Hieron. Oſorium, ejuſque odioſas inſectationes pro Evangelicæ veritatis neceſſaria defenſione reſponſio apologetica*, 4to. tranſlated into Engliſh by James Bell, 1581, 4to (21). III. The other works of Dr Haddon, were collected by Tho. Hatcher of King's college Cambridge, and publiſhed in 1567, 4to. under this title, *G. Haddoni Legum Doctoris, S. Reginæ Elizabethæ à ſupplicum libellis, Lucubrationes paſſim collectæ, & editæ.* This collection contains ten Latin orations, and fourteen letters beſides that abovementioned to Oſorio: as alſo our learned author's poems; the chief of which are a paraphraſe upon the 5th, 6th, and 7th, chapters of St Matthew, and on the Epiſtle of St James; and the reſt moſtly upon religious ſubjects. For, to his honour, he was a pious and modeſt poet——A new edition of theſe poems, or another collection of Dr Haddon's is mentioned by *Ant.* Wood (22), printed at London, 1592, 8vo. But we have not been able to obtain a ſight of them at any rate.——Several original letters written by him, in Latin, are preſerved in the Harleyian Library of MSS.

(17) Præfat. p. ult. See Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. Part I. p. 330. and Part III. p. 208. Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 303.

(18) Hiſt. Reform. Part I. as above.

(19) Vide H. Oſorii Opera, Tom. II.

(20) Vol. I. edit. 1725, p. 422, &c.

(21) Strype ibid. p. 431, &c. Wood's Faſti, ut ſupra, col. 75, 78.

(22) Faſti, ut ſupra, col. 78.

C

HAKLUYT [RICHARD], our moſt eminent and worthy Naval Hiſtorian in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, was deſcended of an antient and genteel family at Eiton, or Yetton, in Herefordſhire; of which we may read, in the liſts of High-Sheriffs for the ſaid county, that ſeveral of this name were elected to that office, from the reign of King Edward the Second to King Henry the Eighth; and in the ſecond of Henry the Fourth, of Sir Leonard Hakluyt, whoſe ſeat or abode was then at Yetton in that county, and his arms, *Gules, three battle-axes, or* (a). We alſo meet with Thomas Hakeluet, who was Chancellor of the dioceſe of Hereford in the latter part of King Edward the Third's reign, anno 1349 (b). But this Richard was born, as we take it, in or near London, about the year 1553. He had it ſeems three brothers; and two of them, beſides himſelf, were trained up in Weſtminſter ſchool, that fruitful nurſery, as he terms it, of literature (c). The eldeſt, named Thomas, was elected from thence to Trinity-college in Cambridge, anno 1567 (d). The next was this Richard; and he mentions himſelf to have been one of the Queen's ſcholars in that ſchool, from whence he removed to Oxford (e), as we ſhall ſoon obſerve. The third, named Oliver Hakluyt, was ſent to the ſame college in that univerſity, to which his ſaid brother was elected, but it was three years after him (f); and applying himſelf to the ſtudy of Phyſic, is celebrated for his practice in that faculty with reputation and ſucceſs (g). His laſt and youngeſt brother was Edmund Hakluyt, who was tutor ſome years to the Lord William, ſon and heir of the Lord Admiral Howard (h). While this Richard, the ſubject of our enſuing diſcourſe, was a youth at Weſtminſter, he was wont to viſit his couſin Richard Hackluyt of Eyton, Eſq; at his chambers in the Middle-Temple; but our author never ſtudied the municipal law there, as A. Wood miſtakes of him, inſtead of his ſaid couſin (i), who was well known and eſteemed of, as well by ſome pincipal miniſters of ſtate, as by ſeveral moſt noted perſons among the mercantile and maritime part of the kingdom, as a great encourager of Navigation, and the improvement of trade, arts, and manufactures [A]. The arms alſo of this Mr Hakluyt,

(a) T. Fuller's Worthies of England, in Herefordſhire, fol. 43, 44, &c. Others of the name and family are to be ſeen among the Members of Parliament in Will. Prynne, &c.

(b) Brown Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, 4to. Vol. I. 1742. p. 542.

(c) Ric. Hakluyt's Epiſt. Ded. to Sir Fra. Walſingham, of the firſt edit. of his Voyages in folio, 1589.

(d) Electio Diſcipulorum Weſtmonaſterienſium, ad utramque Academiam, &c. MS. fol. in Bibl. Harleian.

(e) Hakluyt's Epiſt. to Sir Fra. Walſingham, as before.

(f) Electio Diſcip. ut ſupra.

(g) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 413.

(h) P. Hakluyt's Epiſt. Dedic. to Charles Howard Earl of Nottingham of his Voyages, Vol. I. folio, 1598.

(i) Athen. Oxon. in the article of Ric. Hakluyt, as before.

[A] *A great encourager of navigation, and the improvement of trade, arts, and manufactures.*] This Mr Richard Hakluyt the elder, of the Temple, had ſo great a knowledge in thoſe products of foreign countries, which would be of the greateſt advantage to the improvement of our trade; and was a man of that public ſpirit, ſo famous for encouraging the importation of all ſuch commodities, as other climates enjoyed in greater plenty or excellence; eſpecially ſuch uſeful vegetables as our ſoil would foſter, and ſupply our own wants in thoſe reſpects, that he was continually applied to, and ſollicited by our ſea-officers, merchants, and their agents, for his notes of direction and enquiry; which, as he moſt chearfully imparted, ſo he received many curious memorials from them, of whatever was obſervable in their ſaid voyages, and might be beneficial to thoſe ends. This may ſufficiently appear, in ſo much of the intercourſe that was held between him and ſome of his ſaid correſpondents, as hath been preſerved by our author his couſin, in ſeveral parts of his naval hiſtory: and as the heads or titles, with a few extracts from ſome of them, will teſtify the exemplary vigilance and aſſiduity of our predeceſſors, to import or naturalize, whatever would conduce to the emolument, or embelliſhment of their native country, and may awaken a like propenſity in the drowſy part of their poſterity, ſuch diſcourſes, notes of enquiry, and remembrance of vegetable importations, are therefore here mentioned and referred to in our author, as follow: I. *A Diſcourſe of the Weſt-Indies; written at the requeſt of this Mr Hakluyt of the Temple, by Henry Hawkes, Merchant, Anno* 1572, *when he made his voyage to Nova Eſpanna; where, travelling for the ſpace of five years, he obſerved many notable things*; which are in the ſaid voyage recorded (1). II. The ſaid *Mr Hakluyt's advice and notes to divers gentlemen of Sir Martin Frobiſher's company, in their North-Weſt diſcovery; in his third and laſt voyage to Meta Incognita*, 1578 (2). III. *Mr Anthony Parkhuſt's letter to the ſaid Mr Hakluyt, reporting the true ſtate and commodities of Newfoundland, November* 13, 1578; in which there is a great encomium upon that Mr Hakluyt, for ſo zealouſly devoting himſelf to the public good, and acquiring the glorious character, not only of a friend, but a ſervant to his country (3). IV. *Mr Hakluyt's directions to Morgan Hubblethorn, Dier, ſent into Perſia*, 1579 (4). V. *A letter from Henry Lane, Eſq; to the ſaid Mr Hakluyt, concerning the firſt embaſſy from the Ruſſian Emperor to Queen Elizabeth, at Otelands, in Auguſt* 1567. Where the ſaid Mr Lane, being in his office, obſerved that, after the Ruſſian ambaſſadors had repeated the long ſtiles and title of their maſter, they delivered their letters and preſents; which were, ſables for tippets, and lucerns, and other rare furs: 'For, 'at that time, ſays he, that princely ancient ornament 'of furs, was yet in uſe; and great pity but that it 'might be renewed, eſpecially in Court, and among 'magiſtrates, not only for reſtoring of an old worſhipful art and company, but alſo becauſe they are for 'our climate, wholeſome, and better, with ſmall coſt 'to be preſerved, than thoſe new ſilks, ſhags and rags, 'wherewith a great part of the wealth of the land is 'haſtily conſumed (5).' From which obſervation it may in ſome meaſure be computed, when the general wear of furs went out of faſhion among perſons of diſtinction in that reign, as this letter was written ſoon after the year 1579. VI. *Mr Hakluyt's inſtructions to Arthur Pit, and Charles Jackman, in their voyage by ſea towards Cathay, ſet out by the Muſcovy Company, for their diſcovery of the North Eaſt Straights* 1580 (6). VII. The *report of Mr Oliver Dawbeny to the ſaid Mr Hakluyt of the Temple, of Mr Hore's voyage to Newfoundland and Cape Briton*, in 1536: wherein is comprehended, alſo the report made to our author, Mr Hakluyt of Oxford, of ſome other incidents in the ſaid diſtreſsful voyage, as will be ſomewhat further related, from the only perſon living, who had been in it, named Mr Thomas Buts, ſon of Sir William Buts of Norfolk; the ſame learned Knight we take it, who having been a famous doctor of Phyſic of Cambridge, alſo phyſician to King Henry VIII, and one of the founders of the College of Phyſicians in London, died in 1545, and was buried in the church at Fulham near the ſaid city (7). VIII. *Mr Hakluyt's Remembrances of things to be endeavoured at Conſtantinople, and other places in Turkey; touching our clothing and dying; and the vent of our native commodities*: with other probable and judicious inſtructions for an Engliſh Factor at *Conſtantinople*, Anno 1582 (8). In his directions and advertiſements to the ſaid factor, having ſpoke of the colours that are uſed in dying, ſuch as anile, woad, ſumack, ſaffron, &c. and declared how neceſſary it is to have them growing, or plentiful and cheap, in England; having alſo ſhewn, how commodiouſly our country is ſeated for the art and manufacture of cloathing; what waters, earths, and drugs we have for that purpoſe, being only ſomewhat deficient in plenty of oil: he adds, 'The want whereof, if any man could deviſe 'to ſupply at the full, with any thing that might become natural in this realm, he, whatſoever he were, 'that could bring it about, might deſerve immortal 'fame in this our commonwealth; and ſuch a device 'was offered to the parliament, and refuſed; becauſe 'they denied to endow him with a certain liberty, 'ſome others having obtained the ſame before, that 'practiſed to work that effect by radiſh-ſeed, which 'only made a trial of ſmall quantity, and that went no 'further, to make the oil in plenty: and now he that 'offered

(1) Hakluyt's Voyages, the firſt edition, in one vol. folio, p. 545. and in the laſt edit. Vol. III. fol. 462.

(2) In the firſt folio edit. p. 636.

(3) In the laſt edit. Vol. III.

(4) In the firſt folio edition, p. 454.

(5) In the laſt edition of Hakluyt, Vol. I. fol. 374.

(6) In the firſt folio edit. p. 460.

(7) See his monumental inſcription in John Bowick's Antiquities of Middleſex, in two parts, folio, 1705. Alſo in Mr John Strype's Life of Sir John Cheke, &c. 8vo. 1705. p. 38.

(8) In the laſt edit. of Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. fol. 160, &c.

kluyt, as one of the moſt eminent members, and probably benefactors, of the ſociety in that Inn of Court, were painted in one of the windows of the hall belonging to the Middle-Temple, and correſpond with thoſe abovementioned in all but the blazonry; the field here being azure, and the axes gules, according to the ſculpture that was etched of them by the delicate and admired hand of that rare artiſt, Wenceſlaus Holler (*k*). At his chambers, young Hakluyt was, in one of thoſe viſits, ſo highly entertained with certain books of Coſmography, and maps of the world, which lay upon the table, that his couſin ſeeing him curious, and taking uncommon delight therein, beſtowed ſome pains to inſtruct him, and explain thereby the diviſion of the earth; firſt, into three parts, after the antient diſtribution, and afterwards, according to the more modern and improved diſtinction, into more (*l*). He then more particularly pointed out to him with a wand, all the known ſeas, rivers, gulphs, bays, ſtraights, capes, dukedoms, kingdoms, empires, and other territories of each part; and diſtinguiſhed what productions or commodities they yielded, and in what they were deficient. Hence he inferred, how, from the benefits of traffic, and the intercourſe of merchants, the wants of all nations are mutually ſupplied. Then he turned to the Scriptures, and ſhewed how ſolemnly, how ſublimely, the wonders of the Lord are expreſſed; and how his mercies, no leſs than his menacies are manifeſted in the Deep (*m*). Theſe books of voyages, travels, and maps, together with the ſolemn words of the Scripture, and his couſin's judicious paraphraſe upon, or deductions from them, ſo captivated his

(*k*) In Dugdale's Origines Juridiciales, folio, edit. 1671. p. 226.

(*l*) Hakluyt's Epiſt. to Sir F. Walſingham, as above.

(*m*) Pſalm cvii. ver. 23, &c.

'offered this device, was a merchant, and is dead, and 'withal the device is dead with him (9).' He alſo ſpeaks of making oil of the ſeed of ſeſamum, as they did in Egypt (9); which is mentioned alſo by Pena and Lobell, beſides other Botaniſts, ancient and modern, to be a coddled herb, full of oily ſeed. But the invention of a more excellent oil, drawn from the Beech-maſt, of which our iſland would yield enough, however it might not be conſtantly, in ſuch great plenty, as it does once in three years, to ſupply all our wants, eſpecially in our woollen manufacture, was not then known, it ſeems among us; though it was many years uſed in France, before the project was here ſo vigorouſly ſet on foot, under a patent granted by Queen Anne in October 1713, to the late Aaron Hill, Eſq, that, if it had not been for ſome miſmanagements, might have furniſhed our nation with a much better oil, and cheaper, than that which is drawn from Rape ſeed, and have ſaved vaſt ſums of money, which are deſperſed abroad for worſe oils to ſupply our clothiers, ſoap boilers, &c (11). But to return, our author recommends, among his other things to be remembered, by the factor beforementioned, his enquiry into the vent or conſumption they have in Turkey for their ſaffron; as in Tripoly, and ſome parts of Barbary, there is ſuch great uſe of it according to Leo and others, that though they have it in good plenty, they have not ſufficient for their purpoſe: and as there is no better than we have in England, we might, if it was more wanted, ſet our poor more to work, in Eſſex, Cambridgeſhire, and Herefordſhire, where the beſt of all England grows, ſays he, and the ſoil yields the wild ſaffron commonly (12). Then he goes on thus: 'It is reported at Saffron-'Walden, that a pilgrim, propoſing to do good to his 'country, ſtole an head of ſaffron, and hid the ſame in 'his palmer's ſtaff, which he had made hollow before of 'purpoſe, and ſo he brought this root into this realm, 'with venture of his life; for if he had been taken, 'by the law of the country from whence it came, he 'had died for the fact (13). If the like love in this 'our age, were in our people that now become great 'travellers, much knowledge, and many trades, and 'many herbs and plants might be brought into this 'realm, that might do it good: and the Romans having that care, brought from all coaſts of the world 'into Italie, all arts and ſciences, and all kinds of 'beaſts and fowles, and all herbs, trees, buſhes and 'plants, that might yield profit or pleaſure to their 'country: and if this care had not been heretofore in 'our anceſtors, then had our life been ſavage now; 'for then we had not had wheat nor rie; peaſe nor 'beans; barley nor oats, pear nor apple; vine, nor 'many other other profitable and pleaſant plants; bull 'nor cow, ſheep nor ſwine, horſe nor mare, cock nor 'hen, nor a number of other things that we enjoy; 'without which our life were to be ſaid barbarous: 'For theſe things and a thouſand that we uſe more, 'the firſt inhabitors of this iſland found not here. And 'in time of memory, things have been brought in, 'that were not here before: as the damaſk roſe, by 'Doctor Linaker, King Henry the Seventh's and King 'King Henry the Eight's phyſician (14); the turky-'cocks and hens, about fifty years paſt, the artichoke 'in time of King Henry VIII; and of late time was 'procured out of Italie, the muſk roſe plant; the 'plum, called the Perdigwena, and two kinds more, 'by the Lord Cromwell, after his travell; and the 'abricot, by a French prieſt, one Wolfe, gardiner to 'King Henry the Eight: and now, within theſe four 'years, there have been brought into England, from 'Vienna in Auſtria, divers kinds of flowers called, 'Tulipas; and thoſe, and others procured thither, a 'little before, from Conſtantinople, by an excellent 'man, called M. Carolus Cluſius; and it is ſaid, that 'ſince we traded to Zante, the plant that beareth the 'coren, is alſo brought into this realm from thence; 'and although it bring not fruit to perfection, yet it 'may ſerve for pleaſure, and for ſome uſe; like as our 'vines do, which we cannot well ſpare, although the 'climate, ſo cold, will not permit us to have good 'wines of them: and many other things have been 'brought in, that have degenerated by reaſon of the cold 'climate; ſome other things brought in, have by negligence been loſt. The Archbiſhop of Canterburie, Edmund Grindall, after he returned out of Germany, 'brought into this realme, the plant of tamariſk from 'thence (15); and this plant he hath ſo increaſed, 'that there be here thouſands of them; and many 'people have received great health by this plant: and 'if, of things brought in, ſuch care were had, then 'could not the firſt labour be loſt. The ſeed of To-'bacco hath been brought hither out of the Weſt-Indies; it groweth here, and with the herb, many have 'been eaſed of the reume, &c. Each one of a 'great number of things were worthy of a journey to 'be made into Spain, Italie, Barbarie, Egypt, Zante, 'Conſtantinople, the Weſt-Indies, and to divers other 'places, nearer, and further off than any of theſe; 'yet foraſmuch as the poor are not able, and for that, 'the rich, ſettled at home in quiet, will not, therefore we are to make ſute to ſuch as repair to foreign 'kingdoms for other buſineſſes, to have ſome care here-'in, and to ſet before their eyes the examples of theſe 'good men, and to endeavour to do for their parts the 'like, as their ſpecial buſineſs may permit the ſame. 'Thus giving you occaſion, by way of a little remembrance, to have a deſire to do your country good, 'you ſhall, if you have an inclination to ſuch good, do 'more good to the poor ready to ſtarve for relief, than 'ever any ſubject did in this realm, by building of 'alms-houſes, and by giving of lands and goods to the 'relief of the poor: thus may you help to drive idle-'neſs, the mother of moſt miſchiefs, out of this realme, 'and win you perpetual fame and the prayers of the 'poor, which is more worth than all the gold of Peru, 'and of all the Weſt-Indies (16).' There are moreover, ſome other things written by, or to this Richard Hakluyt, Eſq; as that letter from Virginia, by Ralph Lane, Eſq; Sir Walter Raleigh's deputy, or governor there, directed to the ſaid Mr Hakluyt, and dated in 1585; which is alſo preſerved in our author's collections (17): and among Mr Selden's manuſcripts at Oxford, there is this Richard Hakluyt's diſcourſe of the places in the Eaſt-Indies, where ſundry ſorts of ſpices grow, with the prices of precious ſtones, which is not printed, I think, in his kinſman's naval collections.

(9) Idem, fol. 163.

(10) Leo Africanus, lib. 8.

(11) See an Account of the Riſe and Progreſs of the Beech Oil invention, and all the ſteps which have been taken in that affair, from the firſt diſcovery to the preſent time: alſo what is further deſigned in that undertaking, by Aaron Hill, Eſq; 8vo. 1715.

(12) Hakluyt's laſt edit. Vol. II. p. 164.

(13) Mr Camden obſerves, that Saffron was brought, in ſuch a pilgrimage, from the Holy Land, in the reign of King Edward III. See his Britannia, in Eſſex, &c.

(14) Probably when he returned from Rome, a little before his tranſlation of Proclus's Sphere into Latin, was there printed by Aldus in folio, 1499, and not the next year, as John Pitts miſtakes.

(15) Dr William Turner was the firſt, of our nation at leaſt, who diſcovered in Germany, and deſcribed in his Herbal the true tamariſk, as Dr Bulleyn haſt juſtly obſerved: but the ſaid Dr Grindal (afterwards Biſhop of London and Archbiſhop of Canterbury), at his return from exile there, firſt imported and propagated the ſaid medicinal plant, probably at Fulham, about the year 1560. See Camden, in his Annals of Q. Elizabeth, Dr Fuller, in his Worthies of England, &c.

(16) Hakluyt, Vol. II. p. 165.

(17) Idem, Vol. III. in the Virginian Diſcoveriss.

his attention, and wrought ſuch deep impreſſions on his youthful apprehenſions, hitherto unpoſſeſſed with inferior engagements, that he thenceforth nouriſhed a conſtant reſolution, if ever he were preferred to the univerſity, where he might have ſufficient leiſure and conveniencies to enjoy his ſtudies, that he would proſecute before all others this kind of knowledge and literature, to which the ſweet and delightful taſte he now received had already raiſed in him ſo great an appetite. According to this reſolution, when he was not long after, in the year 1570, removed to Chriſt-church-college in Oxford *(n)*, he beſtowed all his vacant hours, that were not employed in his uſual academical exerciſes, upon the cultivation of thoſe coſmographical ſtudies; and to that end, made himſelf ſuch a proficient in the languages antient and modern, that he read over whatever printed or written diſcourſes of voyages and diſcoveries, or naval enterprizes, and adventures of all kinds, which he found extant, either in Greek, Latin, Italian, Spaniſh, Portugueſe, French, or Engliſh; 'till he became ſo conſpicuous, that he was choſen to read public lectures upon theſe branches of ſcience, whereof he had made himſelf ſuch an able maſter; and was the firſt man among them who produced and diſtinguiſhed both the old imperfectly compoſed, and the new lately reformed maps, globes, ſpheres, and other inſtruments of this art, for demonſtration in the common ſchools, to the great inſtruction and general ſatisfaction of his auditory. In proceſs of time he became, through theſe uncommon acquirements, familiarly converſant with, and highly reſpected by, the principal ſea commanders, the greateſt merchants, and moſt ſkilful mariners in our nation. And though it was but few years after, that he went to reſide a long time beyond-ſea, his fame made ſeveral voyagers thither long before him. It is not unlikely, when the King of Spain's Coſmogropher, Abraham Ortelius, was in England, as the author of his life, before his *Theatrum orbis Terrarum (o)*, acquaints us he was, in the year 1577 *(p)*, but he became acquainted, among other learned men, with Mr Hakluyt; for after his return home, we find they correſponded together, and with other eminent foreigners, alſo of exalted fame for their improvements in Coſmography, he was likewiſe held in great eſteem, amongſt whom Gerard Mercator was not the leaſt conſiderable; one of whoſe friendly letters to him, upon an Engliſh undertaking to diſcover the north-eaſt paſſage, dated from Duiſburg in Clive, the 28th of July, 1580, our author has himſelf communicated to the public *(q)* Nor could he long behold the advancements in Coſmography which had been publiſhed by foreign authors; what that celebrated Venetian, Battiſta Ramuſio, or Francis Lopez de Gomara, and others, had ſet forth of the diſcoveries and improvements in navigation, which had been made by the voyagers of other countries; or what Mr Richard Eden and Richard Willes had exhibited, as patterns of imitation for our own *(r)*; but he was ſoon fired with an emulation to improve upon them, and ſhew the world what gallant figures, more particularly ſome of our own brave and adventrous Argonauts would make in ſuch like hiſtorical repreſentations. At firſt indeed he laid open but a ſparing ſample of the treaſure that was to be produced, and gave us only an earneſt of his future communications. This appears in a ſmall *Collection of Voyages and Diſcoveries*, which he publiſhed two years after in 1582, and dedicated the ſame to the moſt laudable promoter of all ingenious and uſeful knowledge in that illuſtrious reign under which he flouriſhed, Mr Philip Sidney; but this Collection being afterwards ſwallowed up, like little ſtreams or rivers in the ocean of his larger naval collections, the ſaid firſt edition has been overlooked or undiſtinguiſhed, by thoſe who have attempted any catalogue of his publications in particular, or of travels and voyages in general. It appears in the ſaid epiſtle dedicatory, that his *Lecture of Navigation* beforementioned, was ſo well approved of by the renowned Sir Francis Drake, that he made ſome propoſals to continue and eſtabliſh it in Oxford [*B*], upon the proſpect which Mr Hakluyt ſoon after had of ſome engagement

(n) Electio Diſcip. & Athen. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(o) Edit. folio, 1612.

(p) Abr. Ortelii Antwerpienſis Vita, Franciſco Swertio Authore, &c. ibid.

(q) Hakluyt, in the firſt folio edit. p. 483. and in the laſt edit. Vol. I. 1598, p. 443.

(r) See Eden and Willes's Hiſtory of Travayle in the Weſt and Eaſt Indies, and other countreys towards the fruteſull and ryche Molucques, &c. printed by R. Jugge, 4to. 1577.

[*B*] *Sir Francis Drake made ſome propoſals to eſtabliſh his lecture of navigation at Oxford*] This particular we remember to have read ſome years ſince, in the dedication aforeſaid, by our author, of the firſt collection of his voyages, abovementioned: and as by the abſtract we then took thereof appears, Sir Francis Drake did ſo well conceive the uſefulneſs of promoting naval knowledge in that manner, and was ſo well inclined to patronize, and be himſelf an encourager thereof, that he deſired Mr Hakluyt to find out a proper perſon to read or continue ſuch lecture at Oxford in his abſence; on whom he propoſed to ſettle a ſalary of twenty pounds a year, and to advance twenty pounds towards furniſhing him with books. Hakluyt did accordingly find a perſon willing and qualified to read ſuch lectures; but he inſiſted on forty pounds per annum, alledging that leſs would not do to maintain him; but Sir Francis, not propoſing that ſuch employment ſhould entirely engroſs his time, did not mean that he was to be intirely maintained by it: and ſo that matter dropped (18). Several years after, when Sir Francis Drake was dead, our author reſumed this topic; and ſo zealouſly recommended the foundation of ſuch a lecture in the city of London, to the Lord Admiral Howard, that his hearty good will for the ſervice of his country has been much applauded by ſome judicious men. Mr Hakluyt's addreſs to the ſaid Lord-Admiral, upon conſidering his Lordſhip as the father and principal favourer of the Engliſh navigation, is expreſſed to him in theſe words: 'I truſt it ſhall not be impertinent, in paſſing by, to 'point at the means of breeding up of ſkillful ſeamen 'and mariners in this realm. Since your Lordſhip is 'not ignorant that ſhips are to little purpoſe, without 'ſkillful ſeamen; and ſince ſeamen are not bred up, 'to perfection of ſkill, in much leſs time, as it is ſaid, 'than in the time of two 'prentiſhips; and ſince no 'kind of men, of any profeſſion in the commonwealth, 'paſs their years in ſo great and continual hazard of 'life; and ſince of ſo many, ſo few grow to gray 'hairs, how needful is it, that by way of lectures and 'ſuch like inſtructions, theſe ought to have a better 'education than hitherto they have had, all wiſe 'men may eaſily judge. When I call to mind how 'many noble ſhips have been loſt, how many worthy perſons have been drenched in the ſea, and how 'greatly this realm hath been impov'riſhed by the loſs 'of great ordinance, and other rich commodities, 'through the ignorance of our ſeamen, I have 'greatly *wiſhed there were a Lecture of Navigation read in this city* for the baniſhing of our for- 'mer

(18) See Hakluyt's Dedication to Mr Phil. Sidney, of the firſt edition of his Voyages, in 4to. 1582.

ment abroad. But while he was at home, there could not be a more lively or emphatical teſtimony given, of his eagerneſs in the purſuit of all ſatisfactory authority or confirmation in theſe maritime adventures, than that he once about this time, as we compute, rode a journey of two hundred miles, purpoſely, or for no other end than, to acquaint himſelf with the true incidents and circumſtances of a certain perilous voyage which had been made to Newfoundland, in the twenty-eighth year of King Henry the Eighth, from the mouth of a worthy gentleman, in the firſt note of this article beforementioned, Thomas Butts, Eſq; who was then the only ſurviving adventurer therein (*s*); in which voyage, the ſaid company was driven to ſuch diſtreſs for want of food, that ſeveral of them were providentially preſerved from periſhing only out of a bird's-neſt, with the fiſhes of various kinds which were hourly brought in great plenty thither by an oſpray to her young (*t*); but that proviſion being too ſcanty to ſupply them all, or the greateſt part of two ſhips crew, they were driven to feed upon the weeds and roots of the earth, and at laſt, by the increaſing rage of hunger, upon one another; 'till thoſe wretched ſtarvelings who were left alive, among whom was the ſaid relator, emaciated to ſuch a ſkeleton, that his parents at his return did not know him, meeting with a French ſhip plentifully victualled, ſeized upon and returned in it to England; where, when King Henry heard the lamentable ſtory of their manifold ſufferings and extremities, inſtead of puniſhing his ſubjects for the capture complained of, he ordered a princely recompence to be made to the owners for the loſs and damages they had ſuſtained (*u*). In ſhort, the many ſingular proofs which Mr Hakluyt gave of his unwearied diligence, to compaſs and commemorate every extraordinary enterprize made by our countrymen or others, in any foreign nation, that would redound to the glory or advantage of his own, could not remain long concealed from the notice and approbation of the State; inſomuch that he received particular encouragements from Secretary Walſingham, by letters dated in the latter end of the year aforeſaid, to perſevere in

(*s*) This Mr Tho. Butts had not been long or but few years dead, when Mr Hakluyt publiſhed this Narrative of his ſaid Adventures, in the firſt folio edition of his Voyages, 1589, p. 517.

(*t*) Idem, p. 518.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 519. and in the laſt edition of his Voyages, Vol. III. folio, 1600, from p. 129 to 131.

'mer groſs ignorance in marine cauſes, and for the encreaſe and general multiplying of the ſea-knowledge 'in this age, wherein God hath raiſed ſo general a deſire, in the youth of this realm, to diſcover all parts 'of the face of the earth, to this realm in former ages 'not known. And that it may appear that this is no 'vain fancy or device of mine, it may pleaſe your 'lordſhip to underſtand, that the late Emperor Charles 'V. conſidering the rawneſs of his ſeamen, and the 'manifold ſhipwrecks that they ſuſtained, in paſſing 'and repaſſing between Spain and the Weſt Indies, 'with high reach, and great foreſight, eſtabliſhed, 'not only a pilot-major, for the examination of ſuch 'as ſought to take charge of ſhips in that voyage, but 'alſo founded a notable lecture of the art of navigation, 'which is read to this day in the Contractation-houſe at 'Sevil: the readers of which lecture, have not only care'fully taught and inſtructed the Spaniſh mariners by 'word of mouth, but alſo have publiſhed ſundry exact 'and worthy treatiſes concerning marine cauſes, for the 'direction and encouragement of poſterity. The 'learned works of three of which readers, namely 'Alonzo de Chavez, Hieronymo de Chavez, and 'Roderigo Zamorano, came long ago very happily to 'my hands, together with the ſtraight and ſevere exa'mination of all ſuch maſters as deſire to take charge for 'the Weſt-Indies. Which, when I firſt read, and 'duely conſidered, it ſeemed to me ſo excellent and ſo 'exact a courſe, as I greatly wiſhed that I might be ſo 'happy as to ſee the like order eſtabliſhed here with us. 'This matter, as it ſeemeth, took no light impreſſion 'in the royal breaſt of that moſt renowned and victo'rious prince, King Henry VIII. of famous memory; 'who, for the encreaſe of knowledge in his ſeamen, 'with princely liberality, erected three ſeveral guilds, 'or brotherhoods; the one at Deptford, here upon the 'Thames; the other at Kingſton upon Hull; and the 'third at Newcaſtle upon Tine; which laſt was eſta'bliſhed the twenty-eighth year of his reign. The 'chief motives which induced his princely wiſdom 'hereunto, himſelf expreſſeth in the manner following. 'Ut Magiſtri, Marinarii, Gubernatores, et alii Offi'ciarii Navium, Juventutem ſuam in Exercitatione Gu'bernationis Navium tranſigerentes, mutilati aut aliquo 'alio caſu in paupertatem collapſi, aliquod relevamen 'ad eorum ſuſtentationem habeant, quo non ſolùm illi 'reficiantur, verùmetiam alii juvenes moveantur et in'ſtigentur ad eandem artem exercendam, ratione cu'jus doctiores et aptiores fiant navibus et aliis vaſis no'ſtris, et aliorum quorumcùnque in mare gubernandis 'et manutenendis, tam Pacis quam Belli tempore, 'cum opus poſtulet. To deſcend a little lower; 'King Edward VI, that prince of peerleſs hope, with 'the advice of his ſage and prudent counſaile, before 'he entred into the North-Eaſtern diſcovery, advanced 'the worthy and excellent Sebaſtian Cabota, to be '*Grand Pilot of England*; allowing him a moſt boun'tiful penſion of one hundred ſixty-ſix pounds, ſix ſhil'lings and eight pence by the year, during his life, as 'appeareth in his letters-patents; which are to be ſeen 'in the third part of my work. And if God had 'granted him longer life, I doubt not, but as he dealt 'moſt royally in eſtabliſhing that office of Pilot-Major, 'which not long after to the great hindrance of this 'commonwealth, was miſerably turned to other pri'vate uſes, ſo his princely Majeſty would have ſhewed 'himſelf no niggard, in erecting, in imitation of Spain, 'the like profitable lecture of the art of navigation. 'And ſurely, when I conſider of the late memorable 'bounty of Sir Thomas Greſham, who, being but a 'merchant, hath founded ſo many chargeable lectures, 'and ſome of them alſo, which are mathematical, tend'ing to the advancement of marine cauſes, I nothing 'doubted of your Lordſhip's forwardneſs, in ſettling 'and eſtabliſhing of this lecture; but rather, when your 'Lordſhip ſhall ſee the noble and rare effects thereof, 'you will be heartily ſorry, that all this while it hath 'not been erected. As therefore our ſkill in naviga'tion hath hitherto been very much bettered and en'creaſed under the Admiralty of your Lordſhip; ſo, 'if this one thing be added thereunto, together with 'ſevere and ſtraight diſcipline, I doubt not but with 'God's good bleſſing, it will ſhortly grow to the higheſt 'pitch and top of all perfection; which, whenſoever it 'ſhall come to paſs, I aſſure myſelf it will turn to the in'finite wealth and honour of your country, to the proſ'perous diſcovery of many rich lands and territories of 'Heathens and Gentiles, as yet unknown; to the 'honeſt employment of many thouſands of our idle 'people, to the great comfort and rejoycing of our 'friends, and to the terror, daunting and confuſion of 'our foes, &c (19).' Among others who have expreſ'ſed their good liking to this public-ſpirited exhortation, the learned Dr Hakewill is not to be forgotten: who having recommended ſuch pains to be taken upon our author's works as they deſerve, to render them capable of being read in the moſt general manner, and intelligible to other nations no leſs than our own, 'proceeds alſo to revive and confirm the above recommendation to that nobleman, in the following words: —— 'For 'the better breeding, continuance, and increaſe of ex'pert pilots among us, it would doubtleſs be a good 'and profitable work, according to Mr Hukluyt's ho'neſt mention, in his epiſtle dedicatory to the Lord-'Admiral then being, if any who had the means, had 'likewiſe the mind to give allowance for the reading 'of a lecture of navigation in London, in imitation of 'the late Emperour Charles V (20)'. So proceeds to relate the benefits of that prince's foundation, and the learned lectures it produced, as beforementioned.

(19) Hakluyt's Dedication to Charles Howard Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral, &c. before the firſt volume of his Voyages, folio, 1598.

(20) Dr George Hakewill's Apology, or Declaration of the Power of Providence, in the government of the world; the third edition, fol. 1635, p. 310.

[C] *Such*

in his ſaid commendable collections and communications, as well in juſtice and honour to their anceſtors and contemporaries, as for the example or inſtigation of their hopeful poſterity. He alſo gave him a commiſſion to confer with the mayor and merchants of Briſtol, upon the naval expedition they were undertaking for Newfoundland, and incitements to impart to them ſuch uſeful intelligence and advertiſements, as did much encourage the ſame, and they gratefully acknowledged to the ſaid Secretary, in the beginning of the next year, 1583, would be ſignally inſtructive and beneficial to them [C]. It appears to be ſo early as this year laſt mentioned, that Hakluyt had ſome tempting offers made him, to accompany that accompliſhed and adventrous knight Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in his ſaid laſt voyage to Newfoundland; becauſe the learned and ingenious Stephanus Parmenius of Buda, who compoſed an heroic poem in praiſe of ſuch naval expeditions, and our brave adventurers in them (*w*), upon his departure to that country; wrote alſo, when he arrived at St. John's port there, a letter to Mr Hakluyt, in Auguſt the year aforeſaid, wherein he mentions his expectation that he would have followed them (*x*). But Providence had otherwiſe decreed it; for they loſt their lives in that voyage, while Hakluyt was elſewhere more ſafely engaged. For his excellent qualifications having recommended him to the patronage of Sir Edward Stafford, a deſcendant of that Duke of Buckingham, who fell a ſacrifice to the revenge of the puiſſant and over-bearing Cardinal Wolſey (*y*), Mr Hakluyt was received by him as his chaplain, or other principal attendant, when he went over, in the quality of her Majeſty's Ligier Ambaſſador, to France; whoſe inſtructions to negotiate with the Queen-Mother and the Duke of Alançon, we find were ſome time among the State Papers of Sir Francis Walſingham (*z*). Here our author bore him company for ſome years, during the dangerous and expenſive reſidence of that careful and diſcreet miniſter at the French court, in the Queen of England's ſervice (*a*). And as we are informed that Mr Hakluyt, then Maſter of Arts and Profeſſor of Divinity, had obtained in the month of May 1585, the royal mandate for the next prebend that ſhould become vacant; which happened, it ſeems, by the death of Dr John Gough, who had long enjoyed the ſame (*b*), to be one in the firſt ſtall in the church of Briſtol; and it appearing that Hakluyt was poſſeſſed of it in 1586 (*c*), we compute that he was elected or preferred to the ſame while he was now at Paris. Here he found opportunity of renewing his beloved reſearches, and approving himſelf a ſingular pattern of induſtry, no leſs abroad than at home; for being acquainted with ſome eminent Mathematicians, Coſmographers, and other Literati, in his own ſphere of ſtudy, he enquired after every thing that had any relation to, or affinity with, our Engliſh diſcoveries; and prevailed with ſome men to ſearch their libraries for the ſame: at laſt, having met with a choice narrative in manuſcript, containing *The Notable Hiſtory of Florida*, which had been diſcovered about twenty years before, by Captain Lou ionniere and other French adventurers, he procured the publication thereof, at his own expence this year laſt mentioned, in the language of that country, wherein they wrote it, by an able and ingenious Profeſſor of the Mathematics, named Martin Baſaniere (*d*); who has, in a dedication thereof to Sir Walter Ralegh, highly extolled his perſeverance and liberality upon the like enterprize, of his own late diſcovery, and conjunction to the Engliſh dominions, of the bordering country of Virginia. There are alſo ſome poetical encomiums prefixed to this book, in honour of Sir Walter Ralegh, and thoſe other diſcoverers, by Joannes Auratus, the French King's poet and interpreter; alſo by the ſaid Martin Baſaniere and Mr Hakluyt, as hath been partly before obſerved in another work (*e*), and may hereafter be more particularly in this. How grateful the publication of that hiſtory of Florida was to the ableſt miniſters of ſtate in France, and how warmly they expreſſed their reſentments the next year, when the impreſſion of it was well diſperſed

(*w*) De Navigatione Illuſtris & Magnanimi Equitis Auratı Humfridi Gilberti, &c, Carmen ἐπινίκιον, Stephani Parmenii Budei. Dat. Prid. Cal. Aprilis, 1583. In Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 137.

(*x*) Epiſt. Steph. Parmenii, ornatiſſimo viro magiſtro Ric. Hakluyto, &c. dat. porto Sancti Joannis, 6 Aug. 1583. Ibid. p. 161.

(*y*) Pedigree of the Stafford family, MS. Alſo A. Wood, in Faſti, Vol. I. col. 99. and Sandford's Geneal. Hiſt. fol. 1707, p. 483.

(*z*) In Sir Francis Walſingham's Table-book, 8vo. MS. in the Harleyian Library.

(*a*) Hakluyt's Epiſt. to Sir Fra. Walſingham, as before.

(*b*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XIV. p. 748.

(*c*) See J. Le Neve's Faſti Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, folio, 1716, p. 51. and Browne Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, 4to. Vol. I. 1742, p. 789.

(*d*) L'Hiſtoire Notable de la Floride, &c. deſcrits par le Capitaine Laudonniere, &c. Miſe en Lumiere par M. Baſaniere, Gentilhomme Françoiſe, Mathematicien, a Paris, 8vo. 1586.

(*e*) In the Life of Sir Walter Ralegh, p. 146, before his Hiſtory of the World, edit. folio, 1736.

[C] *Such uſeful intelligence as they acknowledged to the Secretary, would be ſignally beneficial to them.*] One of the letters beforementioned, which was written by the ſaid Secretary of State to our author, encouraging him in the ſtudy of Coſmography, and the furthering of new diſcoveries, is as follows:

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM to M. RICHARD HAKLUYT of *Chriſt Church* in OXFORD.

'I underſtand, as well by a letter I long ſince 'received from the Mayor of Briſtol, as by conference 'with Sir George Pekham, that you have endeavoured 'and given much light for the diſcovery of the Weſtern 'partes, yet unknowen: as your ſtudie in theſe things 'is very commendable, ſo I thanke you much for the 'ſame; wiſhing you do continue your travell in theſe, 'and like matters, which are like to turne, not only to 'your owne good in private, but to the public benefite 'of this realme. And ſo I bid you farewell. From 'the Court, the 11 of March 1582.

'Your living friend,

'FRANCIS WALSINGHAM (21).'

(21) Hakluyt's third volume of Voyages, folio, 1600, p. 181.

There is another letter written by Sir Francis, dated the ſame day and year with that above, from the Court, alſo then at Richmond, to Mr Thomas Aldworth, Merchant, and Mayor of Briſtol; which he ſent thither, by Mr Hakluyt and Mr Thomas Steventon to him; wherein he commends the Mayor's good inclinations towards the Weſtern diſcovery, under Sir Humfrey Gilbert, then preparing for the ſame; and therein refers himſelf further to Mr Hakluyt and Steventon, recommending the Mayor to their conferences thereupon (22). And in Mr Aldworth's anſwer ſent to Sir Francis, in the latter end of the ſame month, next year, he acknowledges ſome good lights given by Mr Hakluyt to the merchants, who were leaſt acquainted with the country, the enterprize, and proſpects of advantage in the ſame, whereof they were ſo well ſatisfied by his repreſentations, that they readily ſubſcribed towards the expence thereof, upwards of a thouſand marks. Beſides which, they agreed to fit out a ſhip of threeſcore, and a bark of forty tuns, to be left in the country, under the government of the ſaid Secretary's ſon-in-law, Captain Chriſtopher Carliſle: ſo entreating his further direction by letters to the company, becauſe they meant to proceed on the voyage by the end of April next, he concludes from Briſtol, on the 27th of March 1583 (23).

(22) Idem. p. 182.

(23) Ibid.

[D] *How*

diſperſed among them, that it was no ſooner brought to light, we refer to our author's own words [*D*]: and that his countrymen might want for no intelligence, directions, or admonitions, in the proſecution of their plantations and ſettlements in America, which the hiſtory of this diſcovery would afford, he forthwith tranſlated it into our own tongue. And this Engliſh tranſlation he made of that *Hiſtory of Florida*, is dedicated by himſelf alſo to Sir Walter Ralegh, in the beginning of May, 1587 [*E*]. But Hakluyt could not reſt here; for, ever deſirous of extending our knowledge into the American world, and exciting our ambition, like other Europeans, to avail ourſelves of it's undeflowered treaſures, and partake our ſhare of it, he publiſhed another hiſtory about the ſame time, when he tranſlated that of the French expedition to Florida, ſetting forth the diſcoveries, conqueſts, and ſettlements, which had been made in America by the active and adventrous Spaniards; that their example alſo might inflame us to emulation. For having with great care and diligence reviſed and corrected, he brought forth, the ſame year laſt mentioned, at Paris, a new edition of Peter Martyr's book, entitled, *De Orbe Novo* [*F*], illuſtrated with

[*D*] *How warmly the French miniſtry expreſſed their reſentments that it was no ſooner brought to light, we refer to our author's own words*] His own account of this acceptable publication is as follows.——'In the 'year 1587, when I had cauſed the four voyages of 'Ribault, Loudonniere, and Gourges, to Florida, at 'my own charges to be printed at Paris; which by the 'malice of ſome, too much affected to the Spaniſh 'Faction, had been above twenty years ſuppreſſed; as 'ſoon as that book came to the review of the reverend 'and prudent councellor Monſieur Harlae, the Lord-'Chief-Juſtice of France, and certain other of the wiſeſt 'judges; in great choler they aſked, Who had done ſuch 'intollerable wrong to the whole kingdom, as to have 'concealed that worthy work ſo long? proteſting fur-'ther that, if their Kings and the State had thoroughly 'followed that action, France had been freed of their 'long civil wars, and the variable humours of all ſorts 'of people might have had very ample and manifold 'occaſions of good and honeſt employment abroad, in 'that large and fruitful continent of the Weſt Indies '(24).'

(24) Mr Hakluyt's Dedication to Sir Robert Cecil, before his ſecond volume of Voyages, folio, 1599.

(25) See the Arrival, &c. of Mr Hawkins in Florida, in Hakluyt's Voyages, edit. folio, 1589. p. 543.

[*E*] *His tranſlation of that Hiſtory of Florida, is dedicated by himſelf to Sir Walter Ralegh, in the beginning of May*, 1587.] It appears that there have been two editions of Mr Hakluyt's tranſlation of this Hiſtory of Florida publiſhed by himſelf. The firſt, in a ſmaller ſize, was printed ſingly, in the ſame year it was tranſlated, as it ſeems, by an extract from it, of Mr. afterwards Sir John Hawkins his courteſy to the diſtreſſed Frenchmen upon that coaſt, which our author has quoted into the firſt folio edition of his voyages (25); and the ſecond impreſſion of that tranſlation, he reprinted in the laſt folio edition of them (26). It appears alſo in our tranſlator's dedication, *To the Right Honourable Sir Walter Ralegh*, &c. that the firſt edition of his ſaid tranſlation had a large alphabetical table annexed to the end of the work, which in the folio edition is omitted. And many other ſpecial points concerning the commodities of thoſe parts, he thinks needleſs to recount; becauſe, as he ſays, in the ſaid dedication, the ſame, with other things of chief importance, were lively drawn, at Sir Walter's no ſmall charges, in colours, by that ſkilful painter, James Morgues, or Le Moyne, ſome time living in the Black-Fryers, London; whom Admiral Chaſtillon had ſent with Loudonniere for that purpoſe. This French Painter alſo recorded in writing, many ſingular deſcriptions of Florida, not mentioned in this hiſtory of that country, which he afterwards publiſhed, together with the portraitures (27). And after Le Moyne's death, Loudoniere's hiſtory of Florida was tranſlated alſo from the French, together with Le Moyne's narrative, or deſcriptions of the religious ceremonies, habits, and manners of the people, into Latin; likewiſe his drawings of the inhabitants in their ſaid habits, &c. from the life, were elegantly engraved on copper plates, by Theodore de Bry, and all publiſhed by him, in one part of his coſtly collection of voyages; in the like manner as Sir Walter Ralegh's Diſcovery of Virginia is printed, and adorned, in the beginning of the ſame volume (28). In the reſpectful dedication aforeſaid of Mr Hakluyt to that great encourager, as well of his naval collections, as thoſe of De Bry, the gallant Sir Walter Ralegh; our author has not only very intelligently ſet forth his expenſive and aſſiduous proſecution of the Virginian diſcovery towards an happy eſtabliſhment, and pointed out ſuch uſeful precautions, as may be gathered from this of Florida, but alſo greatly commended him for permitting the fertility of thoſe regions to come to light, by his chriſtian and charitable endeavours. And indeed the generous zeal of that great man to enlighten our knowledge in the like diſcoveries, was ſuch, that he once purchaſed the narrative of a voyage made to the Red Sea by Stephen Gama, the Portugal Viceroy of the Eaſt Indies, written by Don John de Caſtro, which, as he ſays himſelf, he gave to Mr Hakluyt to publiſh (29); and, as we are informed by the publiſher o. our author's remains, who has given us an abridgment of it, had coſt Sir Walter no leſs than threeſcore pounds, beſides the coſt he was alſo at, to a perſon of learning and leiſure, to make a tranſlation thereof, and the pains he was himſelf at, in correcting the phraſe, and making marginal notes upon it with his own hand (30). We obſerve that Mr Hakluyt's dedication aforeſaid to Sir Walter Ralegh, of Loudonniere's Hiſtory of Florida, is dated from London, the firſt of May, 1587, which, however right in the time, we think may import ſome miſtake in the place, and that it ſhould rather have been dated then, from Paris, or ſome other part of France, as may appear, no leſs by other circumſtances, than by the number of years which he mentions himſelf, as we ſhall ſee above in the text, to have continued there. Another Hiſtory of Florida, we ſhall hereafter ſpeak of, which was alſo tranſlated by our indefatigable author, from the Portugueze, and publiſhed in the next reign.

(26) Entituled, A Notable Hiſtorie, containing four voyages, made by certain French Captains into Florida, &c. tranſlated out of French into Engliſh, by Mr Richard Hakluyt. In his Voyages, Vol. III. folio, 1600. p. 301.

(27) Idem, in his Dedication to Sir Walter Ralegh.

(28) Vide Secunda Pars Americæ, apud Theodore de Bry, folio, 1591. being the next year, after the ſaid de Bry publiſhed his curious Engliſh edition in folio, at Francfort, of a brief and true Report of the new found land of Virginia, by T. Hariot; with the Manners and Cuſtoms of the People, tranſlated from the Latin by Mr Hakluyt, and the picts of their faſhions from the drawings of Mr John White: and others of the antient picts (which John Speed has copied in wooden prints) all dedicated by de Bry to Sir Walter Ralegh, in folio, 1590.

[*F*] *He brought forth at Paris, a new edition of Peter Martyr's book*, De Orbe Novo.] This book is entitled, De Orbe Novo Petri Martyris Anglerii Mediolanenſis, *Protonotarii, et* Caroli *quinti ſenatoris, Decades Octo, diligenti temporum Obſervatione et utiliſſimis Annotationibus illuſtratæ, ſuoque nitori reſtitutæ. Labore et Induſtria* Richardi Hakluyti, Oxonienſis, Angli *Additus eſt, in uſum Lectoris, accuratus totius Operis Index. Pariſ* 8vo. 1587. There is prefixed, a copious dedication in Latin, as was ſaid, in about nine pages, to *The Illuſtrious and Magnanimous Sir Walter Raiegh*, &c. as he ſtiles him; wherein our editor has juſtly celebrated his memorable and much applauded enterprize upon Virginia; his ſettlement of colonies there; his liberal encouragement of navigators, officers, and ſurveyors thereof; ſuch as the learned Mr Thomas Harriot, and others; with many commendable exhortations, both from argument and example, to proceed in that, and ſuch like heroic undertakings, for the honour, advantage, and aggrandizement of his country; as may be more particularly read in the addreſs itſelf. This dedication is dated from Paris, on the 8th of the calends of March in the year aforeſaid. There is printed in this edition, beſides his brief marginal notes, to illuminate the text, or point out the chief heads of the hiſtory, and a commodious index of the contents, at the end, alſo a map at the beginning, from a copper ſculpture of New England and America, having the Engliſh poſſeſſions engraved, or marked thereupon. And the ſaid map is inſcribed to our author Mr Hakluyt, as an eminent promoter of ſuch coſmographical diſcoveries and plantations. This ſculpture is alſo dated from Paris, on the calends, or firſt of May, in the ſame year. And that this work might be rendered more generally exemplary to his countrymen, it was, through his recommendation, near twenty years after, in the next reign, when ſuch adventures, eſpecially to Virginia, were in ſome danger of ſtagnation, tranſlated into Engliſh. This tranſlation bears the title of, *The Hiſtorie of the Weſt-Indies: Containing the Actes and Adventures of the Spaniards, which*

(29) See Sir Walter Ralegh's Hiſtory of the World, l. b. II. cap. iii. ſect. 8. Alſo the Life of Sir Walter Ralegh prefixed thereto, in the edit. fol. 1736, p. 110.

(30) Purchas's Pilgrims, Part II. fol. 1122.

with marginal notes, a commodious index, a map of New-England and America, and a copious dedication, alſo to Sir Walter Ralegh. And the ſaid book, written by Peter Martyr, he afterwards cauſed likewiſe to be tranſlated into Engliſh. But this induſtrious revival, and liberal diſplay of the brave exploits of the Spaniards and other foreigners, in this new-found world, ſerved only, with many, to confirm that character wherewith the Engliſh nation had been aſperſed by ſome among them, of indolence and negligence, in ſuch like glorious and gainful acquiſitions; and that we, who had greater advantages than other nations for ſuch enterprizes, made the leaſt uſe of them. For not only in ſociety, but in his ſtudy among their books, he found us more durably branded therewith, as he ſays himſelf (*f*); and that, as well in their compoſitions as their converſation, he found other countries marvellouſly extolled for their notable diſcoveries and atchievements by ſea, but the Engliſh of all others, for their ſluggiſh ſecurity, and continual neglect of the like attempts, eſpecially in ſo long and happy a time of peace, either ignominiouſly reported of [G], or exceedingly condemned; with whoſe ſingular opportunities, if ſome other

(*f*) In his Dedication to Sir Francis Walſingham, of the firſt folio edition of his Voyages, as before.

which have conquered and peopled thoſe Countries; inriched with varietie of pleaſant Relation, of the Manners, Ceremonies, Lawes, Governments, and Warres of the Indians. Publiſhed in Latin by Mr Hakluyt, and tranſlated into Engliſh by M. Lok, Gent. London, printed for Andrew Hebb, &c (31). 'This 'work, ſays that tranſlator, of the Decades, written 'by Peter Martyr, a Millanoiſe, of Angleria, intituled '*The Hiſtory of the Newe World*, containeth the firſt 'diſcovery of the Weſt Indies, together with the ſub'jection and conqueſt thereof. Wherein we are chiefly 'to conſider the induſtry and travails of the Spaniarde, 'their exceeding charge in furniſhing ſo many ſhips for 'this intended expedition; their continual ſupplies to 'further their attempts, and their active and undaunted 'ſpirits in executing matters of that quality and difficul'ty; and laſtly their conſtant reſolution of plantation: 'all which may be exemplary unto us, to perform the 'like in our Virginia; which being once thoroughly 'planted and inhabited with our people, may return as 'great benefit to our nation in another kind, as the 'Indies do unto the Spaniard. For although it yield 'not gold; yet is it a fruitful pleaſant country, re'pleniſhed with all good things, neceſſary for the life 'of man, if they be induſtrious who inhabit it. But 'we leave this to them who have authoritie and good 'purſes to further a matter of ſuch important con'ſequence, and return to our purpoſe. Beſides the 'firſt diſcoverie of this countrie of the Weſt-Indies, 'this hiſtory likewiſe declareth the conqueſt and ſub'jection of the people, the manner how, and what 'myriades of millions of poor naked Indians were 'ſlaughtered and ſubdued through the conquering 'ſword, and the number of the Spaniards that at'tempted and performed the ſame. Wherein the 'chief men of note, and principal commanders have 'their particular names ſet down, and Chriſtopher 'Columbus, Fernando Cortes, Fern. Magellanus, and 'the reſt, whom the author hath expreſsly men'tioned, to their eternal commendation; and for the 'incitement and provocation of the living to the like 'honourable and high attempts. Here alſo are the 'people deſcribed, by their ſeveral nations, particular 'rites, ceremonies and cuſtoms; by their habit and at'tire, either in war or in peace; alſo by their reli'gion, ſacrifices, and other demeanour and geſtures 'whatſoever: ſo that to read the particulars diſcourſed 'there at large, which I briefly mention here, will ſo 'allure the reader, that nothing may ſeem more plea'ſing and delightful. For as in faſhions of apparell, 'and ordinary diet, we like extraordinary variety and 'change, though both tranſgreſs the rules of modeſtie 'and ſobrietie, yet either of theſe pleaſe the appetite 'and intemperate deſires: ſo doth varietie of hiſtorie 'yield more pleaſure and contentment; which, being 'a thing of more indifferency, and as ſtrong a motive 'in another kind, cannot but affect the ſenſes, and in'tellectual faculties with far greater delight. Hereunto 'he addeth the ſpeciall diſcription of the ſeveral coun'tries, with their particular ſituation, bounds, abut'ments, and quality of ſoil; together with their moun'tains, hills, rivers, meddows, paſtures, woods, fo'reſt, vallies, plains and champions, and what 'goodlie cities and fortified towns are there erec'ted, with the matter and manner of their archi'tecture and building, with all the ornament and 'elegancie thereof; their huge palaces, and houſes 'of pleaſure, far exceeding many princes courts; 'their orchards, gardens, and other incloſures, 'for wild beaſts and fowls of divers kinds, beau'tified with wonderful art and curioſity; their 'mightie lakes, whereof ſome are little inferior to the 'Euxine ſea, abounding with excellent fiſh, and what'ſoever elſe the divine bountie might beſtow upon a 'bleſſed countrie, to enrich them with all earthly fe'licity. And laſtly, he largely diſcribeth what thoſe 'mountains, hills, vallies, and champions, rivers and 'lakes ingender, and bring forth; what minerals, as 'gold and ſilver, and what pearls and precious ſtones; 'what wild beaſts, prodigious and ſtrange; what 'fowl and fiſh; flies and worms of the earth, and 'other noyſome things are bred there; and of the na'ture and qualitie of all theſe. All which, this hiſto'rian, moſt learnedly, in a more large and ample 'manner diſcribeth, than this ſhort narration can re'port; which, leaſt it exceed the juſt meaſure of due 'limits and bounds, I willingly perſuade the reader to 'have recourſe unto the author himſelf; from whence 'he ſhall receive a more perfect ſatisfaction touching 'particulars, than this generality doth include, &c '(32).' About ſome five or ſix years after, there was another edition of this tranſlation publiſhed, *with* ſome variation in the title; wherein the author's name is mentioned, with other particulars, more expreſsly; and probably by the direction of Mr Hakluyt. This edition appears under the title of, *De Orbe Novo, or The Hiſtorie of the Weſt-Indies*, &c. *Compriſed in eight Decades; written by* Peter Martyr, *a* Millanoiſe *of* Angleria; *chief Secretary to the Emperour* Charles V. *and of his Privy Council: Whereof three have been formerlie tranſlated into Engliſh by* R. Eden; *whereunto the other five are newly added, by the induſtrie and painful Travaill of* M. Lok, *Gent* Lond. *Printed for* Tho. Adam, *Quarto*, 1612. Before this Engliſh edition is prefixed a dedication by the ſaid tranſlator Mr Lok, in Latin, to Sir Julius Cæſar, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and afterwards Maſter of the Rolls; wherein, he informs his ſaid patron, that this tranſlation was undertaken and performed, by the perſuaſion and encouragement of the accompliſhed Mr Richard Hakluyt, who had ſo well deſerved of the publick. There was another impreſſion of this Engliſh tranſlation publiſhed in the beginning of King Charles the Firſt his reign, about the year 1628.

(31) In 4to. without date.

(32) Mr Lok's Preface to his Tranſlation of Peter Martyr's Hiſt. of the Weſt Indies, 4to. no date.

[G] *The Engliſh, of all others, for their ſluggiſh ſecurity, &c. ignominiouſly reported of*] Here Mr Hakluyt produces the authority upon which theſe reflexions are partly grounded, of a noted French writer; where ſpeaking in commendation of the Rhodians, who being iſlanders, like ourſelves, were excellent in navigation; he thereupon wonders much that the Engliſh made no greater figure than they had done, or were not more famed in naval exploits. This made that French author ſometimes inquiſitive, what it might be, that could hinder the Engliſh, who had wit, means, and courage enough, from riſing to great reputation among all chriſtian countries, and from making themſelves more conſiderable, or accounted of, upon the ſea; ſince that element is, and ſhould be more natural to them than other people; who ſhould ſubmit and be inferior to them, in the building, fitting out, and conduct of their navies; as he had oftentimes obſerved in many places among them: for this is the ſenſe of his own words, which are; '*Ce qui m'a fait autresfois rechercher les 'occaſions, qui empeſchent que les Anglois, qui ont d'eſ'prit, de moyens, et valeur aſſez, pour ſaquerir un 'grand honneur parmi tous les Chreſtiens, ne ſe font 'plus valoir ſur l'element, qui leur eſt, et doit eſtre 'plus naturel qu'à autres peuples; qui leur doivent 'ceder en la ſtructure, accommodement, et police de Na'vires:*

other people, our neighbours, had been bleſſed; their proteſtations were frequent and vehement, that they would far otherwiſe have uſed them (*g*). Such like reflections made Hakluyt ſoon recollect, that while he was paying honour to the writings and actions of worthy men abroad, he might be charged himſelf with neglect, in forbearing longer to produce and exemplify that which was juſtly due to thoſe at home. Inſomuch, that after his abode now in France five years with Sir Edward Stafford, returning into England in company with the accompliſhed Lady Sheffield, ſiſter to the Lord Admiral Howard (*b*), in the latter end of 1588, that memorable year wherein his countrymen ſo bravely defeated one of the great enterprizes which the Spaniards themſelves accounted invincible, he grew impatient to ſet forth the naval hiſtory of England more expreſsly and extenſively than it had ever yet appeared. And ſo intenſe were his zeal and application herein, that however incompliable he found ſome contracted and tenacious tempers, he obtained the communications of many other perſons of the greateſt diſtinction and experience in maritime knowledge. And to give farther intereſt, countenance, and credit, to his ſaid laudable undertaking, Sir Walter Ralegh choſe him, among other gentlemen and merchants in the latter end of the year aforeſaid, one of the corporation of counſellors, aſſiſtants, and adventurers, to whom he aſſigned his patent for the proſecution of diſcoveries and plantations in America (*i*). And now he applied himſelf ſo cloſely to amaſs, tranſlate, and digeſt, all ſuch voyages, journals, narratives, patents, letters, inſtructions, &c. as any way concerned the Engliſh navigations, which he could procure either in print or manuſcript; that in the latter end of the next year, 1589, he publiſhed his ſaid collections in one folio volume [*H*], with a dedication before it to Sir Francis Walſingham, who was a principal patron

(*g*) Idem.

(*b*) Ibid. Alſo his Dedication to the ſaid Lord Admiral, Charles Earl of Nottingham, before the firſt volume of his laſt edition of Voyages, &c. folio, 1598.

(*i*) See Sir Walter Ralegh's Aſſignment to divers gentlemen and merchants of London, for the inhabiting and planting of our people in Virginia; dat. 7 Mar. 31 Eliæ. in Hakluyt's firſt folio edit. p. 815. And the Life of Sir W. Ralegh, folio, as before, p. 48, 49.

' *vires: comme j'ay veu en pluſieurs endroits parmi eux* ' (33).' Thus Hakluyt, both hearing and reading the obloquy of our nation, but finding few of our own people inclined, or able to reply herein, and ſeeing none forward in recommending to the world, the induſtrious labours, and painful travels of our countrymen; that he might prevent the diſperſion of ſuch reproaches, he determined, upon his return from France, to undertake the burden of that work, wherein all others pretended either ignorance, lack of leiſure, or ſufficient argument: whereas, ſays he, to ſpeak truly, the auge toil, and ſmall profit, were the chief cauſes of their refuſal He calls the work a burden, becauſe theſe voyages lay ſo diſperſed, and ſo hidden in the hands of huckſters, that he wonders at himſelf, to ſee how he was able to endure he delays, ſcruples, and backwardneſs of many, from whom he was to receive his originals (34). But paſſing over the difficulties and diſcouragements, which he at laſt ſurmounted, he proceeds, in confutation of ſuch reflections, to make it appear wherein our countrymen have been moſt ſignally worthy of praiſe, for their many notable and extraordinary adventures and expeditions, performed with the greateſt intrepidity, expertneſs, and ſucceſs, to the great increaſe of experience, profit and renown, in their voyages of diſcovery, traffic and alliance with many kingdoms and regions, moſt diſtant and divided. ' It cannot be ' denied, ſays he, but as, in all former ages, they have ' been men full of activity, ſtirrers abroad, and ſearchers of the remote parts of the world; ſo in this ' moſt famous and peerleſs government of her moſt excellent Majeſty, her ſubjects, through the ſpecial aſſiſtance and bleſſing of God, in ſearching the moſt ' oppoſite corners and quarters of the world, and to ſpeak plainly, in compaſſing the vaſt globe of the ' earth, more than once, have excelled all the nations, ' and people of the earth. For which of the Kings of ' this land, before her Majeſty, had their banners ever ' ſeen in the Caſpian Sea? which of them hath ever ' dealt with the Emperor of Perſia, as her Majeſty hath ' done, and obtained for her merchants, large and loving priviledges? who ever ſaw, before this regimen, ' an Engliſh Leiger in the ſtately porch of the Grand ' Signor at Conſtantinople? whoever found Engliſh ' Conſuls and Agents at Tripolis in Syria, at Aleppo, ' at Babylon, at Balſara, and which is more, who ever ' heard of Engliſhmen at Goa, before now? what Engliſh ' ſhips did heretofore ever anchor in the mighty river of ' Plate? paſs and repaſs the unpaſſable, in former opinion, Straight of Magellan; range along the coaſt of ' Chili, Peru, and all the back ſide of Nova Hiſpania, ' further than any Chriſtian ever paſſed; travers the ' mighty breadth of the South Sea; land upon the Luzones, in deſpight of the enemy: enter into alliance, ' amitie, and traffic, with the Princes of the Moluccaes, and the Iſle of Java; double the famous cape ' of Bona Speranza; arrive at the Iſle of Santa Helena; ' and laſt of all, return home moſt richly laden with ' the commodities of China, as the ſubjects of this new ' flouriſhing monarchy hath done (35)?' and in theſe ſhining courſes they continued to exert themſelves, till the end of that renowned reign; ſtill enlarging their honour and glory, by their naval exploits; whether in the diſcovery or inveſtigation of unknown countries, in the conqueſt of their enemies, or inlargement of commerce with their friends; as may moſt evidently appear in the voyages ſet forth by Maſter Hakluyt; wherefore a Dutch author, who in the former part of the next reign, had a juſt knowledge of their maritime merits, has in one of his nautical diſcourſes given them a character equal thereunto; where he delivers it for an unconteſted truth, That the Engliſh, at that time, ſurpaſſed all nations, even the Hollanders themſelves, for their induſtry and ſkill in navigation: *Hoc certum eſt*, ſays that author (36), *omnibus bodiè gentibus, navigandi, induſtria et peritia, ſuperiores eſſe Anglos; et poſt Anglos, Hollandos.*

(33) L'Admiral de France; par la Popeliniere, folio, 1573. p. 1, 2.

(34) Hakluyt's Dedication to Sir Francis Walſingham, of the firſt folio edit. of his Voyages, as before.

(35) Idem. See alſo Hakluyt's Preface to the firſt volume of his laſt edition, folio, 1598.

(36) Barth. Keckerman.

[*H*] *In the latter end of the next year*, 1589, *he publiſhed his ſaid collections in one folio volume, &c.*] This work is intituled, *The Principall Navigations, Voyages, and Diſcoveries of the Engliſh Nation, made by Sea, or over Land, to the moſt and furtheſt diſtant Quarters of the Earth, at any time within the Compaſs of theſe Fifteen Hundred Years: Divided into three ſeveral Parts, according to the Poſitions of the Regions whereunto they were directed, &c. Imprinted at London by Geo. Biſhop and Ralph Newberrie, Deputies to Chr. Barker, Printer to the Queene's moſt excellent Majeſty.* Folio 1589 It is dedicated by the author, as we have before obſerved, To the Right Honourable Sir Francis Walſingham, Knight, Principal Secretary to her Majeſtie, Chancellor to the Duchie of Lancaſter, and one of her Majeſtie's moſt Honourable Privy-Councell, and dated from London, 17 November (in the year aforeſaid) After the dedication, from which we have receited ſome uſeful particular, and in which it appears that the whole work had paſſed the cenſure and approbation of that learned phyſician, Dr James, according to the deſire and direction of Sir Francis, there is a very diſtinct and articulate preface, wherein we are made acquainted with the author's method, or diſpoſition, and digeſtion of the whole work, according to the diviſion propoſed in his title: ſhewing how he has marſhalled all our voyages of greateſt importance, 1. To the South, and Southern parts of the world. 2. The North and North-Eaſtern voyages. 3. And laſtly, The Weſtern navigations, which have been more latterly made, for the diſcovery and plantation of the New, and American World, &c. Under all which heads he inſtances ſome of our capital expeditions. Whereunto is added, the laſt renowned voyage round the globe of the earth, by Mr Thomas Cavendiſh; which being the more circumſtantial, renders the want of Sir Francis Drake's, in this edition, the leſs neceſſary; wherein though our author took extraordinary pains to correct, digeſt, and adapt it to his work, yet was he diſſuaded, contrary to his expectation, from inſerting the ſame, leſt it might anticipate the undertak-

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patron and promoter of the ſaid publication; from which epiſtle we have received ſome good intelligence and directions in this article relating to the author himſelf, as may be perceived in our frequent references thereto. In 1590, when the fifth voyage was undertaken to Virginia by three ſhips, under Governor White, for relief of the colony there; and Sir Walter Ralegh had, at the requeſt of Mr Hakluyt and the other aſſignees, ſent a licence from the Queen, for thoſe under the governor, with orders to proceed, notwithſtanding the embargo which was then laid upon all Engliſh ſhipping, and other private oppoſitions; the maſters and mariners under the governor, by excurſions after Spaniſh prizes, loſing their ſeaſon, returned, without ſeeing the planters, and not without ſome loſſes ſuſtained by ſtorms; as appears in the Governor's letter afterwards to Mr Hakluyt, dated the fourth of February, 1593 (*k*); but the greateſt loſs of all was, a Spaniſh Mexican prize, which the Little John, their Vice-Admiral, had rendered ſo leaky and diſabled, by great ſhot, about the Organes, that, ſinking before they could board, to clear it, they loſt fifteen pipes of ſilver, by the conqueſt they had too effectually made thereof; as appears in the Governor's journal of that voyage, printed alſo by our author with his letter aforeſaid (*l*). Though about this time, or the year 1594, as we compute, he entered into the ſtate of matrimony, it diverted not the continuation of his collections; the labour and

(*k*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 287.

(*l*) Idem, p. 29.

ing of another perſon, to draw the ſervices of that Knight into one volume.

From the ſaid preface, as it was never afterwards reprinted, we may the rather alſo here remember, that our author gratefully acknowledges from whoſe friendly intereſt, communications, and encouragement, this collection was chiefly compiled. For, as he accounted thoſe unworthy of future, who are unthankful for former favours, ſo, ſays he, 'I 'ſhould think it groſs ingratitude, to forget, and wil-'full maliciouſneſs not to confeſs that man, whoſe 'only name doth carry with it ſufficient eſtimation and 'love, and that is, Maſter Edward Dier;' of whom he further ſays thus much, in few words; That, 'both myſelf, and my intentions herein, by his friendly 'means, have been made known to thoſe, who, in 'in ſundry particulars, have much ſteaded me: more 'eſpecially in my firſt part, Mr Richard Staper, Mer-'chant of London, hath furniſhed me with divers 'things touching the trade of Turkie, and other places 'in the Eaſt. Maſter William Burrough, Clerk of her 'Majeſtie's Navy, and Maſter Anthony Jenkinſon, 'both gentlemen of great experience and obſervation 'in the north regions, have much pleaſured me in the 'ſecond part: in the third and laſt, beſides my own 'extream travaile, in the hiſtories of the Spaniards, 'my chief light hath been received from Sir John 'Hawkins, Sir Walter Ralegh, and my kinſman, Ma-'ſter Richard Hakluyt, of the Middle-Temple (37).'

(37) Hakluyt's Dedication to Sir F. Walſingham, as above.

And whereas, in this hiſtory, mention is often made of many beaſts, birds, fiſhes, ſerpents, plants, fruits, herbs, roots, apparel, armour, boats, and ſuch other rare and ſtrange curioſities, which wiſe men take great pleaſure to read of, but more to ſee, our author was ſingularly delighted in beholding them gathered together, at no ſmall coſt, and preſerved with no little diligence, in the excellent cabinets of his worſhipful and learned friends, Mr Richard Garth, one of the Clerks of the Petty-Bag, and Mr William Cope, Gentleman-Uſher to the Lord-Treaſurer Burghley

As for geeographical and hydrographical tables, he contented himſelf with inſerting into the work, one of the beſt general maps of the world only, till the publiſhing of a very large and moſt exact terreſtrial globe, collected aad reformed according to the neweſt, moſt ſecret, and late diſcoveries, both Spaniſh, Portugal and Engliſh, compoſed by Mr Emmery Mollineux of Lambeth, a rare gentleman in his profeſſion; being therein, for divers years, ſupported, by the purſe and liberality of that worſhipful Merchant. Mr William Sanderſon: ſo wiſhing the reader's profit and pleaſure as great as his labour and pains had been, our author concludes the ſaid preface.

(38) Vide Viaggio Atorno il Mondo, fatta & deſcritto per M. Ant. Pigafetta, Vincentino. Caval. de Rhodi, in primo volume & terza editione Delle Navigationi & Viaggi raccolto gia da M. Gio. Batt. Ramuſio, &c. fol. Venet. 1563. p. 352, b. Alſo an Abſtract thereof in Eden and Willes's Hiſt. of Trav. &c. 4to. 1577. p. 432.

After that preface, from whence theſe extracts are produced, we have ſome poetical encomiums upon the author and his labours, in Greek, by Mr Hugh Broughton; in Italian, by Marc. Antonio Pigafetta, who was the ſon, or other relation, of that famous voyager ſo named, with Magellan round the world (38); and in Latin, by Mr Camden and Philip Jones. In the whole collection, the voyages, travels, journals, &c. are between ninety and one hundred; and the records, patents, privileges, letters, embaſſies, commiſſions, inſtructions, orders, rules, edicts, paſſports, notes of commodities, direction, enquiries, &c. are about one hundred and three-ſcore, contained in 825 pages. Beſides the dedication and preface beforementioned, there are alſo in this volume ſome few voyages, inſtruments, and other things, which, partly to avoid being too voluminous, were not revived in his next and more ample edition; particularly the Itinerary of Sir John Mandeville, the greateſt Aſian traveller that had been in Europe; which he dedicated to King Edward the Third, and of which we have here a more correct impreſſion in Latin than had hitherto been publiſhed (39); however ſome writers have ſpoken very diſpairingly of ever ſeeing a genuine and uncorrupted edition thereof, in any language, though we have many old manuſcripts of this author, at Oxford, Cambridge, and in other libraries. Some letters alſo in this volume, and that aſſignment of Sir Walter Ralegh above cited, are omitted in the next edition; and in that is likewiſe wanting, an accurate and uſeful index, wherewith this is ſupplied. But his rules of conduct in both, are more explicit, ſatisfactory, and hiſtorical, than in moſt other ſucceeding collections of voyages. He records the teſtimonies of his authors word for word, in whatever language written; refers to the pages of their books, and ſubjoins his own tranſlations, or the ſubſtance of their narratives, in Engliſh; has aſcribed each voyage to the adventurer who performed and the author who compiled it, that every man may anſwer for himſelf: has confined his collections to the navigations of our own nation, and annexes the evidence of ſtrangers to confirm or enlarge the Engliſh accounts of them; but for ſeveral adventures and tranſactions of his countrymen in foreign nations, he could only be beholden to the relations of foreigners, from whom, concerning ſeveral of our antient travellers, he received more intelligence, in ſome reſpects, than any of our own hiſtorians, except Bale, Fox, and Eden. He has left out little ſhort trading voyages to neighbouring and European ports; and alſo many of warfare and hoſtility; as that againſt the Spaniſh armada, and the Portugal expedition; thoſe of Sir Francis Drake upon the bay of Cadiz, and near the iſlands, upon the huge Eaſt Indian carrack, which firſt diſcharged Molucca ſpices on the Engliſh ſhores: ſuch as theſe were at preſent intermitted, as what being recent, might at any time hereafter be incorporated, but at preſent, beſides his preſcribed limits, and not of ſcope or extention enough to advance our experience in Coſmography and Traffic, or engage our curioſity in diſcoveries and plantations, the chief ſubject and drift of his preſent plan; but he afterwards enlarged and enriched it with thoſe particulars, in the next edition, as the invaſions of our enemies, and our repulſe of them, gave occaſion: for then, perceiving that ſuch examples, as would train his countrymen to the naval arts of domeſtic defence, might ſometimes concern us more nearly than thoſe which would make us rovers after diſtant and extraneous acquiſitions, he therefore very acceptably and inſtructively recorded all ſuch naval engagements of moment as intermediately occurred in his ſaid latter impreſſion; wherein it appears more to the honour and renown of the Engliſh nation, than in any other work, that we were then become more expert, formidable, and famous, by our warlike exploits at ſea, than any of our neighbours could, by the like heroic and victorious atchievements, boaſt to have rendered themſelves.

(39) There was an old Latin edit. before printed, intituled Joan. de Mandeville Itinerarium a Terra Angliæ, in partes Ieroſolymitanas, & ulteriores tranſmarinas, ab autore primum Gallice conſcriptum, anno 1355. & poſtea Latine verſum, 4to. in the time of King Henry VIII. Alſo an edition in Italian, 12mo. 1567, &c. And laſtly, one in old Engliſh, publiſhed from a MS. in the Cotton library, by Mr David Caſley, 8vo. 1725. in which may be ſeen ſome account of the author; alſo in Leland, Bale, and Pitts; Gerard Mercator, Abr. Ortelius, and J. Weever's Funeral Monuments.

[*l*] *Whereof*

and expence of many years, could not abate his vigorous endeavours ſtill to go on, not only in reſcuing our naval antiquities from the wreck of oblivion, and preſerving the memorable enterprizes of our modern navigators from the like hazard; but in ſuch manner, as to adjuſt the diſplaced and ſcattered limbs, as well of antient and late voyages by ſea as travels by land, and traffic of merchandize by both, into one regular body; reſtoring each divided and diſlocated member to it's natural order and ſymmetry; and, as he ſays himſelf, by the help of Geography and Chronology, which he calls the ſun and moon, or right and left eye of all hiſtory, referring each particular relation to it's due time and place (*m*). To accompliſh this arduous taſk, what reſtleſs nights and painful days he endured; how many long and chargeable journeys he travelled; how many famous libraries he ſearched; what variety of antient and modern writers peruſed; what a number of records, patents, privileges, letters, and other manuſcript vouchers, he tranſcribed and revived from their graves; what variety of acquaintance he contracted; what monies diſburſed; and yet what fair opportunities of private profit, preferment, and eaſe, he neglected, though his readers could hardly imagine, he daily found and felt, as he ſays himſelf, and ſome of his intimate acquaintance could ſufficiently teſtify (*n*): yet no bodily toil, perplexity of mind, or detriment to his ſubſtance, was inſuperable to him, or could diſcourage his indefatigable perſeverance: *The honour and benefit of this Commonwealth*, ſays he, *hath made all difficulties ſeem eaſy, all pains and induſtry pleaſant, all expences of light value and moment to me* (*o*). With this undiſcourageable ſpirit he went on, 'till his Collection of Engliſh Voyages laſt mentioned was augmented into three folio volumes; whereof he publiſhed the firſt in 1598, and the others in the two enſuing years ſucceſſively [*I*]. The firſt

(*m*) Hakluyt's pref. to the laſt edit. of his Voyages, Vol. I.

(*n*) Idem.

(*o*) Ibid.

[*I*] *Whereof he publiſhed the firſt in* 1598, *and the others in the two enſuing years, &c.*] In this laſt edition of our author's collections, though the former part of the title is much like that of the foregoing edition, yet the contents or diſpoſition of the parts are different, being titled, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Diſcoveries, of the Engliſh Nation, made by ſea or over-land, to the remote and furtheſt diſtant quarters of the Earth, at any time within the compaſs of theſe* 1500 *years; divided into three volumes, &c. The firſt, containing the worthy Diſcoveries, &c. of the Engliſh towards the North and North-Eaſt, by ſea, &c. with many notable Teſtimonies of the antient foreign Trade, the warlike and other ſhipping of this Realm: alſo a brief Commentary of the true State of Iceland and the Northern Seas, with the memorable defeat of the Spaniſh Armada in* 1588, *and the victory at Cadiz,* 1596 *. By* Richard Hakluyt *Maſter of Arts, ſometimes Student of Chriſt-Church in Oxford. Imprinted folio,* 1598, *in* 619 *pages.*

* For theſe two, though they ought to have been placed among the Southern Voyages, yet to ſatisfy the importunity of friends, who impatiently deſired them, our author ſays, in his preface, that he ſomewhat ſtrained his propoſed method.

Herewith is uſually bound, *The ſecond volume of the principal Navigations, &c. of the Engliſh Nation, &c. to the South and South-Eaſt parts of the World, within the compaſs of theſe* 1600 *years: divided into two parts; the firſt, through and within the Straite of Gibraltar, to Algier, &c. almoſt to China the ſecond, without the Straite of Gibraltar, to the Iſlands of Azores, &c. By* R. Hakluyt, folio, 1599, in 312 pages, the firſt part; and 204 the laſt. Beſides dedications, preface, and tables of contents.

The third and laſt volume of the Voyages, &c. of the Engliſh Nation, and in ſome few places where they have not been of Strangers performed, within and before the time of theſe 100 *years, to all parts of the new found World of America, or the Weſt-Indies, from* 73 *degrees of northerly, to* 57 *of ſouthern latitude, &c. together with the two renowned and proſperous Voyages of Sir Francis Drake and Mr Tho. Candiſh round the whole Earth, &c.* by R. Hakluyt, *&c.* and printed, as the others, by G. Biſhop, &c. folio, 1600, in 868 pages, beſides the dedication and tables.

The Poems to the author, before the laſt edition, are reprinted before the firſt volume of this, all but one copy, and a diſtich, writ by P. Jones, which are left out for two copies by Richard Mulcaſter, who was Maſter of Paul's ſchool. Some copies of the firſt volume appear dated alſo the next year after it was printed; not that the volume was then reprinted, but only the title page; in which all notice of the Cadiz voyage was left out, and the voyage itſelf, at the end of the volume, cancelled in moſt of the copies, which then remained unſold, leſt offence ſhould be given by ſuch an honourable memorial of the Earl of Eſſex's moſt proſperous expedition, at the time when he was fallen under the Queen's unpardonable diſpleaſure. But at laſt an uncaſtrated copy being found, in the library of Auditor Jett, as I remember, about the year 1723, this voyage was thence reprinted, and has made many imperfect copies complete. Moreover, in the dedication of the firſt volume to the Lord Admiral Howard, dated Lond. 7 Octob. 1598. our author acknowledges himſelf much bound to the Biſhop of Chicheſter (40), for procuring him the liberty of tranſcribing ſome curious manuſcripts out of the Lord Lumley's ſtately library (41); which, as Mercator and Ortelius informed him, they had many years inquired after in vain. He alſo mentions a little medicinal manuſcript which he deſigned to have printed, for the relief of thoſe diſtempers to which travellers are ſubject in hot countries (42); but declined it, upon the admonition he received from Dr W. Gilbert, that eminent Phyſician, who wrote ſo learnedly upon the loadſtone, how defectively the ſaid manuſcript was written. Each of the two laſt volumes, as we ſaid, are dedicated to Sir Robert Cecil, Secretary of State, Maſter of the Court of Wards, and one of her Majeſty's Privy-Council: the former, on the 24th of October, 1599; the latter, on the 1ſt of September, 1600; and we have before quoted as much as may be thought neceſſary in this article out of them. The whole three volumes contain the hiſtorical accounts and particular narratives of near two hundred and twenty voyages, beſides above three hundred and ſeventy patents, privileges, inſtructions, orders, letters, paſſports, inquiries, &c. of princes and their miniſters, admirals, officers, merchants, and others, of power or experience; which are a great credit to the collection, and, as more preferable, for the greater regard and authority they are of, than if prefaces or introductions had been prefixed to every voyage, by the hand of an editor, though it were ſuch a one as Ramuſio or Hakluyt himſelf: ſo may they ſerve as forms of precedent, in any ſuch enterprizes or engagements as ſhall be hereafter appointed, or undertaken: For this edition is built upon a very comprehenſive plan, and may, at all times, be no leſs ſerviceable many ways, than reputable to the nation; as it is a magazine, ſo richly ſtored with ſome of the moſt adventrous atchievements of our anceſtors, that were of the moſt national concern, atteſted by eye-witneſſes, as well as other moſt credible and authentic vouchers. Containing, not only ſuch examples as may animate their poſterity to diſpiſe all hazard and hardſhip, bloodſhed and death itſelf, for a knowledge of the uncultivated world, and the honour that may be reaped in it, to their own advantage, and the aggrandizement of their country: not only ſuch examples, as may ſhame the gallants, who make it their heigheſt breeding and accompliſhments to travel abroad, for ſuch faſhions and corruptions in foreign countries, as may poiſon them with prejudice againſt their own; not only ſuch mercantile voyages, as may be further improved to our enrichment by traffic, and the importation of beneficial productions; not only ſuch voyages of diſcovery and enlargement of the Britiſh dominions, with new poſſeſſions, by colonies and plantations upon ſtrange coaſts, unpoſſeſſed by Chriſtian people, as may be extended to the further civilizing of ſavage nations; but witnal ſuch martial and heroic expeditions and exploits, as may, after thoſe great exemplers teach us to keep

(40) Dr Anth. Watſon.

(41) There is an alphabetical Catalogue of the Ld. Lumley's reſerved Library, among Sir Hen. Puckering's MSS. in Trin. Coll. Camb.

(42) George Watſon's Cure of Hot Diſeaſes, incident to travellers in long ſouthern Voyages, dedicated to the Queen, in MS.

firſt volume is properly dedicated to the Lord Admiral Howard, and each of the laſt to Sir Robert Cecil, then Principal Secretary of State; from whom he acknowledges that he received

keep ourſelves able, in like manner; and ever watchful to uphold our naval ſtrength, ſkill and courage, by good œconomy, diſcipline and practice, ſo as to preſerve what we are already poſſeſſed of, from the treacherous encroachments of falſe, faithleſs, and ambitious neighbours. Such triumphant voyages here are, as may inſpire us to keep up the ſuperiority of Engliſh fleets, to reaſſume our ſovereignty of the Britiſh ſeas, or aſſert our priority of poſſeſſions by land; ſuch as may encourage us to encreaſe or ſecure our fiſheries and factories, and yield matter of intelligence and direction, eſpecially out of the rich treaſury of maritime records here repoſited, in many future embaſſies, for maintaining our ancient rights and privileges, in treaties of alliance, commerce, &c (43). Such alſo do here occur, which may give continual lights and hints of improvement in the ſciences of Aſtronomy, Coſmography, Hydrography, Navigation, and other parts of the Mathematics, no leſs than in the Natural Hiſtory of animals, plants, metals, minerals and drugs; uſeful in phyſic, painting, dying, beſides many other arts, manufactures and occupations of life: and laſt of all, though above all, ſuch as may no leſs conſtantly infuſe a grateful ſenſation of the Divine Providence, in ſo many wonderful deliverances, from ſtorms, ſhipwrecks, pyrates, ſlavery, famine, and other moſt imminent perils in peace, no leſs than war, and by land as well as ſea.

(43) See the American Library, 4to. 1713. in the Dedication by Dr White Kennet, after Biſhop of Peterborough.

Though we would willingly give an inventory of the treaſures in this collection, as what might be here very acceptable, from the voyages of King Arthur, down to thoſe of Hawkins and Frobiſer, Gilbert and Grenvile, Drake and Ralegh, Davis and Cavendiſh, beſides the Earls of Nottingham, Eſſex, Cumberland, and the reſt of thoſe illuſtrious navigators, who in the reign of the moſt renowned Elizabeth, laid the foundation of our naval glory (44); yet when we conſider the number of our voyages and inſtruments herein preſerved, we cannot in this place, engroſs ſo much room, as the moſt ſuccinct recapitulation of them would require: and as the bare titles of theſe voyages, &c. in what years performed, to what places bound, with the adventurers names, and the authors by whom recorded, have been lately drawn forth to public view, in the moſt conciſe manner, with the moſt cordial deſire to recommend this valuable work to a new impreſſion, yet, as they take up above twenty pages in octavo, we muſt at preſent refer thoſe who cannot readily conſult the originals, to that draught in minature of them (45), and the obſervations thereunto annexed; while we here proceed to aſſemble a few of the diſperſed characters that have been occaſionally delivered both of this compiler and his collection: among which, ſuch as ſhould contain the moſt liberal acknowledgments to our author, might be expected to be found in Mr Purchas, who was moſt obliged, for the beſt, if not the greateſt part of thoſe four volumes, which he has named his Pilgrims, to the unpubliſhed remains of Mr Hakluyt. Some portions indeed of his gratitude we may find diſperſed in thoſe volumes, but not equal to the benefits he received, or the merits of his benefactor: as, where he refers to our author's painful performances, who hath ſo well deſerved of this iſland, and it's Neptunian heroes; and accounts ſome parts of his own narratives, but as ſummaries or indexes to Mr Hakluyt (46). Where he confeſſes that, to Hakluyt's labours, his own are ſo much indebted (47): and where he applauds him as a great, or happy diſcoverer of diſcoveries, according to his ingenious faculty of jingling, and ringing the changes, or otherwiſe playing now and then, with the ſame words; which kind of ſtile appeared of ſuch force and beauty to him, that he could not forbear flouriſhing out his very title with it, in the graved frontiſpiece of his ſaid work (48). And King James's head was ſo turned to, or with this ſort of rhetorick, and other like reading, which made him ſuch a proficient in theology, philoſophy, politics, poetry, pedantry and punning, as he was, that he read over a large volume of this writer's, adorned with ſuch flowers of ſcience, preliminary to thoſe of his pilgrims, no leſs than ſeven times; as the ſaid Mr Purchas has informed, as well his Majeſty's royal ſon and ſucceſſor, as the Archbiſhop, to whom he was chaplain (49); but neither the fondneſs of one King to his writings, nor a promiſe from the other, of a deanry, made any reparation of the ruinous expence he was at, in thoſe publications; which he did not long ſurvive. The truth is, his genius was thought too narrow or deſultory for his capacious and weighty undertaking, which tempted him, however ſeveral good narratives in his collection are left entire and unimpaired to uſe ſome of his materials in a waſteful manner, and to have drawn but inaccurate or ſuperficial accounts from them; not ſo much for any needful retrenchment of redundances, ſo often pretended in the mangling and multilating of good authors, as the reſtleſs deſire of novelties, varieties, and continuations. And as arguments are never wanting in ſuch ſchemes of monopoly, to contract and deminiſh the records of the greateſt actions performed by our moſt worthy anceſtors, that room may be left more ſpaciouſly to compliment thoſe of the moderns, which muſt be annexed to them: ſo Purchas has been ſufficiently imitated, and ſurpaſſed, in that point of gratitude, with relation to Hakluyt; in whom, more than a whole volume of the moſt renowned and memorable exploits by ſea, during the long reign of Queen Elizabeth, that are to be found in all our annals, we ſhall ſometimes behold, ſo dwarfiſhly ſhrunk up, into a meagre chapter; ſo enervated, emaſculated, and ſtripped of every thing intereſting, affecting, animating and remarkable (50), that moſt of theſe comprehenſive ſchemes from the earlieſt to the lateſt times, in ſuch contracted compaſs, ſkimming over the ſurface of generalities, and graſping wide but not deep, are apt to leave as little impreſſion of excitement, or emulation upon our minds, as ſo many almanacks. Dr Hakewill's project to enlarge the fame of our author, together with that of his country, was much more noble and eligible, than any that has attempted to leſſen both, by the diminution of his works; where having, not only obſerved, 'What excellent precepts have been given 'for the art of navigation, by Pedro de Medina (51), 'Baptiſta Ramuſio, and others; but how happily the 'art itſelf hath been practiſed, by the Portugals, Spaniards, Hollanders, and our own nation, whoſe 'voyages and diſcoveries, Maſter Hakluyt hath collected and reported, in three ſeveral volumes, &c. he 'adds, and it were to be wiſhed as well for the honour 'of the Engliſh name, as the benefit that might there'by redound to other nations, that his collections and 'relations, had been writtan in Latin, or that ſome 'learned pen would be pleaſed to turn them into that 'language (52).' And to the ſame purpoſe, he further wiſhes, that the commendable treatiſe of Mr Hues upon the celeſtial and terreſtrial globes, for the inſtruction of navigators in the principles of geometry and aſtronomy, were, for the better uſe of ſuch as are ignorant in the Latin tongue, alſo tranſlated into our language (53). Thus Dr Hakewill we ſee, near an hundred and twenty years ſince, recommended an edition of this collection, in Latin, which doubtleſs would be a moſt reputable work to us, among foreigners, at leaſt ſhew them as well how much we had been miſrepreſented, as how glorious we have been at ſea; and what glory will accrue to the preſent age, in ſhewing by compariſon what we are, our deſcendants may moſt freely and impartially judge. If a Latin edition were commendable, to acquaint foreigners with the ſpirit of our anceſtors, how much more would an Engliſh one be ſo, to revive, or preſerve that ſpirit, among ourſelves, and poſterity? We find the tranſlation of Hakluyt's voyages into French, ſo particularly deſired alſo by that nation, that M. Thevenot has accordingly taken pains to render ſome of them intelligible to his countrymen, in that language; together with ſome of the inſtructions, and other original records, which authorized or animated the ſame, as neceſſary motives, and appendages thereto (54); of ſuch conſiderable ſervice and importance, that nation eſteemed this collection: and ſhall foreigners think it worth their while to be at the labour and expence of tranſlating and printing an Engliſh author, whom Engliſhmen will not be at the pains, without the charge, as it may be done by ſubſcription, only to reprint? ſince the ſcarcity of the book was obſerved above threeſcore years ago (55), and the neglect of a new impreſſion complained of as then much wanting among us. Dr Fuller ſpeaking of Hakluyt's large collections of voyages ſays, 'They were taken partly out of pri-'vate

(44) See the Naval Hiſtory of Tho. Lediard, Eſq; fol. 1735. in the Preface.

(45) In the Britiſh Librarian, 8vo. 1738. from p. 136 to 158.

(46) His Pilgrims, Part IV. 1625. p. 1287.

(47) His Pilgrimage, fol. 1626. p. 817.

(48) Hakluytus Poſthumus, or Purchas's Pilgrims; containing a Hiſtory of the World, in Sea Voyages, &c. wherein God's wonders, &c. with a world of the World's rarities, are, by a world of eye-witneſs authors, related to the World, &c. See the engraved title of Purchas's firſt volume, fol. 1624.

(49) See Purchas's Pilgrimage, the laſt edit. fol. 1626. in the Dedications to King Charles and Archbiſhop Abbot.

(50) See the moſt remarkable Tranſactions at Sea, &c. by Joſiah Burchet, Eſq; fol. 1720. &c.

(51) L'Art de Navigar. &c. Seville, 1545. tranſlated into French by Nicolas de Nicolai, Geographer to the French King, printed at Lyons, 4to. 1561. &c.

(52) Dr Geo. Hakewill's Apology, &c. edit. fol. 1635, as before, p. 310.

(53) Idem.

(54) Relations de divers Voyages curieux, qui n'ont point eſte publiées, ou qui ont eſte Traduites d'Hakluyt, &c. primiere partie, à Paris, fol. 1663.

(55) In the Character of Queen Elizabeth, by Edmund Bohun, Eſq; 8vo. 1693. &c.

received ſome ſubſtantial teſtimony of favour, or, as he expreſſes it, whoſe earneſt deſires to do him good, lately broke out into moſt bountiful and acceptable effects (*p*); which might, from the fair proſpects thereof, incline him to the thoughts of purſuing, more particularly than he had hitherto done, his own perſonal intereſt; but could never, when he had attained, perhaps by the death of his elder brother, or the fortune of his wife, an eaſy competency, break his reſt, with aſpiring after rich benefices and high titles or dignities in the Church; never relinquiſh his brave naval adventurers, or withdraw his conſtancy in the commemoration of thoſe who had moſt hazardouſly put their truſt in the moſt inconſtant element; however, we may now read in the laſt of thoſe dedications to this Secretary, that, 'As he long ſince foreſaw, his profeſſion of Divinity, the care of his family, and other occaſions, might call and divert him from theſe kind of endeavours, he 'therefore had, for three years paſt, encouraged and furthered in theſe ſtudies of Coſmography, and foreign hiſtories, his honeſt, induſtrious, and learned friend, Mr John 'Pory; one of ſpeciall ſkill, and extraordinary hope, to perform great matters in the ſame, 'and beneficial to the commonwealth (*q*).' The fruits of his ſaid encouragement and furtherance of Mr Pory was, that this gentleman having undertaken, at the inſtance or recommendation, and probably under the inſpection, of Mr Hakluyt, to give the public a tranſlation from the Spaniſh of John Leo's excellent Hiſtory of Africa, it was this year, 1600,

(*p*) Hakluyt's dedication to Sir Robert Cecil, before his third volume of Voyages, folio, 1600.

(*q*) Idem.

'vate letters, which never were, or without his care 'had not been, printed; partly out of ſmall treatiſes, 'printed and ſince irrecoverably loſt, had not his pro'vidence preſerved them. For ſome pamphlets are pro'duced, which for their cheapneſs and ſmallneſs, men 'for the preſent neglect to buy, preſuming they may 'procure them at their pleaſure; which ſmall books, 'their firſt and laſt edition being paſt, like ſome ſpirits 'that appear but once, cannot afterwards with any 'price or pains be recovered: In a word, many of 'ſuch uſeful tracts of ſea adventures, which before were 'ſcattered as ſeveral ſhips, Mr Hakluyt hath imbodied 'into a fleet, divided into three ſquadrons, ſo many 'ſeveral volumes. A work of great honour to Eng'land; it being poſſible that many ports and iſlands 'in America, which being baſe and barren, bare only 'a bare name for the preſent, may prove rich places 'for the future; and then theſe voyages will be pro'duced and pleaded, as good evidence of their be'longing to England, as firſt diſcovered and denomi'nated by Engliſhmen *.' As for that anonymous writer, who had no true taſte of this collection, nor due information of many others, he undertakes to characterize; reported to have been one Mr Locke, but apparently not the underſtanding Locke; he has betrayed his want of knowledge in the very beginning of his criticiſm upon our author, where he ſpeaks of Hakluyt, as the firſt Engliſhman who compiled any collection of travels; and his want of judgment is no leſs viſible, in making the warlike expeditions and naval victories which are preſerved by our author, ſo much to the honour and reputation of our country, a matter of objection; as if the art of war by ſea, was not moſt eſſentially requiſite to us who are ſurrounded by it. Then he cannot reliſh the charters, patents, commiſſions, privileges, treaties, letters, and inſtructions, which are the very foundation of all regular expeditions, from which their authority is derived, which ſhew the motives and reaſons of them, and diſtinguiſh all lawful proceedings of this kind from thoſe of pyrates and robbers: theſe he ſeems to think unneceſſary, though they will often be uſeful precedents, as was obſerved before, and Mr Thevenot thought ſome of them ſo curious as to tranſlate them into the French language. Then as to what he calls Pilgrimages, though ſome were made by pious perſons to Jeruſalem, which are very pertinent in a general collection of voyages and travels, for letting us into the knowledge of places, as well as the manners of the times; yet he confounds without any diſtinction, thoſe which were made by ſome religious orders of men to the Holy-Land, with the warlike expeditions undertaken by ſome of our greateſt Kings, Princes, Peers, and Knights of higheſt renown, to recover it from the hands of infidels. Yet in the whole, this author allows Hakluyt's collection to be ſcarce and valuable, for the good that is to be picked out of it; as he does alſo of Purchas his collection, though he has thrown in all that came to hand, and is full of his own notions, quibbling and playing upon words (56). On the other ſide, a later author, in his edition of another collection, has more adviſedly made a greater difference between theſe two collectors, and ſet them at a much greater diſtance in point of merit from one another: where he ſays, 'We have in our own lan'guage, as good and as bad collections as ever were 'made; one inſtance of each may ſuffice. Mr Hak'luyt was an able, ingenious, diligent, accurate, and 'uſeful compiler; and his collections are as valuable 'as any thing in their kind; on the other hand, Purchas his Pilgrims are very voluminous, and for the 'moſt part a very trifling and inſignificant collection: 'his manner, for I cannot call it method, is irregular 'and confuſed; his judgment weak and pedantic; his 'remarks often ſilly and always little to the purpoſe 'This ſhews how much depends upon the care and ſkill 'of the collector; who on the one hand is to provide, 'what may entertain and pleaſe, and on the other, is 'to be careful, that knowledge and inſtruction be con'veyed with pleaſure and amuſement (57).' There was at laſt, about forteen years ſince, ſo much regard paid to Mr Hakluyt's collection, that a propoſal was then printed for giving us a new impreſſion of it, in one folio volume, of three hundred ſheets, as the manner then prevailed, by weekly publications. The ingenious editor in his account of this new intended edition, having given a deſerved character of the work, and it's compiler, ſets forth in what manner he propoſes to comprehend the ſame in the compaſs aforeſaid, by ſome little reformation of the ſtyle, in changing of obſolete, and diſcharging ſuperfluous words, without any alteration of the ſenſe, or curtailing the ſubſtance of the author. Alſo by omitting the diſcourſes, articles, &c. in Latin, and other languages, retaining the tranſlations after they have been compared with the originals. Alſo by dividing each of the three books into two; the firſt including the travels, voyages, and diſcoveries; and the ſecond, the naval expeditions and ſea fights, &c. with the ſeveral inſtruments relating to trade, maritime affairs, &c. and with no other alterations than the author would have made, had he been now alive, to publiſh himſelf a new edition; as it may be preſumed from the alterations he made in the laſt. To which ſome improvements were to be added, in notes from other and later authors; or obſervations to ſupply deficiences, rectify latitudes, and correct proper names, with an addition or ſupplement of Mr Hakluyt's poſthumous remains, from Purchas, which he gathered preparatory to another impreſſion. Likewiſe ſome account in the preface of the principal worthies, who'ſe adventures and diſcoveries have enriched this excellent collection; as well as of the worthy collector himſelf. Hoping the publication would be the more ſeaſonable at that juncture, as it compriſes a branch ſo conſiderable of the Engliſh hiſtory, and might ſerve to revive ſuch a ſpirit of trade and induſtry, as prevailed among us formerly, or has of late poſſeſſed the nations of Europe, moſt remarkable hitherto for their ſloth and indolence (58). But the foundation being inſufficient to ſupport the expence, the publication gave way to others, and it was dropped: yet Hakluyt went on, to be pillaged, abridged, and reduced, as he had been; to be tranſpoſed and transformed, diſguiſed and deformed; ſo has been publiſhed and republiſhed, little or much of him, from one end to the other, in a confuſed, or indiſtinct conjunction with other collections; and no true genuine Hakluyt, or grateful acknowledgment to Hakluyt, after more than one hundred and fifty years, revived yet.

(57) The new edition of Dr John Harris's Collection of Voyages, &c. in 2 vols fol. Vol. I. 1744. Introd. p. 2.

(58) See the Propoſals for reprinting by ſubſcription, the Navigations, &c. of the Engliſh Nation, by Ric. Hakluyt, M. A. &c. in one vol. folio, printed on a half ſheet, 1736.

*. Fuller's Worthies, under the article of Hakluyt, in Herefordſh re.

(56) See a Collection of Voyages and Travels, publiſhed by A. and J. Churchill, in 4 vols fol. 1704. and in 6 vols, 1732. in the introductory characters of moſt books of travels, p. 87.

1600, brought forth from the preſs [*K*]. But Hakluyt himſelf appeared not long behind him, with the tranſlation of another hiſtory, in 1601, written by A. Galvano in the Portugueſe tongue; containing a compendious relation of the moſt conſiderable diſcoveries that had been made in various parts of the univerſe, from the earlieſt to the later times [*L*]. And this ſpecimen, no leſs than many others of our author's induſtry, has yielded no ſcanty contributions to Mr Samuel Purchas's voluminous collections. About the year 1605, Doctor Richard Webſter, Prebend of the fourth ſtall at Weſtminſter, dying (*r*), he was ſucceeded therein by Mr Hakluyt; which, with the rectory of Wetheringſet in the county of Suffolk (*s*), is all the eccleſiaſtical promotion we can find he arrived at. And about this time, as we compute, the tranſlation of Peter Martyr's Hiſtory of the Weſt-Indies was undertaken, and firſt publiſhed by Mr Lok at the requeſt and encouragement of our author; and what is ſaid in the preface thereof before cited, might happily conduce to promote the grant of a patent by King James, for continuing or renewing the plantation of Virginia, dated April 10, 1606, wherein we find Richard Hakluyt, Clerk, named and choſen as one of the ſaid corporation (*t*). Certain it is, that beſides the reputation he acquired by his own publications of Naval Hiſtory, far ſuperior to any thing of the like kind that had ever appeared in this kingdom before; and his incitements of others, to tranſlate, and familiarize among us, the conqueſts and diſcoveries of foreign adventurers, with the advantages accrueing thereby; the ſpirit he alſo animated to the like national benefits, in thoſe of his countrymen who were engaged in the like enterprizes, by

(*r*) Richard Newcourt's Hiſt. of the Diocese of London, &c. fol. Vol. I. p. 925.

(*s*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 413.

(*t*) Sam. Purchas's Pilgrims, Part IV. fol. 1625. p. 1683.

* [*K*] *It was this year*, 1600, *brought forth from the preſs.*] This book is entituled, *A Geographical Hiſtorie of* Africa, *written in Arabick and Italian by* John Leo, *a More, born in Granada, and brought up in Barbarie, &c.* To which is prefixed, *A Map of Africa, with a general Deſcription of Africa and other Places, undeſcribed by Leo:* and there is added at the end, *A Relation of the great Princes, and the Religions in Africa: tranſlated and collected by* John Pory, *lately of Gonvill and Caius College in Cambridge.* Lond. *Impenſ* Geo. Biſhop, fol. 1600. The ſaid tranſlator, in his dedicatiation to Sir Robert Cecil, Principal Secretary to her Majeſtie, &c. deſires him to accept of this Geographical Hiſtory, as it pleaſed him, not long ſince, moſt favourably to take in good part thoſe commendable endeavours of his reverend friend Mr Richard Hakluyt; 'Who, ſays he, out of his mature judgment in 'theſe ſtudies, knowing the excellence of this ſtory, 'above all others in the ſame kind, was the only man 'that moved me to tranſlate it.' Dated at London, the forty third coronation day of her Majeſty, 1600.

As for the author, John Leo, 'tis ſaid he was born at Granada in Spain; and when it was taken by King Ferdinand and Iſabella, in 1491, he removed to Africa, whence he was called Africanus, as may be ſomewhat implied from the application of his own fable, concerning the amphibious bird (59), to that occaſional conformity, neceſſary for the ſafety of all diſcreet travellers; where he profeſſes, that when he heard the Africans ill ſpoken of, he would affirm himſelf to be of Granada; and when the people of this country were diſcommended, he would declare himſelf an African; yet he ſays expreſsly but a little before, according to this tranſlation (60), that he was born in Africa; or at leaſt, according to his own words in Ramuſio, that he was nurſed and educated there (61). However it appears, in the ſecond book of his hiſtory, that he was no older than ten years at the deſtruction of Azaſi by the Portugueſe. We may ſee throughout, that he was well trained in the learning of that country, and in good manners, for which he was much eſteemed (62). And that he was well allied, may be gathered from his uncle's being ſent ſometimes upon embaſſies by the King of Fez (63); and being beloved by him for his accompliſhments, being a good orator and poet, as his nephew this author alſo was, who at ſixteen years of age, compoſed verſes upon the Prince of Tenueres, which ſo pleaſed him, that he gave him fifty ducats, beſides a good horſe, and ten ducats apiece to his ſervants (64). He copied the epitaphs in the temple of Sella, in the year of the Hegira 915, which was about our year 1506. Between this and the year 1512, he ſerved Mahomet King of Fez in his wars againſt the Portugueſe, at Arzella, and was ſent Ambaſſador from the ſaid King to Morocco, about that or the next year (65). And in his travels, was once near being drawn into the water by crocodiles, and twice in danger of being devoured by lions. He mentions alſo himſelf other books of his writing; as an *Arabian Grammar* (66), which has been commended by thoſe who have ſeen it: alſo a *Diſcourſe of the Mahometan Religion* (67), with a treatiſe of the Arabic Poetry (68), and the lives of the Arabian Philoſophers, which were printed by Hottinger at Zurich. His laſt voyage that we read of, was from Fez to Conſtantinople, and from thence to Egypt; but in his return, he was taken priſoner between Tunis and Tripoly, by ſome Italian corſairs, who carried him to Rome, and his Hiſtory of Africa with him, in which it appears he had been writing, 'till about or beyond the year 1520. They were both preſented by the patron who bought him, to Pope Leo X. who won him over to Chriſtianity, and he was baptized John Leo, after the Pope's name. While he was at Rome, he learnt the Italian tongue, and tranſlated this Hiſtory from his own Arabic copy into that language, in the year 1526; which, coming afterwards into the hands of Ramuſio, Secretary to the republic of Venice, he has given us a correct edition of it in the firſt volume of his Voyages, as above quoted; alſo a character, to the author's commendation, in his Epiſtle Dedicatory to his friend Fracaſtorius. This, with the approbations of our author Mr Hakluyt, who accounted that Hiſtory the beſt, moſt particular, and methodical of any, which was come to light of thoſe territories; and the teſtimonies alſo of Ortelius, before his maps of Africa and Barbary, with others by John Bodin, in his Method of Reading Hiſtory, cap. iv. as alſo by Ant. Poſſevinus de Hiſtoricis, cap. ii. ſect. 7. may be ſeen in this Engliſh tranſlation (69). See likewiſe Bernard Aderete, *lib.* iii. art. Hiſp. & Afric. cap. v. Nic. Antonio, Bibl. Hiſp. H. Hottinger, in Biblioth. Libertus Fromandus, Meteor. lib. v. cap. 2, 3. and Voſſius de Hiſtor. lib. iii. As Leo was the firſt author who has given any faithful and diſtinct account of thoſe parts of the world, from his own knowledge and obſervation, many have been his tranſlators into the European languages; and beſides Marmol, ſeveral others have been his plagiaries; but Wedmanſtadius is the only one who ſays he forſook Chriſtianity and returned to Mahometaniſm.

(59) Leo's Hiſt. of Africa, at the end of his firſt book.

(60) Idem, p. 42.

(61) Raccola delle Navigazione, &c. in primo volume & terza edit. fol. 1563. p. 11. b.

(62) Hiſt of Africa, lib. iv. p. 231.

(63) Idem, lib. ii. p. 92.

(64) Ibid. lib. ii. p. 96.

(65) Idem. lib. ii. p. 90.

(66) Lib. iii. p. 150.

(67) Lib. ii. p. 55, 74, &c.

(68) Lib. ii. p. 50.

(69) From p. 57 to 60.

[*L*] *Galvano's Hiſtory of Diſcoveries, &c. from the earlieſt to the later times.*] This work is known in Engliſh by the title of *The Diſcoveries of the World, from the firſt original to the year* 1555: *written in the Portugal tongue, by* Antonio Galvano, *&c. corrected, much amended, and tranſlated into Engliſh, by* Richard Hakluyt, *Lond. quarto*, 1601. The author was Governor of Ternate, the chief iſland of the Molucca's; and his Hiſtory, for the authority, conciſeneſs, and regular ſeries of it, has been involved and ſwallowed up, as others that are copious and diſtinct have been contracted and cramped up in larger works. Particularly Mr Purchas, in that part of his Collections which he entitles *the Voyages of Spaniards and Portugueſe*, taken out of this treatiſe, ſays in a marginal note, 'That the 'ſaid author writ in Portugal, a ſummary of diſcoveries 'in chronological order, from the beginning of the 'world; and that he was tranſlated and publiſhed in a 'ſmall book in quarto by Mr Hakluyt.' Whereunto he adds, 'I have choſen theſe which follow out of his 'book; thoſe which are here omitted I have more fully 'delivered in other parts of this voluminous work (70).'

(70) Pilgrims, Part II. fol. 1625. p. 1671.

[*M*] *Which*

by his moſt intelligent and communicative converſation, gained the higheſt eſteem and honour to his name and memory, by mariners in general of all ranks, in the moſt diſtant nations, no leſs than his own, whereof there are ſeveral inſtances; and particularly, in thoſe northern diſcoveries that were made at the charge of the Muſcovy Merchants in 1608, under Captain W. Hudſon; when, among other places there denominated, on the continent of Greenland, which were formerly diſcovered, they diſtinguiſhed an eminent promontary, lying in eighty degrees northward, by the name of Hakluyt's Headland, which continues to be ſo called, ſays our author, to this day (*u*). And now he exhibited another laborious proof of his faithful affection to Virginia, and the inviolable attachment thereof to the crown of England, in his tranſlation from the Portugueſe, of an Hiſtory, which ſhews how highly that country ought to be prized; by another deſcription of Florida, contiguous to it, from the travels of Don Ferdinando de Soto, the Adelantado thereof; which tranſlation he publiſhed in the beginning of 1609 [*M*]. Two years after, in 1611, we find Edmund Hakluyt, the ſon of our author, entred a ſtudent of Trinity-college Cambridge (*w*). And in the ſame year, that the northern diſcoverers, under the company aforeſaid, in a voyage to Pechora in Ruſſia, denoted a full and flowing ſtream they arrived at, having it ſeems a pure and active current, by the name of Hakluyt's River (*x*); and three years after, anno 1614, it appears, that the banner and arms of the King of England were erected at Hakluyt's Headland abovementioned (*y*). All that we meet with more of our author is, that he paid his laſt debt to nature, probably at his apartments in the college at Weſtminſter, on the 23d of November, in 1616, and was buried in the church of that abbey, dedicated to St Peter, on the 26th of the ſame month; leaving to his ſon Edmund aforeſaid, whom he had by his wife Frances, his manour of Bridge-Place, and ſeveral houſes in Tothil-ſtreet Weſtminſter (*z*). Some authors inform us, that he left a fair eſtate to an unthrifty ſon, who embezzelled or ſquandered it away; yet was wont to boaſt, how much he had deceived the covetous uſurer who bought it, and had given him ſpick and ſpan new coin for the dirty old clods of his great-grandfather (*a*). Our author's literary treaſures, however, met with a fate ſomewhat more favourable, and much more than thoſe of the celebrated Ramuſio; one part of whoſe manuſcript remains, which might, to his Naval Hiſtory, have added a fourth volume, being burnt in the houſe of his Printer; but Hakluyt's remaining collections, whereof he left at leaſt as much as would have made another volume alſo to his three, falling into the hands of Mr Purchas, he has ſcattered them, or parts of them, about his four volumes, after his irregular and curtailed or contracted manner; and though in the whole not with due juſtice to the author, yet has he now and then dropped ſome ſhort but emphatical and deſerved praiſes of him, as was before obſerved; thereby concurring with thoſe writers of eſtabliſhed judgment, who have diſtinguiſhed, according to his deſerts, the ſurpaſſing knowledge and learning, diligence and fidelity, of this Naval Hiſtorian.

(*u*) Purchas, Part III. fol. 464, 714.

(*w*) Electio Diſcip. Weſtmonaſt. &c. ut ſupra.

(*x*) W. Gourdon's Relation of the Voyage to Pechora, &c. in Purchas, Part III. 1625. p. 531.

(*y*) Rob. Fotherby's Voyage of Diſcovery to Greenland, in Purchas, ibid. p. 723.

(*z*) Athen. Oxon. as before.

(*a*) T. Fuller's Worthies, in Herefordſhire, fol. 40. Alſo the Apophthegms of the Engliſh Nation, 4to. MS.

[*M*] *Which tranſlation he publiſhed in the beginning of* 1609.] 'Tis printed under the title of *Virginia richly valued, by the Deſcription of the maine Land of Florida, her next Neighbour; out of the four years continual Trauell and Diſcoverie for above one thouſand miles Eaſt and Weſt, of Don Ferdinando de Soto, and ſix hundred able men in his companie. Wherein are truely obſerved the Riches and Fertilitie of thoſe parts, abounding with things neceſſarie, pleaſant, and profitable, for the life of Man: with the Natures and Diſpoſitions of the Inhabitants. Written by a Portugal Gentleman of Elvas, employed in all the Action, and tranſlated out of Portugueſe, by* Richard Hakluyt. *London, printed by* F. Kyngſton, *quarto*, 1609. It is dedicated from his lodgings in the college of Weſtminſter, 15 April the ſame year, To the Right Honourable the Right Worſhipful Counſellors and others, the chereful adventurers for the advancement of that Chriſtian and noble plantation of Virginia. And our author, after producing authorities for the richneſs of that country, which is contiguous to Virginia, ſays to them, 'What 'need I to ſtand upon foreign teſtimonies, ſince Maſter 'Thomas Heriot, a man of much judgment in theſe 'caſes, ſignified unto you all at your laſt ſolemn meeting, at the houſe of the Right Honourable the Earl 'of Exeter, how to the ſouthward of our old fort in 'Virginia, the Indians often informed him, that there 'was a great melting of red metal; reporting the 'manner in working the ſame. Beſides our own Indians lately have found either this or another rich 'mine of copper or gold, in a town called Ritanoe, 'near certain mountains lying weſt of Roanoac.' So he goes on to enumerate the other rich and uſeful commodities of that country, with the manners and diſpoſitions of the inhabitants: and concludes with exhorting them, that, by their wiſe inſtructions, all things in their intended ſettlement at Virginia, may be carried on to the beſt advantage, for the honour of God, and the enlargement of his Majeſty's dominions.

Upon the revival of our plantation in that country, which afterwards enſued, Michael Drayton the poet ſpeaks thus to and of our author, in his

ODE

To the

VIRGINIAN VOYAGE.

Thy Voyages attend,
Induſtrious Hakluyt;
Whoſe reading ſhall inflame
Men to ſeek fame,
And much commend,
To after times thy wit.

G

HALE [Sir MATTHEW], a man of great learning and integrity, and Lord Chief-Juſtice of the King's-Bench in the laſt century, was the only child of Robert Hale a Barriſter of Lincoln's-Inn [*A*], and born at Alderley in Glouceſterſhire November 1, 1609. Having loſt his mother before he was three years old, and his father before he was five, he was committed to the care of Antony Kingſcot, Eſq; a near kinſman of his; who being puritanically inclined (*a*), cauſed him to be educated in grammar-learning by Mr Staunton, Vicar of Wotton-under-Edge, a noted Puritan (*b*). In Michaelmas term 1626, he was admitted in Magdalen-hall in Oxford, and put under the tuition of Obadiah Sedgwick, a zealous man of the ſame party. He was an extraordinary proficient at ſchool, and for about three years at Oxford: but the ſtage players coming thither, he became ſo much corrupted by ſeeing many plays, that he not only forſook his ſtudies, but alſo ran into many of the levities and extravagances of youth; ſtill preſerving however his purity, and a great probity of mind. Yet, being over-fond of rough and martial exerciſes, he was preparing to go along with his tutor Sedgwick, who was chaplain to the Lord Vere in the Low-Countries, with a reſolution of entering himſelf in the Prince of Orange's army. From this raſh deſign he was diverted, by being engaged in a law-ſuit with Sir William Whitmore, who laid claim to ſome part of his eſtate. For Serjeant Glanvill, who was recommended to him for his counſellor, obſerving in the young man a clear apprehenſion of things, a ſolid judgment, and a great fitneſs for the drudgery of the Law, took pains to perſwade him to forſake all thoughts of being a ſoldier, and to apply himſelf to the ſtudy of the Law. His perſwaſions were ſo effectual, that November 8, 1629, Mr Hale was admitted into Lincoln's-Inn, being juſt entered into the 21ſt year of his age. Deeply ſenſible of the great quantity and value of the time he had loſt, he reſolved to redeem it, by following his ſtudies with an incredible diligence: for he ſtudied for many years at the rate of ſixteen hours a day. At the ſame time, he threw aſide all fine cloaths, and betook himſelf to a plain faſhion [*B*], which he continued to uſe in many points to his dying day (*c*). Still he went on keeping too much company with ſome vain people, 'till he was frightned from it by an unhappy accident that befel one of his companions [*C*]. But thenceforward he forſook all his bad acquaintance, and divided himſelf between the duties of religion [*D*] and the ſtudies of his profeſſion (*d*). Not being ſatisfied with the law-books then publiſhed, and firmly reſolving to take things from the fountain-head, he was very diligent in ſearching records. And, with collections out of the books he read, mixed with his own learned obſervations, he made a moſt valuable common-place-book [*E*]. He was early taken notice of by a gentleman of the ſame inn with himſelf, William Noy, Eſq; the Attorney-General, who directed him in his ſtudies, and grew to have ſuch a friendſhip for him, that he came to be called young Noy (*e*). The great and learned Mr Selden alſo ſoon found him out; and though much ſuperior to him in years, took ſuch a liking to him, that he not only lived in great friendſhip with him, but alſo left

(*a*) Life and Death of Sir Matthew Hale, by G. Burnet, D. D. Lond. 1682. 8vo. p. 1, &c.

(*b*) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 573.

(*c*) Burnet, as above, p. 4—7.

(*d*) Idem, p. 7—10.

(*e*) Idem, p. 10—12.

[*A*] *Was the only child of Robert Hale, a Barriſter of Lincoln's-Inn*] His grandfather was Robert Hale, an eminent clothier of Wotton-under Edge in Glouceſterſhire, where he and his anceſtors had lived for many deſcents; and they gave ſeveral parcels of land for the uſe of the poor, which are enjoyed by them to this day. This Robert acquired an eſtate of ten thouſand pounds, which he divided almoſt equally amongſt his five ſons; beſides the portions he gave his daughters, from whom a numerous poſterity has ſprung.——His mother was Joan, daughter of Matthew Poyntz of Alderley, Eſq; deſcended from the noble family of the Poyntz's of Acton.——His father was a man of that ſtrictneſs of conſcience, that he gave over the practice of the Law, becauſe he could not underſtand the reaſon of giving colour in pleadings, which as he thought was to tell a lye; and that, with ſome other things commonly practiſed, ſeemed to him contrary to that exactneſs of truth and juſtice which became a Chriſtian, ſo that he withdrew himſelf from the Inns of Court to live on his eſtate in the country [A very uncommon inſtance, ſeldom practiſed ſince, and the like to which could hardly be found now-a-days!] As the care he had to ſave his ſoul, made him abandon a profeſſion in which he might have raiſed his family much higher, ſo his charity to his poor neighbours, made him not only deal his alms largely among them while he lived, but at his death he left (out of his ſmall eſtate which was 100 l. a year) 20 l. a year to the poor of Wotton, which his ſon confirmed to them with ſome addition, and with this regulation, that it ſhould be diſtributed among ſuch poor houſe-keepers, as did not receive alms of the pariſh; for to give it to thoſe, was only, as he uſed to ſay, to ſave ſo much money to the rich, who by law were bound to relieve the poor of the pariſh (1).

(1) Burnet, as above, p. 1, 2, 3.

[*B*] *And betook himſelf to a plain faſhion.*] 'Paſſing thus from the extream of vanity in his apparel, to that of neglecting himſelf too much, he was once taken, when there was a preſs for the King's ſervice, as a perſon fit for ſea-ſervice; for he was a ſtrong and well built man: but ſome that knew him coming by, and giving notice who he was, the preſs-gang let him go. This made him return to more decency in his clothes, but never to any ſuperfluity or vanity in them (2).'

(2) Burnet, as above, p. 12.

[*C*] *He was frightned from it by an unhappy accident that befel one of his companions*] The accident was this. 'Mr Hale with ſome other young ſtudents being invited out of town, one of the company called for ſo much wine, that, notwithſtanding all that Mr Hale could do to prevent it, he went on in his exceſs till he fell down as dead before them: ſo that all that were preſent were not a little affrighted at it, and did what they could to bring him to himſelf again. This did particularly affect Mr Hale, who thereupon went into another room, and ſhutting the door, fell on his knees, and prayed earneſtly to God, both for his friend, that he might be reſtored to life again; and that himſelf might be forgiven for giving countenance to ſo much exceſs: and he vowed to God, that he would never again keep company in that manner, nor drink a health while he lived. His friend recovered, and he moſt religiouſly obſerved his vow, 'till his dying day (3).'

(3) Burnet, p. 8, 9.

[*D*] *And divided himſelf between the duties of religion.*] 'He was ſo regular in the duties of religion, that for ſix and thirty years, he never once failed going to church on the Lord's-day.' Which is an obſervation he made himſelf (4).

(4) See Burnet, p. 10.

[*E*] *He made a moſt valuable common-place-book.*] It was done with great induſtry and judgment. Inſomuch, that an eminent Judge of the King's Bench having borrowed it of him, (though he very unwillingly lent it, as thinking it too imperfect,) the judge, after having peruſed it, ſaid, that though it was compoſed by him ſo early, he did not think any lawyer in England could do it better, except he himſelf would again ſet about it (5).

(5) Idem, p. 14.

left him at his death one of his executors. It was this acquaintance that firſt ſet Mr Hale on a more enlarged purſuit of learning, which he had before confined to his own profeſſion. So that by his uncommon induſtry and good natural parts, he arrived at a conſiderable knowledge in the Civil Law, in Arithmetick, Algebra, and other mathematical ſciences, as well as in Phyſick, Anatomy, and Chirurgery. He was alſo very converſant in Experimental Philoſophy, and other branches of philoſophical learning; and in Antient Hiſtory and Chronology. Nor was he unacquainted with the antient Greek Philoſophers, but want of uſe wore out his knowledge of the Greek tongue; and though he never ſtudied Hebrew, yet by his frequent converſations with Selden, he underſtood the moſt curious things in the Rabinical learning. But, above all, he ſeemed to have made Divinity his chief ſtudy; to which he not only directed every thing elſe, but alſo arrived at that perfection in it, that thoſe who read what he wrote on thoſe ſubjects, will think they muſt have taken moſt of his time and thoughts (*f*) [*F*]. Some time before the civil wars he was called to the Bar (*g*), and began to make a figure in the world. But, upon their breaking out, obſerving how difficult it was to preſerve his integrity and to live ſecurely, he reſolved to follow theſe two maxims of Pomponius Atticus (*h*), whom he propoſed to himſelf as a pattern: namely, to engage in no faction, nor meddle in publick buſineſs; and, conſtantly to favour and relieve thoſe that were loweſt. Accordingly he avoided all publick employment, and the very talking of news; being ſtrictly careful, never to provoke any in particular, by cenſuring or reflecting on their actions. And he often relieved the Royaliſts in their neceſſities [*G*]. This ſo ingratiated him with them, that he came generally to be employed by them in his practice. He was one of the Counſel to the Earl of Strafford, Archbiſhop Laud, and King Charles himſelf (*i*): as alſo to the Duke of Hamilton (*k*), the Earl of Holland, the Lord Capel, and the Lord Craven (*l*) [*H*]. But being eſteemed a plain honeſt man, a perſon of great integrity and knowledge in the Law, he was entertained by both parties, the Preſbyterians as well as Loyaliſts. *In 1643* he took the Covenant, and appeared ſeveral times with other lay perſons among the Aſſembly of Divines. He was then in great eſteem with the Parliament, and employed by them in ſeveral affairs, for his counſel, particularly in the reduction of the garriſon at Oxford; being, as a lawyer, added to the commiſſioners named by the Parliament to treat with thoſe appointed by the King. In that capacity he did good ſervice, by adviſing them, eſpecially the General, Fairfax, to preſerve that famous ſeat of learning from ruin. Afterwards, though the barbarous death of King Charles I. was a great grief to him, yet he took the oath called the Engagement. And, on the 20th of January 1651-2, was one of thoſe appointed to conſider of the Reformation of the Law (*m*) [*I*]. Oliver Cromwell, who affected

(*f*) Idem, p. 14—18.

(*g*) Wood, Ath. col. 574.

(*h*) Vide Cornelium Nepot. in vitâ P. Attici.

(*i*) Burnet, as above, p. 19, 20, 21. Memorials of Archbiſhop Laud, p. 422, &c.

(*k*) Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, by G. Burnet, D. D. Lond. 1676. fol. wh re Mr Hale's Plea for that Duke is printed.

(*l*) Life by Burnet, as above, p. 20, 21.

(*m*) See Mr Whitelock's Memorials, &c. edit. 1732. p. 520, 521.

[*F*] *Will think they muſt have taken moſt of his time and thoughts.*] 'It may ſeem almoſt incredible, as 'Dr Burnet obſerves (6), that one man, in no great 'compaſs of years, ſhould have acquired ſuch a va'riety of knowledge: and that in ſciences, which re'quire much leiſure and application. But as his parts 'were quick, and his apprehenſion lively, his memory 'great, and his judgment ſtrong; ſo his induſtry was 'almoſt indefatigable. He roſe always betimes in the 'morning; was never idle; ſcarce ever held any diſ'courſe about news, except with ſome few in whom 'he confided entirely. He entered into no correſpon'dence by letters, except about neceſſary buſineſs, or 'matters of learning, and ſpent very little time in eat'ing or drinking; for as he never went to public 'feaſts, ſo he gave no entertainments but to the poor; 'for he followed our Saviour's direction (of feaſting 'none but theſe) literally: and in eating and drinking, 'he obſerved not only great plainneſs and moderation, 'but lived ſo philoſophically, that he always ended his 'meal with an appetite; ſo that he loſt little time at 'it, (that being the only portion which he grudged 'himſelf) and was diſpoſed to any exerciſe of his 'mind, to which he thought fit to apply himſelf im'mediately after he had dined. By theſe means he 'gained much time, that is otherwiſe unprofitably 'waſted. He had alſo an admirable equality in the 'temper of his mind, which diſpoſed him for what'ever ſtudies he thought fit to turn himſelf to; and 'ſome very uneaſie things which he lay under for 'many years, did rather engage him to, than diſtract 'him from, his ſtudies.'

(6) Life, as above, p. 18, 19.

[*G*] *And he often relieved the Royaliſts in their neceſſities.*] 'This he did in a way no leſs prudent than charitable, conſidering the dangers of that time: for he often depoſited conſiderable ſums in the hands of a worthy gentleman of the King's party, who knew their neceſſities well, and was to diſtribute his charity according to his own diſcretion, without either letting them know from whence it came, or giving himſelf any account to whom he had given it (7).'

(7) Burnet, Life, as above, p. 21, 22.

[*H*] *And the Lord Craven.*] When he was counſel for this Lord, he pleaded with that force of argument, that the then Attorney-General, Edmund Prideaux, threatned him for appearing againſt the government: to whom he anſwered, He was 'pleading in defence of 'thoſe laws, which they declared they would maintain 'and preſerve, and he was doing his duty to his client, 'ſo that he was not to be daunted with threatnings '(8).'

(8) Idem, p. 21.

[*I*] *Was one of thoſe appointed to conſider of the Reformation of the Law.*] The reſt of the committee, were, William Steel, Eſq; Recorder of London, Charles George Cock, Eſq; Mr Manby, Mr Sadler, Col. Blount, Sir Henry Blount, Kt. Mr Berners, Major General Deſborough, Mr Moyer, Col. Tomlinſon, John Fountaine, Eſq; Alderman Fowke, Hugh Peters clerk, Major Packer, Sir William Roberts, Mr Meltwold, Mr Manſell, John Ruſhworth of Lincoln's-Inn, Mr Sparrow, and Sir Antony Aſhley Cooper, Bart. 'They were to take into conſideration what inconveniences there were in the law; how the miſchiefs which grew from delays, the chargeableneſs, and irregularities in the proceedings of the Law might be prevented, and the ſpeedieſt way to prevent the ſame. And to preſent their opinions to the committee of Parliament appointed for that purpoſe, and they or any ſeven of them had power to ſend for any perſons to confer with them in this buſineſs, and for records.' They met ſeveral times, and deſired the Judges in their ſeveral courts to return to them a liſt of their ſeveral officers, what fees they received, and what they did for the ſame. And none was more buſy than Hugh Peters, who underſtood little of the Law, and was very opinionative. On the 21ſt of February next enſuing, they paſſed the following reſolutions. 'If the defendant in a perſonal action, before pleading, tender 'ſatisfaction to the plaintiff with coſts of ſuit, and it 'appear afterwards at the trial to the jury ſufficient 'and not accepted of, the plaintiff to loſe his own and 'pay the other's coſt in the ſuit. That ſummons be 'the firſt proceſs in all perſonal actions, with the true 'date when ſued forth and executed upon oath, and 'returnable within fifteen days after the ſervice; the 'defendant to have a copy from the original, under 'ſeal, given or left at his houſe, and the cauſe of the 'ſuit

fected the reputation of honouring and trusting persons of eminent virtues, and wanted such a man as Mr Hale to give countenance to his courts, never left importuning him, 'till he accepted of the place of one of the Justices of the Common-Bench, as it was then called. For which purpose he was by writ made Serjeant at Law, on the 25th of January 1653-4 (*n*). In that station he acted with great integrity and suitable courage [*K*]. The same year he was elected one of the five Knights to represent the county of Gloucester, in the Parliament which began at Westminster, September 3, 1654 (*o*). He duly attended the House, on purpose to obstruct the mad and wicked projects then set on foot, by two parties, that had very different principles and ends (*p*) [*L*]. When the Protector died, he not only excused himself from accepting of the mourning that was sent him, but also refused the new commission offered him by Richard; alledging, 'He could act 'no longer under such authority (*q*).' He did not sit in Oliver's second Parliament, in 1656; but, in Richard's, which met January 27, 1658-9, he was one of the Burgesses for the university of Oxford (*r*). And in the Healing Parliament, anno 1660, which recalled King Charles II. he was elected one of the Knights for the county of Gloucester, through the Lord Berkeley's interest, and without any charge to himself, though he had a competitor that had spent near a thousand pounds; a great sum to be employed that way

(*n*) Life by Burnet, as above, p. 22, 23. Wood Ath. as above. The Perfect Politician; or Life of O. Cromwell, by J. S. Lond. 1660. 8vo. p. 355.

(*o*) Br. Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, edit. 1750. 8vo. Part ii. p. 261.

(*p*) Burnet, as above, p. 28, &c.

(*q*) Idem, p. 30.

(*r*) Willis, ut supra, p. 291.

'suit set down in the body of the writ; that upon default of appearing, a further process be granted to 'arrest the party, till he appear or give warrant. And 'in case of non appearance, the defendant's lands and 'goods to be distrained to a certain value, 'till he appear or give warrant.' The 23d of March, they presented to the Committee of Parliament, the draughts of several acts: two of which were, For 'taking away common recoveries, and the unnecessary charge 'of fines, and to pass and charge lands intailed, as 'lands in fee simple. For ascertaining arbitrary fines 'upon descent, and alienation of copyholds of inheri-'tance (9).' Very necessary laws to restrain the oppressions of Lords of Manors.

(9) Whitelock, as above, p. 520, 521, 523, 528. Wood Ath. as above, col. 574.

[*K*] *In that station, he acted with great integrity and suitable courage.*] He had at first great scruples concerning the authority under which he was to act. And, after having gone two or three circuits, he refused to sit any more on the crown side; that is, to judge criminals. He had indeed so carried himself in some tryals, that the powers then in being were not unwilling he should withdraw from meddling farther in them; of which Dr Burnet gives the following instances (10). Not long after he was made a judge, when he went the circuit, a tryal was brought before him at Lincoln, concerning the murder of one of the townsmen, who had been of the King's party, and was killed by a soldier of the garrison there. He was in the fields with a fowling-piece on his shoulder; which the soldier seeing, he came to him, and said, it was contrary to an order which the Protector had made, *That none who had been of the King's party should carry arms*; and so he would have forced it from him But as the other did not regard the order, so being stronger than the soldier, he threw him down, and having beat him, left him. The soldier went into the town, and told one of his fellow-soldiers how he had been used, and got him to go with him, and lye in wait for the man, that he might be revenged on him. They both watched his coming to town, and one of them went to him to demand his gun; which he refusing, the soldier struck at him; and as they were struggling, the other came behind; and ran his sword into his body; of which he presently died. It was in the time of the assizes, so they were both tryed: against the one there was no evidence of forethought felony, so he was only found guilty of manslaughter, and burnt on the hand; but the other was found guilty of murther: and though Col. Whaley, that commanded the garrison, came into the court, and urged, *That the man was killed only for disobeying the Protector's order*, and *that the soldier was but doing his duty*; yet the Judge regarded both his reasons and threatnings very little; and therefore he not only gave sentence against him, but ordered the execution to be so suddenly done, that it might not be possible to procure a reprieve; which he believed would have been obtained, if there had been time enough granted for it. —— Another occasion was given him, of shewing both his justice and courage, when he was in another circuit. He understood that the Protector had ordered a jury to be returned for a tryal, in which he was more than ordinarily concerned. Upon this information, he examined the sheriff about it, who knew nothing of it, for he said he referred all such things to the under-sheriff; and having next asked the under-sheriff concerning it, he found the jury had been returned by order from Cromwell; upon which he shewed the statute, that all juries ought to be returned by the sheriff or his lawful officer: and this not being done according to law, he dismissed the jury, and would not try the cause. Upon which the Protector was highly displeased with him, and at his return from the circuit, he told him in anger, *He was not fit to be a judge*; to which all the answer he made was, *That it was very true.* —— Another thing met him in the circuit, upon which he resolved to have proceeded severely. Some Anabaptists had rushed into a church, and had disturbed a congregation while they were receiving the sacrament, not without some violence. At this he was highly offended, for he said, *It was intolerable for men, who pretended so highly to liberty of conscience, to go and disturb others; especially those who had the incouragement of the law on their side* But these were so supported by some great magistrates and officers, that a stop was put to his proceedings; upon which he declared, he would meddle no more with the tryals on the Crown side —— — When Penruddock's tryal was brought on, there was a special messenger sent to him, requiring him to assist at it. It was in vacation time, and he was at his country house at Alderley: he plainly refused to go, and said, *The four terms, and two circuits, were enough, and the little interval that was between, was little enough for their private affairs*; and so he excused himself. But if he had been urged, he would not have been afraid of speaking more plainly.'

(10) Life, p. 23, 25, &c.

[*L*] *On purpose to obstruct the mad and wicked projects then set on foot by two parties, &c.*] One of those parties, who were down right brainsick Enthusiasts, were resolved to pull down a standing ministry, the law and property of England, and all the ancient rules of this government, and set up in their room an indigested Enthusiastical Scheme, which they called the Kingdom of Christ, or of his saints; many of them being really in expectation, that one day or other Christ would come down, and sit among them, and at least they thought to begin the glorious thousand years mentioned in the Revelation. —— The others, taking advantage from the fears and apprehensions all the sober people of the nation were in, lest they should fall under the tyranny of that distracted sort of people, (who, to all their other principles added great cruelty, which they had copied from those at Munster in the former age) intended to improve that opportunity to raise their own fortunes and families Amidst these, Judge Hale steered a middle course; for, as he would engage for neither side, so he, with a great many more worthy men, came to parliaments, more out of a design to hinder mischief, than to do much good; that is, to oppose the ill designs of both parties, the Enthusiasts as well as the Usurpers. Among the other extravagant motions made in this parliament, one was, to destroy all the records in the Tower, and to settle the nation on a new foundation; so he took this province to himself, to shew the madness of this proposition, the injustice of it, and the mischiefs that would follow on it; and did it with such clearness and strength of reason, as not only satisfied all sober persons (for it may be supposed that was soon done) but stopt even the mouths of the frentick people themselves (11).

(11) Burnet, Life, &c. p. 28, 29, 30.

[*M*] *Constituted*

way in thoſe days (s). In that parliament, he moved that a committee might be appointed to look into the propoſitions that had been made, and the conceſſions that had been offered by King Charles I. during the late war; that from thence ſuch propoſitions might be digeſted, as they ſhould think fit to be ſent over to the King at Breda (t). He was alſo very earneſt and inſtrumental in getting the act of indemnity paſſed (u). The 22d of June, his Majeſty recalled him, among others, by writ, to the degree of Serjeant at Law (w). And, upon ſettling the courts in Weſtminſter-hall, conſtituted him, November 7 the ſame year, Chief-Baron of the Exchequer (x) [M]. Some time after he was knighted (y) [N]. He continued eleven years in that place; and very much raiſed the reputation and practice of the Court, by his exact and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice [O], as alſo by his generoſity, vaſt diligence, and great exactneſs in tryals (z). According to his rule of favouring and relieving thoſe that were loweſt, he was now very charitable to the Nonconformiſts, and took great care to cover them as much as poſſible from the ſeverities of the law [P]. He thought many of them had merited highly in the buſineſs

(s) Burnet, p. 30, 31.

(t) Burnet Hiſt. of his own Time, edit. 1753. 8vo. Vol. I. p. 122.

(u) Idem, Life, as above, p. 32.

(w) Syderfyn's Reports, fol. p. 2.

(x) Dugdale Chron. Series.

(y) Burnet, Life, as above, p. 32, 33.

(z) Ibid.

[M] *Conſtituted him, November 7, the ſame year, Chief Baron of the Exchequer.*] When the Lord Chancellor Clarendon delivered him his commiſſion, he made a ſpeech to him according to cuſtom, wherein he expreſſed his great and juſt eſteem for him in the following words. 'That if the King could have found out an 'honeſter and fitter man for that employment, he 'would not have advanced him to it; and that he had 'therefore preferred him, becauſe he knew none that 'deſerved it ſo well (12).'

(12) Idem, p. 32.

[N] *Some time after he was knighted.*] It is an honour uſually conferred upon the Chief Judges; but Mr Hale deſired to avoid it: and therefore declined for a conſiderable time all opportunities of waiting on the King. Which the Lord Chancellor obſerving, he ſent for him upon buſineſs one day, when the King was at his houſe, and told his Majeſty, 'There was his 'modeſt Chief-Baron;' upon which he was unexpectedly knighted (13).

(13) Idem, p. 33.

[O] *By his exact and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice.*] Of which we have the following inſtances. 'He would never receive any private addreſſes or recommendations from the greateſt perſons, in any matter in which juſtice was concerned. One of the firſt Peers of England went once to his chamber, and told him, 'That having a ſuit in law to be tried before him, 'he was then to acquaint him with it, that he 'might the better underſtand it, when it ſhould come 'to be heard in court.' Upon which Sir Matthew interrupted him, and ſaid, 'He did not deal fairly to 'come to his chamber about ſuch affairs, for he never 'received any information of cauſes but in open court, 'where both parties were to be heard alike;' ſo he would not ſuffer him to go on. Whereupon his Grace (for he was a Duke) went away not a little diſſatisfied, and complained of it to the King, as a rudeneſs that was not to be endured. But his Majeſty bid him 'content himſelf that he was no worſe uſed,' and ſaid, 'He verily believed he would have uſed himſelf no 'better, if he had gone to ſollicite him in any of his 'own cauſes.' Another paſſage fell out in one of his circuits, which was ſomewhat cenſured as an affectation of unreaſonable ſtrictneſs; but it flowed from his exactneſs to the rules he had ſet himſelf. A gentleman had ſent him a buck for his table, that had a tryal at the aſſizes; ſo when he heard his name, he aſked, 'If 'he was not the ſame perſon that had ſent him veni'ſon?' and finding he was the ſame, he told him, 'He could not ſuffer the tryal to go on, till he had 'paid him for his buck:' to which the gentleman anſwered, 'That he never ſold his veniſon, and that he 'had done nothing to him, which he did not do to 'every judge that had gone that circuit,' which was confirmed by ſeveral gentlemen then preſent: but all would not do, for the Lord Chief Baron had learned from Solomon, That *a gift perverteth the ways of judgment*; and therefore he would not ſuffer the tryal to go on, till he had paid for the preſent; upon which the gentleman withdrew the record. And, at Saliſbury, the Dean and Chapter having, according to cuſtom, preſented him with ſix ſugar-loaves in his circuit, he made his ſervants pay for the ſugar before he would try their cauſe (14).'

(14) Idem, p. 37, 38.

[P] *And took great care to cover them as much as poſſible from the ſeverities of the law.*] The honourable Roger North, Eſq; affirms, that he was even partial to them. His account of Sir Matthew, in his judicial capacity, is as follows (15).——'While Hales was 'Chief Baron of the Exchequer, by means of his great 'learning, even againſt his inclination, he did the 'crown more juſtice, in that court, than any others, 'in his place, had done with all their good will and leſs 'knowledge. But — his foible — was leaning towards the popular; yet, when he knew the law was for the King, (as well he might, being acquainted with all the records of the Court, to which men of the law are commonly ſtrangers) he failed not to judge accordingly. He was an upright judge, if taken within himſelf; and when he appeared, as he often did, and really was, partial, his inclination or prejudice, inſenſibly to himſelf, drew his judgment aſide. His bias lay ſtrangely for, and againſt, characters and denominations; and ſometimes the very habits of perſons. If one party was a courtier, and well dreſſed, and the other a ſort of puritan, with a black cap and plain cloaths, he inſenſibly thought the juſtice of the cauſe with the latter. If the diſſenting, or anti court party was at the back of a cauſe, he was very ſeldom impartial; and the Loyaliſts had always a great diſadvantage before him.——It is ſaid he was once caught. A courtier, who had a cauſe to be tried before him, got one to go to him, as from the King, to ſpeak for favour to his adverſary, and ſo carried his point; for the Chief Juſtice could not think any perſon to be in the right, that came ſo unduly recommended.'——Mr North adds theſe further particulars concerning him.—'He became the cuſhion exceeding well: his manner of hearing patient, his directions pertinent, and his diſcourſes copious and, though he heſitated often, fluent. His ſtop, for a word, by the produce always paid for the delay; and, on ſome occaſions, he would utter ſentences heroic. One of the bankers, a courtier, by name Sir Robert Viner, when he was Lord-Mayor of London, delayed making a return to a mandamus, and the proſecutor moved for an attachment againſt him. The Recorder Howel appeared; and, to avert the rule for an attachment, alledged the greatneſs of his magiſtracy; and the diſorder that might happen in the city, if the Mayor were impriſoned. The Chief Juſtice put his thumbs in his girdle, as his way was, and, *Tell me of the Mayor of London*, ſaid he? *Tell me of the Mayor of Queenborough*: but ſtill this was againſt the Court. He put on the ſhew of much valour, as if the danger ſeemed to lie on that ſide, from whence either loſs of his place, (of which he really made no great account) or ſome more violent, or as they pretended, arbitrary inflictions might fall upon him. Whereas, in truth, that ſide was ſafe, which he muſt needs know, and that all real danger, to a judge, was from the impetuous fury of a rabble, who have as little ſenſe and diſcretion as juſtice; and from the Houſe of Commons, who ſeldom want their wills, and, for the moſt part, with the power of the Crown, obtain them. Againſt theſe powers he was very fearful; and one bred, as he was, in the rebellious times, when the government, at beſt, was but rout and riot, either of rabble committees, or ſoldiers, may be allowed to have an idea of their tyranny, and conſequently ſtand in fear of ſuch bruiſh violence and injuſtice as they committed. But it is pleaſant to conſider that this man's not fearing the Court was accounted valour; that is by the populace, who never accounted his fear of themſelves to have been a mere timidity. Whatever his courage or fear was, it is moſt certain his vanity was exceſſive; which grew out of a ſelf-converſation, and being little abroad.'——Mr North adds moreover (16), That 'this great man was often a ſlave to prejudice, a ſubtiliſer, and an inventor of unheard of diſtinctions, and exerciſing

(15) Life of the Hon. Sir Francis North, Baron of Guilford, &c. Lond. 1742. 4to. p. 61, &c.

(16) Ibid. p. 64.

buſineſs of the King's Reſtoration, and at leaſt deſerved that the terms of Conformity ſhould not have been made ſtricter than they were before the war. But as he lamented the too rigorous proceedings againſt them, ſo he declared himſelf always of the ſide of the Church of England, and ſaid, Thoſe of the Separation were good men, but they had narrow ſouls, who would break the peace of the Church about ſuch inconſiderable matters as the points in difference were (*a*). After the Fire of London, he was one of the principal Judges that ſat in Clifford's-inn, to ſettle the differences between landlord and tenant; being the firſt that offered his ſervice to the city in that affair: wherein he behaved himſelf to the ſatisfaction of all parties concerned (*b*). In 1668, he earneſtly promoted the Comprehenſion then ſet on foot between the Church and the Nonconformiſts, and drew up the bill to be preſented to Parliament for that purpoſe (*c*). On the 18th of May 1671, he was promoted to the place of Lord Chief Juſtice of England, that is of the King's Bench, vacant by the death of Sir John Keeling. He behaved in that high ſtation with his uſual ſtrictneſs, regularity, and diligence [*Q*], and thereby drew moſt of the buſineſs of the other courts after him (*d*). But, about four years and a half after this advancement, he, who had hitherto enjoyed a firm and vigorous health, to which his great temperance and the equality of his mind did not a little conduce, was on a ſudden brought very low by an inflammation in his midriff: In two days time it broke his conſtitution to ſuch a degree, that he never recovered; for his illneſs turned to an aſthma, that terminated in a dropſy, which brought him to his end (*e*). Finding himſelf unable to diſcharge the duties of his function, he petitioned, about the beginning of the year 1675 6, for a writ of eaſe: but it being delayed, he ſurrendered his office into the Lord Chancellor's hands, the 21ſt of February 1675-6. He had now nothing to do but to prepare himſelf for his death, which happened the 25th of December following. On the 4th of January, he was interred in the churchyard of Alderley [*R*] among his anceſtors; and a plain monument, according to his direction, was ſoon after erected over his grave (*f*) [*S*]. The moſt material part of his character, as drawn up by Dr Burnet and others, is given below in the note [*T*] He was

(*a*) Idem, p. 39, 40, 41.

(*b*) Idem, p. 33, 34.

(*c*) See the Life of R. Baxter.

(*d*) Burnet, Life, as above, p. 55, &c.

(*e*) Idem, p. 57.

(*f*) Idem, p. 70, 71.

exerciſing criticiſms to get the better of known maxims of the law, and thereby to tranſmit great eſtates and intereſts from ſome perſons and families to others. This over-ruling temper of his did not ſo much take place in ſmall concerns, and in thoſe between common men; for there his juſtice ſhined moſt, and armed him with reputation that ſuſtained his authority to do as he pleaſed in greater. Whereby it ſeems that if he never had dealt in other but great cauſes, to hear and determine them, he might have been accounted the worſt judge that ever ſat.——Yet the generality, both gentle and ſimple, lawyers and laymen, did idolize him.——His voice was oracular, and his perſon little leſs than adored. This faſcination, as Mr North ſtyles it, proceeded [in his opinion,] from faction, and had, at the root, more of confederacy than judgment; for becauſe the Chief Juſtice was, in principle, averſe to Monarchy and the Court, they all, with one voice, exalted him, in order to have him lead the Law, and all the lawyers, that way; and left no room for juſt thoughts of him, which attributed enough of honour and commendation, but all that he ſaid was right, and whoever ſaid to the contrary was wrong.'——Mr North having delivered himſelf thus freely about Sir Matthew Hale, concludes his account of him with the following apology (17).——'I muſt not part without ſubjoining my ſolemn proteſtation, that nothing is here ſet down for any invidious purpoſes, but merely for the ſake of truth; firſt, in general, for all truth is profitable; and, ſecondly, in particular, for juſtice to the character I write of (18), againſt whom never any thing was urged ſo peremptorily as the authority of Hales; as if one muſt of neceſſity be in the wrong, becauſe another was preſumed to be in the right. Theſe two Chiefs were of different opinions in matters of private right, as well as touching the publick. And if one were a Solomon, Saint, and Oracle, what muſt the other be taken for? therefore I have underſtood it abſolutely neceſſary for me, as I have done, to ſhew Hales in a truer light than when the age did not allow ſuch freedom, but accounted it a delirium, or malignancy at leaſt, not to idolize him; and thereby to manifeſt that he had his frailties, defects, prejudices, and vanities, as well as excellencies; and that he was not a very touchſtone of law, probity, juſtice and publick ſpirit, as, in his own time, he was accounted: but that ſome, that did not agree with him, might have thoſe virtues as eminently, in the eye of a juſt obſerver. This is the only conſideration that moved me ſo freely to diſplay the matters aforegoing; wiſhing only that I had means, or ability, of doing it with more punctuality. I conclude with this obſervation; that it is a general error of the commonity, learned and unlearned, when a man is truly great in ſome capacities, by the meaſure of them to magnify him in all others, wherein he may be a ſhallow pretender. But it is the office of a juſt writer of the characters of men, to give every one his due, and no more.'

(17) Ibid. p. 69.

(18) Viz. Sir Francis North, Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, and afterwards Lord Keeper.

[*Q*] *He behaved in that high ſtation with his uſual ſtrictneſs, regularity, &c.*] 'One thing was much obſerved and commended in him, viz. that when there was a great inequality in the ability and learning of the counſellors that were to plead one againſt another, he thought it became him, as the judge, to ſupply that: ſo he would enforce what the weaker counſel managed but indifferently, and not ſuffer the more learned to carry the buſineſs by the advantage they had over the others, in their quickneſs and ſkill in law, and readineſs in pleading, 'till all things were cleared, in which the merits and ſtrength of the ill-defended cauſe lay. He was not ſatisfied barely to give his judgment in cauſes; but did, eſpecially in all intricate ones, give ſuch an account of the reaſons that prevailed with him; that the counſel did not only acquieſce in his authority, but were ſo convinced by his reaſons, that he brought them often to change their opinions; ſo that his giving of judgment was really a learned lecture upon that point of law. And even the parties intereſted were generally ſatisfied with the juſtice of his deciſions, even when they were made againſt themſelves (19).'

(19) Burnet, Life, &c. as above, p. 55, 56.

[*R*] *He was interred in the church-yard of Alderley.*] He did not much approve of burying in churches, and uſed to ſay, 'The churches were for the living, and the church-yards for the dead (20).'

(20) Ibid. p. 70.

[*S*] *And a plain monument, according to his direction, was ſoon after erected over his grave.*] The ſides are of black and white marble, and the top a plain black marble, with the following inſcription ordered by himſelf.

Hic inhumatur corpus
Matthei Hale, *Militis*;
Roberti Hale, *et* Joannæ,
Uxoris ejus, Filii unici.
Nati in hac Parochia de
Alderly, *primo die Novembris Anno Dom.* 1609.
Denati vero ibidem viceſimo quinto die Decembris,
Anno Dom. 1676.
Ætatis ſuæ LXVII.

[*T*] *The moſt material part of his character, as drawn up by Dr Burnet and others, &c.*] 'His capacities,

was author of several things, some of which were published by himself [U], and others after

cities, says Dr Burnet, were great, and much improved by constant study; which rendered his learning various. He rose always early in the morning; loved to walk much abroad, not only for his health, but he thought it opened his mind, and enlarged his thoughts, to have the creation of God before his eyes. He had great vivacity in his fancy, as appears by his inclination to poetry, and his poetical performances; but he looked on eloquence and wit as things to be used very chastly and sparingly. He was a devout Christian, a sincere Protestant, and a true son of the Church of England; moderate towards Dissenters, and just even to those from whom he differed most. He used constantly to worship God in his family, performing it always himself, if there was no clergyman present: he was also very regular in his private devotions. So far was he from covetousness, that he did not make the profits he might have had by his practice: taking, in common cases, only ten shillings for his fee And he raised his estate, from *one hundred pounds a year not quite to nine hundred*; of which a very considerable part came from his share of Mr Selden's effects, to whom he was an executor, and residuary legatee. In his practice; if he saw a cause was unjust, he, for a great while, would not meddle further in it, but give his advice that it was so: if the parties, after that, would go on, they were to seek another counsellor, for he would assist none in acts of injustice: if he found the cause doubtful or weak in point of law, he always advised his clients to agree their business. In his pleading, he abhorred those too common faults of mis-reciting evidences, quoting precedents or books falsly, or asserting things confidently; by which ignorant juries, or weak judges, are too often influenced. He pleaded with the same sincerity that he used in the other parts of his life, and used to say, 'It was as great a dishonour as a man was capable of, 'that for a little money he was to be hired to say or 'do otherwise than as he thought.' All this he ascribed to the immeasurable desire of heaping up wealth. When he was a practitioner, differences were often referred to him, which he settled; but would accept of no reward for his pains, though offered by both parties together, after the agreement was made; for he said, 'In those cases he was made a judge, and a judge 'ought to take no money.' *Festina lente*, was his beloved motto, which he ordered to be ingraven on the head of his staff; and was often heard to say, 'That 'he had observed many witty men run into great er-'rors, because they did not give themselves time to 'think.' He laid aside the tenth penny of all he got for the poor, and took great care to be well informed of proper objects for his charities; and, after he was a judge, many of the perquisites of his place were sent by him to the jayls, to discharge poor prisoners. He usually invited his poor neighbours to dine with him, and made them sit at table with himself: and if any of them were sick, so that they could not come, he would send meat warm to them from his table. But as to common beggars, if they were able to work, he would employ them. He loved building much, wherein he consulted usefulness more than magnificence: for, in that, as well as his furniture and clothes, he avoided every thing that looked like pomp or vanity. He was a gentle landlord to all his tenants, and was ever ready, upon any reasonable complaints, to make abatements; for he was merciful as well as righteous. After he was made a judge, he would needs pay more for every purchase he made than it was worth; of which he assigned this reason, 'That it became judges to pay more for 'what they bought than the true value; to the end, 'those they dealt with, might not think they had any 'right to their favour, by having sold such things to 'them at an easy rate.' He was of a most tender and compassionate nature; and, at trials, behaved himself with that regard to the prisoners, which became both the gravity of a judge, and the pity that was due to men whose lives lay at stake. His mercifulness extended even to his beasts, for when the horses that he had kept long, grew old, he would not suffer them to be sold, or much wrought, but ordered his men to turn them loose on his grounds, and put them only to easy work (21). He was a great encourager of all young persons, that he saw followed their books diligently, to whom he used to give directions concerning the method of their study, with a humanity and sweetness, that wrought much on all that came near him: and, in a smiling pleasant way, he would admonish them, if he saw any thing amiss in them. He was very free and communicative in his discourse, which he most commonly fixed on some good and useful subject, and loved for an hour or two at night, to be visited by some of his friends (22).'——Mr North suggests (23), that those friends were none but flatterers. For, says he, 'When 'he was off from the seat of justice, and at home, his 'conversation was with none but flatterers.'——'He 'was, adds Mr North (24), the most flatterable crea-'ture that ever was known; for there was a method of 'resignation to him, and treating him with little meals, 'and private, with his pipe, at ease, which certainly 'captivated him. *In short*, to give every one his due, 'there was in him the most of learning and wisdom, 'joined with ignorance and folly, that ever was known 'to coincide in the character of any one man in the 'world.' But he doth Sir Matthew this justice, to testify of him, that his 'reputation for his great ability 'in the law, and rigorous justice will be very long 'lived in Westminster-hall, and the Inns of Court and 'Chancery.'——And praises him, for 'his great 'learning in the history, law, and records of the En-'glish constitution:' styles him, 'an upright judge;' and says, 'he was allowed on all hands to be the most 'profound lawyer of his time'——R. Baxter gives this character of him (25). 'He was an unwearied 'student, a prudent man, a solid philosopher, a fa-'mous lawyer, the pillar and basis of justice, (who 'would not have done an unjust act for any worldly 'price or motive) the ornament of his Majesty's 'government, and honour of England; the highest 'faculty of the soul at Westminster-hall, and pattern to 'all the reverend and honourable Judges, a godly se-'rious practical Christian, a lover of goodness and all 'good men; a great contemner of riches, pomp, and 'vanity of the world, a pattern of honest plainness and 'humility, &c'——Dr Burnet concludes his character in these words: 'That he was one of the greatest 'patterns this age has afforded, whether in his private 'deportment as a Christian, or in his publick employ-'ments, either at the bar or on the bench.'

(21) *Burnet, Life, as above, p. 83—99.*

(22) *Ibid. p. 99, 100.*

(23) *Life of Lord Guilford, as above, p. 62.*

(24) *Ibid. p. 64.*

(25) *Additional Notes on the Life and Death of Sir Matth. Hale, Lond. 1682. 8vo. p. 43, 44. a small pamphlet.*

[U] *Some of which were published by himself.*] Namely, I. 'An Essay touching the Gravitation, or 'Non-Gravitation of Fluid Bodies, and the Reasons 'thereof.' Lond. 1674, 8vo. II. '*Difficiles Nugæ*, 'or Observations touching the Torricellian Experi-'ment, and the various solutions of the same, espe-'cially touching the Weight and Elasticity of the Air.' Lond. 1674, 8vo. Dr Henry More wrote some remarks upon this, so far as it might concern any passages in his *Enchiridion Metaphys.* III. 'Observations touch-'ing the Principles of natural Motion, and especially 'touching Rarefaction and Condensation, together 'with a Reply to certain Remarks touching the Gra-'vitation of Fluids.' Lond. 1677, 8vo. IV. 'Con-'templations Moral and Divine.' In two parts. The first printed at London in 1676, 8vo, and the second part in 1677, 8vo. To the first were added, 'Di-'rections touching keeping the Lord's-day: And, 'Poems on Christmas-day.' They were both reprinted together in 1679, 8vo. These Contemplations came abroad without his knowledge, and contrary to his intention. V. An English translation of 'The Life and 'Death of *Pomponius Atticus*, written by his contem-'porary and acquaintance *Cornelius Nepos*; together 'with Observations political and moral.' Lond 1677, 8vo. This translation is said to be badly done (26). VI. 'The primitive Origination of Mankind con-'sidered and explained according to the Light of Na-'ture.' Lond. 1677, fol. VII. He also wrote the preface to, and published, the 'Abridgment of many 'Cases and Resolutions of the Common Law, alpha-'betically digested under several titles, &c.' By H. Rolle. Lond. 1668, fol. VIII. Likewise, he was partly the author of, 'London's Liberty: Or a learned 'Argument of Law and Reason,' An. 1650. Reprinted in 1682, fol. under this title, 'London's Li-'berties: Or, The Opinions of those great Lawyers, 'Lord Ch. Justice Hale, Mr Justice Wild, and Mr 'Serjeant Maynard, about the Election of Mayor, 'Sheriffs, Aldermen and Common-Council of London, 'and concerning their Charter.'

(26) *See Life of Lord Guilford, as above, p. 63.*

[W] *And*

after his deceaſe [*W*]. By his Will, he bequeathed to the ſociety of Lincoln's-inn, his manuſcript books [*X*] of ineſtimable value, which he had been near forty years in gathering, with very great induſtry and expence. An account of his wives and family is given below in the note [*Y*].

[*W*] *And others after his deceaſe*] They were, 1. 'Pleas of the Crown: or a Methodical Summary of 'the Principal Matters relating to that Subject.' Lond. 1678. 8vo. 2. 'Diſcourſe touching Proviſion for the 'Poor' Lond. 1683. 12mo 3. 'A Treatiſe touch-'ing Sheriffs Accounts.' Lond. 1683 8vo To which is joined his 'Tryal of Witches at the Aſſizes held at 'Bury St Edmunds on the firſt of March, 1664.' His condemnation of thoſe poor crazy wretches, was the worſt and the moſt culpable action in his whole life (27). 4. His 'Judgment of the Nature of True Re-'ligion, the Cauſes of its Corruption, and the Churches 'Calamity by Mens Additions and Violences; with 'the deſired Cure,' Lond. 1684. 4to Publiſhed by R. Baxter. 5. 'Several Tracts, as A Diſcourſe of 'Religion under three heads, &c His Treatiſe con-'cerning Proviſion for the Poor, already mentioned: 'A Letter to his Children, adviſing them how to be-'have in their ſpeech: A Letter to one of his Sons, 'after his recovery from the ſmall-pox' Lond. 1684. 8vo. 6. 'Diſcourſe of the Knowledge of God and of 'our Selves, firſt by the Light of Nature, ſecondly by 'the Sacred Scriptures.' To which is added, 'Brief 'Abſtract of the Chriſtian Religion: and conſiderations 'ſeaſonable at all times for the cleanſing of the Heart 'and Life.' Lond. 1688. 8vo. 7. 'The Original 'Inſtitution, Power, and Juriſdiction, of Parliaments.' Lond. 1707. 8vo. 8. '*Hiſtoria Placitorum Coronæ.* 'The Hiſtory of the Pleas of the Crown. Firſt pub-'liſhed, in 1736, from his original manuſcript, and 'the ſeveral references to the Records examined by the 'Originals, with large notes, By Sollom Emlyn of 'Lincoln's-inn, Eſq; 2 vols fol.' The Houſe of Commons had made an order, 29 Novemb. 1680. that it ſhould then be printed; but it was never printed 'till now. The *Pleas of the Crown*, &c printed in 1678, 8vo. (as above) was only a plan of this work.

He left ſeveral other pieces in manuſcript, as, 'Concerning the Secondary Origination of Mankind, fol. 'Concerning Religion, 5 vols fol.' and many others, of no great value: whereof an account may be ſeen at the end of his life by Dr Burnet (28).

(27) See Dr Hutchinſon's Hiſtorical Eſſay concerning Witchcraft, Lond. 1718. 8vo. p. 109, &c.

(28) P. 213, &c.

[*X*] *By his Will he bequeathed to the ſociety of Lincoln's-inn his manuſcript books, &c*] They are of ineſtimable value; as being, Cloſe and Patent Rolls, and Charter Rolls in the time of King John for the clergy: the principal matters in the Cloſe and Patent Rolls of Henry III. from the 9th to the 56th of his reign: Cloſe Rolls of King John: *Placita de tempore Reg. Johannis, Edw.* I. *Edw.* II. *Edw* III. *Ric.* II. *Henr.* IV. *and* V. *Placita de Banco, Edw.* I *ab anno* 1 *ad annum* 21: the Pleas in the Exchequer, ſtyled *Communia*, from 1 to 46 Edw. III. Cloſe Rolls of Edw. II. and III. Cloſe and Patent Rolls in the time of Edward III Leagues of the Kings, Edw. I. II. and III. in many volumes. 'He deſired they ſhould be kept ſafe, 'and all together, bound in leather, and chained; 'not lent out or diſpoſed of: only, if any of his poſte-'rity of that ſociety ſhould deſire to tranſcribe any 'book, and give good caution to reſtore it again in a 'preſixed time, they ſhould be lent to him, and but 'one volume at a time. They are, ſays he, a treaſure 'that are not fit for every man's view; nor is every 'man capable of making uſe of them (29).'

(29) Burnet in the ſame Life, p. 116, &c. See North, as above, p. 63.

[*Y*] *An account of his wives and family, &c*] He was twice married. His firſt wife was Anne, daughter of Sir Henry Moor of Faley in Berkſhire, by whom he had ten children: the four firſt dyed young, the other ſix lived to be all married; and he outlived them all except his eldeſt daughter and his youngeſt ſon. The name of his eldeſt ſon was Robert, to whoſe children he left his eſtate. Their poſterity is ſtill ſeated at Alderley. Sir Matthew, it ſeems, was not very happy in his children (30).——His ſecond lady was Anne, daughter of Mr Joſeph Biſhop of Faley abovementioned. She was his own ſervant: and it was upon occaſion of his marriage with her, that he made uſe of this ludicrous ſaying, 'That there is no wiſdom below the 'girdle (31).

(30) North, as above, p. 63.

(31) Ibid.

HALES [JOHN], an excellent Divine and Critick (*a*) uſually diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *ever memorable* *; ſeems to have been deſcended from a family of ſome note [*A*] in Somerſetſhire, and was born in that county at the city of Bath in St James's pariſh anno 1584; where being put to ſchool, he made a progreſs in grammar learning ſo quick as to be judged fit for the univerſity at the age of thirteen, and in the beginning of the year 1597 being ſent to Oxford, became a ſcholar of Corpus-Chriſti-college, where he continued for ſome time; and taking his firſt degree in Arts, ſignalized himſelf prodigiouſly in all his academical exerciſes (*b*), and was much famed for his accurate ſkill in the Greek language. Such rare talents particularly engaged the attention of Sir Henry Savile then Warden of Merton, who always ſtudious to promote the honour and intereſt of his ſociety, took care to bring Mr Hales into it [*B*]; and in 1605 he was choſen fellow there, his merit having procured him the firſt place in the election (*c*). He had not been long in this ſtation, when the learned Warden reſolving to make uſe of his aſſiſtance in preparing St Chryſoſtom's works for the preſs, had the ſatisfaction to receive continually freſh proofs of his abilities (*d*). In the interim he was appointed Greek Lecturer in the college, and preferred in 1612 to the public lecture of that language in the univerſity (*e*), Upon the death of Sir Thomas Bodley founder of the Bodleian Library, January 28, 1613 (*f*), that univerſity determining to interr the corpſe in the moſt ſolemn manner, choſe Mr Hales to make the funeral oration which he ſpoke on the 29th of March (*g*), and on the 24th of May (*h*) following was admitted Fellow of Eton-college (*i*), being then in Holy Orders, and a few years after an eminent preacher according to the taſte of thoſe times [*C*]. In 1618

(*a*) Mr Wood calls him the beſt critic of the laſt age. Ath. Ox. Vol. I. col. 556.

* See the title page to his Golden Remains, and his Tracts likewiſe.

(*b*) There was never any who went beyond him either for diſputations or declamations. Idem, Vol. II. col. 199.

(*c*) Mr Wood in the place above cited informs us, that in this election Mr Hales ſhewed himſelf to be a perſon of learning above his age and ſtanding. He proceeded Maſter of Arts, probably not long afterwards.

(*d*) Id. ibid. and Heylin's Cyprianus Anglicus, lib. iv. p. 362.

(*e*) Wood ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Idem, in the article BODLEY [THOMAS], who it appears there was buried at the upper end of the choir in Merton-college-chapel.

(*g*) See the ſpeech, which was printed at Oxford that year, and again in Vitæ ſelectorum aliquot virorum, &c. by Dr W. Bates, in 1681. 4to.

(*h*) Or elſe the 4th. Compare Gen. Dict. Vol. V. p. 783. with Vol. VIII. p. 236. note [*B*]. Des Maizeaux is miſtaken in fixing the time of this fact after our author's return from Holland. See his account of the Life and Writings of Mr Hales, &c. p. 3.

(*i*) Probably by the intereſt of Sir H. Savile, and alſo of Sir Dudley Carlton. Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 199.

[*A*] *Deſcended from a family of ſome note.*] This is collected from the account of it by Mr Wood, who obſerves (1) that our author was a younger ſon of John Hales (ſteward to the family of the Horners in Somerſetſhire) eldeſt ſon of Edward Hales of Highchurch in that county, ſon of John Hales of the ſame place, ſon of Richard Hales by his wife the daughter of Beauchamp.

(1) Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 199.

[*B*] *Sir Henry Savile took care to bring him into Merton-college.*] The laſt cited author from whom we have this particular expreſſes it thus, 'The prodigious 'pregnancy of his parts being diſcovered by the hedge-'beaters of Sir Henry Savile, he was encouraged by 'them to ſtand for a fellowſhip in Merton college (2).' And another author intimating that Sir Henry was uſed to do the like in reſpect to all young men who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the univerſity by their merit, obſerves that the example can never be too much commended or imitated (3).

(2) Ibid.

[*C*] *In a few years became an eminent preacher.*] The firſt ſermon of the collection in his *Golden Remains*, edit. 1659. upon 2 Pet. iii. 16. upon wreſting hard

(3) Des Maizeaux's account of the Life and Writings of our author, Lond. 1719. 8vo. p. 1.

places

1618 he accompanied Sir Dudley Carlton Embaſſadour to the Hague in quality of chaplain, by which means he procured admiſſion into the ſynod of Dort [*D*]; and though he was not properly a member (*k*), yet his letters to Sir Dudley giving an account of their proceedings, are penned with greater reſpect to that aſſembly, than thoſe written on the ſame occaſion by Mr Balcanqual Commiſſioner there for the Scottiſh Church [*E*]. Every body

(*k*) This is evident from his letters, though the contrary is aſſerted by two authors cited by Mr Des Maizeaux, ubi ſupra. p. 82. in the notes.

places of Scripture, which 'tis ſaid was printed in 1617 at Oxford in 4to. (4) ſeems inferior to none that we have of his in any point, and is freer than moſt of them from that affected archneſs of argument and quaintneſs of expreſſion and obſervation, which indeed was the vice of the times, and he was a compleat adept therein. It will not be amiſs to give one inſtance as a ſpecimen. We ſhall take it from his firſt ſermon of Duels preached at the Hague before the Embaſſador; wherein obſerving that the Scriptures every where inculcate gentleneſs, meekneſs, and peace, he proceeds thus, 'The Son of 'God, who is the wiſdom of the Father, and who for 'us men came down from heaven, firſt, and before all 'other virtues, commended this unto the world: for 'when he was born, the ſong of the Angels was, '*Peace upon earth, and good will towards men.* All 'his doctrine was peace, his whole life was peaceable, 'and no man *heard his voice in the ſtreets*; his laſt legacy and bequeſt left unto his diſciples was the ſame; '*Peace*, ſaith he, *I leave unto you, my Peace I give* '*unto you:* as Chriſt ſo Chriſtians.' So far the piety and gravity of the preacher is truly admirable, the hearer muſt needs feel and acknowledge the force of his eloquence; but this it is that ſerves to make the contraſt in what follows ſo much the more conſpicuouſly odious, for thus he ſhuts up the argument, 'In the building of 'Solomon's temple there was no noiſe of any hammer, 'of any inſtrument of iron; ſo in the ſpiritual building 'and frame of a Chriſtian, there is no ſound of iron, 'no noiſe of any weapons, nothing but peace and gen-'tleneſs (5).' Can this be read upon the ſubject of duels without ſuggeſting theſe two lines of Hudibras,

Ah me what perils do inviron,
The man that meddles with cold iron.

In reality, a ſolid and pious ſtrain of reaſoning, pointed with ſuch a quaint witticiſm at the end, is thereby metamorphoſed into a compleat piece of drollery. However this is no more than a ſingle ſtroke, and the only one that diſgraces that ſermon, and ſuch a one too as provokes indignation as much as laughter. But whoever has the curioſity to peruſe the firſt of the four ſermons [not in the Remains] publiſhed in 1673, will find himſelf held in a continued twitter throughout. It is abſolutely a maſter-piece in the art of text-ſplitting ſo much admired in thoſe days; and as our author was then probably young, being alſo, as he tells us himſelf, of a gay temper *, it will perhaps not be doing him any wrong to ſuppoſe, the review of ſuch a lucky production of his own genius could not fail of raiſing a ſmile in him. Somewhere in theſe ſermons, if I miſtake not, he tells a ſtory which naturally ſtarts up on this occaſion, of Zeuxis the famous Grecian painter, who having finiſhed the picture of an old woman exactly to his mind, was ſo extremely delighted in viewing the delicious piece, that he killed himſelf with laughing at it. After all, in juſtice to our author it muſt be allowed, that theſe diſcourſes abound with excellent uncommon turns of reaſoning and oratory, as well as curious hiſtorical reflections; and in that light are indeed *non vulgaris monetæ*, as is intimated by his friend Mr Farindon (6).

[*D*] *He procured admiſſion into the ſynod of Dort.*] This ſeems to have been his principal view in going to Holland with Sir Dudley, who, beſides his brother the Biſhop of Landaff firſt Engliſh Commiſſioner, recommended him to Bogerman Preſident of the Synod, and ſome others of the leading men there (7); by which means he got acquainted with their moſt ſecret deliberations, and being conſtantly preſent at their open ſeſſions, he was a witneſs to their public tranſactions, and gave an account of every thing in a ſeries of letters to the Embaſſador, from whoſe archives they were obtained, and thence inſerted in his *Golden Remains* †.

[*E*] *His letters are more reſpectful to the Synod than thoſe of Mr Balcanqual.*] This appears evidently upon the face of the letters; we ſhall give one inſtance as a ſpecimen. Mr Balcanqual, in a letter dated the 13th of February (it ſhould be January), 1618, writes in theſe terms. 'The confuſion here in handling of buſi-'neſs is very great; they don't know how to put any 'thing to committees to agree of buſineſs, and then 'afterward to propound it to the Synod to be approved 'or diſapproved, which hath been the cuſtom obſerved 'in all Councils and Synods; but nothing is known 'till it be propounded in the Synod, and then there 'are almoſt as many ſeveral voices as heads; if your 'Lordſhip would give your advice to ſome of the Eſtates 'in this kind, it may be they would apprehend it, and 'we ſhould bring buſineſs to ſome iſſue. The Palatine 'divines and we (8) have met now three times, and 'we have agreed on the ſame propoſitions, and have 'reſolved to call one of every college of the foreign 'divines, and communicate the ſame with them, that 'ſo, if it be poſſible, all we ſtrangers may ſet up, and 'throw down the ſame concluſions. For the Provin-'cials, for any thing I can ſee, they are ſo far ſet againſt 'the Remonſtrants, I wiſh not their perſons as well as 'their opinions, that I am afraid they will not like 'well of our moderation. For the diſmiſſion of the 'Remonſtrants, ſince your Lordſhip is pleaſed to take 'notice of it, I hope I may without offence ſay, that 'it was certainly ſuch as did the Synod much wrong. 'On friday when they ſeemed to yield, then the *Exteri Theologi* could not be heard for the continuing 'them in the Synod. Nay the trick which was put 'upon them was a litt'e too palpable: *For the Dele-'gates [of the Eſtates General] had the decree of their 'diſmiſſion written before they came into the Synod.* 'Yet our voices were aſked, hoping it ſhould have 'been anſwerable to their decree; but finding it was 'otherwiſe, without ſo much as laying their heads to-'gether for conſultation, *they publiſhed a decree which 'they brought written with them into the Synod.* On 'Monday the late acts of the Remonſtrants incredible 'obſtinacy being read, the *Theologi Exteri* gave ſuffra-'ges for their diſmiſſion; only one, to wit Steinius, 'gave a bitter ſentence, their [the foreigners] voices 'being aſked only, who are not above a third part of 'the Synod, they were called in and diſmiſſed with 'ſuch a powdering ſpeech, as I doubt not but your 'Lordſhip hath heard with grief enough. I proteſt I 'am much afflicted, when I think of it; for if the 'Remonſtrants ſhould write, that the Preſident pro-'nounced a ſentence, which was not the ſentence of 'the Synod, they ſhould not lye. The civil lawyers 'and canoniſts of France, who write much about the 'formalities omitted in the Council of Trent, urge 'exceptions of leſs moment than theſe; ſo neither was 'there above *a third part of the voices aſked ex quibus 'ſententia ferri nequit:* neither was the ſentence con-'ceived in writ, and approved by the Synod, and the 'bitter words in the ſentence were not the words of 'any of the ſuffrages, unleſs that ſome of them were 'ſpoken by one man only (9).' Thus Baleanqual, whoſe letter is followed by that of Mr Hales, dated January $\frac{13}{23}$, 1618, upon the ſame ſubject, viz. the diſmiſſion of the Remonſtrants, wherein he relates the ſimple matter of fact, without making any reflections thereon, except in the ſingle ſtep of omitting to take the votes of the Provincials, for which he offers, what was undoubtedly the true reaſon, by way of apology. 'When the foreigners had ſpoken, ſays he, it 'was thought ſufficient; neither did the Præſes proceed 'to aſk the judgment of the Provincials, *knowing belike 'before what it was.*' The ſame caution of ſticking barely to the matter of fact is obſerved by him in the next letter wrote the day following on the ſame ſubject (10): and he begins a third letter dated $\frac{14}{24}$ January, with the apology of the Synod, on account of the unbecoming heat ſhewn in that proceeding. Thus,

'Right Honourable and my very good Lord,

'The errours of public actions (if they be not very 'groſs) are with leſs inconvenience tolerated than a-'mended. For the danger of alteration, of diſgracing 'or diſabling authority, makes that the fortune of ſuch proceedings

(4) Mr Wood, in Ath. Ox. Vol. II col. 125. firſt edition, but 'tis omitted in the ſecond edition of this work.

(5) Golden Remains, p. 70. edit. 1673.

* In his letter to Archbiſhop Laud. See below in remark [*L*].

(6) In his letter to Garthwait prefixed to the Golden Remains.

(7) See our author's letters to Sir Dudley, the firſt and third in the laſt cited piece.

† So we are informed in the preface to that Collection by Dr Pearſon.

(8) That is, the Engliſh Commiſſioners with himſelf. Balcanqual having, appears from the beginning of this letter, lately obtained an appointment from K. James to be joined with them, to make up one *Collegium Theologorum Magnæ Britanniæ.*

(9) Golden Remains, p. 73, 74, edit. 1673. 4to.

(10) Ibid. from p. 74 to 79.

body knows the iſſue of that ſynod in general; but the reſult thereof to our author was, that he went thither a Calviniſt and returned home an Arminian. The convert of Epiſcopius [F] he grew fond of the Remonſtrants method of theologizing [G], and being naturally

' proceedings admits no regreſs, but being once howſo-
' ever well or ill done, they muſt for ever after be up-
' held. The moſt partial ſpectator of our ſynodal acts
' cannot but confeſs, that in the late diſmiſſion of the
' Remonſtrants with ſo much choler and heat, there
' was a great overſight committed; and that whether
' we reſpect our common profeſſion of Chriſtianity, *quæ*
' *nil niſi juſtum ſuadet & lene*; or the quality of this
' people apt to mutine by reaſon of long liberty, and
' not having learnt to be imperiouſly commanded, in
' which argument the Clergy above all men ought not
' to have read their leſſon. The Synod therefore to
' whom it is not now *in integro* to look back, and rec-
' tifie what is amiſs without diſparagement, muſt now
' go forward, and leave events to God, and for the
' countenance of their action do the beſt they may.
' For this purpoſe have they lately, by deputies ap-
' pointed for that end, made a declaration of all their
' proceedings unto the States General, from whom
' they have procured a decree in confirmation of them
' (11).' This inſtance of our author's temper and judgment above that of his fellow correſpondent with the embaſſador, was afterwards as unavoidably ſo unde-ſignedly inſinuated by an eminent divine among the Remonſtrants in Holland (12), who to ſerve that cauſe, publiſhed among other letters fifteen of Mr Balcanqual's and ſeven of Mr Hales's in Latin, with the following account of them prefixed in the preface of his book. ' Sed & non pauca hic quibus hiſtoriæ veritas explorari poteſt, monumenta comparent; & inter alia in epiſtolis Johannis Halefii & Gualtheri Balcanqualli, plura in Synodo Dordracena ſecreto & poſt ſiparium geſta, ac hactenus orbi Chriſtiano incognita, diductis quaſi velis reteguntur, illa autem hic ea fide ac certitudine exhibentur, quæ omnem dubitandi anſam penitus excludunt.' He then informs his reader what the ſtation of each of them was at the Synod, and proceeds to confirm the indiſputable authority of their ſeveral accounts by a circumſtance which he deſcribes in the following words, ' Uterque res eodem quo ſcribebant ' die aut ſaltem hebdomade geſtas, quarum proinde re-
' cens erat memoria Legato narrat, & Balcanquallus
' *nonnunquam non ſine indignatione.*'

[F] *The diſciple of Epiſcopius.*] So Mr Farindon informs us. ' You may pleaſe, ſays he to Mr Garthwait ' (13), to take notice, that in his younger days he was ' a Calviniſt, and even then when he was employed in ' that Synod [of Dort], and at the well preſſing of St ' John iii. 16 by Epiſcopius there *I bid John Calvin* ' *good night* as he often told me.' This account is confirmed by Mr Montague, one of the truſtees to our author's laſt will (14). To the ſame effect is the remark of Dr Walker (15) who relates that a friend of Mr Hales finding him one day reading *Calvin's Inſtitutions*, aſked him if *he was not paſſed that book?* to which he anſwered, *In my younger days I read it to inform myſelf, but now I read to reform him.* But however certain it be that he changed his opinion upon the points of the Predeſtinarian controverſy, yet it is not leſs certain that he eſteemed it to be no more than an opinion. For we find him in his ſermons declaring, with regard to that diſpute (in which he obſerves the Churches were then at variance), that the will of God and his manner of proceeding in Predeſtination is undiſcernable, and ſhall ſo remain until that day, wherein all knowledge ſhall be made perfect, and that each ſide in that diſpute had an equally favourable countenance of ſcripture, which indeed was herein ambiguous, and therefore that the beſt courſe would be, ' To think that ' theſe things which with ſome ſhew of probability we ' deduce from ſcripture are at the beſt but *our opinions*, ' for that this peremptory manner of ſetting down our ' own concluſions under this high commanding form of ' neceſſary truths, is generally one of the greateſt cauſes ' which keeps the Churches this day ſo far aſunder; ' when as a gracious receiving of each other by mutual ' forbearance in this kind might peradventure bring ' them nearer together (16).' This propoſal of a mutual toleration is ſtrenuouſly pleaded for in the ſpeech of Epiſcopius at the Synod of Dort, as the only method of ſettling theſe differences. It is indeed the main drift of that ſpeech, as appears from the abſtract thereof taken by our author, and printed in his *Golden Remains* (17).

[G] *He grew fond of the Remonſtrants method of theologizing.*] Beſides what is mentioned in the laſt remark, where we have ſeen him ſide with Epiſcopius againſt the then eſtabliſhed doctrine of the Engliſh Church, in reſpect to the prudential neceſſity of the article concerning Predeſtination (18). There is another point generally held to be of much greater importance, wherein he ſeems to follow the ſame maſter, at leaſt he embraces the ſame opinion with that leading divine among the Remonſtrants. I mean the neceſſity of believing the article of Chriſt's divinity (19). Here follows his doctrine concerning that point. It is in his famous tract of Schiſm, where ſpeaking of that ſpecies of it, which is occaſioned by variety of opinion, he expreſſes himſelf thus. ' It hath been the common ' diſeaſe of Chriſtians from the beginning, not to con-
' tent themſelves with that meaſure of faith, which
' God and ſcriptures have expreſsly afforded us, but
' out of a vain deſire to know more than is revealed,
' they have attempted to diſcuſs things, of which we
' can have no light neither from reaſon nor revelation,
' neither have they reſted here; but upon preſence of
' Church-authority which is none, or tradition, which
' for the moſt part is but figment, they have peremptor-
' rily concluded, and confidently impoſed upon others,
' a neceſſity of entertaining concluſions of that nature,
' and to ſtrengthen themſelves have broken out into di-
' viſions and factions, oppoſing man to man, ſynod to
' ſynod, till the peace of the Church vaniſhed, with-
' out all poſſibility of recall. Hence aroſe thoſe an-
' cient and many ſeparations among Chriſtians, occa-
' ſioned by Arrianiſm, Eutychianiſm, Neſtorianiſm, Pe-
' lagianiſm, Sabelliaaiſm, and many more both ancient
' and in our time; all which indeed are but names of
' ſchiſm, howſoever in the common language of the Fa-
' thers, they were called Hereſies. For Hereſy is an act
' of the will, not of reaſon, and is indeed a lye, not a mi-
' ſtake, elſe how could that known ſpeech of Auſtin go
' for true, *Errare poſſum, hæreticus eſſe nolo.* Indeed
' Manicheeiſm, Valentinianiſm, Marcioniſm, Maho-
' metaniſm, are truly and properly hereſies. For we
' know that the authors of them received them not,
' but minted them themſelves, and ſo knew that which
' they taught to be a lye. But can any man avouch
' that Arrius and Neſtorius, and others, that taught
' erroneouſly concerning the Trinity, or the perſon of
' our Saviour, did maliciouſly invent what they taught,
' and not rather fall upon it by error and miſtake?
' till that be done, and that upon good evidence, we
' will think no worſe of all parties than needs we muſt,
' and take theſe rents in the Church to be at the worſt
' but Schiſms upon matter of opinion (20).' We have given the paſſage intire, as containing in itſelf a clear proof, needing no comment, of the truth of the aſſertion, that our author held the no neceſſity of believing the article of Chriſt's divinity. And that herein he followed his maſter Epiſcopius, ſeems probable in that he was of a contrary opinion before he went to Holland, as appears from a paſſage in his ſermon on 2 Pet. iii. 16. printed as we have already obſerved in 1617, where ſpeaking of the abuſe of ſcripture by too much ſubtility of wit, as the great fault of the Greek Church, he has the following words. ' The Grecians, till barbariſm
' began to ſteal in upon them, were men of wonderous
' ſubtility of wit, and naturally over indulgent unto
' themſelves in this quality. Thoſe deep and ſubtile
' hereſies concerning the Trinity, the Divinity of
' Chriſt, and of the Holy Ghoſt, the union and diviſion
' of the divine ſubſtance and perſons, were all of them
' begotten in the heat of their wits, yea by the ſtrength
' of them were they conceived and born and brought
' to that growth, that if it had been poſſible for the
' gates of Hell to prevail againſt the Church, they
' would have prevailed this way; wherefore as God
' dealt with his own land, which being ſometimes the
' mirrour of the world for fertility and abundance of
' all things, now lies ſubject to many curſes, and eſpe-
' cially to that of barrenneſs; ſo at this day is it with
' Greece, where ſometimes was the flow and luxury of
' wit, now is there nothing but extreme barbariſm and
' ſtupidity.

(11) Ibid. p. 84, 85. Mr Hales 'tis true before he left Dort grew out of humour with the Synod, and cenſures one ſtep very freely; but this was only under paſſed in a private ſeſſion. See his laſt letter dat. 7 Feb. 1619.

(12) Limborch in *Præſtantium ac Eruditorum Virorum Epiſtolæ Eccleſiaſticæ & Theologicæ*, &c. Edit. 2. Amſt. 1684 fol. as alſo the third edit. printed in 1704.

(13) In his letter above cited.

(14) See Gen. Dict. Vol. VIII. p. 236. note [B].

(15) Sufferings of the Clergy, Part ii. p. 95. col. 1. Lond. 1714. fol.

(16) Sermon on Rom. xiv. 1. Golden Remains, p. 49, 50.

(17) P. 44. & ſeq. Part 2.

(18) The reader will take notice that we are inquiring here barely into the fact, what might probably be the occaſional means of fixing our author in theſe ſentiments, without any intention to impeach the real merit of the ſentiments themſelves.

(19) See Biſhop Bull's treatiſe De neceſſitate credendi [illegible] Chriſtum eſſe verum Deum, contra Socinianos, &c.

(20) Tract of Schiſm, p. 212, & ſeq. among his other tracts, Lond. 1677, 8vo.

turally of an open frank diſpoſition [*H*], he both talked and wrote in ſuch a ſtyle as brought him under ſome ſuſpicion of leaning a little to Socinianiſm [*I*]. But however that

' ſtupidity.——God as it were purpoſely plaguing ' their miſerable poſterity with the extreme want of ' that, the abundance of which their fathers did ſo ' *wantonly* abuſe (21).'

(21) Golden Remains, p. 7. 8.

[*H*] *Of a frank and open diſpoſition*] Dr Heylin tells us (22), that as he was a man of infinite reading, ſo had he not leſs ingenuity; being free of diſcourſe, and as communicative of his knowledge as the celeſtial bodies of their light and influences Biſhop Pearſon likewiſe obſerves, that though no ſollicitations of his friends who often urged him to it, could prevail with him to write any thing for the public, yet that he cannot be accuſed for hiding his talent, *being ſo communicative, that his chamber was a church and his chair a pulpit* (23). We are informed too by Mr Farindon, ſpeaking of the letters written by him, that he had much trouble in that kind from ſeveral friends; and, continues he, I heard him ſpeak of that friend's letter you (24) mention pleaſantly, Mr ——, *He ſets up tops, and I muſt whip them for him.* Laſtly to the ſame purpoſe, Mr Wood tells us, that being highly eſteemed by learned men beyond and within the ſeas, he ſeldom failed to receive letters every week, wherein his judgment was deſired as to ſeveral parts of learning (25).

(22) Cyprianus Anglicus, ubi ſupra.

(23) Preface to the Golden Remains.

(24) Mr Garthwait, to whom this is addreſſed in a letter referred to above.

(25) Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 200.

[*I*] *He wrote in ſuch a ſtyle as brought him under the ſuſpicion of leaning to Socinianiſm.*] As to the fact that he was ſuſpected of Socinianiſm it is even notorious and has been obſerved already by Des Maizeaux (26), (and after him by Dr Birch in the General Dictionary) (27) who has ſufficiently expoſed that part of the charge which made him the author of two books actually written by profeſſed Socinians. Theſe are (1.) *Brevis Diſquiſitio an & quomodo vulgo dicti Evangelici Pontificios ac nominatim Val. Magni de Acatholicorum credendi regula Judicium ſolide atque evidenter refutare queant. Eleutheropoli apud Godfridum Philalethium*, 1633, 12mo. (2) *Diſſertatio de Pace & Concordia Eccleſiæ* [*edita per Irenæum Philalethen*] *Eleutheropoli*, 1628, 12mo. The firſt of theſe pieces was written by Joachimus Stegmannus a Socinian Divine, and the other by Przipcovius a Poliſh Knight and an Unitarian, as appears from Sandius's *Bibliotheca Anti-trinitariorum*, p. 123, 132, 133. Who obſerves that this letter had been aſcribed to *Epiſcopius*. So far is clear on the ſide of Mr Des Maizeaux, who goes on thus. ' For the reſt it is not unlikely but ' what gave occaſion to attribute theſe books to Mr ' Hales, was the general principles they are grounded ' upon, viz. having no rule of faith but the ſcripture ' explained according to ſound reaſon, and allowing all ' Chriſtian communions an equal right to interpret the ' ſcripture to the beſt of their judgment, and to order ' their government and diſcipline accordingly; that ' theſe general principles, I ſay, were agreeable to ' Mr Hales's notions, as they are, it muſt be acknowledged, principles common to all Proteſtants, but explained and inſiſted upon with more freedom and in ' a particular manner by our author.' This conjecture evidently points to Dr Heylin, who ſtands principal in the liſt of thoſe who have laid theſe books to our author's charge (28), and whoſe notions of Church power are aſſerted to be very different from thoſe of Mr Hales. Now though we ſhould allow all this to be true, yet it may be obſerved that the truth, as it ſtands in the paſſage juſt cited, is a little unfairly repreſented, though perhaps not deſignedly. For the charge of Socinianiſm might very well take it's riſe from the danger that was then particularly apprehended from the ſpreading of Socinian principles, ſince at ſuch a juncture (29), the ſingular freedom and particular manner uſed by our author, would be unavoidably watched with a more jealous eye, which in ſome things too might find matter to ſuſpect him inclining that way In his tract concerning the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, having obſerved, that generally the reformed divines do falſly report that holy action, whether you regard the eſſence or uſe thereof, and given ſome inſtances of both reſpects, he proceeds thus. ' Now all theſe miſtakes ' and errors have riſen upon ſome ungrounded and ' fond practices crept long ſince (God knows how) ' into the Church, and as yet not ſufficiently purged ' out. I will be bold to inform you what it is, which ' is πρῶτον ψεῦδος, the main fundamental fallacy ' whence all theſe abuſes have ſprung. There hath ' been a fancy of long ſubſiſtence in the Churches, that ' in the communion there is ſomething given beſides ' bread and wine, of which the numerality given men ' have not yet agreed: ſome ſay it is the body of God ' into which the bread is tranſubſtantiated, ſome ſay it ' is the ſame body with which the bread is conſubſtantiated: ſome, that the bread remaining what it was, ' there paſſes with it to the ſoul, the real body of God ' in a ſecret unknown manner. Some, that a further ' degree of faith is ſupplied us: others, that ſome degree of God's grace, whatever it be, is exhibited, ' which otherwiſe would be wanting. All which ' variety of conceits muſt needs fall out, as having no ' other ground but conjecture weakly founded. To ' ſettle you therefore in your judgment, both of the ' thing itſelf, and of the true uſe of it, I will commend ' to your conſideration theſe few propoſitions. Firſt, ' In the communion there is nothing given but bread ' and wine. Secondly, The bread and wine are ſigns ' indeed, but not of any thing there exhibited, but of ' ſomewhat given long ſince, even of Chriſt given for us ' upon the croſs ſixteen hundred years ago and more. ' Thirdly, Jeſus Chriſt is eaten at the communion table ' in no ſenſe, neither ſpiritually by virtue of any thing ' done there, nor really, neither metaphorically nor ' literally. Indeed that which is eaten (I mean the ' bread) is called Chriſt by a metaphor; but it is eaten ' truly and properly. Fourthly, The ſpiritual eating ' of Chriſt is common to all places as well as the Lord's ' table. Laſt of all, the uſes and ends of the Lord's ' ſupper can be no more than ſuch as are mentioned in ' the ſcriptures, and they are but two. Firſt, The ' commemoration of the death and paſſion of the Son ' of God ſpecified by himſelf at the inſtitution of the ' ceremony. Secondly, To teſtify our union with ' Chriſt and communion one with another; which end ' St Paul hath taught us. In theſe few concluſions the ' whole doctrine and uſe of the Lord's ſupper is fully ſet ' down, and whoſo leadeth you beyond this, doth but ' abuſe you. *Quicquid ultra quæritur non intelligitur* ' (30).' He had before argued againſt the neceſſity of uſing any words of conſecration, or their having any force to that purpoſe, and maintaining that the action would be perfect without any, concludes his argument thus. ' And in truth to ſpeak my opinion, I ſee no ' great harm could enſue, were they [the words of *inſtitution*] quite omitted. Certainly thus much good ' would follow, that ſome part (though not a little ' one) of the ſuperſtition that adheres to that action by ' reaſon of an ungrounded conceit of the neceſſity and ' force of the words in it, would forthwith pill off and ' fall away (31).' Such as are acquainted with the controverſies on this ſubject, need not be told, that theſe tenets are maintained by the Socinians, in conſequence of their doctrine concerning the perſon and office of Chriſt, and the ordinary reader may find it particularly ſhewn in each article by Dr Waterland, who likewiſe expreſsly takes notice of our author's unorthodox opinion in one of them (32). He is treating of the ſanctifying grace conferred in the Euchariſt againſt the Socinians, and having anſwered other objections, he concludes thus. ' Some perhaps may think it an ' objection to what has been pleaded, that grace is alſo ' promiſed ſometimes to prayer, ſometimes to faith, ' and ſometimes to hearing, and therefore is not peculiar to the ſacraments. For it has been ſuggeſted, ' that *the ſpiritual eating of Chriſt is COMMON to all places as well as to the Lord's table* (33). This I ' have touched upon before, and ſhall only add here, ' that we do not confine God's grace to the ſacraments, ' neither do we aſſert any peculiar grace as appropriate ' to them only, but what we aſſert is ſome peculiar degree of the ſame graces, or ſome peculiar certainty or ' conſtancy as to the effect, in the due uſe of thoſe means ' (34).' To conclude, there ſeems to be no good grounds for the inſinuation that it was only our author's particularly free manner of handling the Popiſh controverſy, which occaſioned the cenſure of Socinianiſm, neither does Mr Des Maizeaux produce any inſtance to confirm it. A liberal freedom was apparently the natural turn of his genius, and he might be more eaſy in indulging it on thoſe occaſions, in the view of letting his ſmart antagoniſts ſee, that as he was a match at leaſt for them in ſubtlety of reaſoning, ſo he knew how to return their ſcorn with a ſuitable ſtile of contempt (35).

(26) Account, &c. p. 4. & ſeq. in note [*B*].

(27) Vol. V. p. 703. in note [*E*].

(28) I mean with regard to Des Maizeaux's Account, &c. p. 26. note [*G*]. Dr Birch has added Dr Sam. Ward one of the Commiſſioners at Dort. See Uſher's Life, &c. by Parr, let. 181. p. 473. edit. Lond. 1686. fol. But theſe gentlemen mention only one of theſe books, intitled *Diſquiſitio brevis*, &c. The other called *Diſſertatio de Pace & Concordia Eccleſiæ*, is aſcribed to our author by Mr Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 202.

(29) About the year 1628, when Dr Heylin obſerves that Archbiſhop Laud was particularly buſied in ſuppreſſing Socinian books, as is likewiſe remarked by Des Maizeaux in another place, viz. in Account, p. 26. note [*G*]. And the Canons of 1640 are obſerved by Lord Clarendon to contain more expreſs declarations againſt Socinianiſm than are made by any other Church. Clarendon againſt Creſſy, p. 190, or thereabouts, Lond. 1674. 8vo.

(30) Tract on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper among his Tracts in 1677, 8vo. p. 58 to 62.

(31) Ibid. p. 47.

(32) Viz. the 4th. See his Review of the Doctrine of the Euchariſt, &c. chap. x. p. 423, 424. Lond. 1737. 8vo.

(33) Here he refers in the margin to Hales's Tract, p. 57.

(34) To confirm this he quotes the following words of Voſſius de Sacramentis, p. 251. *Verbum & Sacramenta in eo conveniunt, quod ambo gratiam regenerationis offerant & exhibeant, ſed quod nonnunquam Sacramentis peculiariter adſcribi videtur, id inde eſt quod fides in Sacramentis hanc gratiam videat clarius, apprehendat fortius, teneat certius.*

(35) The like apology in reſpect to another of our author's Tracts, The power of the keys, is offered by Des Maizeaux himſelf. Account, p. 81.

[*K*] *He*

that be, 'tis certain that he gave into the opinion of thoſe who were afterwards called Latitudinarians. His ſentiments in that reſpect were expreſſed very unreſervedly, in the ſmall tract which he wrote for the uſe of his friend Mr Chillingworth (*l*), about the year 1636, concerning Schiſm, &c. [*K*]; and being informed that Archbiſhop Laud was diſpleaſed with it, he drew up a vindication of himſelf, which he addreſſed in a letter to his Grace [*L*], who in 1638 ſent for him to Lambeth, and after a conference of ſeveral hours appears to

(*l*) Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 202.

[*K*] *He gave into the opinion of the Latitudinarians, as appears by his tract of Schiſm.*] This has never been denied, and indeed is evident beyond all contradiction, from the following paſſages in that tract. 'Were liturgies and public forms of ſervice ſo framed, ſays he, as 'that they admitted not of particular and private fancies, but contained only ſuch things as in which all 'Chriſtians do agree, Schiſms on opinion were utterly 'vaniſhed. For conſider of all the liturgies that either 'are or ever have been, and remove from them whatſoever is ſcandalous to any party, and leave nothing 'but what all agree on, and the event ſhall be, that 'the public ſervice and honour of God ſhall no ways 'ſuffer: whereas to load our public forms with the private fancies upon which we differ, is the moſt ſovereign way to perpetuate ſchiſm unto the world's end. 'Prayer, confeſſion, thankſgiving, reading of ſcriptures, expoſition of ſcripture, [illegible] ſacraments in the plaineſt and ſimpleſt manner, were 'matter enough to furniſh out a ſufficient liturgy, tho' 'nothing either of private opinion or of Church pomp, 'of garments, of preſcribed geſtures, of imagery, of 'muſic, of matter concerning the dead, of many ſuperfluities which creep into the Churches under the 'name and order of decency, did interpoſe itſelf. For 'to charge churches and liturgies with things unneceſſary, was the firſt beginning of all ſuperſtition, and 'when ſcruples of conſcience began to be made and 'tended, then ſchiſms began to break in. The ſpiritual guides and fathers of the Church would be a little 'ſparing of incumbring churches with ceremonies, and 'not over rigid either in reviving obſolete cuſtoms, or 'impoſing new, there would [illegible] 'ſchiſm or ſuperſtition; and all the inconvenience, 'likely to enſue, would be but this, they ſhould in ſo 'doing yield a little to the imbecillities of inferiours; 'a thing which St Paul would never have refuſed to 'do (36).' After this ſpeaking of ſchiſm, occaſioned by epiſcopal ambition, and particularly the ſuperiority of biſhops in different ſees, he declares that it had been from time to time a great treſpaſſer againſt the Church's peace, and was now the final ruin of it. The Eaſt and the Weſt, through the fury of two prime biſhops, being irremediably ſeparated without all hope of reconcilement. 'And beſides, continues he, all this 'miſchief, it is founded in a vice contrary to all humility, without which no man ſhall ſee his Saviour: for 'they do but abuſe themſelves and others, that would 'perſuade us, that biſhops by Chriſt's inſtitution have 'any ſuperiority over other men further than of reverence; or that any biſhop is ſuperiour to another, 'further than poſitive order agreed upon amongſt Chriſtians hath preſcribed. For we have believed him 'that hath told us, *That in Jeſus Chriſt there is neither high nor low, and that in giving honour every man ſhould be ready to prefer another before himſelf*, 'which ſayings cut off all claim moſt certainly to ſuperiority by title of Chriſtianity, except men can think, 'that theſe things were ſpoken only to poor and private 'men. Nature and religion agree in this, that neither 'of them hath a hand in this heraldry of *ſecundum ſub & ſupra*, all this comes from compoſition and agreement of men among themſelves. Wherefore this 'abuſe of Chriſtianity to make it lacquey to ambition, 'is a vice for which I have no extraordinary name of 'ignominy, and an ordinary, I will not give it, leſt 'you ſhould take ſo tranſcendent a vice to be but trivial (37).' Theſe paſſages are quoted by Dr Stillingfleet in his Irenicum (38), as ſerving his purpoſe in that treatiſe wrote plainly in the view of promoting the *Comprehenſion*, and to the Doctor we may add another gentleman who will not perhaps take it wrong to be ſtiled the *Aleſius noſtri temporis*, and who having declared his opinion in favour of moderation, proceeds thus. 'And now if men ſhould ſay I perſwade to indifferency, I muſt bear it as well as I can, I am not 'yet without remedy as they are; for patience will 'help me, and reaſon cannot cure them' The words are borrowed from a pious, ingenious, earned, charitable, and ſweet tempered Biſhop, who with a noble candour and generous openneſs, pleads the cauſe of liberty of propheſying, and who never was cenſured for it by any man worth the mentioning (39), though probably he was reviled by thoſe who called Tillotſon an Atheiſt. If theſe two excellent prelates, and Eraſmus, and Chillingworth, and John Hales, and Locke, and Epiſcopius, and Grotius,—had been contemporaries, and had met together freely to determine the important queſtion. *What makes a man a Chriſtian, and what profeſſion of faith ſhould be deemed ſufficient*, they would probably have agreed, notwithſtanding the diverſity of opinion they might all have had in ſome theological points (40). In reality it was the Latitudinarian (and not the pretended Socinian) principles advanced in this tract of ſchiſm, which occaſioned ſo much notice to be taken of it by the writers on each ſide in that controverſy. As is evident by the account [illegible] in the Athen. under our author's [illegible] and more largely in Des Maizeaux's account of [illegible] Life, &c.

(36) Tract of Schiſm, p. 215 to 218.

(37) Ibid. p. 224, 225.

(38) B. I. c. vi. And the doctor, as is uſual on ſuch occaſions to a brother militant in the ſame cauſe, prefaces them with the higheſt elogiums of our author, to whom indeed it happens they are juſtly due.

(39) Biſhop Taylor's Liberty of Propheſying is joyned in the ſame cenſure with that of Mr Hales's Tract of Schiſm, in a piece intitled Mr Hales's Tract of Schiſm, &c. examined and cenſured, Lond. 1678. 8vo. by Mr Tho. Long.

(40) Remarks [illegible] Eccleſiaſtical [illegible]

(*l*) *He wrote an expoſtulatory Letter to Archbiſhop Laud.*] This remarkable letter was firſt printed in Dr Clarke's *Lives and Abſtracts &c.* 7th Edition [illegible] It contains our author's [illegible] given only [illegible] Maizeaux and [illegible] in the [illegible] in the order it lies, as follows. [illegible] of late an abortive diſcourſe [illegible] the uſe of a private friend, [illegible] without [illegible] wandered abroad, [illegible] it's way to [illegible] at your Grace's hands: I have taken the boldneſs to preſent myſelf before you in behalf of it, with this [illegible] apology or excuſe [illegible] rently, being reſolved *in utramvis aleam*, to beg either your approbation or your pardon. Whatſoever there is in that ſchedule, which may ſeem apt to 'give offence, conſiſts either in phraſe and manner of 'expreſſion, or in the conceits and things themſelves 'there preſſed and inſiſted upon. For the firſt, whoſoever has the misfortune to read it, ſhall find in it 'for ſtile ſome things over-familiar and ſubruſtick, 'ſome things more ſour and ſatyrical. For theſe my 'apology is but this, that your Grace would be pleaſed 'to take into conſideration, firſt, what the liberty 'might entice me to. Secondly, I am by genius open 'and uncautelous, and therefore ſome pardon might be 'afforded to harmleſs freedom and gaiety of ſpirit, utterly devoid of all diſtemper and malignity. Thirdly, 'ſome part of the theme I was to touch upon, was '(or at leaſt ſeemed to me) of ſo ſmall and inconſiderable a moment, and yet hath raiſed that noiſe and 'tumult in the Church, that I confeſs it drew from me 'that indignation which is there expreſſed. For all 'theſe things which I have above touched upon, my 'anſwer is, *incumbant in ſpongiam*, and I could heartily wiſh, (for in the caſe I am, I have nothing but 'good wiſhes to help me) that they into whoſe hands 'that paper is unluckily fallen, would favour me ſo 'much as to ſpunge them out.' After this declaration he proceeds concerning the things diſcuſſed in that pamphlet, 'I humbly beg leave before I come to particulars, to ſpeak for myſelf thus much in general. If they 'be errors which I have there vented (as perchance 'they are) yet my will hath no part in them, and 'they are but the iſſues of unfortunate inquiry. Galen 'that great phyſician ſpeaks thus of himſelf, Ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως εὐθὺς, &c. I know not how, ſays 'that worthy perſon, even from my youth up in a wonderful manner, whether by divine inſpiration, or by 'fury and poſſeſſion, or however you may pleaſe to 'ſtyle it, I have much contemned the opinion of 'the many; but truth and knowledge I have above 'meaſure affected; verily perſuading myſelf, that a 'fairer, more divine fortune could never befall a man. 'Some title, ſome claim, I may juſtly lay to the words 'of this excellent perſon; for the purſuit of truth 'hath been my only care, ever ſince I firſt underſtood 'the meaning of the word. For this I have forſaken

'all

to have been reconciled to him [*M*], telling him that he might have any preferment that he pleased, which was modestly declined by him; yet a Canonry of Windsor was pressed upon him the next year in such a manner, he thought himself obliged, though unwilling, to accept it [*N*], and was installed June the 27th 1639 (*m*); however he enjoyed it only for two years 'till the beginning of the civil wars in 1642 (*n*). And the same year his tract of Schism was printed in one large sheet in 4to. without his consent, being thought to

(*m*) He succeeded Dr James Rowlandson, who died on the 9th of May. Ath. Ox. Vol. I. col. 670. and Mr Hales's patent bears date May 23. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 94. c. i.

(*n*) Gen. Dict. where last cited.

'all hopes, all friends, all desires, which might biass me, and hinder me from driving right at what I aimed. For this I have spent my money, my means, my youth, my age, and all I have; that I might remove from myself that censure of Tertullian *suo vitio quis quid ignorat*. If with all this cost and pains, my purchase is but error; I may safely say to err hath cost me more, than it hath many to find the truth; and truth itself shall give me this testimony at last, that if I have mist of her, it is not my fault, but my misfortune. And howsoever I may have miscast some parcels of my account, yet am I most certain that the sum total is right, for it amounts to no more than that precept of the apostle. As far as it is possible have peace with all men; and surely there can be no great harm in the premises, where the conclusion is nothing else but peace.' These things being premised, he goes on, 'All that may seem to lie open to exception, is comprised under two general heads, my carriage: 1. Towards antiquity. 2. Towards authority.' He answers first those who thought he had been too sharp in censuring antiquity beyond that good respect which is due unto it [illegible] and as to authority, whereas in one point speaking of Church authority, I bluntly added, [*which is none*], I must acknowledge it was uncautiously spoken, and being taken in a generality is false, though as it refers to the occasion, which there I fell upon, 'tis as I think I may safely say most true. By Church authority, I do not mean the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical persons in Church causes or matter of fact, wherein the said persons in cases of their cognizance have the same authority, as any other have to whom power of jurisdiction is committed. Their consistories, their courts, their determinations stand upon as warrantable evidence, as the decisions of other benches and courts do. But what I visibly meant was the decision of ecclesiastical persons in point of Church questions and disputable opinions. I count in point of decision of these, if I say of the authority of the Church that it was none, I know no adversary that I have, the Church of Rome only excepted; for this cannot be true, except we make the Church judge of controversies; the contrary of which, we generally maintain against that Church. Now it plainly appears, that upon this occasion I spake it; for beginning to speak of schism arising by reason of ambiguous opinion, I brought in nakedly those words, which gave occasion of offence; which if I had spoken with due qualification, I had not erred at all. Again, whereas I did too plainly deliver myself *de origine dominii*, and denied it to be founded either in nature or religion; I am very well content to put off the decision of this point till Elias comes; since it is but a point of meer speculation, which in common life and use hath no place at all. And whether dominion *in civilibus* or *in sacris*, be κτισις &c. or comes in by divine right, it concerns them to look to who have dominion committed to them: To others whose duty it is to obey (and myself above all who am best contented to live and die a poor and private man) it is a speculation merely useless; save only, that what is commanded to private persons by their superiors, may be done with good conscience.' Lastly, he vindicates himself against some persons, who by reason of the passage cited in the preceding note, wherein he sharply takes episcopal ambition, suspected that in his heart he did secretly lodge a malignity against the episcopal order, and that under pretence of taxing the ancients, he secretly lashed at the then present times; shewing that he had not given the least pretence for such an imputation: and concludes by rejoycing at the happy condition of Episcopacy in the Church of England, as it was then, and had been settled for well near one hundred years.

[*M*] *The Archbishop after a conference at Lambeth seems to have been reconciled to him.*] The best account we have of this much talked of conference, is that given by Dr Heylin (42), of which the substance is, That the Archbishop, intent to prevent the spreading of Socinianism, had directed the suppressing all books of that kind imported from abroad. That one of these called *Disquisitio brevis*, was commonly ascribed to Hales of Eton. That there passed also up and down a *Discourse of Schism* in MS. levelled chiefly against the authority of the Church, which being dispersed about this time [1638], gave the Archbishop occasion to send for him to Lambeth, in hope to gain the man whose abilities he was well acquainted with. About nine o'clock in the morning, he came to know his Grace's pleasure, who took him into his garden, giving orders not to be disturbed upon any occasion. There they continued in discourse till the bell rang to prayers, and after prayers till dinner was ready, and after that too, till the coming in of the Lord Conway and some other persons of honour, put a necessity upon some of his servants to give him notice how the time had passed away. So in they came high coloured, and almost panting for want of breath; enough to shew that there had been some heats between them not then fully cooled. '[illegible] chance, continues he, to be there that day (43), and I found Hales very glad to see me (44), as being himself a meer stranger there, and unknown to all. He told me afterwards, that he found the Archbishop (whom he knew before for a nimble disputant) to be so well versed in books as business, that he had been ferreted by him from one hole to another, till there was none left to afford him any further shelter, that he was now resolved *to be orthodox, and declare himself a true son of the Church of England, both for doctrine and discipline*. That to this end he had obtained leave to call himself his Grace's chaplain, that naming him in his public prayers for his lord and patron, the greater notice might be taken of the alteration. Thus was Hales gained unto the Church, and gained a good preferment in it; promoted not long after by the Archbishop's commendation to a prebend at Windsor, and to hold the same by special dispensation with his place in Eton.' Mr Des Maizeaux, thinking this too severe upon our author's memory, hath spent more than thirty pages (45), in labouring to invalidate it, which surely was altogether needless upon the plan of his piece, since Mr Hales's letter to the Archbishop, compared with the subsequent conduct of each, and the well known temper and principles of Dr Heylin, furnish the best key for interpreting his narrative. We shall only observe in regard to Mr Hales's saying, *he was resolved to be orthodox, and to declare himself a true son of the Church of England*: that in such a speech, according to the known language of those times, the word orthodox was not opposed to the heretic, as Mr Des Maizeaux apprehended, but the puritan (46), and is explained in the following words, a *true* son of the Church, &c. which set forth a zealous and steady advocate thereof, the word *true* being opposed to *false*, in the sense only of *lukewarm*. But such mistakes are pardonable in a foreigner, not acquainted with the critical history of our language.

[*N*] *He accepted the Canonship of Windsor unwillingly*] We owe this particular to the General Dictionary (47), where it is related as follows. 'As to Mr Hales's being discontented (48), he was so far from it, that he would willingly have waved the Prebend of Windsor when it was sent to him, knowing nothing of it by Archbishop Laud; and he would have refused it, but that it was presented to him at a public dinner among many friends, who persuaded him to the contrary. Archbishop Laud did also send for him, and told him he might have what preferment he pleased, and he answered, *If it please your Grace, I have what I desire*.' Mr Des Maizeaux (p. 18) tells us, that our author assisted the Archbishop in preparing the edition of his book against Fisher the Jesuit, which was printed this year, but no authority is produced to vouch the truth of this fact, only we are referred to compare A. C's objections in that work, with some pieces of Mr Hales.

[illegible] No preacher makes frequenter [illegible] of the Fathers than our author does in his sermons, and generally with that judgment and impartiality for which he was distinguished. Yet in one of these he carries their authority so high, as to subscribe to the truth of the miracle of the thundring legion. A degree of credulity which would not be thought very judicious at this time of day. Sermon on Duels in Golden Remains, p. 80, 81.

(42) In Cyprianus Anglicus, ad anno 1638.

(43) He was chaplain to the Archbishop.

(44) The doctor calls Mr Hales his dear friend in the Quinquarticular History, Part I. chap. v. § 7 and 10.

(45) Viz. from p. 27 to p. 35 in note [*G*] against Dr Heylin the principal, and from 35 to 58 against his followers. I. Dr Sam Parker, in his Reproof to the Rehearsal transposed, Lond. 1673. 8vo. II. Tho. Long, in a piece mentioned already in remark [*K*]. III. Mr Wood, in the first edition of his Ath. Ox. Vol. I. col. 124. IV. Dr Walker, in Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. Lond. 1714. fol. Part II. p. 95. V. Mr Echard, in his History of England, Lond. 1718. fol. Vol. II. p. 143.

(46) And he might have observed that this speech of our author's was so understood by Mr Wood, Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 200.

(47) Vol. VII. p. 236, note [*B*].

(48) Mr Wood is hereby corrected, who in the article of our author, c. l. 202. relates this supposed discontent as one cause of Mr Hales's writing his Tract of Schism.

[*O*] *He*

to favour the then prevailing party (o). About the time of the Archbiſhop's death, he retired from his lodgings in the college into a private chamber at Eton (p), where he remained for a quarter of a year unknown to any, and ſpent in that time only ſixpence a week, living only upon bread and beer; and as he had formerly faſted from tueſday night to thurſday night, ſo in that time of his retirement he abſtained from his bread and water; and when he heard that the Archbiſhop was murdered, he wiſhed that his own head had been taken off inſtead of his Grace's (q). He continued in his fellowſhip at Eton though refuſing the Covenant, nor complying in any thing with the times; but was ejected upon his refuſal to take the Engagement *, and Mr Penwarden put into his room, to whom he gave a remarkable proof of the ſteadineſs of his principles with regard to the public [O]; and to a gentleman of the Sedley family in Kent he gave another no leſs remarkable proof of the ſteadineſs of his temper with regard to a private and ſtudious life (r). In this reſolution he retired to the houſe of a gentlewoman near Eton about a year after his ejection (s), accepting of a ſmall ſalary with his diet to inſtruct her ſon (t); here he officiated as chaplain, performing the ſervice according to the liturgy of the Church of England; and Dr Henry King the ſuffering Biſhop of Chicheſter being at the ſame houſe (u) with ſeveral of his relations, they formed a kind of college there (w). But this retirement, which muſt in his preſent circumſtances needs have been very agreeable to him, he was not ſuffered to enjoy long (x); for upon a declaration by the State, prohibiting all perſons to harbour Malignants, i. e. Royaliſts, he left that family [P], notwithſtanding the lady aſſured him that ſhe would readily undergo all the danger which might enſue by entertaining him. His laſt retirement was to a lodging in Eton, at the houſe of a perſon (y) whoſe huſband had been his ſervant. Here he was entertained with great care and reſpect, but being now deſtitute of every other means of ſupporting himſelf, he ſold a great part of his valuable library to a Bookſeller in London (z) for 700 pounds (aa). However though his fortune was much broken by his ſufferings, yet the current ſtory of his being reduced to extreme neceſſity appears by his Will not to be well grounded [Q]. He was not long ſick, about a fortnight, and

(o) See Wood where laſt cited, and Des Maizeaux, and Gen. Dict. in our author's article.

(p) Probably at Hannah Dickenſon's Houſe. See our author's Will in remark [R].

(q) Gen. Dict. ib.

* The Engagement was enacted in 1648 or 1649. It was an oath to be faithful to the Commonwealth of England as then eſtabliſhed, without a King or Houſe of Lords.

(r) He refuſed 100 pounds a year with his diet and ſervant, and a couple of horſes, which was offered him by that gentleman. Ath. Ox. ubi ſupra.

(s) He ſeems to have reſided at Dickenſon's houſe that year again.

(t) The lady's name was Salter (ſiſter as Mr Wood imagined to Dr Duppa Biſhop of Sarum).

(u) The Biſhop was there before Mr Hales's coming. Gen. Dict. Vol. VIII. p. 236.

(w) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. p. 94.

(x) This is collected from his laſt Will, where he ſays he had been at Hannah Dickenſon's houſe a long time ſince his extruſion from his college

(y) Hannah Dickenſon. Mr Wood ſays ſhe had formerly at her marriage received of Mr Hales's bounty. See his Will.

(z) His name was Cornelius Bee. Idem ibid. but Wood is miſtaken in ſuppoſing it was his whole library. See his Will.

(aa) Dr Walker, ubi ſupra, tells us, he ſhared this money with ſeveral deprived miniſters, ſcholars, and others; and the ſame is alſo intimated by Dr Pearſon in his preface to Golden Remains.

The ſalary was 50 pounds a year. Her ſon is called in our author's Will William Salter of Rich-Kings, Eſq;

[O] *He gave a proof of his ſteady loyalty*] Some time after Mr Penwarden was put into his fellowſhip, he voluntarily offered to reſign the place to Mr Hales, who refuſed it, declaring that the Parliament having put him out, he was reſolved never to be put in again by them. Mr Des Maizeaux, who thought this account of Wood (49) too looſely worded, has explained it by ſuppoſing the refuſal was grounded upon the conſideration, that he could not be re-admitted without complying with ſuch things as he did not think lawful or proper for him to ſubmit to (50). That gentleman alſo further obſerves (51), that when the rebels had uſurped the ſupream authority, Mr Hales's loyalty to the King, and his zeal for the Church of England, made him part cheerfully with his fellowſhip and canonry. For this he quotes Mr Wood in the firſt edition of his Ath. Oxon. but the word *cheerfully* is not in the ſecond edition of that work, and though the circumſtance may perhaps not be improbable with reſpect to the canonry, yet as to his fellowſhip it is hardly conſiſtent, with his own words in his will, where he calls that ejectment *an unjuſt and cauſeleſs extruſion* (52). But Mr Des Maizeaux knew nothing of our author's will, and ſuppoſed likewiſe that he loſt his canonry and fellowſhip at the ſame time. The former of theſe was kept void till the Reſtoration, when it was filled, ſays Wood, by Anthony Hawles, D. D. ſometime of Queen's-college in Oxford.

(49) Ibid. col. 200.

(50) Account of Mr Hales's Life and Writings, ubi ſupra, p. 61, 62. note [K].

(51) Ibid. in the text.

(52) See a copy of the Will in Rem. [R].

[P] *He left that family upon a declaration againſt harbouring Malignants.*] It is ſaid that the ſame order which carried Mr Farindon from his preaching in London, removed Mr Hales from Lady Salter's, he affirming that he would be gone, leſt he ſhould miſchief his friends (53). This, if true, will ſerve to explain the account given of Mr Farindon, by the author of the Athen. Oxon. who tells us (54), that this friend of Mr Hales having been made Vicar of Bray in 1634, and ſoon after divinity reader in the King's chapel at Windſor, was turned out of the firſt place after the breaking out of the civil wars, and at length out of all. That thus reduced, he was invited by Sir John Robinſon kinſman to Archbiſhop Laud, and ſome pariſhioners of St Mary Magdalen Milk-ſtreet London, to be paſtor there. That in 1647, he publiſhed ſome of the ſermons he had delivered to them, and that he died in his houſe at Milk ſtreet, September 1658.

(53) Gen. Dict. Vol. VII. as laſt cited.

(54) Vol. II. p. 226. 2d edit.

[Q] *The ſtory of his being reduced, appears by his will not to be well grounded.*] The ſtory is this, that 'Mr Farindon coming one day to ſee Mr Hales a few 'months before his death, found him in his mean 'lodgings at Mrs Powney's houſe (55), but in a temper gravely cheerful, and well becoming an excellent 'Chriſtian in ſuch circumſtances, after a ſlight and very 'homely dinner, and ſome diſcourſe concerning the 'times, Mr Hales deſired Mr Farindon to walk out 'with him into the church-yard, where this great man's 'neceſſities preſſed him to tell his friend that he had 'been forced *to ſell his whole library*, ſave a few books 'which he had given away, and ſix or eight little 'books of devotion which lay in his chamber, and 'that for money he had no more than what he then 'ſhewed him, which was about ſeven or eight ſhillings, 'beſides, ſaid he, I doubt, I am indebted for my 'lodging. Mr Farindon it ſeems did not imagine 'that it had been ſo very mean with him, and was 'much ſurprized to hear it, and withal ſaid, I have at 'preſent money to command, and to-morrow will pay 'you fifty pounds in part of the many ſums I and my 'poor wife have received of you in our great neceſſities; 'and will pay you more ſuddenly as you ſhall want it. 'To which he anſwered, No, you don't owe me a penny; or if you do, I here forgive you, for you ſhall never 'pay me a penny; I know you and your's will have occaſion for much more than what you have lately gotten. 'But if you know any other friend that hath too full a 'purſe, and will ſpare ſome of it to me, I will not refuſe that; to which he added, when I die (which I 'hope is not far off, for I am weary of this uncharitable world) I deſire you to ſee me buried in that 'place of the church yard, pointing to the place But 'why not in the church, ſays Mr Farindon, with the 'Provoſt [Sir H. Savile], Sir Henry Wotton, and the 'reſt of your friends and predeceſſors? becauſe, ſays 'he, I am neither the founder of it, nor have I been 'a benefactor to it, nor ſhall I ever now be able to be 'ſo; I am ſatisfied.' Dr Walker, who tells this ſtory, acquaints us likewiſe how he came by it. This diſcourſe, ſays he in a marginal note, between Mr Faringdon and Mr Hales, I had out of a looſe ſheet which was one of Mr Faringdon's papers retrieved by Mr Fulman of C. C. C. in order to have written the life of Mr Hales. It was communicated to me by the late Mr Archdeacon Davies of Saperton in Glouceſterſhire, among ſeveral other notices relating to my undertaking. Wood. Ath. Vol. II. p. 625 (56). In ſhort the ſtory is ſo circumſtantially told, and ſo well atteſted, that it could not have been diſcredited by any evidence leſs than that of Mr Hales's will. Something of the ſtory ſeems to have come to the ears of Andrew Marvel, which drew from him the following remark, *That it is not one of the leaſt ignominies of that age, that ſo eminent a perſon ſhould have been by the iniquity of the times reduced to thoſe neceſſities under which he lived* (57).

(55) She was not then married to Powney, but Dickenſon's widow, as appears by the Will in the following remark. She married Simon Powney afterwards. Wood in our author's article.

(56) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, &c, p. 94.

(57) The Rehearſal tranſproſed, p. 175, 2d edit. 1672. 8vo.

and then not very ill; but discoursed with all his friends as freely as in his health 'till within half an hour before his death (*b b*), which happened on the 19th of May 1656, being aged 72 years; he dyed in his last mentioned lodging, and the day after was buried according to his own desire [*R*] in Eton-college church-yard, where a monument was erected over his grave by Mr Peter Curwen (*c c*). As to our author's person, he had the marks of great ingenuity in his countenance, which was sanguine, cheerful, and full of air; his stature little, his body well proportioned, and his motion quick and sprightly (*d d*) He never married, and probably never had any inclination that way [*S*]. As to the rest, all writers agree in giving the character of one of the greatest as well as the best men of that or any other age (*e e*). And Bishop Pearson in particular gives the following elogium (*f f*) of him, wherein he declares, he shall speak no more than his own long experience, intimate acquaintance, and high veneration grounded upon both, shall freely and sincerely prompt him to. 'Mr Hales, says he, was a man I think of as great a sharpness, quickness, 'and subtility of wit, as ever this or perhaps any nation bred: his industry did strive if 'it were possible to equal the largeness of his capacity, whereby he became as great a ma- 'ster of polite, various, and universal learning [*T*], as ever yet conversed with books. 'Proportionate to his reading was his meditation, which furnished him with a judgment 'beyond the vulgar reach of man, built upon unordinary notions, raised out of strange 'observations and comprehensive thoughts within himself. So that he really was a most 'prodigious example of an acute and piercing wit, of a vast and illimited knowledge, of 'a severe and profound judgment. Although this may seem, as in itself it truly is, a grand 'Elogium;

(*b b*) Gen. Dict. Vol. VIII p. 236. where it is observed that Mr Montague was then talking with him, and leaving him only for half an hour found him dead on his return.

(*c c*) Who was bred at Eton, and was a great admirer of our author. The inscription, which is not ill done, may be seen in Wood ubi supra, col. 202, 203. only observing that the last word instead of *choro* should be *consortio*. Le Neve's Monumenta Anglicana, &c. p. 44. Lond. 1718. 8vo.

(*d d*) Ath. Ox. ubi supra.

(*e e*) In this character not only the advocates of his principles, who might be suspected of partiality, but the opposers of them, concur. Ibid.

(*f f*) In his Preface to the Golden Remains.

[*R*] *He was buried in the church-yard according to his own request.*] It was declared in his will, of which the following is a copy:

In Dei nomine Amen Maji decimo nono A. D. 1656.

'*My soul having been long since bequeathed unto the mercies of God in Jesus Christ my only Saviour; and my body naturally bequeathing it self to dust and ashes, out of which it was taken. I John Hales of Eton in the county of Bucks, Clerk, by this my last will and testament, do dispose of the small remainder of my poor broken estate, in manner and form following.*

First, I give to my sister Cicely Combes, five pounds. More, I give to my Sister Bridget Gulliford, five pounds. More, I give to the poor of the town of Eton, to be distributed at the discretion of my executrix hereafter named, five pounds. More, I give to six persons, to be appointed by my said executrix to carry my body to the grave, three pounds, to be distributed among them by even portions. More, I give to Mr Tho. Manfield of Windsor, Grocer five pounds. More, I give to Mrs Mary Collins, wife to Mr John Collins of Eton, five pounds, to this end and purpose, that she would be pleased to provide her a ring in what manner she listeth, to remain with her in memory of a poor deceased friend. All which monies here bequested, do at this present rest intrusted in the hands of my singular good friends Mr William Smith and Mr Thomas Montague.

Moreover all my Greek and Latin books (except St Jerom's works, which I give to Mr Thomas Montague) I give to my most deservedly beloved friend William Salter of Rich Kings, Esq; to whom I further give five pounds, to this end, that he would provide him a fair seal-ring of gold engraven with his arms and hatchments doubled and mantled, to preserve the memory of a poor deceased friend. All my English books, together with the remainder of all monies, goods, and utensils whatsoever, I give and bequeath to Mrs Hannah Dickinson of Eton, widow and relict of John Dickinson lately deceased. In whose house (for her's indeed it is, and not mine, as being bought with her money, howsoever for some reasons I have suffered the public voice to entitle me to it) in whose house, I say, I have for a long time (especially since my unjust and causeless extrusion from my college) been with great care and good respect entertained. And her the said Hannah, I do by these presents constitute and ordain my sole executrix. And unto this my last will I make overseers my very good friends Mr Thomas Montague and Mr William Smith of Eaton, and to each of them I give five pounds, humbly requesting them to be assistance to my said executrix with their best advice to help, if so be she chance to find any trouble.

Now because monies are many times not at command, but may require some time to take them up, I ordain, that in six months after my departure, she see all these my bequests and legacies orderly and faithfully discharged.

As for my funeral, I ordain, that at the time of the next even-song after my departure (if conveniently it may be) in the church-yard of the town of Eton, (if I chance there to die) as near as may be to the body of my little godson Jack Dickenson *the elder; and this to be done in a plain and simple manner, without any sermon, or ringing the bell, or calling the people together; without any unseasonable commessation or compotation, or other solemnity on such occasions usual.*

And I strictly command my executrix, that neither of her own head, neither at the importunity or authority of any other, neither upon any other pretence whatsoever, to take upon her to dispense with this point of my will; for as in my life I have done the Church no service, so will I not, that in my death the Church do me any honour.

The will was proved before Richard Allestree, D. D. Provost of Eton, Ordinary of that exempt jurisdiction, on the 29th of March 1666.

[*S*] *He had no inclination to marry.*] He intimates this dislike to matrimony in a letter to Sir Dudley Carlton from Dort (58), where speaking of the deliberations in that synod about ordering the manner of catechizing, he relates the practice of the several Protestant Churches, and concludes with the following remark. But doubtless the most effectual way of all the rest to bring young persons to learn their catechisme, was that which was related by one of the Helvetian Deputies. *For*, he told us, *that in his country the manner was, that all young persons, that meant to marry, were to repair, both he and she, unto their minister, a little before they meant to marry, and by him to be examined how well they had conned their catechism. If they had not done it perfectly to his mind, he had power to defer their marriage, till they had better learnt their lessons.* I was much addicted, continues he, to this course, when I heard it; and I thought that doubtless it was a speedy way to make all young persons, *excepting myself and two or three more, that mean not overhastily to marry*, to be skilful in their catechism.

(58) Golden Remains, 2d part, p. 11.

[*T*] *He was a great master of polite learning.*] Mr Wood informs us that he used to divert himself with writing verses, and his talent that way appears from Sir John Suckling's session of poets (59). And as he was an excellent critic, his company was much desired by the greatest wits of that time, Lord Falkland, Sir Will. Davenant, Ben. Johnson, &c. and there is a letter in verse among Sir John Suckling's works (60), which appears to be wrote from London, to our author at Eton or Windsor, inviting him, as the oracle of his friends, to come to town and enjoy their company. Mr Wood also tells us, that when the King and Court resided at Windsor, he was much frequented by noblemen and courtiers, who were extremely delighted in his company, not for his profound learning, but for his polite discourses, stories and poetry. In conversation he had one felicity which could not fail of making him their darling, that with all his knowledge, he was so modest, as to be patiently contented to hear the disputes of persons at table, and those of small abilities, without interposing or speaking a word till desired (61).

(59) In those lines which begin thus, Hales sat by himself, &c. Fragmenta aurea, &c. by Sir John Suckling, p. 149. 3d edit. 1658. 8vo. See also Rowe's Life of Shakespear.

(60) Ibid. p. 40, 41.

(61) Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 200.

[*U*] *He*

'Elogium; yet I cannot eſteem him leſs in any thing which belongs to a good man, 'than in thoſe intellectual perfections: and had he never underſtood a letter, he had 'other ornaments ſufficient to endear him. For he was of a nature (as we ordinarily 'ſpeak) ſo kind, ſo ſweet, ſo courting all mankind; of an affability ſo prompt, ſo ready 'to receive all conditions of men, that I conceive it near as eaſie a taſk for any one to be-'come ſo knowing as ſo obliging. As a Chriſtian, none more ever acquainted with the 'nature of the Goſpel, becauſe none more ſtudious of the knowledge of it, or more curi-'ous in the ſearch, which being ſtrengthened by thoſe great advantages beforementioned, 'could not prove otherwiſe than highly effectual. He took indeed to himſelf a liberty of 'judging, not of others, but for himſelf; and if ever any man might be allowed in theſe 'matters to judge, it was he, who had ſo long, ſo much, ſo advantageouſly conſidered; and 'which is more, never could be ſaid to have had the leaſt worldly deſign in any of his 'determinations. He was not only moſt truly and ſtrictly juſt in his ſecular tranſactions '[U], moſt exemplary meek and humble, notwithſtanding his perfections, but beyond all 'example charitable, giving unto all, preſerving nothing but his books to continue his 'learning and himſelf: which when he had before digeſted he was forced at laſt to feed 'upon, at the ſame time the happieſt and moſt unfortunate *hellto* of books, the grand ex-'ample of learning, and of the envy and contempt which followeth it.' None of his pieces, except that upon Schiſm and one or two ſermons (*gg*), were publiſhed in his life-time. We ſhall give the contents below of his poſthumous works [*W*].

(gg) Beſides the firſt already mentioned in remark [C], Mr Farindon ſeems to inſinuate, that the 1 could have alſo been printed, ſoon after it was preached, and Mr Wood, in the firſt edit. col. 125. of his Ath. Ox. ſays that the ſermon of Duels was alſo printed. But it is not mentioned in the ſecond edition of that work.

[*U*] *He was ſtrictly juſt.*] Mr Wood obſerves the ſame, and in confirmation of it gives the following remarkable inſtance, That while he was Burſer of his college, when he had taken any bad money, he laid it aſide, and put good of his own in the room of it to pay others. Inſomuch that ſometimes he hath thrown into the river 20l. or 30l. at a time, all which he hath ſtood to at his own loſs, rather than others of the ſociety ſhould ſuffer any (62).

(62) Ibid.

[*W*] *The contents of his poſthumous works.*] The firſt collection of theſe, intitled *Golden Remains of the ever memorable Mr* John Hales *of Eton-college*, which was publiſhed in 1659. 4to. contains (1.) Nine Sermons. (2.) Mr Hales's and Mr Balcanqual's letters, thirty of the former and fifteen of the latter, ſent from Dort to Sir Dudley Carlton. To the whole is prefixed, beſides a letter of Mr Ant. Farindon intimating the genuineſs of theſe papers, a preface by Dr (afterwards Biſhop) Pearſon, containing a character of the author; to which is ſubjoined an advertiſment, ſignifying that the editor had ſome more of Mr Hales's ſermons and tractates in his hands, and inviting others who had any to communicate them to the Printer, F. Garthwait, upon promiſe, and any other engagement, that he will take care to ſee them printed, and ſet forth, by themſelves. In 1673 came out the ſecond edition in 4to. with this title, *Golden Remains, &c. with additions from the author's own copy, viz. Sermons and Miſcellanies Alſo Letters and Expreſſes concerning the Synod of Dort (not before printed) from an authentick hand.* The additions are firſt five Sermons ſubjoined to the former. Theſe are followed by the *Miſcellanies*, which are 1.) Mr Hale's *Confeſſion of the Trinity*. The following remark in the General Dictionary (63) ſeems to relate to this paper 'Mr Montague (64) ſays that 'he [Mr Hale] gave an explication of his belief con-'cerning the Trinity to Mr Salter (65), according to 'the doctrine of the Church of England' Upon what occaſion is not there mentioned; perhaps it might be drawn up for the ſatisfaction of his friends, on account of thoſe ſuſpicions already mentioned of his orthodoxy in that article. (2.) *How we come to know the Scriptures to be the word of God.* Here he inſiſts only upon the external evidence waving the internal, as unfit to yield argument by way of diſpute, to ſtop the captious curioſities of wits diſpoſed to wrangle. (3.) *Concerning the Lawfulneſs of Marriages betwixt firſt couſins and couſin germans*, in a letter dated Sept 8, 1630. It ſeems to be wrote at the requeſt of ſome friend who was a Civilian, he gives his opinion for the lawfulneſs of ſuch marriages. (4.) *The Method of reading Hiſtory.* At the end there is laid down an excellent method for common placing in that ſtudy. (5.) *A Letter to an honourable Perſon concerning the Weapon-ſalve*, dated from Eton college 23 Novemb. 1630. The ſubject is the then new deviſed cure of wounds, by applying the ſalve to the weapon that did the miſchief. As this cure was ſuppoſed to be wrought by ſome particular concentricks or epycicles of ſimpathies and antipathies of eradiations or emanations of ſpirits, our author takes occaſion from thence to banter with his uſual pleaſantry the viſionary conceits of the Roſicruſians. Laſtly, in this edition to the former letters concerning the Synod of Dort, are ſubjoined ſix more to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, one from Sir Dudley Carlton and five from the Engliſh deputies, and a letter of the firſt of theſe, the Biſhop of Landaff, to Sir Dudley. It has been conjectured, that theſe additions were only ſuch papers as are ſaid to be in the hands of the former editor, and an advertiſement, &c. to Robert Pawlet, for whom this edition was printed, appears here again after Dr Pearſon's preface of the ſame purport with the former, inviting others to communicate. But the ſame year four other ſermons of our author were printed by themſelves, and by the ſame Printer Tho. Newcomb, but for another Bookſeller R Marriot (66), with this title, *Sermons preached at Eton by* John Hales, *late Fellow of that college. The ſecond edition.* 1673. 4to (67). In 1688 the third edition of the *Remains* was publiſhed, from the ſecond, without theſe four ſermons. In 1677 there appeared another collection in 8vo. intitled, *Several Tracts by the ever memorable Mr* John Hales *of Eton-college*, with the author's picture before it. There is no preface nor advertiſement, but it is handſomely and carefully printed, and contains. (1.) *A Tract concerning the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt.* He confines the commiſſion of this blaſphemy to thoſe who were eye-witneſſes of Chriſt's miracles In which opinion he is followed by Dr Tillotſon, if I miſremember not, in a ſermon upon that ſubject. (2.) *A Tract concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.* To which ſhould be added, *and the queſtion, Whether the Church may err in Fundamentals* Among the abuſes of this Sacrament, he reckons that of making it an arbitrator of civil buſineſſes, &c —'We teach, continues he, that 'it confirms our faith in Chriſt, whereas indeed the 'receiving of it is a ſign of faith confirmed, and men 'come to it, to teſtifie that they do believe, not to 'procure that they may believe. For if a man doubt 'of the truth of Chriſtianity, think you that his 'ſcruples would be removed upon receiving of the Sa-'crament: I would it were ſo, we ſhould not have ſo 'many doubting Chriſtians, who yet receive the Sacra-'ment oft enough' Surely the argument here is a little looſely worded, for as the doubter is deemed an *incompetent perſona*, unqualified for this Sacrament, and therefore cautioned not to receive (68). The proceſs from confirming our faith to the procuring it, ſeems in reality (to uſe a ſchool phraſe well known to our author) to be a meer *Ignoratio Elenchi.* Is it not moſt manifeſt, that the word confirming is applicable neither to the unbeliever nor the doubter, but underſtood of a wavering unſteady or ineffective faith. He proceeds in the ſame uncautious ſtile to cenſure the practice of the Church in *the Communion to the Sick*, intimating it to be uſed as a *viaticum morientium*(69). He concludes this tract with excuſing himſelf (by reaſon of the narrow bounds of a letter) for not producing the proofs of his doctrine. But theſe may be ſupplied from a late treatiſe upon that ſubject (70). In the ſecond part, falling upon fundamentals, he expoſes with his uſual gaiety as well as ſolidity, the merriment (as he calls it) newly ſtarted [by the Papiſts], of requiring a liſt of them. In this part it is obſervable that he expounds thoſe words, *The gates of hell ſhall never prevail againſt it* [the Church], to a ſenſe contrary to that which appears in his *Remains*, aſſerting

(63) Vol. VIII. ubi ſupra, from a letter of Dr Narb. Ingelo to Richard Marriot, dated Oct. 29, without mentioning the year.

(64) One of the truſtees to his Will.

(65) Probably the ſame already mentioned of Rich-Kings, Eſq;

(66) If this be the ſame Richard Marriot mentioned in the Gen. Dict. in note 63, it will help us to the year about which Dr Ingelo's letter was written.

(67) Theſe are bound up with a copy of the Remains, 2d edit. now lying before me. Mr Des Maizeaux ſays, the ſecond edit. of the four ſermons was printed the ſame year in 8vo. by T. Newcomb, Bookſeller.

(68) See the Exhortation in the Communion Office.

(69) This paſſage was animadverted on by Dr Tho. Smith in his account of the Greek Church, p. 169. Lond. 1680. 8vo.

(70) See a Diſcourſe upon the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, Lond. 1736. 8vo. by Biſhop Hoadly, who therein follows the ſentiments of our author.

asserting here that they contain no promise of persevering in the truth to the Visible Church; as in a passage of one of his sermons inserted in remark [G] is intimated they do, but an assurance of final victory in the resurrection against death and ["Adhc] hell to the Invisible Church, i. e. to such as do persevere in the truth. (3.) The third tract is *A Paraphrase on St Matthew's Gospel*, chap. xii. Here he likewise expounds the Sin against the Holy Ghost to the same sense as in the first tract. (4.) *A Tract concerning the Power of the Keys and auricular Confession*, dated from his study the 8th day of March, 1637. In this piece he indulges the freedom and pleasantry of his wit more than any where else. (5.) Is the *Tract concerning Schism and Schismaticks, where is briefly discovered the original causes of all Schism, never before printed by the original copy* These last words are added to shew, that all the former editions are spurious, as well that already mentioned of 1642, as the subsequent ones (71) They are indeed so very incorrect, and maimed and mangled, that the sense of the author is often either perverted or rendered unintelligible. We shall give one instance of the former, which at the same time will be of use in illustrating that passage of our author's letter to Archbishop Laud, where he intimates that he had not forgotten to pay all good respect to antiquity in this tract. Having noted the Schism occasioned by the disputes about the time of keeping Easter, he makes the following remark upon it. 'By the way, says he, by this you may see 'the danger of our appeal to antiquity for resolution in 'controverted points of faith, and how small relief we 'are to expect from thence. For if the discretion of 'the chiefest guides and directors in the Church did in 'a point so trivial, so inconsiderable, so mainly fail 'them, as not to see the truth, wherein it is the greatest 'marvail how they could avoid the sight of it; can we 'without the imputation of extream grossness and folly 'think so poor-spirited persons competent judges of 'the questions now on foot betwixt the Churches. 'Pardon me, I know *not* what temptation drew that 'note from me.' Here the importance of the word *not* in the conclusion is notorious: and Mr Des Maizeaux (72) has marked a strong ridicule, which one of the censurers of this tract suffered himself to be led into, by following a spurious edition of it, in this conclusion, where that important negative is unluckily omitted (6.) After the Tract of Schism follow, *Miscellanies*, under these heads, (1.) *How to know the Church.* (2.) *To the Description of the Church.* (3.) *How Christ is the Head of the Church.* (4.) *Of Peter's Ministerial Headship in the Church.* (5.) *Answer to the Bishop of Rome's Practice of Supremacy.* Besides these two volumes of Mr Hales's Posthumous Works, there has since appeared two of his letters, one from Archbishop Laud, printed in 1716, mentioned in remark [L], and the other to Mr Oughtred the famous Mathematician, for which see his article. P'

(71) Some one of these is generally inserted into the copies of his Golden Remains.

(72) Towards the end of his account of our author's Life, &c. The ridicule lies in the animadvertor's archly turning his own purpose in several notable conjectures concerning that particular temptation supposed to be here hinted by Mr Hales.

HALL [Joseph], successively Bishop of Exeter and Norwich, in the last Century. The account given of this learned Prelate by Mr Bayle, in his Dictionary, being very imperfect, we shall endeavour, in this article, to supply his omissions.—He was born July 1, 1574. in Bristow park, within the parish of Ashby de la Zouch in Leicestershire, of honest parentage. His father was an officer to Henry Earl of Huntingdon, then President of the North, and under him had the government of that market-town, wherein stands the chief seat of that Earldom His mother Winifride, of the family of the Bambridges, was a woman of uncommon piety (*a*). Having from his infancy been devoted by his parents to the ministry, he was for that purpose educated in the public school of his native place: and, at the age of fifteen, was admitted into Emmanuel-college in Cambridge [*A*]; whereof he was chosen Scholar; and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1592 (*b*). About three years after, his scholarship being expiring, and the statutes of the college, which allow but one person of a county to be Fellow, cutting off all hopes of his settling there; he intended to remove into the island of Guernsey, where a place was offered him. But the Earl of Huntingdon having prevailed upon Mr Hall's countryman and tutor, Mr Gilby, to resign his fellowship [*B*], room was, by that means, made for Mr Hall, who was unanimously chosen Fellow. In 1596 he took the degree of Master of Arts: and thenceforth acquitted himself with good success in the public disputations, which he was often called to. He read also the Rhetoric Lecture in the Schools, for two years, with considerable applause. But, thinking it diverted him from his favourite study of Divinity, he gave it up to Dr Dod; and entering into Holy Orders, preached often, as occasion offered, both in country villages, and before the university (*c*). After having continued about six or seven years in the college (*d*), he was recommended, by the Master Dr Chaderton, to the Lord Chief Justice Popham, for the Mastership of Tiverton-

(*a*) Some Specialties in the Life of Jos. Hall, &c. written with his own hand. Prefixed to The Shaking of the Olive-tree, or his Remaining Works, Lond. 1660. 4to.

(*b*) Specialties, &c. p. 5. and from the University-Registers.

(*c*) Some Specialties, &c. p. 8—11. July 11, 1598, he was incorporated Master of Arts at Oxford. Wood Fasti, edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 155.

(*d*) Specialties, p. 10.

[*A*] *And at the age of fifteen was admitted into Emmanuel-college in Cambridge.*] He tells us, that, instead of being sent to the university, he was very near being placed for education under the care of one Mr Pelset, who was lately come from Cambridge, to be the publick preacher of Leicester. But his elder brother having occasion to go to Cambridge, and waiting upon Mr Nath. Gilby, Fellow of Emmanuel-college; the latter, on 'hearing of the diversion of the father's 'purposes from the university, importunately dissuaded 'from that new course, professing to pity the loss of so 'good hopes. The elder brother, moved with those 'words, at his return home fell upon his knees to his 'father, and besought him to alter so prejudicial a re'solution, and not suffer the young man's hopes to 'be drowned in a shallow country channel: but that 'he would revive his first purposes for Cambridge; ad'ding in the zeal of his love, that if the chargeableness 'of that course were the hindrance, he would rather 'be pleased to sell some part of that land which in 'course of nature he was to inherit, than to abridge 'his brother of that happy means to perfect his educa'tion.' A very uncommon instance of generosity!—But after our author had been two years at the university, he had like to have been called away from thence in an untimely and disagreeable manner; of which he pleased to take the account in his own words. 'My 'two first years were necessarily chargeable, above 'the proportion of my father's power, whose not very 'large cistern was to feed many pipes besides mine; '[for he had twelve children] his weariness of expense 'was wrought upon by the counsel of some unwise 'friends, who perswaded him to fasten me upon that 'school as master, whereof I was lately a scholar. 'Now was I fetcht home with an heavy heart, and 'now this second time had mine hopes been nipt in the 'blossom, had not God raised me up an unhoped be'nefactor, Mr Edmund Sleigh of Darby, out of no 'other relation to me, save that he married my aunt, 'pitying my too apparent dejectedness, he voluntarily 'urged, and solicited my father for my return to the 'university, and offered freely to contribute the one 'half of my maintenance there, till I should attain to 'the degree of Master of Arts; which he no less really 'and lovingly performed (1).'

[*B*] *But the Earl of Huntingdon having prevailed upon Mr Hall's countryman and tutor, Mr Gilby, to resign his fellowship*] By taking him for his domestic chaplain, and promising him preferment (2).

(1) Some Specialties, &c. as above, p. 4—8.

(2) See ibid. p. 9.

[*C*] *With*

Tiverton-school in Devonshire, then newly founded by Mr Blundel. He had accepted of it, and was but just come out from the Chief-Justice's, when he met a messenger in the street, who delivered him a letter from the Lady Drury of Suffolk; offering him the Rectory of Halsted near St Edmund's-bury, and very earnestly desiring him to accept of it, which he did, and relinquished the school (e). Being thus settled in that sweet and civil country of Suffolk, as he expresses it (f), his first work was to rebuild his parsonage-house, which was extremely ruinous. Two years after, he married a daughter of Mr George Winniff of Bretenham, with whom he lived happily nine and forty years. In 1605 he accompanied Sir Edmund Bacon to the Spa, where he composed his second Century of Meditations (g). He had an opportunity, in this journey, to inform himself with his own eyes of the state and practices of the Romish Church; and, at Brussels entered into a conference with Coster the Jesuit. About a year and a half after, his patron Sir Robert Drury refusing to restore to the Living of Halsted about ten pounds a year, which he unjustly detained, our author went to London to sollicit him upon that point. And being invited by the Earl of Essex's tutor to preach before Prince Henry at Richmond, who much admired his Meditations; the Prince so well liked the two sermons he preached before him, that he made him one of his chaplains (h). In the mean time, Sir Robert Drury, by his unjust detention abovenamed, refusing to make his living a competent maintenance; though our author alledged to him, among other arguments, that he was forced to write books in order to be able to buy some; he resolved therefore to embrace the first opportunity of removing from Halsted. While he was taken up with those anxious thoughts, Edward Lord Denny, afterwards Earl of Norwich, gave him the Donative of Waltham-Holy-Cross in Essex. And about the same time, which was in the year 1612, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity; having taken the degree of Bachelor in 1603 (i). Thus, as he says, he returned home, happy in a new master, and in a new patron, betwixt whom, he divided himself and his labours, with much comfort and no less acceptance (k). In the second year of his monthly attendance on the Prince, when he came for his dismission, his Highness ordered him to stay longer; and, at last, when he allowed him to depart, offered him the honour of being continually resident at Court, with promise of suitable preferments. But being loth to forsake his noble patron, who had placed much of his heart upon him, he waved that offer, and remained two and twenty years at Waltham, where he preached a long time thrice a week, as he had done before at Halsted. In the mean time, he was made Prebendary of the collegiate church of Wolverhampton, and was the chief instrument in recovering a considerable estate, detained from that church by a fraudulent conveyance (l). In 1616, July 12, he attended the embassy of James Hay, Viscount Doncaster, into France: During his absence, the King conferred upon him the Deanery of Worcester, which he had promised him before his departure (m); and he was presented to the same December 9, 1616 (n). Before he could go to take possession of it, namely, on the 14th of March 1616-17 (o), he attended his Majesty into Scotland, as one of his chaplains. In 1618, he was sent to the Synod of Dort, with other of our English divines [C]; but by that time he had stayed two months there, the unquietness of the nights, in those garrison towns, working upon the tender disposition of his body, brought him to such weakness through want of rest, that he was obliged to return home. However, before his departure he preached a Latin sermon before the Synod; which, by their President and Assistants, took a solemn leave of him: and the Deputies of the States dismissed him with an honourable retribution, and sent after him a rich golden medal, having on it the portraiture of the Synod (p). He was not rigid in the five points controverted in that Synod, as appears by a treatise he writ soon after [D]. Having refused, in 1624, the bishopric of Glocester, which was earnestly offered him (q); he accepted, in 1627, of that of Exeter [E], to which he was consecrated December

(e) Ibid. p. 12—14.

(f) Ibid. p. 14

(g) Ibid. p. 15—20.

(h) Ibid. p. 24, 25.

(i) Ibid. p. 24, 25. and from the University-Registers.

(k) Some Specialties, &c. p. 25.

(l) Ibid. p. 26—31.

(m) Ibid. p. 31, 32, 33. & Camdeni Annal. apparatus.

(n) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Esq; Vol. I. p. 659.

(o) Camden, ibid.

(p) Some Specialties, &c. p. 34, 35.

(q) Upon the death of Miles Smith.

[C] *With other of our English divines.*] The rest of the English divines sent by K. James I. to the synod of Dort, were, Dr Geo. Carleton, then Bishop of Landaff, and afterwards of Chichester; Dr John Davenant, Regius Professor of Divinity in Cambridge, and Master of Queen's-college; Dr Samuel Ward, Master of Sidney-college; and Dr Thomas Goad, sent in Dr Hall's room (3).

(3) See Fuller's Church-History, book x. p. 77, &c.

[D] *As appears by a treatise he writ soon after.*] It was printed amongst his remaining works (4), under this title; 'Via media. The way of Peace in the five busy 'Articles commonly known by the name of Arminius; 'touching, 1. Predestination. 2. The extent of 'Christ's death. 3. Man's Free-will and corruption. '4. The manner of our conversion to God. 5. Perseverance. Wherein is laid forth so fair an accommodation of the different opinions as may content both parts and procure happy accord.' And he gives this account of it (5); upon occasion of 'Mr 'Montague's tart and vehement assertions, —— I 'wrote a little project of Pacification, wherein I desired to rectify the judgment of men, concerning this 'misapprehended controversy; and because Bishop 'Overall went a midway betwixt the two opinions 'which he held extream, and must needs therefore 'somewhat differ from the commonly-received tenet 'in these points, I gathered out of B. Overall on the 'one side, and out of our English divines at Dort on 'the other, such common propositions concerning 'these five busy articles, as wherein both of them are 'fully agreed; all which being put together, seemed 'unto me to make up so sufficient a body of accorded 'truth, that all other questions moved hereabouts, appeared merely superfluous, and every moderate Christian might find where to rest himself, without hazard of contradiction: these I made bold by the 'hands of Dr Young, the worthy Dean of Winchester, 'to present to his excellent Majesty.'—

(4) P. 351, &c.

(5) Specialties, &c. p. 31.

[E] *He accepted, in* 1627, *of that of Exeter.*] He met, at his first coming to that dignity, with much vexation and uneasiness, as he relates himself (6). 'I 'entred, says he, upon that place, not without much 'prejudice and suspicion on some hands; for some 'that sate at the stern of the Church, had me in great 'jealousie for too much favour of *Puritanisme*; I soon 'had intelligence who were set over me for espialls; 'my ways were curiously observed, and scanned.—— '*And* some persons of note in the clergy —— finding 'me

(6) Specialties, p. 41.

December 23 (r), holding with it in commendam the rectory of St Breok in Cornwall (s). Though he was reckoned a favourer of Puritaniſm (t), yet he writ, at the beginning of the troubles in this kingdom, with great ſtrength and elegance in defence of Epiſcopacy [F]. The 15th of November 1641, he was tranſlated to the ſee of Norwich, vacant by the death of Dr Richard Montague (u). But, on the 30th of December following, having joined with the Archbiſhop of York, and eleven other Biſhops, in the Proteſtation [G] againſt the validity of all laws made during their forced abſence from Parliament (w); he was voted among the reſt to the Tower, and committed thither the 30th of January, in all the extremity of froſt, at eight o' clock in a dark evening. Shortly after, they were impeached by the Commons of high-treaſon; and, when they ſhould have made their defence, were told, that it being then late they ſhould have another day: but that day never came. At length, about June 1642, he was releaſed upon giving 5000 l. bail: whereupon he withdrew to Norwich (x). Here he was received with more reſpect than he could have expected in ſuch times, and frequently preached to numerous audiences; enjoying peace 'till the beginning of April, 1643. But then the ordinance for ſequeſtring notorious delinquents eſtates being paſſed, wherein he was included by name (y); all his rents were ſtopped, when he was in hopes of receiving the foregoing half year, for the maintenance of his family. And, a very few days after, ſome of the ſequeſtrators came to ſeize upon his

(r) J. Le Neve's Faſti, &c. p. 84.

(s) Specialties, &c. p. 41.

(t) See his Specialties, p. 41.

(u) Le Neve, ut ſupra, p. 213. and Godwin de Præſul. edit. W. Richardſon, p. 444.

(w) See Ruſhworth, Vol. IV. p. 466. and all our Engliſh Hiſtorians.

(x) See Biſhop Hall's Hard Meaſure, at the end of his Specialties, p. 48—56.

(y) See Collection of Ordinances, &c. printed for Ed. Huſband, Lond. 1646. fol. p. 13. and Scobell's Collection, p. 37.

' me ever ready to encourage thoſe whom I found conſcionably forward, and painfull in their places, and willingly giving way to orthodox and peaceable lectures in ſeverall parts of my dioceſs, opened their mouths againſt me, both obliquely in the pulpit, and directly at the Court; complaining of my too much indulgence to perſons diſaffected, and my too much liberty of frequent lecturings within my charge. The billowes went ſo high, that I was three ſeverall times upon my knee to his Majeſty, to anſwer theſe great criminations, and what conteſtation I had with ſome great Lords concerning theſe particulars, it would be too long to report; only this, under how dark a cloud I was hereupon, I was ſo ſenſible, that I plainly told the Lord Archbiſhop of Canter. [Laud] that rather than I would be obnoxious to thoſe ſlanderous tongues of his miſinformers, I would caſt up my Rochet; I knew I went right wayes, and would not endure to live under undeſerved ſuſpicions'—

[F] *He writ, at the beginning of the troubles in this kingdom, with great ſtrength and elegance in defence of Epiſcopacy.*] His ſeveral pieces upon that ſubject, were, 1. 'Epiſcopacie by divine Right aſſerted.' Lond. 1640, 4to. This treatiſe was occaſioned, by G. Grahame, Biſhop of Orkney's, renouncing his epiſcopall function, openly, before the whole body of the aſſembly of the clergy at Edinburgh, and craving pardon for having accepted it, as if thereby he had committed ſome hainous offence (7). 2. He publiſhed, 'An humble Remonſtrance to the high Court of Parliament, by a dutifull Sonne of the Church.' Lond. 1640, 4to. in behalf of the Liturgy and Epiſcopacy.——— To this, Stephen Marſhall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurſtow jointly wrote an anſwer, under the name of *Smectymnvvs*, being the initial letters of their names; and under the title of, *An Anſwer to a Book entituled, An humble Remonſtrance. In which the originall of Liturgy, Epiſcopacy, is diſcuſſed; and Quæries propounded concerning both*, &c. Lond. 1641, 4to (8).——— Whereupon Biſhop Hall, wrote, 3. 'A Defence of the Humble Remonſtrance againſt the frivolous and falſe Exceptions of Smectymnvvs. Wherein the right of Leiturgie and Epiſcopacie is clearly vindicated from the vaine cavils, and challenges of the Anſwerers. Seconded (in way of appendance) with the judgement of the famous Divine of the Palatinate, Abrahamus Scultetus, late Profeſſor of Divinitie in the Univerſitie of Heidelberg: concerning the divine Right of Epiſcopacie, and the No-right of Lay-elderſhip.' Lond. 1641.——The ſame Smectymnvvs replying, in *A vindication of the Anſwer* to the *Humble Remonſtrance, from the unjuſt Imputations of Frivoloufneſſe and Falſehood: Wherein the Cauſe of the Liturgy and Epiſcopacy is further debated.* Lond. 1641, 4to. Biſhop Hall concluded the diſpute with, 4. 'A Short Anſwer to the tedious Vindication of Smectymnvvs. By the author of the humble Remonſtrance.' Lond. 1641, 4to. Theſe ſeveral pieces of our learned author are written in a very handſome, lively, and witty manner; as his adverſaries diſtinguiſh themſelves by a peculiar *fierceneſs of ſpirit, and much aſperity in language* (9). In ſhort, they write with uncommon pertneſs and confidence, like perſons ſupported by the ſecular arm, and that could depend upon ſtronger and more irreſiſtable arguments, than thoſe upon paper.

(7) See the Epiſtle Dedicatorie.

(8) See above, Vol. II. p. 1102. under the article CALAMY [EDMUND].

(9) Ibid.

[G] *Having joined with the Archbiſhop of York, and eleven other Biſhops in the Proteſtation*, &c.] This Proteſtation is printed in Ruſhworth's (10) and Nalſon's collections (11), and in the Lord Clarendon's (12) and Rapin's Hiſtories (13), and other places; therefore need not be inſerted here. But Biſhop Hall having mentioned ſome curious particulars relating thereto, it will be proper to lay them before the reader.——'Upon our reſolved forbearance, (ſays he) *from Parliament*, the Archbiſhop of York [Williams] ſent for us to his lodging at Weſtminſter, lays before us the perillous condition we were in, adviſes for remedy (except we meant utterly to abandon our right, and to deſert our ſtation in Parliament) to petition both his Majeſty and the Parliament; that ſince we were legally called by his Majeſties writ to give our attendance in Parliament, we might be ſecured in the performance of our duty and ſervice againſt thoſe dangers that threatned us; and withall to proteſt againſt any ſuch acts as ſhould be made during the time of our forced abſence, for which he aſſured us there were many precedents in former Parliaments, and which if we did not, we ſhould betray the truſt committed to us by his Majeſtie, and ſhamefully betray and abdicate the due right both of ourſelves and ſucceſſours. To this purpoſe, in our preſence he drew up the ſaid petition and *Proteſtation*, avowing it to be legall, juſt, and agreeable to all former proceedings, and being fair written ſent it to our ſeverall lodgings for our hands, which we accordingly ſubſcribed, intending yet to have had ſome further conſultation concerning the delivering and whole carriage of it. But e're we could ſuppoſe it to be in any hand but his own, the firſt newes we heard, was, that there were meſſengers addreſſed to fetch us in to the Parliament upon an accuſation of high treaſon. For, whereas this paper was to have been delivered, firſt to his Majeſties Secretary; and after peruſall by him to his Majeſtie, and after from his Majeſtie to the Parliament, and for that purpoſe to the Lord Keeper, the Lord Littleton, who was the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers; all theſe profeſſed not to have peruſed it at all, but the ſaid Lord Keeper willing enough to take this advantage of ingratiating himſelf with the Houſe of Commons and the faction, to which he knew himſelf ſufficiently obnoxious, finding what uſe might be made of it by prejudicate minds, reads the ſame openly in the Houſe of Lords: and when he found ſome of the faction apprehenſive enough of miſconſtruction, aggravates the matter as highly offenſive, and of dangerous conſequence; and thereupon not without much heat and vehemence, and with an ill preface, it is ſent down to the Houſe of Commons, where it was entertained hainouſly, Glynne with a full mouth crying it up for no leſs than high-treaſon; and ſome comparing, yea preferring it to the Powder-Plot.———Though, when it came to be debated, one of their oracles being demanded his judgment concerning the fact, profeſſed to them, they might with as good reaſon accuſe them of adultery (14).'

(10) Vol. IV. p. 466.

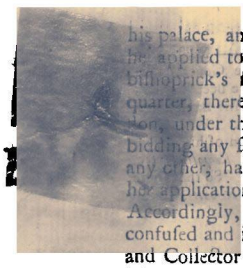
(11) Vol. II. p. 794.

(12) Edit. 1731. Vol. II. 8vo. p. 351.

(13) Edit. 1733. fol. p. 404.

(14) Hard Meaſure, p. 48, 49, 51.

[H] *And*



his palace, and all his eſtate both real and perſonal [*H*]. Thus deprived of all ſupport, he applied to the committee at Norwich; which allowed him 400 *l.* a year, out of the biſhoprick's revenues. And yet this took no effect; for, before he could gather one quarter, there came down an order from the ſuperior committee for ſequeſtrations at London, under the hand of Serjeant Wild the chairman, and procured by Miles Corbet, forbidding any ſuch allowance: and telling the Norwich-committee, that neither they, nor any other, had power to allow him any thing; but if his wife needed a maintenance, upon her application to the Committee of Lords and Commons, ſhe ſhould have a fifth part. Accordingly, upon her petition, though after long delays, it was granted her. But ſo confuſed and imperfect an account was brought in to the Sequeſtrators, by their Sollicitor and Collector (who had both his temporal and ſpiritual revenues in their hands) that the Biſhop could never come to know what a fifth part meant; and therefore, it ſeems, was obliged to take what they thought fit to give him (*z*). And, which was yet harder! whiles he received nothing, yet ſomething was required of him. For they were not aſhamed, after they had taken away and ſold all his goods and perſonal eſtate, to come to him for aſſeſſments and monthly payments for that eſtate which they had ſeized, and took diſtreſſes from him, upon his moſt juſt denial. Nay, they vehemently required him to find the arms uſually furniſhed by his predeceſſors, when they had left him nothing. And, upon many occaſions, offered him inſolent affronts and indignities (*a*) [*I*]. Still he remained in his palace, though with a poor retinue and maintenance: but at laſt he was forced to quit it at three weeks warning, (though his wife offered to pay rent for it out of her fifths) and might have lain in the ſtreet; ſuch was the inexorableneſs of his mercileſs enemies! had not a neighbour in the Cloſe voided his houſe, to make room for him and his family. This was his hard meaſure, as he writ it down May 29, 1647 (*b*). Shortly after, he retired to a little eſtate which he rented at Higham near Norwich; where, notwithſtanding the narrowneſs of his circumſtances, he diſtributed a weekly charity to a certain number of poor widows. In this retirement he ended his life September 8, 1656, in the 82d year of his age: and was buried in the church-yard of that pariſh, without any memorial (*c*). He is univerſally allowed to have been a man of incomparable piety, meekneſs, and modeſty, having a thorough knowledge of the world, and of great wit and learning (*d*). As to his writings (beſides thoſe already mentioned in this article, and by Mr Bayle) a ſhort account is given of them in the note [*K*].

(*z*) See his Hard Meaſure, p. 56—60.

(*a*) Ibid. p. 61, 62.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 64.

(*c*) Cl. W. Richardſon, edit. Godwini de Præſul. ut ſupra, p. 444. and Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. P. II. p. 56. In his Will he has this paſſage, 'I do not hold God's houſe a meet repoſitory for the dead bodies of the greateſt ſaints.'

(*d*) Walker. ibid. Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. II. p. 397. Vir rerum uſu peritus, ingenio ſubtili & exercitato, eruditione multiplici inſtructus, nec interim minor erat modeſtiæ & indolis manſuetiſſimæ laus. W. Richardſon, p. 444.

[*H*] *And all his eſtate both real and perſonal.*] He gives the following account of the hard uſage he met with upon that occaſion. The Sequeſtrators 'ſent 'certain men appointed by them, (whereof one had 'been burnt in the hand for the mark of his truth) to 'appraize all the goods that were in the houſe; which 'they accordingly executed with all diligent ſeverity, 'not leaving ſo much as a dozen of trenchers, or my 'childrens pictures, out of their curious inventory. 'Yea they would have appraized our very wearing 'clothes, had not *ſome of them* declared their opinion 'to the contrary. Theſe goods, both library and 'houſhold-ſtuff of all kinds, were appointed to be ex'poſed to publick ſale. But in the mean time Mrs 'Goodwin, a religious good gentlewoman, whom yet 'we had never known or ſeen, being moved with 'compaſſion, very kindly offered to lay down to the 'ſequeſtrators that whole ſum which the goods were 'valued at; and was pleaſed to leave them in our 'hands for our uſe, till we might be able to re-purchaſe 'them. As for the books, ſeveral ſtationers look on 'them, but were not forward to buy them: at laſt 'Mr Cook, a worthy divine of this diocеſs, gave bond 'to the ſequeſtrators, to pay to them the whole 'ſum whereat they were ſet, which was afterwards ſa'tiſfied out of that poor pittance, that was allowed me 'for my maintenance (15).'

(15) Ibid. p. 57, 58.

[*I*] *And upon many occaſions offered him inſolent affronts and indignities.*] He gives himſelf two inſtances of it, the firſt, that one morning, before his ſervants were up, there came to his gates a London trooper, attended with others, requiring entrance, and threatning if they were not admitted, to break open the gates. The pretence for their coming, was, to ſearch for arms and ammunition. And though the Biſhop told them, he had only two muſkets; yet not reſting upon his word, they ſearched round about the houſe, looked into the cheſts and trunks, and examined the veſſels in the cellar. Finding no other warlike furniture, they took away one of the Biſhop's two horſes, though he told them his age would not allow him to travel on foot.——At another time, the mob beſet his palace at a very unſeaſonable hour, for having ordained ſome perſons in his own chapel, and had the inſolence to demand his appearance before the Mayor (16).

(16) Hard Meaſure, p. 58, 61.

[*K*] *As to his writings (beſides thoſe already mentioned in this article, and by Mr Bayle), &c.*] They make in all V. volumes in folio and 4to. The 1ſt. printed (or rather collected) together, in 1617, and again in 1624; contains 'I. Meditations and Vowes, di'vine and morall: three centuries. 2. Heaven upon 'earth; or, of true Peace and Tranquillity of mind. '3. The Art of divine Meditation; with a Meditation 'of Death 4. Holy Obſervations. 5. Some of 'David's Pſalmes, metapharaſed, in verſe. 6. Cha'racters of Vertues and Vices, in two Books. 7. 'Solomon's divine Arts, of Ethicks, Politicks, Oeco'nomicks; with an open and plaine Paraphraſe upon 'the Song of Songs. 8. Epiſtles, in ſix Decads. 9. 'Six Sermons. 10 A common Apologie of the 'Church of England, againſt the unjuſt challenges of 'the Browniſts; [viz. Smith and Robinſon] 11. A 'brief ſumme of the Principles of Religion, by way of 'Catechiſme 12. Contemplations upon the princi'pall Paſſages of the holy Storie, in eleven books: To which, in the edition of 1624, eight more books were added, making in all nineteen. In that edition alſo is inſerted, 'The Honour of the married Clergy 'maintained, &c.' 'And three new ſermons.——II. The ſecond volume of his works, is 'A plaine and 'familiar Explication (by way of Paraphraſe) of all 'the *hard Texts* of the whole Scripture of the Old and 'New Teſtament.' Lond. 1633, fol. in two columns. ——III. The third volume, printed in 1634, contains, 'Meditations on the New Teſtament; 13 'Sermons; Tracts againſt Popery; Meditations, '&c.——The IVth volume, publiſhed in 1660, after his deceaſe, in 4to, is intituled, 'The Shaking of the 'Olive-Tree. The remaining works of that incompa'rable Prelate Joſeph Hall, D. D. late Lord Biſhop 'of Norwich. With ſome Specialties of divine Pro'vidence in his life. Together with his Hard Mea'ſure. Written by himſelf.' This volume conſiſts chiefly of ſermons, letters, ſpeeches in Parliament, &c. V. The laſt volume contains, 'Divers Treatiſes written 'upon ſeveral occaſions. Now firſt collected into one 'volume, Lond. 1662, fol.—His moral works were reprinted at London in 1738, fol.——Beſides all the above pieces, he publiſhed in 1597, '*Virgidemiarum*. 'Satires in ſix books.' 'And calls himſelf, in the Prologue, the firſt Satyriſt in the Engliſh language.

I firſt adventure, follow me who liſt,
And be the ſecond Engliſh Satyriſt.

The

The three first books are called Toothless Satires; poetical, academical, moral. The three last biteing Satires. They were re-printed at Oxford in 1753, 8vo.

In his manner of writing, he has imitated Seneca, more than any of our other English authors; for which reason he is styled the Christian Seneca (17). But we do not find that he published any book under that title, as Mr Bayle seems to think (18), deceived undoubtedly by the translators either of his Letters or Meditations; who so entituled them, on account of their resemblance to Seneca's Morals.—N. B. The critical remark after note [C] in the General Dictionary, under this article, might have been spared; for instead of W. D. Revolted, it is in Mr Bayle's original French (19), *à W. D. Revolté, &c.* Which is a literal translation of Dr Hall's direction of his *Serious Dissuasive from Popery, To W. D. Revolted, &c.* namely from the Protestant Religion. So that there was no danger of any one's mistaking *Revolted* for an Italian surname. C

(17) Sir Henry Wotton, in his letter to Dr Collins.

(18) At the end of the article HALL [JOSEPH].

(19) [illegible] note [C], edit. [illegible]

HALLEY [EDMUND], was born near London, October 29 (*a*), 1656, in the parish of St Leonard Shoreditch, at a place called Haggerston, which then consisted of little more besides a country house belonging to his father Edmund Halley, who was a Citizen and Soap-boiler in Winchester-street; and having acquired an opulent fortune in his business, resolved to give this son, his only child, and a youth of the most promising genius, an education suitable to it. In this view he put him at a proper age to St Paul's-school, under the care of that eminent master Dr Thomas Gale. Our author in a short time outstripped the rest of the boys, and became captain of the school at the age of fifteen (*b*). He not only excelled in every branch of classical learning, but was particularly taken notice of for the extraordinary advances he made at the same time in the Mathematicks. In so much, that he seems not only to have acquired almost a masterly skill in both plain and spherical Trigonometry, but to be well acquainted with the science of Navigation, and to have made a great progress in Astronomy before he was removed to Oxford [*A*]. Where he was entered a Commoner of Queen's-college in act-term 1673, being then in the 17th year of his age *. At the university, having brought a curious apparatus of instruments (purchased by his father, who spared no expence to encourage his son's genius) (*c*), he continued eager in the pursuit of these studies, applying himself with surprizing dexterity and skill as well to practical as geometrical Astronomy, and the success of his industry was felt by the learned world in a short time. For with respect to the latter, at 19 years of age he published a *Direct and Geometrical Method of finding the Aphelia and Eccentricity of the Planets* (*d*), the want of which 'till that time had been an opprobrium to Kepler's hypothesis [*B*]. Nor did he less distinguish himself in the former part of Astronomy. Besides

(*a*) In our author's Eloge in the Memoirs of the Royal Academy at Paris, in 1742, his birth is placed Nov. 8, 1656.

(*b*) Manuscript Memoirs, communicated by our author's son-in-law Mr Price.

* Wood's Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 981.

(*c*) MS. Memoirs, &c. Among these were his tube and sextant, the first 24 feet long, and the second 2 feet diameter; he carried them to St Helena, to Dantzick, to Paris, and Rome; and after his marriage set them up at Islington, whence they became the chief instrument of his fame; and it is no wonder that he was particularly fond of them.

(*d*) Printed in Phil. Trans. No. 128.

[*A*] *A great progress in Astronomy before he was removed to Oxford*] Mr Wood (1) tells us, our author had at this time perfectly learned the use of the celestial globe, and could make a compleat dial; and we are informed by Mr Halley himself, that he observed the change of the variation of the magnetic needle at London in 1672 (2), that is a year before he left school.

[*B*] *An opprobrium to Kepler's hypothesis.*] Kepler having built his theory upon the sure foundation of facts, as they appeared in the astronomical tables of Tycho, thought that sufficient, leaving the geometrical proof of it to others. Mr Halley supplied this defect in a paper which was published in Phil. Trans. anno 1676, No. 128. with the following title, *Methodus directa & geometrica cujus ope investiganturAphelia, Eccentricitates, Proportionesque Orbium Planetarum Primariorum, absque supposita æqualitate anguli motus ad alterum ellipseos focum, ab Astronomis hactenus usurpata*, i. e. *A direct and geometrical method of investigating the Aphelia, Eccentricities, and Proportions, of the Orbits of the Primary Planets, without supposing the equality of the angle of motion*: granting this equality, the proposition had been demonstrated by others, and particularly by Dr Seth Ward, in a piece intituled, *Astronomia geometrica, ubi methodus proponitur, qua planetarum primariorum astronomia, sive elliptica, sive circularis, possit geometrice absolvi* (3), Lond. 1656, 8vo. Before Kepler's time there had been supposed what the astronomers call a center of middle motion, that is a point from whence the motion of the earth would be always seen in a mean between it's quick and slow progress in the ecliptic. Copernicus and many others, who maintained that opinion, thought it absurd to suppose the earth carried in a circle (as they did) whose center was not the center of equal motion, seeing then the earth's motion must not only be in appearance but really unequal, and in some part of the periphery of it's orbit it would move faster, and in others slower, contrary to their established maxim of having all the motions perfectly uniform (4). But Kepler, when he had shewn from Tycho's observations, that Mars and the other planets were not carried round in circular but in elliptic orbits; and that the sun was in one of the foci of these ellipses; and that the planets in moving round him did so regulate their motions, that a line or ray drawn from the sun to the planet, did sweep an elliptic area or space always proportionable to the time the planet moved, he thought it but reasonable to suppose the earth in turning round the sun should observe the same law, and be carried likewise in an elliptic orbit. This theory answers exactly to all appearances in the phænomena, but it follows from it, that there are no centers of equal or middle motion, from which the planets can be seen to describe angles proportional to the times. And therefore many astronomers still adhering to the opinion that there were centers of equal motion, rejected Kepler's rule of the planetary motions, though they retained the elliptic form of their orbits, and because in the axis of an ellipsis, there are two points equally distant from the center which are called the foci, in one of which they with Kepler placed the sun, the other, which is distant from the sun the double of the eccentricity, they imagined to be the center of equal motion, and round it they supposed the planets to describe angles proportionable to the times; which indeed in ellipses that are not very eccentrical, such as are described by most of the primary planets, is nearly true, as Kepler also acknowledges. This they liked the better, because in the theory of Kepler, there was no direct or geometrical method to find out the true anamoly from the mean *, which was easily done by their own theory; and this indeed was evidently the reason, why Bishop Ward contented himself with shewing a geometrical method of describing the planetary orbits upon that theory, though he knew it was not strictly true. So much of this subject, though a little dry, was thought clearly necessary to give the reader a right apprehension of the importance of author's problem (5), in confirming the true system of the world, which though first discovered by Kepler, yet received it's first geometrical foundation from Mr Halley. And I cannot forbear remarking, that the first draught by which the demonstration of the system was completely perfected, and shewn from the laws of gravity necessarily to obtain in nature, happened to be executed by Mr Newton this same year 1676 (6). Mr Wood observes that our author's name will be for ever famous by the solution of this problem, and the writer of his eloge (7) at Paris, declares it to be 'A 'work, which might justly excite the envy of the most 'skilful astronomers of that time, and which put an end 'to a celebrated dispute that had long subsisted among 'them upon that subject †. Des Cartes, continues 'this writer, began his geometry with a problem, 'that had stopped the progress of the ancients, and the 'first

(1) Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 981.

(2) Phil. Trans. No. 195. where it is inserted into his table of those variations.

(3) Mr Halley in drawing up his title had apparently his eye upon this of Seth Ward's treatise, as he also put an end to the dispute between that author and Bullialdus; upon which see Gregory's Astronomy, book iii. where is inserted this problem of Mr Halley, prop. 3.

(4) To suppose these motions otherwise was thought incongruous to the nature of those intelligences, which, according to the philosophical Creed of the Ancients, presided over the planets, and directed their motions; and Epycicles were therefore invented to salve the apparent irregularities. *Eras. Oswaldi in Purbachii theoremata Commentaria*, p. 3. Basil. 1556. folio.

* That is a problem of another nature, and much more intricate than this of our author. See the article KEIL [JOHN].

(5) Viz. In respect to Astronomy. What it's merit is in regard to Geometry, he has signified himself in the conclusion of his paper. *Ostendi quomodo ex tribus locis heliocentricis planetæ, & distantiis a sole observatis, describi possit orbita istius planetæ, quod non nisi quinque talibus observationibus hactenus effectum videtur.*

(6) See his article.

(7) Mr Mairan.

† We have already mentioned that dispute in note (3).

Beſides an eclipſe of the moon, June 27, 1675, obſerved at his father's houſe in Wincheſter-ſtreet (*e*), ſeveral obſervations made by him concerning a ſpot in the ſun, ſeen at Oxford in July and Auguſt 1676, were publiſhed, with others by Mr Flamſtead upon the ſame ſubject, in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (*f*). By theſe the motion of the ſun round it's own axis, a phænomenon 'till then not well aſcertained (*g*), was fully and finally determined. The ſame year he likewiſe obſerved there, Auguſt 21, an occultation of Mars by the moon (*h*), which he made uſe of afterwards, with others, in ſettling the longitude of the Cape of Good Hope againſt the objections of the French Aſtronomers (*i*). During his ſtay at Oxford he alſo accurately obſerved the motions of Jupiter and Saturn, whereby he made ſeveral corrections in the beſt aſtronomical tables then extant of thoſe planets (*k*). About this time alſo, before his voyage to St Helena, he had diſcovered the method now well known of conſtructing eclipſes of the ſun, by which means the calculation of parallaxes in thoſe phænomena was ſuperſeded *. Neither yet was his induſtry confined within theſe limits. All the time from his firſt admiſſion he had been careful to make the proper obſervations for aſcertaining the true places of the fixed ſtars, and thereby correcting the errors of Tycho Brahe. His original view therein was to carry on the deſign of that firſt reſtorer of Aſtronomy, by compleating the catalogue of thoſe ſtars from his own obſervations; but upon further enquiry, finding this province taken up by Mr Hevelius and Mr Flamſtead, he dropped that purſuit, and immediately formed a reſolution of perfecting the whole ſcheme of the heavens, by the addition of the ſtars which lie ſo near the ſouth pole [*C*], that they could not be obſerved by thoſe Aſtronomers, as never riſing above the horizon either at Dantzick or Greenwich. Fired with the proſpect of making ſo diſtinguiſhed an improvement in his favourite ſcience, he left the univerſity before he had been there long enough to take any degree, and returning to his father, applied for his conſent to ſo remote a voyage, as was neceſſary for carrying his project into execution. Here he met with all the encouragement which ſo hopeful a ſon could either expect or wiſh from the affection of an indulgent parent (*l*). Whereupon he addreſſed himſelf to Sir Joſeph Williamſon (*m*) then Secretary of State, and to Sir Jonas Moor Surveyor of the Ordnance, both of them great promoters of theſe ſtudies, and the latter an able Mathematician. Theſe gentlemen highly applauding his purpoſe, mentioned it to King Charles the Second. His Majeſty was much pleaſed therewith, and without any delay gave him a letter of recommendation to the Eaſt-India-Company (*n*), who thereupon promiſed to ſupply him with all the accommodations and conveniencies that lay in their power, and to carry him to St Helena (*o*), which he pitched upon as a very proper ſituation (*p*) for his deſign. Accordingly he loſt no time, but embarked for that iſland in November 1676, and arriving there ſafely in three months, he ſtuck cloſe to his teleſcope, 'till he had entirely finiſhed the taſk he had ſet himſelf, and compleated his catalogue. This done he returned to England in November 1678. While he continued at St Helena, he made ſeveral other curious phyſical remarks (*q*) and aſtronomical obſervations, which were of uſe to him in promoting thoſe branches of literature, as ſhall be mentioned in their proper places. During

(*e*) Now 128.

(*f*) [illegible]

(*g*) See [illegible] 77 and [illegible]

(*h*) Ibid. No. 125 and 361.

(*k*) MS. Memoirs. Theſe were made uſe of by him in correcting Mr Huygens's Theory of Saturn's fourth ſatellite, printed in Phil. Tranſ. No. 145. anno 1683.

* Preface to Flamſtead's Doctrine of the Sphere, 1681. 4to. He alſo publiſhed ſeveral years afterwards ſome uſeful remarks upon ſome allowances to be made in aſtronomical obſervations for the retraction of the air, without the trouble of trigonometrical calculations. Phil. Tranſ. No. 181.

(*l*) His father allowed him 300l. per annum during his travels both to St Helena and afterwards to Italy. MS. Memoirs.

(*m*) The founder of the Mathematical ſchool at Rocheſter. See more of this affair in rem. [*G*].

(*n*) MS. Memoirs.

(*o*) Then in the poſſeſſion of that Company by a grant from the Crown.

(*p*) It lies in the latitude of 15° 55′ ſouth.

(*q*) Among others he found himſelf obliged to ſhorten his pendulum to make it keep the ſame time as in England. This being told ſeveral years after by Mr Hook to Sir Iſaac Newton, he declared it was the firſt notice he had of ſuch an experiment, and he made uſe of it to confirm his opinion of the oblate ſpheroidical figure of the earth. See a letter of Sir Iſaac to our author in General Dictionary, Vol. VII. p. 800. in notes. b.

' firſt path ſtruck out by Mr Halley, conducted him at ' once to the moſt remote and abſtruſe parts of aſtro-' nomy.' A compariſon betwixt Des Cartes, and Dr Halley, might be the natural reſult of that remarkable affinity of genius, which appears in the works of theſe two great maſters of philoſophy; a genius ſcarcely leſs diſtinguiſhed by the bold flights of it's imaginative faculties in ſtarting hypotheſes, that it is by the ſagacity and ſolidity of it's reaſoning powers in making uſeful improvements, and alike happy alſo in ſetting forth it's productions in the moſt engaging dreſs. That particular inſtance of this affinity, here remarked by Mr Mairan, is indiſputably well choſen for the purpoſe of an eloge; but if we ſhould allow the politeneſs of the Frenchman's compliment therein to the latter, it ought not, becauſe it cannot fairly, be denied, that the compliment is carried much higher on the ſide of the former, it is carried even beyond the truth. A cenſure which perhaps will not be thought too ſevere, when we ſee it ſupported by Mr Halley himſelf (8), who gives it for one reaſon of his taking pains to correct and publiſh the preface of *Pappus Alexandrinus* to the ſeventh book of his mathematical collections, that it might appear thereby how unjuſtly Des Cartes had accuſed the Ancients of ignorance, in boaſting himſelf to have been the firſt mortal who was able to conſtruct a *locus* to four right lines, which had been attempted by Euclid; ſince *Apollonius* had plainly enough ſhewn, that he had done it in the place where he ſays it is impoſſible to give that conſtruction compleat, without thoſe propoſitions found by himſelf, and inſerted in the third book of his Conicks; which, continues Mr Halley, is the ſame thing as to ſay, that by the help of thoſe propoſitions, it would have been eaſy and obvious for Euclid to have conſtructed the *locus*; and truly whoever compares that operoſe ſolution, perplexed with a monſtrous algebraical calculus, given by Des Cartes in the beginning of his geometry, with that wonderful concinnity in which the whole buſineſs is compleated geometrically, and without any calculus at all, in the 17th, 18th, and 19th *lemmata* to the firſt book of the *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philoſophy*, by the help of two propoſitions in the third book of the ſaid Conics, will never doubt, but *Apollonius* had performed more in this matter than Des Cartes thought he had. To this it may be added, that as to the problem *de ſectione determinata*, a full ſolution of which was given by Apollonius, the whole difficulty of deſcribing the *locus* lies in finding the fifth point. But from five given points, Pappus ſhews how to deſcribe the elliptic locus, lib. 8. prop. 13, 14, and by the ſame method, *mutatis mutandis*, without any greater difficulty is the locus hyperbolicus deſcribed through the ſame points.

(8) In præfat. ad Apollonium de ſectione rationis. An account of which ſee below.

[*C*] *To complete the catalogue of the fixed ſtars, adding thoſe near the ſouth pole*] There were two accounts of theſe ſouthern ſtars than extant; one, wherein they were named by the Portugueze, and corrected by Peter Theodore, was inſerted in Kepler's catalogue of the fixed ſtars; the other was that upon Bleau's celeſtial globe laid down, as is generally reported, from the obſervations of one Frederic Houtman, a Dutchman (9). But both theſe were very imperfect and inaccurate, and this part of the celeſtial globe very ill deſcribed, being done chiefly from the rude obſervations of mariners, who had other thoughts in their view, than that of improving aſtronomy. Conſequently Mr Halley's catalogue of theſe ſtars was an entirely new acquiſition to the learned world, in what may not unaptly be called *Cœlum Auſtrale eo uſque incognitum*; and thence he acquired an indiſputable claim to the title which was not long after given him by Mr Flamſtead (10) of our Southern Tycho.

(9) Greg. Aſtron. book ii. p. 229.

(10) In his preface to the Doctrine of the Sphere, in Sir Jonas Moor's Syſtem of the Mathematics, Lond. 1681. 4to.

ring the navigation, in his paſſage, he had frequently experienced a great inconvenience in an inſtrument well known to the ſeamen by the name of Davis's Quadrant, which then had only a ſhadow-vane to the leſſer arch. Wherefore immediately after his landing he added a glaſs to that vane [*D*], and then haſtened to prepare the beſt teſtimonial, he could give of his gratitude to his royal benefactor. Having delineated a planiſphere, wherein with the niceſt accuracy he laid down the exact places of all the ſtars near the ſouth pole, from his own obſervations, he preſented it with a ſhort deſcription to his Majeſty, who was greatly ſatisfied therewith [*E*], and gave him at his own requeſt a letter of *mandamus* to the univerſity of Oxford for the degree of Maſter of Arts [*F*]. This letter was dated November 18, and the ſame month he was alſo choſen Fellow of the Royal-Society; and he gave an ample confirmation of his juſt claim to thoſe honours in the three pieces mentioned below (*G*), which were publiſhed by him the following year †. Theſe works were

† According to the Bookſeller's ſtile, but in the ſame year 1678 in the common computation.

[*D*] *He added a glaſs to that vane.*] Mr Wood (11), to whom we owe this particular, obſerves very juſtly, that this was a very conſiderable improvement in that uſeful inſtrument. As the ſpot of light exhibited by the glaſs can be clearly ſeen at ſuch times when the ſhadow is ſo faint, that it's edge cannot be ſufficiently diſcerned. Mr Hadley's reflecting quadrant is ſtill a farther improvement in this article (12), and the friendly intercourſe which was obſerved between them, makes it more than probable that the invention was not perfected without the aſſiſtance of Dr Halley.

(11) Ubi ſupra.

(12) See a deſcription with a draught of it by the inventor, in Phil. Tranſ. No. 376.

[*E*] *His Majeſty was greatly ſatisfied with it.*] This planiſphere diſcovered a remarkable inſtance of our author's addreſs. Among theſe ſtars there appeared the *Conſtellation of the Royal Oak*, with this deſcription. *Robur Carolinum in perpetuam ſub illius latebris ſervati Caroli ſecundi Magnæ Britanniæ Regis memoriam, in cælum merito tranſlatum.* Thus as the writer of his eloge obſerves (13), Mr Halley recorded his gratitude in thoſe ſkies, which the patronage and liberality of that prince enabled him to ſurvey.

(13) Ubi ſupra.

[*F*] *A mandamus for the degree of Maſter of Arts.*] The recommendatory words of this letter were, That *His Majeſty has received a good account of his learning as to the mathematicks and aſtronomy, whereof he has gotten a good teſtimony by the obſervations he has made during his abode in the iſland of St Helena.* The degree was conferred at Oxford the third of December following (14). Mr Wood hereupon remarks, that our author made no return by this voyage but that of praiſe (15); and indeed we do not find that he was preſented either with a purſe or a place on this occaſion, but his heart was not ſet upon ſuch rewards *. He was abundantly ſatisfied with his degree, which conſidering that his admiſſion in the univerſity was little more than five years before, and that he had not taken his bachelor's degree, was no doubt a very diſtinguiſhing atteſtation of his extraordinary merit. Mr Wood alſo intimates, that this mandamus was particularly requeſted by Mr Halley (16), and if ſo, there is ſome room to imagine, that he had then the Savilian profeſſorſhip in his wiſh at leaſt, if not in his view at this time. We are told that Mr (afterwards Dr) Edw. Barnard, who then ſat in the Aſtronomical chair, though highly delighted therewith for a while, yet ſoon grew leſs fond, and in a few years became ſo weary of it, that he was even deſirous to reſign either to Mr Flamſtead or Mr Halley, who he ſaid had cultivated that ſcience with prodigious application and ſucceſs, and with the applauſe of all Europe (17). But whatever may be thought of this conjecture, 'tis evident our author had a filial affection for his *Alma mater*, returning to her arms preſently after his landing from St Helena, and making the honours ſhe could confer the chief view of his ambition. He was likewiſe particularly eſteemed by the other Savilian Profeſſor Dr Wallis, as appears from a letter he wrote while our author was at Dantzick, recommending him to Mr Hevelius, the firſt Aſtronomer of the age, not only on account of his merit in that ſcience, but alſo for the hearty ſincerity and ingenuity of his temper, the letter was in theſe terms.

(14) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 210.

(15) Ath. Ox. ibid. col. 982.

* See his letter to Hevelius, wrote about this time from Oxford, in remark [*H*].

(16) His words are, that he procured letters from his Majeſty, &c.

(17) See his Life by Dr Smith at the end of Biſhop Huntingdon's Epiſtles, p. 45. Lond. 1704. 8vo.

Clariſſimo et Spectatiſſimo Viro
Domino Johanni Hevelio
Conſuli Dantiſcano
Johannes Wallis Geometriæ Profeſſor
Savilianus Oxonii. S.

'*Clariſſime Vir,*
'*Deſtinaveram ad te literas per Dominum Hallejum noſtrum ſerendas; qui, ante ſex menſes credo, ad Te appulit, avidus tuorum apparatuum Spectator; ſuaque Tecum communicaturus obſervata. Sic autem accidit, ut Londino Ille prius diſceſſerit, quam ad Eum ſerrentur meæ literæ, fuerimque ea ſpe deſtitutus. Non autem erat oblitus (ſpero) Te meo nomine quam humaniſſime & officioſe ſalutare; hoc utique hinc diſceſſurus in ſe ſuſcepit. Quin gratus tibi fuerit acceſſus ejus non dubito; cum et Ipſe Vir ſit ingenuus, variaſque, Tibi impertiendas, habuit Obſervationes ſtellarum Europæis inconſpicuarum; ſoleaſque Tu ſumma cum humanitate advenas accipere. Num adhuc in Angliam redierit haud certus ſcio; Oxonii certe nondum eum vidiſſe contigit reducem. Fama interim hic accepimus Te alteram partem tuæ cæleſtis Machinæ abſolviſſe. Quo quidem gaudeo, atque ut curioſiſſimarum obſervationum Theſaurum amplexabor, rei Aſtronomicæ magno emolumento futurum, &c. Vale. Scribebam Oxonii, 8, Julii, S. V. 1679 *.*'

* *Excerpta ex literis illuſtrium & clariſſimorum virorum ad nobiliſſimum ampliſſ. & conſultiſſ.* Dn. Johannem Hevelium Conſ. Gedanenſem perſcriptis, &c. *Studio ac opera* Johannis Erici Olhoffii, *Secretarii*, p. 189. Gedani, 1683. 4to.

[*G*] *Three pieces mentioned below.*] Theſe are, (1.) *Catalogus ſtellarum Auſtralium, ſive ſupplementum catalogi Tychonici exhibens longitudines & latitudines ſtellarum fixarum, quæ prope polum antarcticum ſitæ in horizonte Urinaburgico Tychoni inconſpicuæ fuere, accurato calculo ex diſtantiis ſuputatas, et ad annum* 1677 *completum correctas* (18), *cum ipſis obſervationibus in inſula* S. Helenæ *cujus latitudo eſt* 15°. 55′. *auſtr. et longitudo* 7° 00′ *ad occaſum a* Londino, *ſumma cura et ſextante ſatis magno* †, *de cælo depromptis. Opus ab Aſtronomicis hactenus deſideratum. Accedit Appendicula de rebus quibuſdam Aſtronomicis notatu non indignis.* Authore Edmundo Halleio, e Coll. Regin Oxon ‖. In the preface he notes, That from his ſaid obſervations it is clear, that all the aſtronomical tables till then extant, were defective in calculating the motions of the celeſtial bodies, that Saturn moves much more ſlowly and Jupiter more ſwiftly than is reckoned upon; that hereupon he began to go about to correct them, but preſently foreſaw, that it could never be well done without a more correct catalogue of the fixed ſtars, the performance whereof was already undertaken by other hands, that he choſe therefore to take upon himſelf the ſtating of the places of the fixed ſtars near the ſouth pole, and out of our horizon, which no one that he knew had with proper inſtruments before undertaken. What Frederick Houtman's inſtruments were, by whoſe obſervations in *Sumatra* Bleau pretended to correct his celeſtial globe, our author declares he knew not, but ſaith, that by comparing that globe with this his preſent catalogue, it appears he underſtood little of aſtronomy. That conſidering this, and being alſo approved and encouraged by divers perſons of much worth and honour, as the Lord Viſcount Brounker, Sir Joſeph Williamſon ‡, and Sir Jonas Moor, and others, and even by the King alſo, he thereupon furniſhed himſelf with proper inſtruments for the purpoſe, which he particularly mentions and deſcribes, that of theſe he made the moſt aſſiduous uſe he could in a place of ſo thick and cloudy a ſky as he found that of S Helena, contrary to the common report, that he had reſtored about 350 fixed ſtars which were omitted in *Catalogo Tychonico*, the places whereof, he preſumes, he had truly aſſigned with reſpect to the places of ſome of the fixed ſtars in Tycho's catalogue. That the obliquity of the ecliptic is ſuppoſed to be 23°. 30′. which he obſerves is moſt certainly too much; yet becauſe he deſigned not a correction of the whole ſphere, and becauſe it was not then known within half a minute how great the obliquity is, and that this his own catalogue may be eaſily reduced to any obliquity, he thought not fit to meddle with that. After the preface follows the obſervations themſelves, wherein, to his own, he has added an ancient catalogue out of Clairus's

(18) They were afterwards fitted to the year 1726, and inſerted in Flamſtead's *Hiſtoria Cœleſtis Britannica*, Vol. III.

† See note (c) above in the text.

‖ There is an account of this book in Phil. Tranſ. No. 141. for Sept. Oct. and Nov. 1678. 'Tis none of the leaſt inſtances of our author's active induſtry that he publiſhed this book, procured a mandamus for his degree, went to Oxford and took it, reſolved to go to Dantzic, and wrote this letter to Hevelius, and was choſen F. R. S. all within the compaſs of a month after his landing from St Helena.

‡ This gentleman had been a conſiderable benefactor to Queen's-college in Oxford, of which Mr Halley was at this time a member. Ded. of Phil. Tranſ. Vol. IX. for the year 1674. which year Sir Joſeph took his degree of Doctor of Laws, being then Fellow of Queen's college, and lately made Secretary of State. Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 197.

were ſcarcely out of the preſs, when he was pitched upon by the Royal-Society [*H*] to go to Dantzick, for the ſatisfaction of Mr Hevelius, with regard to the diſpute betwixt him and Mr

Cluſius's commentaries in *Sphæram Johannis de Sacro Boſco*, and that of *Bartſchius e tabulis Rudolphinis Keplери*; that by comparing them with theſe his obſervations it might evidently appear, how much the ancient globes do almoſt every where differ from the heavens. From theſe obſervations, as he proceeds, he propoſeth ſome conjectures of the corruptibility, or at leaſt the mutability of the fixed ſtars ‡. Next to theſe are tables of the right aſcenſions of the ſouthern fixed ſtars and their diſtances from the pole, for the uſe of ſeamen. The *Appendicula* contains, (1.) *Mercurii tranſitus ſub ſolis diſco, Octob.* 28, *An.* 1677, *cum tentamine pro ſolis parallaxi.* Upon the ſubject of the ſun's parallax, he remarks in the preface, that were the place of Mercury's node once found, the ſaid parallax might be deduced from this his obſervation of Mercury §. (2.) *Modi quidam pene geometrici pro parallaxi Lunæ inveſtiganda.* Of theſe ways there are propoſed three, yet the beſt way of finding the lunar parallax would be, as he notes in his preface, by comparing the meridian altitude of the ſun obſerved at St Helena and in Europe at the ſame time. (3.) *Quædam Lunaris Theoriæ emendationem ſpectantia.* Under this article our author ſhews that the elliptical figure of the moon's orbit, is more curve in her quadratures with the ſun than it is in the ſyzigies. This had never been publiſhed by any one before. The Hiſtory of the Academy of Sciences in France tells us indeed, under the year 1698, that the ſame thing had been obſerved in 1668 by Mr Picard. In this tract likewiſe Mr Halley firſt of any one ſeparated from the other inequalities in the moon's motion, that particular one which ariſes from her increaſed and diminiſhed periodical time about the earth, by reaſon of the diminiſhed or decreaſed diſtance of the earth from the ſun, i. e. That which depends upon the earth's mean anamoly (19). All the annual equations or corrections for finding the moon's motion, were then neglected in the conſtruction of tables except this; and though this was obſerved by Tycho, Kepler, and Horrox, yet they confounded it with the other. Sir Iſaac Newton obſerves that Horrox was the firſt who advanced the theory of the moon's motion moving in an ellipſe about the earth placed in the lower focus *, and that our author improved the notion by putting the center of that ellipſe in an epicycle, whoſe center is uniformly revolved about the earth, and from the motion in this epicycle ariſes that inequality in the progreſs and regreſs of the apogee, and in the quantity of the eccentricity. Our author having obſerved in the preface, that aſtronomy is moſt of all defective with regard to the theory of the moon, in order to incite the lovers of the ſcience to ſupply that defect, remarks, that if ever the irregularities of the moon's motion were truly determined by celeſtial obſervations, and a true phyſical theory, and the places of the fixed ſtars rightly determined by the obſervations of Hevelius and Flamſtead, then a moſt exact method would be given to find the longitude. Agreeably to this remark we ſhall find him making the theory of that planet, the principal ſubject of his aſtronomical ſtudies hereafter, during the whole courſe of his life.

‡ This conjecture was occaſioned by his diſcovering, whilſt at St Helena, a lucid ſpot in the Centaur. He proſecuted this ſubject afterwards in Phil. Tranſ. No. 346 and 347, having in 1714 diſcovered a 6th new ſtar in the conſtellation of Hercules.

§ See remark [*BB*] and [*GG*].

(19) Dr David Gregory mentions it to the honour of his uncle Mr James Gregory, that he ſuſpected this inequality to belong to the moon in his Optica Promota. Schol. to prop. 86. See Gregor,'s Aſtronomy, book iv. prop. 29.

* See *Nova Lunæ Theoria* inter Horroxii opera poſthuma, edit. 1673. in 2 vols 4to. and Princ. Math. lib. iii. p. 35. ſchol. 2d edit. 1713. 4to. compared with a paſſage upon this ſubject in a letter of Sir Iſaac, dated Oct. 24, 1694. inſerted in remark [*EE*]. The reader will obſerve that the moon's orbit is only elliptical in reſpect to the ſun, and not a perfect ellipſe, that planet moving round the earth's annual orbit abſolutely in a line of the ſpiral kind, which is always concave toward the ſun.

[*H*] *He was pitched upon by the Royal-Society to viſit Mr Hevelius*] That gentleman having employed himſelf in preparing a new catalogue of the fixed ſtars, obſerving that it would not be complete without the ſtars near the ſouth pole, applied to the Royal-Society, of which he was a member †, wiſhing that ſome ſkilful perſon of their body might be prevailed upon to execute that part of his deſign ‖. This motion being approved, and the obſervations completed, he wrote to Mr Flamſtead to procure them for him. That letter, as will appear preſently, is dated ſome months before our author's arrival from St Helena, but the catalogue of thoſe ſtars being printed ſoon after, a copy of it was ſent to the Conſul, with the following letter by Mr Halley.

Præclariſſimo Ampliſſimoque Viro
Johanni Hevelio Conſ. Gedanenſi
Aſtronomorum facile Principi. S. P.

Nudius tertius eſt, Vir Clariſſime, ex quo literas tuas $\frac{13}{23}$ *Auguſti datas mecum communicavit amicus meus Dominus Flamſtedius, ex quibus non ingratas Tibi futuras obſervationes meas ſtellarum prope polum antarcticum lucentium intellexi, catalogum meum paucos ante dies editum ad Te mitto, quem, ſi conceſſa fuiſſet commoda aliqua tranſmittendi opportunitas, citius in manus dediſſem veſtras, lætatus admodum hac occaſione tanti Viri amicitiam mihi conciliari poſſe. Honores a Te mihi deſignatos, labores meos quales quales tuorum monumentis adjungendo, gratiſſime habeo; vereor tamen, ne hæc cœpta mea juvenilia non accurata ſatis apud Judicem adeo oculatum videantur, nec digna, quæ exquiſito illi catalogo, quem de Te expectat orbis literatus, connectantur. Obſervationibus vero ineſt ſincera fides pro ratione inſtrumenti, ut & calculo iis ſuperſtructo, in quo ſuppoſui plerumque latitudines duarum Tychonicarum cum diſtantia obſervatas, namque meridianas altitudines cœlum plerumque nubilum nequaquam permiſit obſervatas. In catalogo meo ſuppono obliquitatem Tychonicam* 23°. 31′. 30″. *& præceſſionem æquinoctiorum, ſive longitudinum 1 Stellæ* ♉ 18°. 41′. *quanta fuit ineunte anno* 1678, *utraſque vero a Te paulo aliter ſtatutas non dubito; quocirca calculi laborem repetere non gravarer, ſi modo correctiora haberem fixarum, quibus uſus ſum, loca de catalogo Tuo deſumpta, ut potius Heveliani quam Tychonici Catalogi ſupplementum, opus meum inſcriberem. Qualia ſint noſtra obſervata, comparatione cum veſtris facta in quibuſdam ſtellis ab utroque noſtrum obſervatis, facile conſtabit, nec magnas inveniri differentias auſim ſpondere. Ipſe vero de ſe loquetur Catalogus, quo Tui juris facto utere pro lubitu, ac ſi dignum recenſeas, quem lucubrationibus veſtris adjungas, me plurimis officii vinculis obſtrictum tenebis, Animumque Tui & Aſtronomiæ fervidum majori ardore accendes; hoc etenim pacto inter volumina tua nunquam moritura nomen meum oblivionis fato ereptum apud poſteros quantumvis ſeros legetur, nec majus hominibus (me ſaltem judice) contingit bonum, quam grata per cuncta ſecula memoria de bene geſtis in uſus publicos vel literarum parta. Dominus Flamſtedius, qui jam ad Te ſcribit, obſervationes eclipſeos Lunaris Octobris* ♈ *a Nobis feliciſſime habitas tranſmittere promiſit, itaque me ea de re excuſatum habeos velim. Brevi, Deo valente, Civitatem veſtram viſurus iter ſuſcipio, ut Virum apud Eruditos univerſos celeberrimum, quemque non ſine æmulationis quadam ſpecie veneror, oculis meis agnoſcam, utque inſtrumenta Tua modumque obſervandi expertus intelligam, utque de ulteriori Aſtronomiæ profectu Te conſulam. Juventuti vero noſtræ, quæ vix hodie vigeſimum ſecundum annum attingit, venia impetranda eſt, dum Reverentiam Veſtram majoribus curis occupatam ineptiis meis laceſſo. Vale, Vir Clariſſime, meque omnibus obſervantiæ ac obſequii vinculis Tibi devinctum ne dedigneris redamare*

Dabam Oxoniæ,
Novemb. 11, ſt. vet.
1678.

EDMUNDUM HALLEIUM †.

† *Excerpta ex literis ad Heveliun*, p. 182, 183, 184, ubi ſupra.

It appears by this letter, that Mr Halley had reſolved already upon making a viſit to Dantzick; accordingly he took ſhip for that city in May the enſuing year, carrying with him from the Royal Society, the following letter to Hevelius.

'Vir Clariſſime,

'Cum Vir admodum ingenioſus et eruditus Dominus 'Edmundus Halleius e ſocietate noſtra, inſigni prorſus 'erga ſtudium Aſtronomicum amore jampridem incaluerit, eoque accenſus longinquam navigationem in 'inſulam Sanctæ Helenæ ſuſceperit, ut ſtellarum Auſtralium, quæ ob ſuam polo antarctico vicinitatem, 'hactenus Aſtronomis noſtris inobſervatæ fuerunt, catalogum adornaret, Tychonico ceu Mantiſſo loco adjiciendum; (quod accurata obſervationum adminiſtratione egregie præſtitit, earumque longitudines et 'latitudines in tabulis digeſſit) jam ſecundam peregrinationem Aſtronomiæ duntaxat cauſa inſtituat, utque Te Patrem & Principem Aſtronomorum hujus ſeculi 'videre propius, et ſuper his rebus conſulere poſſit, 'Dantiſcum excurrere cogitet; Voluit idcirco Societas 'noſtra Virum tam eximie de Re Aſtronomica meritam, ſuis ad Te literis cohoneſtare; Etſi ſatis perſpectum habeat, quam Tu propenſo affectu in Eos ſis, 'qui divinam hanc ſcientiam colunt atque amant intimius: præcipue in Talem Virum, qui quantus in his 'ſtudiis futurus ſit, jam edito in publicum ſpecimine

'ſatis

‖ *Annus Climactericus Jo. Hevelii*, p. 14. *Gedani*, 1685. ſchol.

Mr Hook, about the preference of plain or glass sights in astroscopical instruments. Mr Halley set out for that city on the 14th of May (r), 1679, and arriving there the 26th, immediately waited on the Consul, and after some conference, agreed to enter upon the business of his visit that same night [I]; on which, and every night afterwards (the sky permitting) the two Astronomers made their observations together 'till the 18th of July, when our author taking leave, gave his opinion of the surprizing accuracy of the Consul's observations, in a letter addressed to himself [K]. Returning home to his father, he

(r) MS. Memoirs.

'satis ostendit Scribebam Societatis jussu ac nomine.
'Londini, Aprilis 3, st. vet. Anno 1679.

'Tuæ Claritatis

'Cultor assiduus

'Gulielmus Croun, M D.

'Societ. Reg. Soc. (21).'

(21) Ibid. p. 185. Dr Croun's letter was read the same day it was dated before the R. Society, and a copy of it is preserved in their letter-book, Vol. VIII. p. 73.

Let us now hear from the Consul's own mouth, how acceptable our author's coming was to him. After mentioning the day of his arrival, he proceeds in these terms. '*Cujus adventus mirifice mibi extitit gratus, non solum eam ob causam quod a præclarissimo* Gulielmo Croun, M D. Societ. Regiæ Socio, *nomine totius Ill Societatis perquam mibi esset commendatus, tanquam Vir de Re Astronomica eximie meritus, sed quod nunc tandem id obtinuissem, quod jampridem exoptassem, me nempe talem invisisse rerum Astronomicarum bene gnarum, & probe exercitatum in observationibus, instrumento pinnacidiis telescopicis instructo expediendis, qui etiam secum ejus generis sextantem apportasset.*' He concludes the paragraph with testifying his satisfaction in having an eye-witness of the accuracy of his own observations made with plain sights *. Mr Halley had likewise particularly recommended himself both in the preface to his catalogue of the southern stars, where he had mentioned the Consul's observations with respect, and in the letter which accompanied it, wherein he expresses his desire to make this visit in the view of his own improvement, as it would give him an opportunity of inspecting both into the manner of observing made use of by the first astronomer in Europe, and likewise into the curious contrivance of his instruments. Concluding with an insinuation, how honourable the employ would be to himself a youth, scarcely two and twenty years of age, while Mr Hevelius, as appears from his *Annus Climactericus* (22), was an observer of 49 years practice. How Mr Halley acquitted himself in this visit, will be seen in the remark [K]

* Jo. Hevelii Annus Climactericus, ubi supra.

(22) In pref. p. 4. This was one reason of giving his book that title, 49 being, as he observes, a climacterical number. Besides he reckons some other remarkable events which happened to him that year, as (1.) The finishing of the second part of his *Machina Cælestis*. (2.) The sending of Mr Halley by the R. Society. (3.) The loss of all his instruments, which, together with his observatory, were totally destroyed by a fire on the 26th of Sept. this same year, occasioned by the negligence or malice of a servant.

[I] *Entered upon the business that same night*] It is worth seeing how Mr Hevelius himself represents the matter. '*Itaque quamprimum hic appulisset (Halleius) omni remota mora, me dic scilicet 26 Maii visitatum venit.—Ex primo autem colloquio inter nos inito satis superque perspiciebam ardorem illius ad res nostras cælestes, summumque Ejus desiderium Uraniam meam invisendi, organaque nostra contemplandi, manibusque suis tractandi; Idcirco protinus eo ipso die vesperi, cælo etiam annuente, ad speculam meam illum deduxi. Simul ac advenisset, petiit ut haud gravarer sextante meo orichalcico distantiam, et quidem Reguli et Spicæ observare, quippe inquiens se dubitare, me posse in minutis integris eandem ipsam quam forte olim dimensus fuerim, in sua præsentia determinare. Exoptassem quidem, fateor, Hospitem meum gratissimum Autumnali vel Brumali tempore advenisse, quo noctes obscuriores ac plerumque defæcatiores sunt, nec non Stellæ clarius multo in oculos incurrunt, quam hoc tempore æstivo, Sole jam in sexto gradu Geminorum existente, atque ad solstitium vergente, brevissimis illis noctibus, longissimo et intensissimo crepusculo; accedebat, quod Luna splendente eoque fere plena observationes suscipere deberem; adeo ut respectu mei vix commodum videretur observationum examina nudis oculis, pinnacidiisque instituere; verum dixisses Clarissimum Halleium studio sine dubio hoc tempore advenisse, quo posset instrumenta mea eo rigidius accuratiusque examinare, viresque nostras explorare, atque sic postea rebus bene succedentibus concludere, si nobis liceret tempore æstivo lucidissimis noctibus tum Luna affulgente et plena aliquid dignum præstare, utique credendum, etiam obscurissimis serenissimisque noctibus, Luna silente nos perficere quicquam posse.*' He then proceeds to relate that the distance between these two stars Regulus and Spica †, was taken by three several observations by them both, and afterwards compared, at Mr Halley's request, with the same distance as set down in the Machina Cælestis, Lib. IV. p 171 from observations made by Mr Hevelius in 1653, 1661, 1665, and 1671. He concludes with testifying that the same distance was again observed on the 1st and 7th of June, for Mr Halley's further satisfaction, who was present when he made those last observations (23). The Consul also wrote a letter on Midsummer-day following, to Dr Grew, then Secretary to the R. S. wherein he expresses the greatest satisfaction in Mr Halley's presence (24).

† The distance between these two stars had been long before particularly proposed by him, to try the accuracy of his observations and instruments. See his letter to Mr Oldenburg, dated June 13, 1660, printed in An. Climac. p. 41, 42.

(23) Ibid. p. 15, 16.

(24) Ibid. p. 99.

[K] *He wrote a letter to Mr Hevelius.*] This is the letter.

Amplissimo spectatissimoque viro Johanni Hevelio, Consuli Gedanensi, Astronomo summo, S. P.

'*Nuperrime intellexi ex Dn O'[illegible] * Dominat. vestram a me expectare, ut animi mei sensum de observationibus ac instrumentis vestris scripto exponerem, quod quidem lubentissime faciam, cum jam satis abunde mibi constet de eorum usu & certitudine. Fateor equidem me semper dubitasse, ex quo primum cœpi scientiam Astronomicam excolere, ne forte collimatio per nuda vestra pinnacidia facta, incerta sit aliquot minutis, atque non semel miratus sum, quæ ratio dissuaderet ab usu telescopiorum ad istud negotium; interea tamen non ausus eram quidquam fidei vestræ in dubium vocare, atque mecum semper conservavi venerationem Astronomiæ vestræ integram, ut cuivis patet ex præfatiuncula catalogi mei. Dum vero his dubiis perturbatus sim, venit ad nos fama, jam editum fuisse librum, observationes omnes vestras uno volumine complectentem, atque quidem tales quæ novum fixarum catalogum multo auctiorem & correctiorem concederent ‡. Ego lætatus admodum adeo magnifice auctam Uraniæ supellectilem, partim gratulabundus, partim etiam suspicionibus meis subventurus huc me recepi. Quod vero tanto affectu, tanta benevolentia a dominatione vestra receptus sim; tanto candore & sinceritate totus apparatus Astronomicus mibi commonstratus sit, atque quod toties mibi concessum sit vestris adesse observationibus, non inter minimas felicitates pono, sed etiam abunde mibi gratulor de suscepto meo itinere. Taceo incerta ingeniosissima ista, quibus ingentia vestra organa nullo fere negotio quasi minimo digito dirigi possunt; quæ omnia in perpetuum Astronomorum commodum accuratissime, prout res fert, in priore parte machinæ vestræ cælestis describuntur *.* Me vero ultro testem offero, certitudinis vix credendæ instrumentorum, contra omnes qui inposterum * observationes vestras in dubium vocare possint, quippe qui hisce oculis vidi, non unam vel alteram, sed etiam plures observationes stellarum fixarum sextante magno orichalcico, a diversis etiam observatoribus, quandoque etiam a me ipso licet parum exercitato, peractas, ac amota regula repetitas, accuratissime atque fere incredibiliter inter se convenire, ac nunquam nisi tenenda minuti parte inter se discrepare; *quod an majori gaudio an admiratione exceperim nescio. Namque ex intimo isto affectu, quo scientiam sideralem colo, nil gratius mibi obtingere potuit, quam quod certo constaret, tanto ac tam accurato penu locupletatam esse Astronomiam, nec quidquam magis mirum, quam quod adeo accuratus sit. Hinc possunt examinari tabulæ jam constructæ, atque etiam novæ procudi, quas forsan non adeo facile eludet cœlum, dummodo sibi constans sit, (de quo dubitare cogit motus Saturni nondum numerorum legibus adstrictus) (25), neque ipse gravabor, volente DEO, operam dare isti negotio. Interea vero, Vir Honorande, favore vestro cohonestare atque animos addere ne desinas; nec pereat affectus vester benevolus erga me immerito conceptus. Dum ego precibus fusis DEUM Opt. Max supplicitur, rogo ne unquam deficiant animi corporisve vires, utque possis diu orbi literato prodesse, nec nisi serus ad cœlum redeas. Sic vovet nominis vestri cultor assiduus Edmundus Halleius.*' *Dabam Gedani* Julii [illegible], 1679 (26) Our author perceiving it impossible to persuade an old practitioner into the use of any method except his own, very politely at

* The same who published Excerpta ex literis ad Hevelium, &c. and was Secretary to the Consul.

‡ Al. redderent. *Excerpta ex literis, &c.*

* Al. imposterum, *ibid.*

(25) See note (k) above in text.

(26) *Annus Climactericus*, p. 101, 102. & *Excerpta ex literis ad Hevelium, &c.* p. 187, 188.

he continued there 'till the latter end of the ensuing year 1680; when he set out upon what is usually called the Grand Tour. He was accompanied by the celebrated Mr Robert Nelson (s), so eminently distinguished for his piety. That gentleman had been his school-fellow (t), and always retained a just esteem of his merit. They crossed the water in December to Calais; and in the mid-way, from thence to Paris, Mr Halley had first of any one a sight of the remarkable comet, as it now appeared a second time that year, and thence gave as it were a new æra to the astronomical world. It was at this time in it's ascent or return from the sun, he had the November before seen it in it's descent, and he now hastened to compleat the gratification of his curiosity, in viewing this extraordinary, and at that time unaccountable (u), phænomenon, from the Royal Observatory of France [L]. That building had been finished not a great many years before (w), and our author's design in this part of his tour was to settle a friendly correspondence between the two royal Astronomers of Greenwich and Paris; and at the same to neglect no means, if any offered, of improving himself as he had done before with Mr Hevelius, so now with so

(s) MS. Memoirs.

(t) See Mr Halley's letter at the end of Brokesby's Life of Dodwell, Lond. 1715. 8vo.

(u) Sir Isaac Newton for some time concluded it to be a different comet from that which appeared in November, there being then no apprehension, that these, like other planets, twisted round the sun.

(w) M. Cassini first began to observe there in September 1671. *Du Hamel's Regiæ Scientiarum Academiæ Historia*, Paris. 1701. 2d edit. fol.

at parting made him as obliging a compliment as the nature of the case would in the most favourable sense admit. I offer myself, says he, [in the above words, marked *] voluntarily a witness of the scarcely credible certainty of your instruments, against any one who shall hereafter call the truth of your observations into question; since I have seen with my own eyes not one or two, but several observations of the fixed stars made with your large brass sextant by different observers, and some of them by myself, which even when repeated did most accurately and almost incredibly agree, and never differed but in the trifling part of a minute. This letter (among others), together with the observations, was printed by M. Hevelius in 1685, and the book presented to the Royal Society. Wherein Mr Halley finding his compliments censured by some as too high strained, and observing the true state of the observations unfairly represented, and the two foot sextant which he took to Dantzic spoken of as a large instrument by M. Hevelius, thought it necessary to set the matter right, and at the same time not to be wanting in any part of the respect due to that Astronomer's acknowledged merit. A very candid account of the *Annus Climactericus* (27) was given to the Royal Society by Dr Wallis, which having displeased Mr Flamstead, the doctor in his own defence sent him a letter, where among other things he writes thus. 'As to 'Mr Halley, if you think (as you seem to intimate) 'that he hath been too lavish in his commendations, 'you must needs think Mr Hook hath been so in his 'reprehensions. Nor are the instruments and observa'tions so contemptible even in your judgment, as he 'seems to represent them.—If Mr Halley think it convenient, as perhaps he may, to say any thing in defence 'or excuse of his own instruments and observations, he 'may do it without disparaging those of Hevelius, 'which he has already so much commended, and I 'think he may best do it by way of answer to Mr Molyneux's letter. And for that reason I think it must 'be advisable not to print that letter (though they of 'Ireland desire it) 'till that of Mr Halley be ready to 'print with it. He may there say, without offence, 'what rectification for parallaxism is to be allowed; 'what observations were taken in his absence, which 'therefore as he cannot attest so neither can he contradict, and I presume they are none of those at which 'Hevelius says he was present; and what quadrant, if 'any be, (for I do not perceive which you mean) is 'misnamed a sextant, with what else of like nature 'he thinks fit. And then I do not see, but that each 'may succeed in what way himself thinks best without 'offence to one another. For my own part, I am so 'little versed in observing either way, that I do not 'pretend to judge of the point in question, whether 'plain or telescopic sights be every way the best. But 'this I think is undeniably evinced, that Hevelius with 'his instruments can distinguish by plain sights, not'withstanding what hath been said to the contrary, to 'a small part of a minute.' This letter is dated Feb. 12, 168$\frac{5}{6}$, and upon the 20th another was written to Mr Flamstead upon the same subject by Mr William Molyneux from Dublin, who also takes notice of that of our author, mentioned by Dr Wallis, as follows. 'I perceive the controversy between Hevelius and our English Astronomers, will never be ended 'whilst the old man lives, and indeed, if it be as you 'say, I think Hevelius much to blame, that he did not 'in the relation of the contest between Mr Halley's 'and his instrument, fairly declare the matter of fact. 'For, as you rightly observe, he calls Mr Halley's 'quadrant a sextant, and speaks of it, though but two 'foot radius, as of a very large instrument ‖, and this '*gave occasion to my error of thinking that instrument the* '*same Mr Halley used at St Helena.* ---I understand 'Mr Halley is printing a letter against Hevelius's '*Annus Climactericus*, but surely he cannot for shame 'contradict that large encomium he gives of Hevelius's 'instruments in his epistle in that book, neither can he 'possibly evade it, by giving that letter a different con'struction; for it is very literal, and plainly to be 'understood. So how he will come off I know not. 'As soon as Mr Halley's letter comes out, if it be por'table in a letter, I wish you would wrap it up, and 'send it to me. But above all Hevelius is to blame, 'that he mentions not the allowance of any thing for 'correction in Mr Halley's instrument. Indeed I ad'mire at his disingenuity in this particular. But yet I 'say, let it be how it will, if Hevelius takes distances 'and altitudes to five seconds, it is as much as can be 'expected from man, and if I am not forgetful, when 'I was with you at the Observatory, you shewed me 'that Hevelius and you differed only in *contemnenda* '*minuti parte* (28).'

(27) Printed in Phil. Trans. No. 175. p. 1162.

‖ The passage of the *Annus Climact.* here referred to is in p. 30, 31. where Mr Halley's sextant is called only a much larger instrument than a quadrant of a foot radius, then made use of by Hevelius in taking the meridian altitude of some fixed stars.

(28) See these two letters intire in the articles of Wallis and Molyneux in the General Dictionary.

We shall close this remark, with an extract of a letter from Dr John Fell, [in the Excerpta ‡, by mistake called Jell] Dean of Christ-Church and Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, to Hevelius, on receiving his Cometographia, presented to the University. After many other high compliments as usual on such occasions, the Dean concludes with a most extraordinary eloge upon his plain-sighted instruments, in the following words: 'A bonis illis viris, apud quos telescopio seu perspicil'lis uti, cæcutientis plane animi certissimum est indi'cium; quibus obstinatio pro fide, inveteratus error 'pro constantia habetur, & omnis in scientia profectus 'hæresis quædam audit, frustra expectaveris, ut studia 'hæc tua ullatenus placeant: veritatis interim & litera'rum cultoribus alia longe futura est sententia, cui 'ultro accedere, atque publico juxta et privato nomine 'calculum suum apponere, compendio gestit

'Vir Illustrissime

Oxonii, 12 Nov. Anno 1668. 'Dignitatis meritique Vestri

'Æstimator Addictissimus,

'J. F.'

‡ *Excerpta ex literis ad Hevelium*, &c. ubi supra, p. 123, 124. where p. 152 is a letter of De Chales, author of the *Cursus Mathematicus*, dated Paris, 14 Nov. 1675. ingenuously informing the Consul on the other hand, that his admirer Bullialdus was there called a heretic in Astronomy for his warm adherence to plain-sights.

[*L*] *In viewing that phænomenon from the Royal Observatory of France.*] One part of our author's view in visiting Mr Cassini, was to inform himself more particularly in that astronomer's observations upon this comet at it's appearance in November before For this purpose he carried with him, both his own upon it, and those made then by Mr Flamstead, who likewise afterwards sent him others made during his stay at Paris †. He found the astronomical apparatus here much inferior to that of Greenwich. The radius of the instrument for taking distances, being not half so large, and yet more difficult to manage. However our author assisted Signor Cassini in making several observations upon that comet, which were of great service to Sir Isaac Newton (29) in settling the path of it, and thereby laying the foundation of a new astronomy with regard to those celestial bodies.

† MS. Memoirs.

(29) See his article.

ſo great a maſter as Signor Caſſini. From Paris our author went with his fellow-traveller by the way of Lyons to Italy, where he ſpent a great part of the year 1681*. But his affairs then calling him home, he left Mr Nelſon at Rome, and returning by land, he made ſome ſtay a ſecond time at Paris, being received with the greateſt reſpect by the moſt eminent perſonages there. He had not been long in England, when he changed his condition, and in 1682 married Mary daughter of Mr Tooke, Auditor of the Exchequer, a young lady equally amiable for the gracefulneſs of her perſon and the beauties of her mind, in whoſe ſociety he lived happy for fifty-five years. Upon his marriage, he took a houſe at Iſlington near London, where he immediately ſet up his tube and ſextant, the attendance on theſe being his darling employment (*x*). The following year, 1683. our author publiſhed his Theory of the variation of the magnetical compaſs [*M*], wherein he ſuppoſes that the whole globe of the earth is one great magnet, having four magnetical poles or points of attraction †, near each pole of the equator two, and that in thoſe parts of the world which lie near adjacent to any of theſe magnetical poles, the needle is governed thereby, the neareſt pole being always predominant over the moſt remote (*y*). By reaſon of the well known difficulty of the ſubject, this hypotheſis in it's firſt dreſs was well received both at home and abroad: however, upon a review, being found by himſelf liable to ſome unanſwerable objections, he offered ſeveral years after an amendment of his theory, not without venturing to advance a new and bold conjecture concerning the fabrick of the internal

* There is an account by him of ſome very conſiderable obſervations made at [illegible] in India, ſeeking to find the longitude of that place, &c. in Hook's Philoſophical Collections, No. 5. p. 124. anno 1681.

(*x*) MS. Memoirs.

† The force of the earth upon the magnet is not properly attractive but directive.

(*y*) Phil. Tranſ. No. 148.

[*M*] *The theory of the magnetical compaſs.*] The indiſpenſible neceſſity there is for every ſeaman to be thoroughly acquainted with this excellent theory, having made it vulgarly known, the inſerting it here might well be thought tedious, and the hiſtory of the variation from it's firſt diſcovery hath been already touched upon (30). We ſhall therefore employ the preſent remark, agreeably to one principal deſign of this work, in exhibiting a view of our author's ſituation, with reſpect to the enquiry in general, and intimate what were the particular motives which firſt turned his induſtry this way. To come at this, when Mr Halley's profound veneration for the Royal Society is conſidered, there needs no other clue, than the ſeveral papers of that ſociety which were publiſhed from time to time, to excite and encourage the undertaking. Thus in 1666, preſently after the reſolution was taken to print their moſt uſeful papers under the title of Philoſophical Tranſactions, there appeared No. 24, wherein the firſt piece contained directions to all maſters of ſhips, pilots, and others, to be diligent in obſerving the variation of the needle, ſhewing them ſeveral ways of doing it accurately both by ſea and land, from the inſtructions of Sir Rob. Moray and Mr Hook, wherein alſo the great uſefulneſs of making exact obſervations of this kind is taken notice of (31). Two years afterwards, in 1668, No. 40 preſented the variations of the magnetick needle, predicted for 50 years at London, by Mr Henry Bond, an eminent teacher of the mathematicks in London, with a table ſhewing the particular variation for each year, and ſo to be continued to the world's end, deduced from former obſervations of his own and others. In 1670, No. 58, there was inſerted a paper intitled, An Obſervation of Mr Adrian Azout, a French Philoſopher, made in Rome (where he now is) about the beginning of the year 1670, concerning the declination of the magnet: out of an Italian printed paper, extracted by the publiſher of the Tranſactions. This extract, whereby it appears that Mr Azout had not been able to aſcertain the variation exactly, for want of proper meridians, concludes in theſe terms. 'It were 'well to obſerve, whether the declination which hath 'been almoſt through all Europe eaſtward, be now 'every where weſtward, as alſo in America, where 'the declination was almoſt every where weſtward, be 'increaſed in proportion, and ſo of other parts of the 'world. Noting withall the year, (which is not at 'all minded by ſome who relate the obſervations with-'out aſſigning the year) in regard it will be very uſeful 'to know the preſent declination, that it might be put 'into journals for navigation, and for the uſe of mag-'netic quadrants.' In purſuance of this, orders were hereupon given by the R S. that preciſe meridians be made in ſeveral places of England, for obſerving the preſent declination of the needle from time to time here in London, and in other parts of the kingdom, and that thoſe meridians that were made very exactly ſome time ago, be examined by a careful deſcribing of new ones, to ſee whether they ſtill hold true in regard of the ſuſpected alteration in nature (32). As to the manner of obſerving the variation, the curious are here referred to No. 24, already mentioned. Laſtly, to name no more, in 168⅔, No. 143, came out, *Epiſtola Invitatoria ad obſervationes magneticæ variationis communi ſtudio junctiſque laboribus inſtituendas. Dat. Altorfi Nouicorum pridie Feſti Paſchalis* 1682. Dr Sturmius, Math. Prof. at Altorf, the author of this epiſtle, having mentioned the ſeveral ſteps by which the doctrine of the magnet had been advanced to it's then preſent ſtate, from the firſt diſcovery of it's verticity to the poles, by our countryman Roger Bacon, to that of the variation of the declination taken notice of within a few years before by Hevelius, Auzout, Petit, Volkanner, and others, concludes from theſe laſt, that the variations are regularly made. Whereupon he here invites the ingenious in all countries to give their joint aſſiſtance to bring the point to a certainty, from 'whence, ſays he, we may rea-'ſonably expect among other particulars, great im-'provements in theſe two, navigation and geometry.' By theſe means it came to paſs that many magnetical experiments were made, and the variations diligently obſerved by the navigators: and it was by the help of theſe, together with ſeveral of his own made in his voyage to and from St Helena, that our author formed his theory. We have already mentioned Mr Bond's attempt of the like kind in 1668; and after him Mr Hook alſo in 1673, propoſed to the Royal Society, another not much different, that the magnet hath it's peculiar poles diſtant 10 degrees from the poles of the earth, about which they move, ſo as to make a revolution in 370 years, whence, ſays he, the variation hath altered of late 10 or 11 minutes every year, and will probably continue to do ſo for ſome time, till it begins to grow ſlower and ſlower, and will at length be ſtationary, and retrograde, and in all probability may return (33). But it is obſervable, that both theſe attempts laboured under the ſame defect, the want of obſervations ſufficient to ground a reaſonable hypotheſis upon; and it is perhaps none of the leaſt commendations of Mr Halley's judgment, that prompt and eager as he was by nature to advance forward, we here find him waiting however till ſuch a number of facts could be obtained, as might provide a ſure foundation for the ſuppport of a probable theory; and that the facts might be better aſcertained, he made an improvement in the azimuth compaſs, to take the needle's declination more accurately than before (34). The ſucceſs was anſwerable; and the theory as it ſtands in it's laſt improvement, received ſo perfect a completion from the Spaniſh journals mentioned in the text, that one cannot help wiſhing our author's life had been extended a few years longer, that ſo he, who always made a diſintereſted honeſt fame the grand motive of his induſtry, and who particularly conſulted the honour of his own country in every undertaking, might have ſeen thoſe journals, and what Admiral Anſon ſays upon that occaſion, that 'he eſteems the obſervations therein, none of the 'leaſt advantages of his voyage, that they were, though 'in vain often publickly called for by Dr Halley, and 'to his immortal reputation, confirm as far as they ex-'tend his wonderful hypotheſis, very nearly corre-'ſponding in their quantities of the variation to the 'predictions he publiſhed above fifty years ſince, long 'before he was acquainted with any one obſervation 'made in thoſe ſeas *.'

(30) In the articles GUNTER and GELLIBRAND.

(31) Theſe directions extended alſo to the inclinations of the inclinatory or dipping needle, of which ſee more in the article WHISTON [WILLIAM].

(32) That is a change in the meridians, and conſequently in the obliquity of the Ecliptic. See the next remark.

(33) Life of Dr Hook by R. Walter, p. 19.

(34) MS. Memoirs, ubi ſupra.

* Anſon's Voyage by Walter, in the introduction.

[*N*] *He*

internal parts of the earth; the probability of which, though little respected for a great number of years, seems to be favoured by some late observations made on another occasion both by the French and English in different parts of the world [*N*]. Whatever may prove

[N] *He ventured to advance a bold hypothesis, &c. which has been favoured by several late observations.*] His opinion is, that within the outward surface of the earth, as a *shell*, there is contained a *nucleus* or inner globe, with a fluid medium between, which, having the same common center and axis of diurnal rotation, turns about with our earth each 24 hours; only this outer sphere, having it's turbinating motion a small matter either swifter or slower than the internal ball, and a very minute difference in length of time by many repetitions becoming sensible, the internal parts will by degrees recede from the external, and not keeping pace with one another, will appear gradually to move either eastwards or westwards, by the difference of their motions. Supposing therefore the external *shell* and internal *nucleus* to be both magnets, having their poles at different distances from the poles of diurnal rotation, he gives a reasonable account of the four magnetical poles, which he presumes are demonstrated by the phænomena, as he does likewise of the needle's variations; to do which, so as to satisfy the whole state of the fact comprehending the latest observations, had been till then unattempted. This hypothesis, like some others started by him, has been generally thought too whimsical to merit any serious attention. But before passing sentence, let us look at those of his præcursors on the same mysterious work of nature, and then perhaps we may be a little reconciled to it. The conjectures of Kircher, Gilbert, Des Cartes, are taken notice of by our author, and severally shewn in this paper, to be inconsistent with the fact of the change in the variation. After those, Mr Gellibrand referred to in the preceding remark note (30), having in 1635, proposed an ingenious explication of Dr Gilbert's hypothesis †, supposing the variation to be constant, stops there, as in the generally received opinion, without venturing any further. Nay, in contemplating the change of the variation (then indeed scarcely well ascertained) he stands perfectly wonder struck, as at some præternatural event hardly possible to happen according to the ordinary course of nature's workings, and in that situation of mind, he refers to a report of Galileo, concerning a change in the position of the earth's axis, said then to be lately discovered by a gentleman of the Marsilian family in Italy. This though only a hearsay story, delivered in general terms, without any circumstances, is thought worth notice, as promising to throw some light into a subject, which mocked the efforts of the best philosophical wits at that time; all whose conjectures about the cause of this wonderful phænomenon being, as Mr Gellibrand insinuates, nothing better than so many fanciful conceits; such for instance as that, which he gives for a sample of the rest, of ascribing it (as he hints) according to the philosophy then in vogue, to a sympathy between the poles of the magnet and those of some of the planets, whereby the motion of the former holds a correspondence with the latter. The change in the position of the earth's axis mentioned by Galileo, had been advanced before by *Dominicus Maria*, of Ferrara, master to Copernicus, who collecting it by comparing the latitude of some places in Ptolemy's geography, with his own observations, seems therein to have found the cause of the needle's variation, but it is rejected by Dr Gilbert (35), on account of the uncorrectness of Ptolemy, who, as he remarks, took frequently his latitudes from Hipparchus, without observing himself. Yet this change called a libration in the earth's axis, was also assigned for the like change in the variation of the needle, by Hevelius in 1642 ‖. The truth is, the question concerning the former change, though bandied in discourse, was never till of late properly searched into. Dr Halley, whose eyes were every where, communicated some papers upon the subject to the Royal Society ‡, and recommended a method of determining it effectually, by procuring some good observations of the altitude of the pole at Aracca in Syria, that altitude having been taken, as he found, very accurately by Albatagni above 800 years before *. In 1670, the change in the variation of the needle being found to amount to 10° or more, Mr Azout, already mentioned, observes, that such a difference cannot be attributed to the change of the pole of the earth, as some, says he, esteemed perhaps before they knew it was so great; wherefore rejecting this as well as other causes that had been started as altogether insufficient, he declares it to be very difficult to hit upon the true cause, but is inclined to believe, that it may depend upon the flux of a certain matter passing through the earth and the exterior part streight along the axis. In support of this opinion he alledges, that the change in the variation may be said to proceed from the changes made in the said flux, which, supposing the inequalities in the earth, and the alterations both artificial and natural † continually made therein, cannot but in progress of time change it's situation; he proceeds to illustrate this by an example taken from rivers, which although they be running streight, cannot remain long without winding and changing their course, if it happen that the ground over which that streight course tends, be unequal or of a different nature; so it is probable, that the changes in the earth may in time occasion some bending in the current of the magnetic matter, and make it change it's bed and channel: whence it comes to pass, that the needle changes it's direction, according as the current changes which directs it: and if you well consider the variety of motions and directions seen in rivers with their cause, possibly a reason may be rendered of the many differences observed in the declination of the needle, e. g. why in some parts the needle varies much in a little time, why in others it is always turning without any station, as some say they have observed it; why the greater alterations are met with in going in and out of islands, and many other things, which for brevity sake, continues he, we pass by, as we also omit to deduce from it divers particulars relating to navigation; he then proceeds to observe, that if what is thus suggested should prove the true cause of the declination, then there would be no hopes of finding a regular hypothesis, since it would depend upon causes that have no regularity at all in them, as most of the motions in nature are. Mr Azout concludes these conjectures with the following remark: That if there be a proportion between the force of the said current and the earth, *that* may be able by changing it's bed to remove *this* from it's proper site, which would produce an alteration in the height of the pole as some think they have observed, if that may not be ascribed to a defect in the observations, of which we may be rendered certain, when more exact ones shall have been made: and so, whereas others would impute the various declinations of the magnet to the change of the pole; on the contrary, the change of the pole should be imputed to the declination of the magnet *. In 1673, Mr Bond undertook to shew the cause of the variation of the magnetical needle or compass, by the motion of two magnetical poles, as also how these poles are found, and what their distance is from the poles of the earth, what their annual motion is, and whence it proceeds. This famous teacher of navigation gave out also that he was able to find the longitude of any place in the world, by the help of a table which he had calculated to every five minutes, of the inclination of the inclinatory or dipping needle; both these proposals were published at once in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 95, in the view of procuring a proper recompence for the discovery of them. But not meeting with encouragement then, we find a paper of the like import in No. 130. of the same Transactions, for the year 1676, where Mr Bond declares that his discovery was the result of no less than thirty-eight years study. However, the true reason of his disappointment, no doubt, was a defect in that most essential point, the true state of the fact, that is, a sufficient number of observations accurately taken. This Mr Halley could not but see, and therefore we find he did not advance his hypothesis till the true state of the fact was a good deal better ascertained, but still it was very far from being fully known. He observes that the exact determination of several particulars in the magnetic system, was reserved for remote posterity: all, continues he, that we can hope to do, is, to leave behind us observations that may be confided in, and to propose an hypothesis, which after-ages may examine, amend, or refute. In the mean time he offers several arguments in favour of it. One of these is drawn from a proposition of Sir Isaac Newton, concerning the force of the moon in producing the tides, where the moon is shewn

† His proposal is to apply a needle to a terrella, first entire, and then exculped in some places like the face of the earth. See his Discourse mathematical of the Variation, &c. Lond. 1635. 4to. p. 7. Something of the same kind was offered for a solution of the change in the Variation by Mr De la Hire, but being tried with a terrella of the R. S. did not succeed. Phil. Transf. No. 188. for the yea 1687. It has been found since, that no good magnet has more than two poles. Phil. Transf. No. 430.

(35) De Magnete, lib. 6. cap. 2. Lond. 1600. fol.

‖ See Phil. Transf. No. 64.

‡ See particularly No. 190. for November 1687, where he observes that this was an old enquiry then lately revived by Dr Hook, in his essays upon the great mutations and catastrophes which in all appearance have happened to the surface of the earth.

* Ibid. No. 218.

† The first by excavations and such like works, the other by corrosions of fire and water, &c. and by the generation of metals and stones, besides various other changes we cannot think of, by reason of the little knowledge we have of the internal parts of the earth.

* Phil. Transf. No. 58.

prove at laſt to be the fate of a theory which preſumes to dive into the dark womb of our common parent, yet the phænomena of the variation of the needle upon which it is raiſed, being ſo many certain and undiſputed facts, our author ſpared no pains to poſſeſs himſelf of all the obſervations relating to it, he could poſſibly come at. To this end he procured an application to be made to King William the Third (z), who appointed him Commander of the *Paramour Pink*, Auguſt 19, 1698, with expreſs orders to ſeek by obſervations the diſcovery of the rule of the variation (*aa*). He ſet out on this attempt the 24th of November following, and proceeded ſo far as to croſs the Line; but his men growing ſickly and untractable, and his firſt Lieutenant mutinying, he returned home in the end of June 1699; and having got his Lieutenant tried and caſhiered, he took his departure a ſecond time in September following, having the ſame ſhip accompanied with another of leſſer bulk, of which he alſo had the command. Thus equipped, he traverſed the vaſt Atlantic Ocean from one hemiſphere to the other, as far as the ice would permit him to go; and in his way back touched at St Helena, the coaſt of Brazil, cape Verd, Barbadoes, Madeiras, the Canaries, the coaſt of Barbary, and many other latitudes, arriving in England September 1700 [O]. Having thus furniſhed himſelf with a competent number of obſervations, he publiſhed a *General Chart* (*bb*), *ſhewing at one view the Variation of the Compaſs in all thoſe ſeas where the Engliſh Navigators were acquainted.* Hereby he firſt of any one laid a ſure foundation for the diſcovery of the law or rule whereby the ſaid variation changes all over the world. The phænomena ſo far all anſwered perfectly to his theory. They were verified afterwards by the concurrent obſervations reported by the French pilots (*cc*); and as the ſame law has been ſince confirmed by a ſeries of others for the ſpace of more than 150 years, found in the Spaniſh Journals, taken by (the then Commodore now) Lord Anſon (*dd*), in his paſſage through the ocean which divides Aſia and America, and which was, as Captain Halley obſerves, the great deſideratum 'till then wanting to compleat the truth of the theory, this invention muſt be eſteemed one of the moſt uſeful benefactions that mankind ever received from a fellow-creature. Having thrown what related to the ſubject of the magnetical variation into one veiw, we ſhall now return to the ſeries of our author's life, in which for a long courſe of time there ſcarce paſſed a year, wherein he did not either deviſe ſome uſeful invention, or make ſome new diſcovery and improvement in one or other of the arts and ſciences. The method of finding the longitude

(z) See note (x x).

(*aa*) The reſt of his commiſſion runs thus; to call at his Majeſty's ſettlements in America, and make ſuch further obſervations as are neceſſary for the better laying down the longitude and latitude of thoſe places, and to attempt the diſcovery of what land lies to the ſouth of the weſtern ocean.

(*bb*) It was publiſhed in 1701, and fitted for the preceding year, which cloſed the XVIIth century.

(*cc*) Phil. Tranſ. No. 341.

(*dd*) See the Chart in his Voyage by Walter, Lond. 1748. 4to.

ſhewn to be denſer than the earth in the proportion of 9 to 5. If ſo, ſays Mr Halley, why may we not reaſonably ſuppoſe the moon, being a ſmall body and a ſecondary planet, to be ſolid earth, water, ſtone, and this globe to conſiſt of the ſame materials, only four-ninths thereof to be cavity within and between the internal ſpheres, which I would render not improbable. But in this argument our author very appoſitely overlooked another propoſition in the ſame book, where Sir Iſaac, in determining the figure of the earth, founds his calculus upon the ſuppoſition of an uniform denſity, which was never called into queſtion by thoſe who diſpute the figure he aſſigned to the earth (36). However this laſt diſpute has occaſioned ſeveral experiments to be made, as well by the vibrations of pendulums, as by meaſuring a degree of the earth in different parts of it's ſurface. And by theſe experiments, the earth is found indeed to be an oblate ſpheroid, as Sir Iſaac had concluded from his theory; but at the ſame time they give reaſon to think, that the variation of the denſity of it's internal parts is conſiderable; and to enable us to form ſome judgment of this, Mr Maclaurin has enquired mathematically, what proportion of the ſemidiameter of the equator and of the ſemi axis, as alſo of the gravitation at the pole to the gravitation at the equator would ariſe, not only when the denſity is ſuppoſed to increaſe or decreaſe gradually towards the center, but even when the earth is ſuppoſed to be hollow with a *nucleus* included, according to the ingenious hypotheſis (ſo he ſtyles it) advanced by Dr Halley. By this enquiry he found that the hypotheſis of a greater denſity towards the center, may account for a greater increaſe of gravitation from the equator to the poles, than that of an uniform denſity, but not for a greater increaſe of the degrees of the meridian; and the hypotheſis of a leſs denſity towards the center, may account for a greater increaſe of the degrees of the meridian, but not for a greater increaſe of the gravitation; ſuppoſing always (according to Sir Iſaac Newton) the columns of the earth to extend from the poles, and the equator to the center, and there to ſuſtain each other. This was likewiſe the reſult of his computations, when he ſuppoſed the denſity to increaſe or decreaſe continually from the ſurface of a ſpheroid to the center, ſo as to be uniform in the different parts of any one ſimilar and concentric elliptical ſuperficies, and in ſeveral other caſes. And here, continues he, there ſeems to be ſome foundation for propoſing it as a query, whether the internal conſtitution of the parts of the earth abovementioned, that was propoſed by Dr Halley, for reſolving ſome of the phænomena of the magnetic needle, will not be found to account in a probable manner for the increaſe of gravitation, and at the ſame time of the degrees of the meridian from the equator to the poles, as it has been determined by the beſt obſervations hitherto (37). We muſt not conclude this remark without taking notice, that Kepler in his phyſical aſtronomy accounting for the elliptical orbits of the planets, ſuppoſes each of them to conſiſt of an exterior cruſt, whoſe axis keeps a given poſition, namely *that* about which the planet is turned in it's diurnal motion, and a globe within, ſeparate and divided from this cruſt, and no ways yielding to it's diurnal motion, whoſe axis and right lines parallel thereto, may ſuſtain the places of the libratory fibres, according to the direction of which to the ſun, it's attractive power acts upon the planet with greater or leſſer force, and therefore while theſe libratory fibres keep the poſition neceſſary for that effect (by means of which the planets move not in circular, but in elliptical orbits) the exterior cruſt revolves by a diurnal motion peculiar to itſelf (38). That our author was no ſtranger to this hypotheſis, of the cauſe of the elliptical orbits of the planets, will ſcarcely be queſtioned, and we leave it to others to judge, whether he might not probably enough thence take the firſt hint of his own, concerning the variation of the needle; however that be, 'tis well known he was very fond of it (39), and ſeveral years afterwards applied it to account for the *aurora borealis*, by ſuppoſing the ſubtle luminous vapour contained between the *ſhell and the nucleus*, to iſſue at the poles of the earth, and produce all the appearances of that phænomenon (40).

[O] *He arrived in England in* 1700.] In ſpeaking of this voyage, he has been heard to ſay more than once, that tho' he croſſed the Line 4 times, and went directly as many times into the coldeſt climates of the South, yet he had the good fortune not to loſe a ſingle man of his company by ſickneſs, which, no doubt, muſt be owing in a great meaſure to the extraordinary care he took of them, and to that humanity, which was a diſtinguiſhing part of his character. However this happineſs was daſhed with the misfortune of loſing a favourite boy, who by ſome unlucky accident was thrown over board and drowned, and the captain was ſo deeply affected with the loſs, that during his whole life afterwards he never mentioned it without tears (41).

(36) See Mr Maupertuis's tract of the figure of the earth, book iii. cap 6. § 6. Alſo Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, for the year 1735. and Phil. Tranſ. No. 432.

(37) Maclaurin's method of Fluxions, Vol. II. art. 665, 666, 667. Edinb. 1742. in 2 vols 4to.

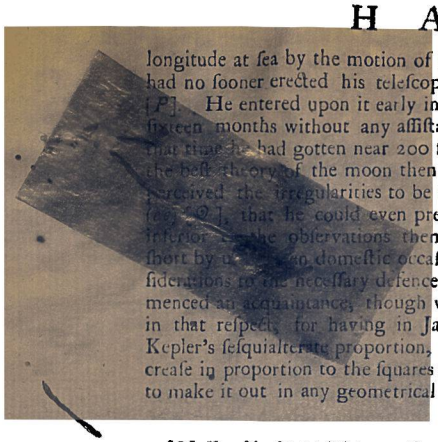
(38) An account of Kepler's hypotheſis may be ſeen in Gregory's Aſtronomy, book i. prop. 78. edit. 1726. 8vo.

(39) In his picture, now in the poſſeſſion of Mr Price, he is repreſented by his own direction holding in his hand a ſcroll, wherein it is ſuppoſed to be written.

(40) Phil. Tranſ. No. 363. for Novemb. 1719.

(41) MS. Memoirs.

[P] *He*



longitude at sea by the motion of the moon was an early thought of our author *; and he had no sooner erected his telescope at Islington, but he resolved to put it into execution [P]. He entered upon it early in the year 1683, and held on observing for the course of sixteen months without any assistance, and yet without any interruption; so that within that time he had gotten near 200 several days observations, most of which he collated with the best theory of the moon then extant; and having placed the errors in an abacus, he perceived the irregularities to be so regular within the revolution of the Sarotic period [Q], that he could even predict the errors of the tables with a certainty not much inferior to the observations themselves. But his sanguine views were now suddenly cut short by unforeseen domestic occasions (ff), which obliged him to postpone all other considerations to the necessary defence of his patrimony [R]. It was not long before he commenced an acquaintance, though without any such view, which proved of service to him in that respect; for having in January 1684 turned his thoughts upon the subject of Kepler's sesquialterate proportion, he concluded from it that the centripetal force must decrease in proportion to the squares of the distances reciprocally; but finding himself unable to make it out in any geometrical way [S], he first applied to Mr Hook and Sir Christopher

* See remark [G] at the end.

(ee) He calls it sometimes the Plinian period, from the mention made of it in that author's Natural History, lib. ii. cap. 13.

(ff) See the Append x to the second edition of Street's Caroline Tables, published by Mr Halley in 1710. 4to.

[P] *He resolved to put it into execution.*] This was no trifling event or common enterprize. It was necessary for the purpose, that the true theory of the moon should be ascertained to a degree of exactness at that time unhoped for; since it was not only an intricate, but also a tedious subject, requiring to compleat it a continued series of observations for a long period of time, which had never been attempted by any of his predecessors in astronomy. But all these difficulties and discouragements did not deter Mr Halley from undertaking the arduous task 'Tis true, Hevelius and Flamsteed had both of them this point among other *desiderata* in their view, but their observations to that end were very sparse, being taken as their other designs gave them leisure. We shall know what to think of the latter, when we see what our author says of them hereafter; and as to the former, though from the time of publishing his *Selenographia* in 1647, he had raised some expectations of applying himself particularly to this undertaking, yet nothing hitherto had come from him answerable to those expectations, and his great age now cut off all hopes for the future. In a word, to say the truth, this theory had been always before our author's attempt esteemed above the compass of one man's daring, and we find the same intimated by Dr Seth Ward, Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, in a place (42), where he particularly compliments Hevelius upon the subject, as follows. 'Quis tanto labore atque constantia opibus aut honoribus inhiavit unquam? quanto Tu Lunæ phænomenis multorum annorum spatio invigilasti? Eo certe fine, ut opprobrium 'illud astronomicum tollas, ut proximam terris Sydus 'accurate factis observationibus, in hypothesin certam 'atque naturæ rerum congruentem redigere homines 'possint. Atque hæc quidem res tam demum peragetur, 'cum librationis lunaris legibus perspectis, centrique 'variatione intellecta, in usum ducendæ erunt accuratis'simæ observationes, quas præstitisti. Incumbis itaque 'non immerito in hanc rem, Vir Clarissime, ut ex epi'stola ad J. B Riciolum (quam ad me transmittero dig'natus es) satis innotescit. Atque habes in hoc negotio ex 'gente nostra nostraque academia comites præstantissi'mos, adeo ut communi studio et labore perfectam iri Se'lenographiam speremus, atque ad usus omnes astrono'micos accommodatam.' Dr Ward in proceeding declares, that himself was with-held, by this expectation of seeing the Selenography perfected, from meddling with the motions of the moon and her theory, and then concludes in these terms, which strongly intimate the great difficulty of compassing that most desirable work 'Utcunque Tu certe laude dignus es immortali, 'quod hominibus ostenderis quid sit agendum, et quali 'molimine res attentanda sit, ut ad Syderis istius desi'deratissimam scientiam perveniatur *.'

(42) The dedication of his Astronomia Geometrica to the Counsul. Oxon. 1655. 4to.

* Vid. epist. Wallisii, inter excerpta ex lite is ad Hevel. ubi supra, p. 16.

[Q] *The Sarotic period.*] This period, which as is well known, consists of 223 lunations, or 18 years, wherein all the correspondent new and full moons are supposed to return, having been long neglected by the Astronomers, was restored to it's ancient reputation by our author, who made it the ground-work of all his enquiries towards settling that part of the lunar theory. He happened from this year 1683, to survive three of these periods, and made tables of the eclipses that recurred between 1701 and 1718, from the best observations both of his own and others, by the help of which he was able to predict an eclipse to half an hour without any trouble (43).

(43) See more of this in rem. [OO] and [XX].

[R] *He was interrupted in this favourite pursuit by unforeseen domestic occasions.*] This unexpected stroke seems to have fallen upon him at the death of his father, who although possessed of an estate of a thousand pounds a year in houses before the fire of London, yet as he was a great sufferer by that fire, so entring into an imprudent second marriage, he became unable to renew the leases of his houses, when the old ones expired, whence it came to pass, that his fortune mouldring away by degrees, sunk at last into a low ebb (44). The difficulties into which his son and heir must necessarily be brought on that occasion, may well be thought sufficient to produce the change in his studies mentioned in the text. It may be further observed, that his family increasing apace from this time, he never had leisure sufficient to prosecute steadily, nor even without great interruptions, this his favourite plan for compleating the moon's theory, till he was settled in the Royal Observatory at Greenwich. However, the attendance he gave at this time to that theory, diligent as it was, did not hinder him from considering other subjects as occasion offered; for instance, besides the observations concerning the longitude of Ballasore, mentioned above, he published, (1) *A correction of Mr Huygens's numbers in regard to the theory of the Satellite of Saturn*, in Phil. Trans. No 145, for March 168$\frac{3}{4}$. (2.) Dr Thomas Smith having in 1683, sent to the Royal Society an extract from the manuscript of Mr John Greaves, in the Savilian library at Oxford, containing astronomical and geographical observations made by him in Egypt *. This paper was read before that society, December 19, 1683, and referred to the consideration of Mr Halley, who made his report on the 9th of January following, and collected from it the latitude of Constantinople to be 41°. 7′. $\frac{1}{2}$ N and that of Alexandria to be 31°. 4′. N. These two remarks are evidently made by our author in the view of settling the great difficulty concerning the obliquity of the ecliptic; accordingly we find him taking notice elsewhere on that occasion, that this latitude of Alexandria, taken with a sufficient instrument by Mr Greaves, was but 6′ more than that given by Ptolemy and Eratosthenes †. Mr Halley was also very desirous to have good observations of the eclipses of the moon at Alexandria, as well as those at Bagdat and Aleppo, in order to ascertain an opinion first started by him, that the moon accelerates her mean motion about the earth, which was countenanced and accounted for also by Sir Isaac Newton ‖. (3.) Our author's theory of the tides at the bar of Tonquin ‡ in China, was published in Phil. Trans. No. 162, for Aug. 1684. The tides in that port are so extraordinary, so seemingly irregular, and so different from all others, that nobody before him had attempted to give any solution of them. Indeed to account for this phænomenon by the action of the moon, he confesseth was then a task too hard for his undertaking. Whence it is more surprizing to see, how easily that task was not long afterwards performed by Sir Isaac Newton in the third book of his *Principia*. Lastly, it seems to be about this time that our author had a dispute with De L'Isle, and the French Geographers, about the longitude of the Cape of Good-Hope, an account of which he afterwards published in Phil Trans. No. 189 §.

(44) MS. Memoirs.

* Vitæ quorundam eruditiss. & illustr. Virorum, a T. Smith, in præfatione, p. ix. & x.

§ Letters of the R. S. Vol. IX. p. 3, & seq.

† Phil. Trans. No. 190. prop. iii.

‖ Phil. Trans. No. 204. & Princip. Math. &c. lib. iii. prop. 42. 2d edition.

‡ The account of these tides had been lately brought to England by one of the factors of our East-India Company.

§ He prosecuted this point further in No. 361. for the year 1718. where, he says, it was then about 35 years since he had this dispute with the French.

[S] *Not being able to make it out geometrically.*] Mr Halley's argument was in general the same of that of Sir Isaac Newton, and in substance this, That all force re-

pher Wren, and meeting with no assistance from either of them, he went to Cambridge in August to Mr Newton, who supplied him fully with what he had so ardently sought (*gg*). Seeing this, Mr Halley, always indefatigable in the service of Astronomy, pursued the matter further. Having now found an immense treasure of that learning, he could not rest 'till he had prevailed upon the owner to enrich the public therewith, and to this interview the world is in some measure indebted for the *Principia Mathematica Philosophiæ Naturalis* [*T*]. Before the conclusion of the following year 1685, Dr William Musgrave Secretary to the Royal-Society declining to act (*hh*), our author was appointed Assistant-Secretary;

(*gg*) Sir Isaac not finding readily his paper then, sent the calculation shortly according to his promise to London by Mr Paget, Mathematical Master of Christ's hospital, and upon the perusal of it Mr Halley made a second journey to Cambridge. See Sir Isaac Newton's article.

(*hh*) The place is reckoned com. an. 1685 year; for Musgrave was then Secretary to the Philosophical Society at Oxford, and Fellow of New-college. Phil. Transf. No. 178.

specting the sun as it's center, and depending upon matter, must needs exert itself more vigorously in a small sphere, and weaker in a greater, in proportion as it is contracted or expanded; and if so, seeing that surfaces of spheres as are the squares of the radii, this power at several distances will be as the squares of those distances reciprocally, and then it's whole action upon each spherical surface, be it great or small, will be always equal; so that by this rule, the whole planetary system would be supported (45). This was right enough, and sufficient also for the purpose, had he been able to carry the calculation through all the phænomena as he designed and attempted; but these in the pursuit presently became so variously complicated, though from the uniform action of the single power of gravitation, that he presently found himself obliged to desist.

(45) See in Phil. Transf. No. 179. for Jan. and Feb. 1686. a paper intitled, *A Discourse concerning Gravity and it's Properties*, written, as our author declares, preparatory to Sir Isaac's *Principia*, which was then almost ready for the press.

[*T*] *The world is indebted to Mr Halley for Sir Isaac Newton's Principia, &c.*] The following extracts from a letter of Sir Isaac upon this occasion to our author, and his answer thereto, contain several particulars relating to this matter, which though published in the General Dictionary (46), the reader may fairly expect to find here. The first is dated from Cambridge June 20, 1686, in the conclusion whereof, Sir Isaac, mentioning a proof that had been sent by Mr Halley, and his approbation of it, proceeds to inform him particularly of his design, viz. That the whole was to consist of three books, the second of which was finished the preceding summer, being short, and only wanted transcribing, and drawing the cuts fairly. That some propositions, he had thought on since, might as well be omitted. That the third book wanted the theory of comets. That the autumn before he had spent two months in calculations to no purpose, for want of a good method, which made him afterwards return to the first book, and enlarge it with divers propositions, some relating to comets, others to other things found out the preceding winter. That he now designed to suppress the third. '*Philosophy*, continues he, *is such an impertinently litigious lady, that a man had as good be engaged in law suits, as have to do with her. I found it so formerly* (47), *and now I am no sooner come near her again, but she gives me warning. The two first books, without the third, will not so well bear the title of* Philosophiæ naturalis principia mathematica, *and therefore I had altered it to this,* De Motu Corporum Libri duo. *But upon second thoughts I retain the former title. 'Twill help the sale of the book, which I ought not to diminish now 'tis your's. The* articles *are with the largest to be called by that name. If you please you may change the word to* Sections, *though it be not material. In the first page I struck out the words,* uti posthac docebitur, *as referring to the third book. Which is all at present from your affectionate friend and humble servant,*

(46) In the article of Sir Isaac Newton.

(47) He means upon the subject of his Theory of Light and Colours.

' Is. Newton.'

To this our author returned the following answer from London, June 29, 1686.

Sir,

' I am heartily sorry that in this matter, wherein all mankind ought to acknowledge their obligations to you, you should meet with any thing that should give you disquiet, or that any disgust should make you think of desisting in your pretensions to a lady, whose favours you have so much reason to boast of. 'Tis not she, but your rivals envying your happiness, that endeavour to disturb your quiet enjoyment; which when you consider, I hope you will see cause to alter your resolution of suppressing your *third book*. There being nothing which you can have compiled therein, which the learned world will not be concerned to have concealed. Those gentlemen of the society to whom I have communicated it, are very much troubled at it, and that this unlucky business should happen to give trouble, having a just sentiment of the author thereof. According to your desire in your former, I waited upon Sir Christopher Wren, to enquire of him, if he had the first notion of the reciprocal duplicate proportion from Mr Hooke. His answer was, that he himself very many years since, had had his thoughts upon making out the planets motions by a composition of a descent towards the sun and an impressed motion; but that at length he gave over, not finding the means of doing it. Since which time Mr Hooke had frequently told him, that he had done it, and attempted to make it out to him, but that he never was satisfied that his demonstrations were cogent. And this I know to be true, that in January 1683, I having from the consideration of the sesquialterate proportion of Kepler, concluded that the centripetal force decreased in the proportion of the squares of the distances reciprocally, came on Wednesday to town [from Islington] where I met with Sir Christopher Wren and Mr Hooke, and falling in discourse about it, Mr Hooke affirmed, that upon that principle all the laws of the celestial motions were to be demonstrated, and that he himself had done it. I declared the ill success of my attempts, and Sir Christopher to encourage the enquiry said, that he would give Mr Hook or me two months time to bring him a convincing demonstration thereof, and besides the honour, he of us that did it, should have from him a present of a book of forty shillings. Mr Hooke then said he had it, but that he would conceal it for some time, that others trying and failing, might know how to value it when he should make it public. However I remember that Sir Christopher was little satisfied that he could do it, and though Mr Hooke then promised to shew it him, I do not find that in that particular he has been so good as his word. The August following, when I did myself the honour to visit you, I then learned the good news, that you had brought this demonstration to perfection, and you were pleased to promise me a copy thereof, which I received with a great deal of satisfaction from Mr Paget [Mathematical Master of of Christ's Hospital] and thereupon took another journey to Cambridge, on purpose to confer with you about it, since which time it has been entered upon the register books of the society.' He goes on to vindicate Sir Isaac's right against the pretensions of Mr Hooke, and says, the Royal Society were all of opinion that Sir Isaac ought to be considered as the inventor. ' I am sure, concludes he, the Society have a very great satisfaction in the honour you do them, by the dedication of so worthy a treatise. Sir, I must now again beg you not to let your resentments run so high as to deprive us of your third book, wherein the application of your mathematical doctrine to the theory of comets, and several curious experiments, which, as I guess by what you write, ought to compose it, will undoubtedly render it acceptable to those, who will call themselves Philosophers without mathematicks which are much the greater number (48). Now you approve of the character and paper, I will push on the edition vigorously. I have some times had thoughts of having the cuts neatly done in wood, so as to stand in the page with the demonstrations, it will be more convenient and not much more charge. If it please you to have it so, I will try how well it can be done; otherwise I will have them in some-what a larger size than those you have sent up.

(48) Sir Isaac then intended to write it in a popular method. See his article.

' I am, Sir,

' Your most affectionate humble servant,

' E. Halley.'

[*U*] *An*

Secretary; in which poſt the firſt paper that he publiſhed contained a tract of his own upon the ſubject of gunnery (*ii*), wherein he gave an improvement in that uſeful art [*U*]. This paper was preſently followed by another (*kk*), wherein our author firſt of any one diſcovered that eaſy method (ſince ſo well known) of meaſuring the elevation of very high mountains, ſteeples, and other eminences, by the barometer [*W*]. The ſame year ſaw a third tract by the ſame canal (*ll*), containing both the hiſtory and phyſical cauſe of the trade winds and monſoons [*X*], he likewiſe publiſhed a chart repreſenting their direction, wherever they are found to blow, through all parts of the globe known to the Engliſh mariners (*mm*). Sir Iſaac Newton's *Principia* being finiſhed the ſame year 1686, Mr Halley (who had the whole care of the impreſſion) (*nn*), by the direction of the Royal-Society preſented it to his Majeſty King James II. with a proper diſcourſe of his own [*Y*]. He alſo wrote an elegant copy of verſes in Latin, which are prefixed to that

(*ii*) Ibid. No. 179.

(*kk*) Ibid. No. 181.

(*ll*) Ibid. No. 183.

(*mm*) For want of longitude and 30° of latitude, they are repreſented in the ſame chart with the variations of the compaſs. The north part of the Pacific Ocean, being known only to the Spaniards, is not included therein.

(*nn*) See the preface by Sir Iſaac, who on this occaſion calls our author *Virum in omni genere doctrinæ eruditiſſimum*.

[*U*] *An improvement in the art of gunnery.*] This improvement conſiſts in the ſolution of a problem concerning the beſt elevation of a mortar: it had exerciſed the wits of ſome of the firſt rate genii of thoſe times. The problem was this, *To hit an object above or below the horizontal line, with the greateſt certainty and leaſt impelling force.* This problem, though of the greateſt uſe in gunnery, was left untouched by Torricelli the firſt writer upon the ſubject. It had indeed been ſolved by Mr Anderſon in 1674 (49), but his ſolution required ſo large a calculus, that it put our author upon the ſearch if it might not be done more eaſily, and the reſult was, that in 1678, he found out the rule, and thence the geometrical conſtruction, delivered in this piece 'Tis true, a large treatiſe was afterwards publiſhed, intitled, *L'Art de jetter les Bombes*, by Monſ. Blondel, wherein he gave a ſolution of this problem by Meſſieurs Buet, Romer, and De la Hire, but none of them being the ſame with our author's, or in his opinion more eaſy, and moſt of them more operoſe, and beſides his rule finding the tangent which generally determines the angle better than it's ſign, he ſays, '*He thought himſelf obliged to print it, for the uſe of all ſuch as deſire to be informed in the mathematical part of the art of gunnery.*' In 1696, reſuming this ſubject (50), he conſidered how to improve the practical part thereof, and found out a more compendious method for practice than before; whereby it became as eaſy to ſhoot with a mortar at any object on demand, as if it were on the level, there being no need in this new invention of any computation, but only ſimply laying the gun, ſo as to paſs in the middle line between the zenith and the object, giving it it's due charge He intimates a method of laying a mortar in the required elevation (which may be of uſe in the want of inſtruments) by a piece of looking glaſs plate applied parallel to the muzzle, on which the engineer looking along a thread with a plummet, raiſes or depreſſes the piece, till the object appears on the ſame part of the ſpeculum where the plummet falls; but he obſerves, that this method depends upon the muzzle of the mortar being turned truly ſquare to the bore of the piece, and both that and the looking glaſs muſt be a true plane, which they are not exact enough for this practice. However, as the thing is done very eaſily with inſtruments, all that remains is by good and valid experiments to be aſſured of the force of gun powder, how to make and conſerve it equal, and to know the effect thereof in each piece, that is, how far differing charges will caſt the ſame ſhot out of it; this he thinks may moſt conveniently be engraved on the outſide thereof, and were this matter well aſcertained, it might be worth while to make all mortars of the like diameter, as near as may be alike in length of chaſe, weight, chamber, and all other circumſtances. This ſubject of gunnery has been lately re-conſidered by Mr Benjamin Robins, F. R. S. (51), and ſeveral improvements made therein, eſpecially in the article of the charges proper for each piece here recommended for further examination by our author.

(49) See his Treatiſe of the genuine uſe and effects of the gun, printed that year in 4to.

(50) Phil. Tranſ. No. 216.

(51) In a piece intituled, *A Propoſal for increaſing the ſtrength of the Navy, by changing all the guns, from the 18 pounders downwards, into others of equal weight, but of a greater bore*, Lond. 1742. 4to.

[*W*] *A method of meaſuring the height of eminences by the barometer.*] This is done by obſerving the proportionable aſcent of the mercury. To this he added, an attempt to diſcover the true reaſon of the riſing and falling of the mercury upon change of the weather. His hypotheſis is founded upon the principal obſervations that had been then made upon this inſtrument; whence he concludes, that the riſe and fall of the mercury is chiefly owing to the variable winds which are found in the temperate zones, and whoſe great inconſtancy here in England, ſays he, is moſt notorious. From this ſingle principle, joined to the uncertain exhalation and precipitation of the vapours lodged in the air, which too in a great meaſure depends upon the former, he ſolves all the phænomena of that weather gage (52). When Mr Halley went to St Helena, he carried one of theſe inſtruments, having a thermometer (as it has been ſince denominated) joined to it, and fitted for the ſea uſe by Mr Hook, along with him (53), and having found it very ſerviceable in that voyage, by giving early notice of all the bad weather he had, this engaged his attention the more to it; accordingly we find ſeveral papers in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, containing an account of the improvements which he made therein (54); for inſtance, in No. 197, he firſt gave the hint and propoſed the making thermometers of quickſilver, or the mercurial thermometer, which being brought into uſe long afterwards by Mr Farenheit, hath ſince gone by his name, Ph. Tr. No. 381. He alſo propoſed an improvement in Patrick's barometer for taking the height of places, ibid. No. 366. In the preface to which (as his manner was) he gives an hiſtorical account of all the improvements made in this inſtrument from Torricelli the firſt inventor, down to that time. We ſhall only add, that Mr Cotes of Cambridge, in his hydroſtatical, &c. lectures, conſtantly read Dr Halley's account of the riſe and fall of the mercury, &c. as what he perfectly approved, and it is inſerted in the appendix to Mr Cotes's Hydroſtatical and Pneumatical Lectures publiſhed by Dr Smith, the ſecond edition, 1747.

(52) In the Miſcellanea Curioſa, Vol. I.

(53) See Phil. Tranſ. No. 269.

(54) In No. 197, 229, &c. ſeen in one view in the Abridgment, Vol. II. p. 33, &c.

[*X*] *The phyſical cauſe of the trade winds and monſoons.*] Upon this ſubject our author obſerves, that as wind is nothing elſe but a ſtream or current of air, ſo where ſuch a current is fixed and permanent in it's courſe as in the trade winds, it muſt neceſſarily proceed from a permanent unintermitting cauſe. This he takes to be no other than the action of the ſun-beams upon the air and water as it paſſes every day over the oceans, which he finds to anſwer all the phænomena of the general trade winds; and he obſerves, that if the whole ſurface of the globe was ſea, theſe would undoubtedly blow all round the world as they are found to do in the Atlantic and Ethiopic oceans; but ſeeing that ſo great continents do interpoſe and break the continuity of the oceans, regard muſt be had to the nature of the ſoil, and the poſition of the high mountains, and theſe he ſuppoſes the two principal cauſes of the ſeveral variations of the winds from the former general rule. This he ſhews with reſpect to the Atlantic and Ethiopic ſea, as well as in the great South-Sea or Pacific Ocean. Two of the three branches into which he divides the univerſal ocean; but in the third branch, or Indian ſea, he allows there are ſome difficulties not well to be accounted for, as firſt, why the change of the monſoons from the north-weſt to the ſouth-eaſt (as the ſun is on the north or ſouth ſide of the equator) ſhould be any more in this ocean than in the ſame latitudes in the Ethiopic, where there is nothing more certain than a ſouth-eaſt wind all the year. He thinks it alſo very hard to conceive, why the limits of the trade winds ſhould be fixed about the 30th degree of latitude all round the globe, and that they ſhould ſo ſeldom tranſgreſs or fall ſhort of thoſe bounds, as likewiſe that in the Indian ſea, only the northern part ſhould be ſubject to the changeable monſoons, and in the ſouthern there be a conſtant ſouth-eaſt. Which particulars he recommends to future enquirers (55).

(55) The writer of his Eloge obſerves, that this Eſſay is the reſult of numberleſs obſervations and extenſive reading, as well as his Theory of the Variations, with which it ſhould always be joined.

[*Y*] *Preſented the Principia to King James, II. with a diſcourſe of his own.*] In this diſcourſe, which he firſt read before the Royal Society, having given a general account of the aſtronomical part of that book, where

that book. This year likewiſe our author undertook to explain the cauſe of a natural phænomenon, which had 'till then baffled the reſearches of the ableſt Geographers. The Mediterranean ſea is obſerved not to ſwell in the leaſt, notwithſtanding there is no viſible diſcharge of the prodigious quantity of water, which runs into it from nine large rivers, beſides ſeveral ſmall ones, and from the conſtant ſetting in of the current at the mouth of the Streights (*o o*). His ſolution of this difficulty gave ſo much ſatisfaction to the Society, that he received their orders to proſecute theſe enquiries. He did ſo (*p p*) with the moſt ſurprizing diligence and ſagacity [Z]. But that employ was not enough to fill up the ſphere of

(*o o*) Phil. Tranſ. No. 189.

(*p p*) Ibid. No. 192.

where in the eaſieſt language he ſhews the moſt ſtriking excellence of the great author's genius therein, to conſiſt in being able to deduce the vaſt ſyſtem of the world from the common principles of projectiles. He afterwards enters into a more particular explication of the theory of the tides contained in it. This was a ſubject upon which his own thoughts had been turned pretty much about this time ‡, and he introduces it with a polite addreſs to His Majeſty, to whom, as having (when D. of York) been High-Admiral, that ſubject, he obſerves, could not be unintereſting. This paper was not publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, 'till many years afterwards, of which there is given the following account. 'It may perhaps ſeem 'ſtrange, that this paper being no other than a partial 'account of a book long ſince publiſhed, and whereof 'a fuller extract was given in No. 187, of theſe Tranſ'actions, ſhould again appear here; but the deſire of 'ſeveral honourable perſons, which could not be with'ſtood, hath obliged us to inſert it here, for the ſake of 'ſuch, who being leſs knowing in mathematical mat'ters, and therefore not daring to adventure on the 'author himſelf, are notwithſtanding very curious to 'be informed of the cauſes of things, particularly of 'ſo general and extraordinary phænomena, as are 'thoſe of the tides. Now this paper having been 'drawn up for the late K. James's uſe (in whoſe reign 'the book was publiſhed) and having given good ſa'tisfaction to thoſe that got copies of it, it is hoped, 'the *Savans* of the higher form, will indulge us this 'liberty we take, to gratify their inferiors in point of 'ſcience, and not be offended that we here inſiſt more 'largely on Mr Newton's theory of the tides, which, 'how plain and eaſy ſoever, we find is very little un'derſtood by the common reader (56).' With regard to the fifty Latin verſes prefixed, Mr Mairan, who ſcruples not for this ſingle eſſay to dignify our author with the title of Poet, gives the following account of his poetical inſpiration. That while Mr Halley was employed in preparing Sir Iſaac Newton's *Principia* for the preſs, he found it impoſſible to be the inſtrument of exhibiting ſo many objects of aſtoniſhment and admiration, and to ſee them conſtantly paſſing in review before him, without catching the fire of ſublime enthuſiaſm, which broke out in fifty Latin verſes, in a deſcription of the wonders which he ſaw, 'Tycho 'Brahe, continues this writer, was inſpired with a like 'poetical impulſe at the ſight of the inſtrument with 'which *Copernicus* made his obſervations, and changed 'the face of the heavens. Tycho's verſes were en'graven on the inſtrument which inſpired them, thoſe 'of Mr Halley prefixed to that immortal work which 'is their ſubject, being themſelves worthy to ſhare it's 'immortality.' Theſe lines are too well known to be inſerted here, and the Engliſh reader may find the tranſlation of them in his own language in verſe, in *Martin's General Monthly Magazine. Mathematical, &c.* No. 1, for Jan. 1755. But the occaſion ſuggeſts a curioſity of the like kind, with which we ſhall here oblige the reader. Mr Halley's verſes (as well as his diſcourſe) were no doubt preſented along with the *Principia* to K. James II. and the following Latin verſes written by his grandfather King James, I. were prefixed to Tycho's works, in 1610.

‡ See remark [*E E*].

(56) Phil. Tranſ. No. 226. for 1696-7. where it is intitled, *The True Theory of the Tides, extracted from the admired Treatiſe of Sir I. Newton.*

* This Eloge was compoſed in 1593, when his Majeſty granted a patent to Tycho's heirs for the ſole printing his works in Scotland for 30 years.

Jacobi Scotorum Regis, *
De
Generoſi viri Tychonis Brahe Dani
Aſtronomicis operibus,
Eulogium.

Æthereis bis quinque globis, quatis machina mundi
Vertitur, ut celſo eſt cruſtatus fornice Olympus
Ignibus, et pictus fulgentibus undique lychni:
Pellucent vitreis domibus cui, quæ planetæ
Orbibus, ut geminant curſus vi et ſponte rotati;
Ut miti aut torvo adſpectu longe ante futura
Præmonſtrant, regniſque Tonans quæ fata volutet
His tellure cupis, quæ vis, quis motus, et ordo,
Cernere, ſublimem deducturque æthera terræ;
Tychonis pandunt operæ, lege, diſce, videbis
Mira, domi mundum, invenies, cælumque libello.
Aliud.
Quam temere eſt auſus Phaëton, vel præſtat Apollo,
Qui regit ignivomos æthere curſu bellus equos,
Plus Tycho; cuncta aſtra regis; tibi cedit Apollo,
Chorus et Uraniæ te hoſpes, alumnus, amor.

Mr Halley's verſes are evidently formed upon the ſame plan with the firſt copy of theſe royal ones, and as he frequently turned over the works of Tycho, he muſt often have ſeen them; whether he took thence the hint of his own plan or no, let the reader judge. But thus much we will venture to ſay, that whoever reads thoſe of Mr Halley with a juſt degree of admiration, will certainly read theſe of His Majeſty, not without an equally juſt degree of amazement

[Z] *He proſecuted it with ſurprizing diligence and ſagacity.*] Having ſhewn, by the moſt accurate experiments, how that great increaſe of water was actually carried off in vapours raiſed by the action of the ſun and wind upon it's ſurface; he proceeded with the like ſucceſs to point out the true method uſed by nature, to return the ſaid vapours into the ſea. This circulation he ſuppoſes to be carried on by the winds driving theſe vapours to the mountains, where being collected they form ſprings, which uniting become rivulets or brooks, and many of theſe again meeting in the vallies, grow into large rivers, emptying themſelves at laſt into the ſea. Thus demonſtrating in the moſt beautiful manner, the way in which the equilibre of receipt and expence is continually preſerved in the univerſal ocean. Our author's account of the origin of ſprings, is too well known to allow our enlarging upon the ſubject ‖. And ſuch as (if there be any who) are not acquainted with it, will not take it amiſs to be referred to the original in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, where they will be no leſs pleaſed with the eaſineſs of the ſolution, than with the beauty of the deſcription. But we muſt not omit to take notice, that he aſſures us, this theory of ſprings is not a bare hypotheſis, but founded on experience; which, ſays he, 'it was my luck to gain in 'my abode at St Helena, where in the night time on 'the tops of the hills about eight hundred yards 'above the ſea (57), there was ſo ſtrange a conden'ſation, or rather precipitation, of the vapours, that 'it was a great impediment to my celeſtial obſerva'tions. For in the clear ſky the dew would fall ſo 'faſt, as to cover each half quarter of an hour, my 'glaſſes with little drops, ſo that I was neceſſitated to 'wipe them ſo often: and my paper on which I wrote 'my obſervations, would immediately be ſo wet with 'dew, that it would not bear ink. By which it may 'be ſuppoſed, how faſt the water gathers in the 'ridges of the higheſt mountains †.' In purſuing the ſubject of the riſe of vapours, he obſerves that vapours, raiſed by the ſun in ſtill weather, hang on the ſurface of the water cloathing it like a fleece; whence he takes occaſion to give an account of that odd phænomenon of ſeeing the cattle in the Iſle of Dogs from Greenwich at high water, when none of them are to be ſeen at low water. 'For, ſays he, the vaporous effluvia of 'the water, having a greater degree of refraction than 'common air, may ſuffice to bring down the beams to 'the eye, which, when the water is retired and the 'vapours ſubſided with it, paſs above; and conſe'quently the objects ſeen at one time, may be con'ceived to diſappear at the other (58).'

‖ It was borrowed, though without naming him, by *Carolo Fontana*, an Italian, in a treatiſe intitled *Utiliſſimo Trattato del Acque correnti, Capitolo*, V. *Romæ* 1696, fol.

(57) This meaſure was probably aſſigned by the rule he afterwards gave for ſuch things by the barometer, and was therefore known to him at St Helena.

† He alſo obſerved, that though the ſteep on this iſland are very fertile, ſo as commonly to have each two or three lambs yearly, yet they are very ſhort-lived, dying of the [droſical] rot, which he took to be the effect of the great moiſture on the hills. Huſbandry and Trade improved, &c. by John Houghton, F. R. S. Paper xxxiv. Vol. I. in 4 vols 8vo. 2d edit. 1727.

(58) Phil. Tranſ. No. 212. This paper is intitled the Evaporation of Water in a cloſe room at Greſham.

of his activity. This induſtrious bee at the ſame time ranged into the fields of Speculative Geometry, where obſerving ſome imperfections in the methods laid down by others (*q q*), for conſtructing ſolid problems or equations of the third and fourth powers; for the better aſſerting the purpoſe, he furniſhed new rules, which were both more eaſy and more elegant than any of the former. Nor did this ſatisfy him, 'till he had proceeded to ſhew a new way of finding the number of roots in ſuch equations, as alſo the limits of them; and this too by the help of that particular curve line, the rectification of which being the firſt performance in that way, was firſt compleated by our countryman Mr Neil, and thence called the *Neilian Parabola* (*r r*) [*A A*]. The year after, being that of the Revolution, Mr Halley publiſhed the following ſheet in 8vo. *Ephemeris ad annum a Nativitate Domini* 1688, *& ad Longitudinem Urbis Londinenſis ex novis hypotheſibus exactiſſime ſupputata, & Reg. Soc. dicata* [*B B*]. Our author ſtill continued to give his labours to the world by the canal of the Philoſophical

(*q q*) Theſe were Harriot, Des Cartes, Schooten, and Baker, names of eminent note in the mathematical republic.

(*r r*) Phil. Tranſ. No. 188 and 190.

[*A A*] *The Neilian Parabola.*] It was in the ſame Tranſaction ‖ alſo that he firſt ſtarted the hint of aſcribing Noah's flood to the ſhock of a comet. Having read to the Society an account, which he had lately received of ſome obſervations made at Nuremberg, ſhewing that the latitude of that place had continued without any ſenſible alteration, for two hundred years then laſt paſt, he makes the following remark upon it. That from theſe obſervations it would follow, that if the inundations, which have actually happened, were produced by any regular motion of the poles of the earth, it would require a prodigious number of ages to effect thoſe changes; neither could ſuch inundations be fatal to the inhabitants, who might foreſee them, and provide for their ſafety. 'But, continues he, the holy 'ſcripture and pagan tradition do unanimouſly agree, 'that the laſt great deluge was brought to paſs in a 'few days without any previous notice; ſo that the account we have thereof, could not by this hypotheſis 'be made out, without the ſuppoſition of a great and 'ſudden alteration in the poles of the earth's diurnal 'revolution; for which, whether we ſhould have recourſe to the intelligent power, that firſt impreſſed this 'whirling motion on the ball, or *leave it to be performed naturally by the caſual ſhock of ſome tranſient body, ſuch as a comet, or the like*, whereby the former 'axis might be loſt, and a new revolution produced, 'differing both in time and poſition from the old, I 'will not undertake to diſpute.' However, he obſerves, 'that ſuch a ſuppoſition would always include 'a change in the length of the year, and the eccentricity of the earth's orbit, *for which*, ſays he, *we have no ſort of authority*.' Hence it appears, that at this time he did not incline to the opinion which aſſigned the chock of a comet for the cauſe of the Deluge, as not being agreeable to the account given thereof in the ſcripture. But having conſidered the ſubject further, he read another paper before the Society in December 1694 ‡, wherein favouring that opinion as neither impoſſible nor entirely improbable, he endeavours to reconcile it with the ſcripture in the following manner. 'The account, ſays he, we have of the univerſal 'deluge, is no where ſo expreſs as in the holy ſcriptures, and the exact circumſtances as to point of time 'ſhew, that ſome records had been kept thereof, more 'particularly than is wont in thoſe things derived 'from remote tradition, wherein the hiſtorical *minutiæ* 'are loſt by length of time.' He proceeds to obſerve, that the ſcripture account ſeems much too imperfect to be the reſult of a full revelation from the author of this dreadful execution upon mankind, who would have ſpoke more amply as to the manner thereof, had he thought fit to lay open the ſecrets of nature to the ſucceeding race of men; 'and *I doubt not*, continues he, '*but to all, that conſider the* 17*th chapter of Geneſis impartially, it will paſs for the remains of a much fuller account of the Flood left by the patriarchs to their poſterity, and derived from the revelation to Noah and his ſons*.' To this cauſe he aſcribes the difficulties that are found in ſeveral particulars of that account; as in the conſtruction of the ark, the reception, and agreement of the animals therein, and the preſervation of it during that wind, in ſo immenſe and boundleſs an ocean, which was ſent to drive the waters away; '*but it muſt alſo be allowed*, ſays he, *that length of time may have added, as well as taken away, many notable circumſtances, as in moſt other caſes of the ſtory of remote times and actions*.' And hence he infers, that the Deluge might be occaſioned by the near approach of a comet to the earth, notwithſtanding the ſilence of ſcripture in that particular. Upon the whole it is obſervable (which too is one principal reaſon of inſerting the preſent remark) that our author here all along very frankly intimates his opinion, that Moſes had the account he gives of the Deluge merely from tradition alone, however it might be matter of revelation to Noah and his ſons.

‖ No. 190. paper iii. for November 1687.

‡ It was not printed 'till the year 1724. in Phil. Tranſ. for that year.

[*B B*] *He publiſhed an Ephemeris for the year* 1688.] This is inſerted upon the authority of Mr Wood *. It is certain that our author, as Secretary to the Royal Society, was at this time the publiſher of the Philoſophical Tranſactions. The firſt of theſe Ephemerides came out in the year 1685 for 1686, of which there is an account in thoſe papers (59), to the following effect. 'That there being then great want of proper Ephemerides of any tolerable exactneſs, thoſe which had been done before having been complained of by Mr Flamſtead in his tables of the Eclipſes of Jupiter's Satellites ‡; therefore ſeveral gentlemen well ſkilled in theſe things had engaged in this undertaking, and had executed the preſent Ephemeris from tables of their own, which anſwer with great preciſeneſs to the celeſtial motions, except in the moon, whoſe motion, by reaſon of her manifold inequalities, not being yet reduced to the nicety of the planets, it was thought needleſs to do more, than to reduce her tychonic places in argol to our meridian, and compute the true altitudes. The account concludes with declaring, that the ſeveral perſons concerned propoſed a continuation of theſe Ephemerides for ſome years to come.' From this account it ſeems very probable that Mr Halley was one, if not the chief of theſe perſons. The deſign was carried on to the year of the Revolution, and then ſeems to have been dropt, but for what reaſon does not, as I know of, any where appear; perhaps the public commotions at that juncture might be the occaſion †: of which, if the following ſtory which paſſed current ſeveral years afterwards concerning his behaviour then, has any foundation, Mr Halley was far from being an unmoved ſpectator. The ſtory is this, That the grateful ſenſe of the favours he had received from the two preceding princes, lying always near his heart, he continued to expreſs it with his uſual warmth and openneſs after the Revolution: That after ſome time the matter reaching the ears of King William, His Majeſty upon the firſt news was a little alarmed, and thought the behaviour of a perſon of ſo great reputation, and ſo conſpicuous in the learned world, as Mr Halley then was, ſhould not be neglected; but upon a nearer enquiry, being truly informed that the warmth of our author's zeal for the ejected prince, was the pure effect of his gratitude, and without any mixture of particular diſlike to his ſucceſſor, and eſpecially obſerving he was continually employed at his teleſcope, determined not to diſturb his ſpeculations; being ſatisfied from his character, that his cloſe attachment to theſe, would effectually prevent him from puſhing his affection any further at moſt than drinking a health. The credit of this ſtory is left to the reader, but whatever be it's fate, it will be proper and agreeable to the general plan of theſe memoirs, to obſerve that a few years after, viz. in 1691, there was publiſhed *a diſcourſe* of his *tending to prove at what time and place Julius Cæſar made his firſt deſcent upon Britain* (60). In this diſcourſe (whatever occaſioned him to turn his thoughts upon the ſubject) beſides an accurate ſkill in the Greek language, he has given an admirable inſtance of his expertneſs in applying aſtronomy to determine critical diſputes upon points of hiſtory. The difficulty was this, Cæſar had not been exact in relating the time or place of his landing. Dr Halley therefore having determined the former to an hour by calculating an eclipſe of the moon, proceeds to inquire into the place; whereupon he obſerves, that though Dion Caſſius in relating that expedition makes

* In Ath. Ox. under our author's article.

(59) No. 179.

‡ Mr Flamſtead's tables of the eclipſes of Jupiter's ſatellites for 1684 are in No. 154. for Dec. 1683, and thoſe for 1685 in No. 165. This deſign was carried on by our author for the year 1688. and publiſhed in No. 191. for Dec. 1687. wherein he compliments Mr Flamſtead for teaching their uſe in Geography.

† 'Tis certain the Phil. Tranſ. were not printed during that hurry, which alſo ſeems to be the reaſon for publiſhing the Ephemeris for 1688. ſingly.

(60) In Phil. Tranſ. No. 193.

Philoſophical Tranſactions, of which for many years his pieces were the chief ornament and ſupport [*C C*]. In 1691 he publiſhed there a paper, entitled, *De Viſibili Conjunctione inferiorum Planetarum cum Sole Diſſertatio* (*ss*). The tables in this diſſertation are obſerved to exhibit the periodical conjunctions of Mercury and Venus with the Sun to a ſurprizing degree of exactneſs [*D D*]; and he afterwards ſhewed one extraordinary uſe to be made of thoſe relating to the conjunctions of the latter (*tt*), towards diſcovering the true diſtance of the ſun from the earth [*E E*]. This year Dr Edward Bernard reſigning the

(*ss*) Ibid. No. 193.

(*tt*) Ibid. No. 348.

makes uſe of an expreſſion, which had been generally conſtrued to import, that Cæſar on his landing firſt engaged the Britons in a fenny country; yet the words (61) of that hiſtorian, as he ſhews from Suidas, Polybius, and others, may fairly be underſtood to mean no more than that this conqueror engaged the Britons at the *water's edge*; whence it follows, that he might, conſiſtently enough with that deſcription of Dion, actually make his firſt deſcent in a firm champaign country as the Downs is, where this firſt landing ſeems to be determined, as our author ſhews, by Cæſar's own account of the matter (62). Mr Halley likewiſe printed in the ſame Tranſactions (63) a few years afterwards, another peice of criticiſm upon Harduin's Pliny (then lately printed). The title is, *Emendationes et Notæ in tria loca vitioſe edita in textu vulgato Naturalis Hiſtoriæ, C. Plinii.* Theſe emendations are another proof (no ways inferior to the former) of his critical acumen, as will be found upon the peruſal, to which, for fear of being too tedious, we muſt refer, in order to make room for the two following ſpecimens of the like kind. Some Engliſh merchants who had viſited the ruins of Palmyra in 1678, communicating their obſervations to Mr Halley, he thereupon in Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 218, publiſhed a ſhort hiſtory of that ancient city, together with ſeveral ingenious remarks on the inſcriptions found there. And the ſame ruins having been lately reviewed with great accuracy by ſeveral gentlemen of learning, a further account was publiſhed of them in a piece intitled, *The Ruins of Palmyra*, Lond. 1753, fol. in the preface whereof by Mr Robert Wood, the ingenuity of our author's remarks, though ſhort, has received a freſh encomium. (2.) The other piece intimated above is, *Ptolemy's catalogue of the fixed Stars*, inſerted in the ſecond volume of *Geographiæ veteris Scriptores Græci minores*, publiſhed in 2 vol. 8vo. Ox. 1712, by Dr Hudſon, who gives the following reaſon ‖ for ſubjoining it to that work, *quod vero hiſce omnibus ſubjungere placuerit Ptolomæi catalogum fixarum ſtellarum, alicui forſan mirum videatur, cum ſit argumenti plane diſſimilis, minime tamen dubito, quin hoc mihi ignoſcat, qui noſcit, quot ab illis ſideribus maculas abſterſit, quantamque eis lucem affudit, Cl. Halleius, eandem ſcilicet, qua Ptolomæo illa contemplante, enituerant, cum in libris tam manuſcriptis quam editis ob voces perturbatas, numeroſque confuſos, illa cæli lumina croſſis obvoluta fuiſſent tenebris.* To theſe muſt be added alſo another critical piece upon Mr Dodwell's book *De Cyclis*, in a letter of our author to Mr Brookſby, and ſubjoined by him to his life of Dodwell, Lond. 1715, 8vo.

(61) The word in diſpute is τὰ πρανῆ. Dion Caſſ. Hiſt. lib. 9. which Mr Halley renders *ad vadum maris*.

(62) In his Commentaries, lib. iv.

(63) No. 194.

‖ In præfat. ad finem.

[*C C*] *His papers were for ſeveral years the ornament of the Philoſophical Tranſactions.*] Their various merit is thrown into one view by the writer of his eloge, who, having mentioned his *hiſtory of the trade winds and monſoons*, proceeds in theſe terms. 'This 'was immediately followed by his, *eſtimation of the* 'quantity of aqueous vapours which the ſun raiſes from 'the ſea; the circulation of vapours; the origin of 'fountains; queſtions on the nature of light and tran- 'ſparent bodies; a determination of the degrees of mor- 'tality, in order to adjuſt the valuation of annuities on 'lives*, and many other works, in almoſt all the ſciences, aſtronomy, geometry, and algebra, optics and dioptrics, baliſtic and artillery, ſpeculative and experimental philoſophy, natural hiſtory, antiquities, philology, and criticiſm; being about twenty-five or thirty diſſertations, which he produced during the nine or ten years of his reſidence at London; and 'all abounding with ideas new, ſingular, and uſe- 'ful ‖.'

‖ See a tranſlation into Engliſh of this Eloge, printed in the Gentleman's Magazine for Oct. and Nov. 1747. N. B. When our author left Iſlington, he removed to a houſe in Golden-Lion-court Alderſgate-ſtreet, London.

[*D D*] *Exact tables of the conjunctions of Mercury and Venus with the Sun.*] Dr Smith, Plumian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Cambridge, ſpeaking of this diſcourſe (64) in the year 1738, obſerves, 'That it con- 'tains a moſt accurate theory for finding the viſible 'conjunctions of Mercury and Venus, with a ſpecimen 'thereof in tables, comprehending all the times of 'their appearance in the ſun's diſk for two centuries, 'beginning from the time of the invention of tele- 'ſcopes (65). Which tables, compared he, agree with 'the lateſt and beſt obſervations to a wonderful degree 'of exactneſs; ſo that for the future, aſtronomers may 'truſt theſe tables to a few minutes, as the author has 'juſtly obſerved, and not wait with the uncertainty of 'hours, nay days, as had been lately done.' In 1725 our author publiſhed ſome corrections of the tables of Mercury, in Phil. Tranſ. No. 386.

(64) In his Optics, Vol. II. p. 230. Lond. 1738. 2 vols 4to.

(65) Before that invention, theſe tranſits, as well as the ſpots in the ſun, being imperceptible by the naked eye, could at moſt be only a ſubject for conjecture by the Antients: and ſo had never fallen under philoſophical ſpeculations.

[*E E*] *A method of diſcovering the diſtance of the earth from the ſun, more nearly than it yet done.*] We have obſerved above, that our author's papers were the chief ornament and ſupport of the Philoſophical Tranſactions for ſome time. The truth of this appears conſpicuouſly, not only when we conſider the great number and variety of the ſubjects, but alſo that peculiar recommendation which they carry with them to the public, from his entertaining manner of handling them. To paſs over at preſent, how much the ſtrength of his reaſoning is enforced with a ſpirited and mettled diction. There is one thing in almoſt all his pieces, which never fails to leave the reader's mind after he has peruſed them, in that ſtate of full complacency and ſatisfaction, which is the teſt of good writing. I mean thoſe ſhort but accurate hiſtorical accounts of the ſubjects that are improved by him. We have an inſtance of this in the problem now before us, of determining the diſtance of the ſun from the earth. 'There is no 'problem, ſays he, more difficult than this, nor more 'unſettled by the beſt aſtronomers hitherto. Ptolemy 'and his followers, as alſo Copernicus and Tycho, 'make the ſun's diſtance to be only 1200 ſemidiami- 'ters of the earth, Kepler raiſes it near 3500 of theſe 'ſemidiameters. Ricciolus doubles the diſtance of Kep- 'ler, which Hevelius only enlarges by an half. All 'theſe computations were founded upon the ſuppoſed 'magnitude of the inferior planets, which by the ra- 'diancy of their reflected light, were taken to be 'much larger than the truth. Theſe errors received 'their firſt correction by viewing thoſe planets within 'the diſk of the ſun. For when thus ſtripped of their 'borrowed ſplendor, their ſemidiameters were found 'to be much leſs than was before thought. Thus 'Venus ſubtends not above a quarter of a minute. 'Mercury, at it's mean diſtance, is ſeen under an 'angle of ten ſeconds. Saturn, under the ſame angle, 'and Jupiter, the greateſt of all the planets in one, not 'above a third of a minute. Hence ſome modern aſtro- 'nomers arguing from analogy, have thought the ſe- 'midiameter of the earth alſo, when ſeen from the ſun, 'to ſubtend an angle at the intermediate magnitude of '15″ equal to Venus, and therefore concluded the 'ſun's diſtance from the earth, at near 14000 of her 'ſemidiameters. But by this ſuppoſition, at the ſame 'time that the earth, a ſuperior planet, is aſſerted to 'be no bigger than Venus an inferior one, yet the 'moon, a ſecondary planet, is advanced to be no leſs 'than Mercury a primary one, which would break the 'order and harmony wherein the planetary ſyſtem 'ſeems to be eſtabliſhed. Let then, continues he, 'the ſemidiameter of the earth ſeen from the ſun, or, 'which is the ſame thing, let the horizontal parallax 'be 12½″ (whence the moon will be leſs than Mer- 'cury, and the earth bigger than Venus) and then the 'earth will come out 16500 ſemidiameters diſtant from 'the ſun.' But Dr Pound and his nephew Dr Bradley (the preſent Aſtronomer Royal) by many repeated trials made with the niceſt inſtruments, found this parallax not to be more than 12″, nor leſs than 9″ (66). Whence our author ſets it at a medium to be 10 ½″. Yet this parallax might have been brought to a much greater degree of exactneſs, had the ſeveral conjunctions which have happened of Venus with the ſun been carefully obſerved by former aſtronomers. But our countryman Mr Horrox, was the firſt mortal who ſaw this phænomenon in the year 1639, and Dr Halley has ſhewn in the piece now under conſideration, that the ſame

(66) See Phil. Tranſ. No. 363, 366. Dr Halley was preſent at ſome of theſe obſervations, and likewiſe obſerved the ſame himſelf.

the Savilian Profeſſorſhip of Aſtronomy at Oxford, Mr Halley applied for that place, but was diſappointed [*FF*] Not long after this mortification, our author produced a ſmall tract

ſame appearance will happen again in 1761. When on May 6th, near 6 in the morning at London, Venus will appear on the ſun's diſk not above 4′′ ſouth of it's center, the tranſit will continue almoſt eight hours, from two in the morning till almoſt ten, and therefore the ingreſs into the ſun's diſk cannot indeed be ſeen there; but it may nevertheleſs be obſerved in other parts of the world; and he aſſures us from his own obſervations on Mercury at St Helena (67), that the beginning and end of the tranſit of this planet over the ſun's diſk may be obſerved to the exactneſs of 1′′ of time. 'I had the good luck, ſays he, to ſee Mercury as 'he was entring the ſun's limb, and made a black notch 'in it, and was certain of the inſtant of this total ingreſs 'by a fine thread of the ſun's light, which immediately 'broke out from the ſun on the anterior contact of the 'two limbs, and ſtruck my eye inſtantly; and at the 'beginning of the egreſs of Mercury, the like thread 'of light was broken, and vaniſhed inſtantly at the 'other anterior contact.' If the like obſervations be duly made upon the enſuing tranſit of Venus, with a good clock and teleſcope in ſeveral diſtant countries, he ſhews in what manner we may thence determine the ſun's parallax and diſtance from the earth to the exactneſs of a 500th part of the whole. Whereas by the beſt obſervations made till the time when this diſcourſe was written (in 1717), we were not abſolutely certain of theſe quantities to leſs than about a 7th part of them. He concludes with exhorting, in the moſt pathetic terms, all aſtronomers who ſhall be then alive, to be prepared for that important obſervation, and to exert their utmoſt ſagacity and ſkill in remarking every circumſtance of a phænomenon ſo rare and ſo deciſive. Hence the writer of his eloge remarks, that tho' 'he 'indulged no flattering hope of being himſelf a witneſs 'to this appearance, yet he was not on that account 'leſs ſollicitous about the event, or negligent of any 'thing which might contribute to it's ſucceſs. All 'philoſophy, continues that writer, which weakens our 'deſire of being uſeful to poſterity, and takes from us the 'pleaſure we poſſeſs in a probable proſpect of obtaining 'that end, ſaps the foundation of true heroiſm, and 'ought to be rejected with abhorrence and indignation.'

(67) On the third of November, 1677.

§ This was the fourth time that phænomenon had been ſeen ſince the invention of the teleſcope. Mr Shakerley went on purpoſe to Surat to ſee the ſecond in 1661, which happened when it was night in Europe.

[*FF*] *He was diſappointed of the Savilian Profeſſorſhip.*] Concerning this matter we have the following ſtory by Mr Whiſton *, who tells us from Dr Bentley, as he ſays, 'that our author being thought of 'for ſucceſſor to the mathematical chair at Oxford, 'Biſhop Stillingfleet was deſired to recommend him at 'Court; but hearing that he was a ſceptic and a banterer of religion, the Biſhop ſcrupled to be concerned, 'till his chaplain Mr Bentley ſhould talk with him 'about it, which he did; but Mr Halley was ſo ſincere 'in his infidelity, that he would not ſo much as pretend 'to believe the Chriſtian religion, though he thereby 'was likely to looſe a profeſſorſhip, which he did accordingly, and it was then given to Dr Gregory.' Whatever truth there may be in this ſtory, for the right underſtanding of which, Mr Whiſton's religious principles ſometimes bantered † by his friend, will perhaps be thought a proper key; 'tis certain that in this affair our author found an enemy in Mr Flamſtead. From the time of Mr Halley's acting as Secretary to the Royal Society, there had been a miſunderſtanding between theſe two celebrated aſtronomers, which ſeems to have taken it's riſe from a jealouſy in Mr Flamſtead, of his ſuffering ſome diſparagement in the eſteem of Sir Iſaac Newton, from our author's growing friendſhip with that great man. To evince the truth of this aſſertion, it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that Mr Flamſtead, beginning with the year 1683 ‖, continued for ſome years following to publiſh a tide table of the high water at London-bridge, which he had been at ſome pains to make very accurate; to this was ſubjoined the following rule for applying them to ſerve for any other ports in his Majeſty's dominions or neighbouring countries, viz. To ſubtract or add ſo much time to the high water noted in it, as the high water obſerved in ſuch places ſhall be found to precede or follow the time of the high water the ſame day herein noted; 'for, continues he, by ſuch accounts as I have received and met with of the tides in remote places, I find there is every where about England, the ſame difference betwixt the ſpring and nepe tides that is here obſerved in the river of Thames,' and according to this rule he added tables for the ſaid reduction in ſeveral ports, among which, that of Dublin was included ‡. Theſe tables being ſeen by Sir Iſaac Newton, when he was engaged in drawing up his theory of the tides, he thought proper to apply to Mr Flamſtead on that occaſion, and in a letter dated Sept. 19, 1685, writes to him as follows. 'I *perceive by your tide tables you have been curious upon 'that ſubject, which makes me hope, that you can tell 'me, how much the perpendicular riſe and fall of the 'ſpring tides about the ſolſtices is greater than the like 'riſe or fall of the neap or quarter tides at the ſame 'time of the year, and alſo how much the one is greater 'than the other at the equinoxes.*' Whatever was Mr Flamſtead's anſwer, 'tis certain that on this ſubject of the tides, Sir Iſaac particularly conſulted Mr Halley, who had long made that phænomenon one part of his ſtudies, and we find him proſecuting the enquiry with his uſual diligence and ſagacity, and thence diſcovering a miſtake in the rule which had been given by Mr Flamſtead for applying his tables to other ports, beſides that of London, and eſpecially to the port of Dublin. Our author having applied to Mr Will Molyneux, for an account of the courſe of the tides in this laſt mentioned port, and received the ſame, publiſhed it in the Phil. Tranſ † with the following remark. 'This ob- 'ſervation makes the tides upon the quarter moons 'come in later in reſpect of the moon's ſouthing, than 'upon the new and full moons by half an hour, where- 'as in the Thames as high as London, the quarter 'moons make high water above an hour and a quarter 'ſooner in that reſpect, than the new and full, as may 'be ſeen by the accurate tide tables of Mr Flamſtead. '*But it is from hence found that the ſaid tables are not 'applicable to the ſea ports*, where there is not the 'ſame reaſon for the anticipation of the nepe tides 'upon the quarter moons. The cauſe of this phæno- 'menon ſeems to be, that the impulſe of the ſun on 'the quarter moons is not ſo vigorous as in the new 'and full, nor the motion of the waters ſo quick, as 'is found by daily experience; whence it comes to 'paſs, that in the open ſeas, and in ports upon the ſea- 'coaſt, as Dublin, the high-water time falls out later 'than when the motion is more rapid in the new and 'full *: But on the contrary in rivers at any conſider- 'able diſtance from the ſea, the reſiſtance of the 'weight of the freſh water, which is kept ſuſpended 'during the time of the flood, is longer overcome by 'the more potent impetus in the new and full, than by 'weaker in the quadratures, and from hence this dif- 'ference ſhould be more and more conſiderable as the 'port is farther removed from the ſea.' Before this paper was publiſhed, Mr Flamſtead having got an intimation that our author had procured ſome account of the tides at Dublin from Mr Molyneux, grew a little jealous as it ſeems of that friend, and expreſſed his uneaſineſs in a letter to him; in anſwer to which Mr Molyneux writes from Dublin, Nov. 13, 1686, as follows, 'The only information I wrote to Mr Halley 'about our tides, was what I wrote to you about three 'years ago, in mine of Aug. 11, 1683. I can aſ- 'ſure you there was nothing more, ſo that you need 'not miſtruſt my kindneſs in that point. He propoſed 'the ſame queries to me, that then you propoſed, and 'I anſwered him in the ſame way, only indeed he 'added, on the coaſt of Ireland, whereabouts do the 'two floods meet. To this I then anſwered him not, 'becauſe I had not yet got information, but ſince that 'I am informed, that it is between Carlingford, in 'Ireland, and Solway Frith in Scotland.' Some time before this letter could arrive at Greenwich, out came Mr Halley's account, &c. with the remarks juſt mentioned, containing the ſtur upon Mr Flamſtead's tide tables. Whereupon the Royal Aſtronomer broke all meaſures with his competitor, and even endeavoured to draw Mr Molyneux into his quarrel, as appears from another letter dated Feb. 1, 1686 7, wherein that gentleman writes thus: 'I much admire at H——'s 'dealing with you, and I thank you for the advice 'you give me of being cautious what I communi- 'cate. But I think my circumſtances are ſuch, that 'it lies not in his way to do me or my reputation any 'harm. For as to this late buſineſs about the tides, I 'know not what to ſay to ſay to it. I have never ſeen 'the

* In the memoirs of his own life, Vol. I. p. 108. edit. 1753.

† See idem ibid. p. 207, 208. where Mr Whiſton relates, that on his refuſal of a glaſs of wine from him on a friday, this friend ſaid *he was afraid he* [Whiſton] *had a Pope in his belly.* However, Mr Halley's friendſhip to the man of learning and integrity was not thereby abated, as will appear from ſeveral inſtances both in the preſent memoir, and in that of Mr Whiſton. See Mr Whiſton's Memoirs, ubi ſupra, p. 205 and p. 259. and his Aſtronomy in the preface.

‖ Phil. Tranſ. No. 143. for Jan. 1682-3.

‡ Ibid. 155. for 1684. The rule was not inſerted in the firſt for 1683, for want of ſufficient informations from the ſeveral ports.

† No. 184. for Oct. 1686.

* In a letter to Flamſtead, dated May 17, 1687. Mr Molyneux writes, from the information of one Glover, a good ſeaman and Mathematician, that there is little or no difference at Dublin in the times of flowing and ebbing at the ſyzigiæ and quarters.

tract (*uu*), which from the nature as well as extenſive uſefulneſs of it, is perhaps more known, eſpecially at home, than any thing that ever came from his pen; I mean his *Tables*

(*uu*) Ibid. No. 196.

' the Tranſaction wherein it is inſerted. I am a ſtran-
' ger to what he ſays of it; and being ſo, I think it
' were improper for me to take any notice of it by my
' Brother to the Society. What you ſay concerning it
' in your's of January 17th, is very reaſonable, and Mr
' Halley ſeems to be in the wrong, but I cannot pro-
' perly take notice of your information to juſtify myſelf
' to the Royal Society, for that were to bring you
' upon the ſtage in my cauſe, which trouble I know
' you do not deſire, neither would I willingly give it
' you. Indeed Mr Halley himſelf wrote to me the
' 27th of laſt November, in which letter he has this
' paſſage. *I thank you for the communication of the*
' *manner of the tides at Dublin. I make this remark*
' *thereon, that the neap-tides with you are half an*
' *hour later in reſpect of the moon's ſouthing, than the*
' *ſpring tides upon the new and full moons. Whereas at*
' *London, upon the quarter moons, it is high water near*
' *upon an hour and a half ſooner than upon the new and*
' *full moons in reſpect to the moon's ſouthing. It were*
' *worth conſidering what ſhould be the reaſon thereof.*
' *My conjecture is, that the impulſe whereby the water*
' *is driven forward in the flood, is ſtronger in the new*
' *and full; and ſo in the open ſea, or in a bay as with*
' *you, the high water happens ſooner, by reaſon the*
' *water is heaped up with a greater velocity. But in a*
' *river, the weaker tides upon the quadratures are ſooneſt*
' *checked by the weight of the freſh, which it ſtops, which*
' *the greater force of the ſpring tides is able to repell*
' *much longer. Thus far Mr Halley.*' An anſwer to this being ſent preſently by Mr Flamſtead, who it ſeems had undertaken his friend's cauſe without his privity. Mr Molyneux made this return thereto. Dublin, March 24, 1686-7. My honoured friend, ' I return
' you my hearty thanks for your endeavours to vindi-
' cate my credit againſt the falſe deduction, which you
' ſay (as it was managed by the publiſher of the Tranſ-
' actions) is like to reflect on me. I am ſufficiently
' perſuaded by your laſt of February 12, of the groſs
' errors therein; and I wonder how it ſlipt from Mr
' Halley. But though I acknowledge myſelf indepted
' to you for your care of my repute, and the kindneſs
' and love you have ſhewed me therein; yet I muſt
' confeſs, I myſelf am not concerned about it; for I
' place ſo little ſtreſs upon conjectural aſſigning of
' cauſes, that I heed not whether they be true or falſe,
' mathematical or not; ſo that I can eaſily forgive Mr
' Halley, and ſhall never quarrel with any man about
' a notion. *I lately received a letter from Mr* Halley,
' *wherein he expreſſes his concern at the breach between*
' *you, and ſeems very deſirous of an accommodation.* I
' am ſo certain of your good nature and chriſtian piety,
' that I need only mention this to move you thereto.
' And *therefore pray let all miſunderſtanding be cleared*
' *between you, and renew your former friendſhip. If*
' *you pleaſe you may take notice of my mediation in the*
' *caſe, for in his letter he deſires to know of me, where-*
' *in I think you ſo highly injured as to deſerve theſe ſe-*
' *vere reſentments. And in my return to him, I con-*
' *feſs, I was rather for making peace than renewing the*
' *conteſt; and therefore deſired all may be paſſed over.*
' He alſo deſired from me a little paper I wrote, *de*
' *apparente magnitudine ſolis humilis & ſublimis*; but
' ſince I ſent it to him, I have wiſhed I had ſent it firſt
' to you; but I know you may have it from him to
' read it, if you will take that trouble.' Notwith-ſtanding, this mediation came from ſo good a friend, yet being attended with a ſuggeſtion in our author's favour, it was not accepted by Mr Flamſtead, who retained his old grudge much longer, as we find by a letter to him from Sir Iſaac Newton, dated October 24, 1694, where he expreſſes himſelf in theſe terms.—
' A day or two before I left London, I dined with Mr
' Halley, and had much diſcourſe with him about the
' moon. I told him of the parallactic equation a-
' mounting to about 8′ or 9′, or at moſt 10′, and of
' another equation, which is greateſt in the octants of
' the moon's apogee, and might there amount to about
' 6′ or 7′, though I had not yet computed any thing
' about it. He replied, that he believed there might
' be alſo an equation depending upon the moon's nodes.
' To which I anſwered, that there was ſuch an equa-
' tion, but ſo little as to be almoſt inconſiderable But
' what kind of equation this was, I did not tell him; and
' I believe he does not yet know it, becauſe it is too lit-
' tle to be eaſily found out by obſervations, or by any
' other way than the theory of gravity. He told me
' ſome years ago his correction of the moon's eccentric-
' ty, and repeated it, when I was with him laſt at Lon-
' don, and this made me free in communicating my
' things with him. By your obſervations I find it to be a
' very good correction. I reckoned it a ſecret which he
' had intruſted with me, and therefore never ſpake of
' it till now. Upon my ſaying that I hoped to mend
' the moon's theory by ſome obſervations you had
' communicated to me, and that thoſe obſervations
' made the parallactic equation in the quadratures be-
' tween 8′ and 10′, he was deſirous to view them;
' but I told him, he muſt not take it ill if I refuſed
' him that, becauſe I ſtood engaged to communicate
' them to no body without your conſent. *I am very*
' *glad, that there is like to be a new correſpondence be-*
' *tween you, and hope it will end in friendſhip.*'
Such were Sir Iſaac's wiſhes, but inſtead of reconciliation, the breach between them grew ſtill wider, as is evident from the following extracts of a letter, and the remarks upon it, written in 1698, in the firſt of which Dr Wallis, then engaged in printing the third volume of his mathematical works, and having received ſome aſtronomical obſervations to be inſerted in that work from Mr Flamſtead, returned this anſwer. Oxford, December 28, 1698. ' Sir, I received on
' Monday laſt, December 26th, your letter of De-
' cember 24th, and the packet of papers directed to
' me, of which I ſhall take care; and at the ſame
' time I received another letter from one in London,
' which deſires me not to print any paragraph in your
' letter, which ſpeaks of your giving to Mr Newton
' obſervations of the moon. He is a friend to both of
' you, but he does not give me his reaſons why. I
' thought fit to acquaint you with it, and deſire your
' advice upon it.' Mr Flamſtead wrote the following notes on this letter. ' You ſay Dr Gregory is a friend
' to both of us. I much doubt it, had he been a
' friend of mine, he would have ſent me word that
' paragraph would diſpleaſe Mr Newton. A letter
' would have come hither, and an anſwer have gone
' back in almoſt as little time as one goes from Lon-
' don to Oxford. It is much to be ſuſpected, he is
' only Mr Newton's friend for Mr Montague's ſake,
' ſince his countrymen gave out formerly, that he had
' found abundant errors in his *Principia*. Now that
' Mr Newton gave them to him, (to deal plainly with
' you) his friends reſort to Hindmarſh's ſhop in Corn-
' hill, and who they are, you may eaſily be informed
' even at Oxford.

' That I was at London the Friday they arrived, and
' the following. That I wrote to Mr Newton on Mon-
' day, and ſent him an account of what Dr Gregory
' wrote to Dr Wallis, as alſo the paragraph of my let-
' ter which Dr Gregory would ſuppreſs. That re-
' ceiving no anſwer by Thurſday morning, I then
' wrote to him again for one. That ſince he takes no
' notice of my letter; I conclude, I need not take
' notice of Dr Gregory's nor you neither, and there-
' fore think you need not alter the paragraph at all.
' Dr Gregory is a friend of Mr Halley, though he was
' his competitor. But I perceive by this tranſaction,
' he is no friend of mine, though I ſhewed him more
' friendſhip than he could reaſonably expect on that
' occaſion, and Mr Halley as much enmity. But he
' thinks Mr Halley has an intereſt in Mr Newton, and
' therefore is become his friend, and takes the ſame
' courſes Halley did to ingratiate with him, whoſe fa-
' vour may be of uſe to him with Mr Montague (68)'.
Thus the Royal Aſtronomer, we ſee, carried his enmity againſt Mr Halley at this time ſo high, as to extend it to ſuch as lived in friendſhip with him, and amongſt theſe, the occaſion leading him to it, his laſh is particularly exerciſed upon Dr David Gregory. That occaſion was Mr Flamſtead's letter concerning the parallax of the polar ſtar, which being publiſhed at the end of Dr Wallis's works as mentioned above, Dr Gregory took pains to conſider it, and in his *Aſtronomia Phyſica* (69), &c. publiſhed in 1702. expoſed the defects and inconcluſiveneſs of Mr Flamſtead's obſervations for proving that parallax. In theſe laſt letters we ſee another cauſe beſides that of the tides of Mr Flamſtead's diſguſt

(68) The ſeveral letters whence theſe extracts are taken, are printed at length in the General Dictionary, under the articles MOLYNEUX, WALLIS, and NEWTON.

(69) Prop. 55. book iii.

(*w w*) It was first published at the request of Mr Will. Molyneux, in an appendix to his Treatise of Dioptrics. It is well explained and illustrated in a supplement to Dr Gregory's Element's of Catoptrics and Dioptrics, by Dr Brown. Something also of the like kind done by Mr Cotes is printed in the notes to Vol. II. of Dr Smith's Optics.

Tables shewing the value of Annuities for Lives, calculated from the Bills of Mortality at Breſlaw in Silesia [*G G*]. This piece was publiſhed in 1692, and the ſame year came out his famous *Universal Theorem for finding the Foci of Optic Glaſſes*, produced as an inſtance of the great advantage of modern Algebra (*w w*). On the firſt of January this year he reſigned his place of Aſſiſtant-Secretary to the Royal-Society (*x x*); however, there is ſcarce a ſingle number in the Philoſophical Tranſactions for the three following years [*H H*], without ſome remarkable paper of his publiſhed there, beſides which he communicated

(*x x*) Wood, ubi ſupra. Mr Waller being appointed Secretary in the room of Dr Muſgrave.

diſguſt to the ſtudy of the theory of the moon. We have already mentioned Mr Halley's reſolution to bring that theory to perfection, in the view particularly of finding the longitude at ſea, and that he entered on it in the year 1683; and it is obſervable, that Mr Flamſtead publiſhing his catalogue of the eclipſes of Jupiter's Satellites the ſame year, ſubjoined an information concerning it's uſe, wherein he makes the following declaration. 'I muſt confeſs, ſays he, it is 'ſome part of my deſign to make the more knowing 'ſeamen aſhamed of that refuge of ignorance, their 'idle and impudent aſſertion, that *the longitude is not 'to be found*, by offering them an expedient, that will 'aſſuredly afford it, if their ignorance, ſloth, covetouſneſs, and ill nature, forbid them not to make 'uſe of what is propoſed. Thoſe of them, continues 'he, that pretend to greater talents or ſkill than others, will acknowledge that it might be found by 'obſervations of the moon, if we had tables, that 'would anſwer her motions exactly. But after two 'thouſand years experience (for we have ſome obſervations of eclipſes much ancienter) we find the beſt 'tables extant erring ſometimes in two minutes or 'more in her apparent place, which would cauſe a 'fault of half an hour or 7° ½ in the longitude, deduced by comparing her place in the heavens with 'that given by the tables: I undervalue not this 'method, for I have made it my buſineſs, and have 'ſucceeded in it, to get a large ſtock of good lunar 'obſervations, in order to the correction of her theory, 'and is a good ground-work for better tables, *but the 'examination will be a work of long time, and if we 'ſhould happily afterwards attain what we ſeek, yet 'the calculation will be ſo perplexed and tedious, that 'it will be found much more inconvenient and difficult, 'than that I propoſe by obſerving the eclipſes of Jupiter's Satellites, which therefore at preſent I muſt prefer.*' He adds the two following objections againſt the way of finding the longitude by the moon in reſpect to her eclipſes; firſt, the difficulty there is to determine the true time of the moon's ingreſs into the ſhade; and ſecondly, that there are ſcarcely four eclipſes of the moon viſible in a year; and then concludes with a further recommendation of the method here propoſed by the eclipſes of Jupiter's Satellites, in that, as he aſſerts, a teleſcope of eight foot long, which would be ſufficient for obſerving theſe eclipſes, might be eaſily managed at ſea *. On the other hand, Mr Halley, though he approved and promoted the deſign of applying the tables of the eclipſes of the Satellites, to the finding the longitude at land †, yet was far from agreeing with Mr Flamſtead, as to their uſe in that view at ſea. Inſomuch, that three years after that propoſal in the diſcourſe which he read to King James II. when he preſented His Majeſty with Sir Iſaac Newton's *Principia*, &c. ſpeaking of the theory of the moon, he expreſſes himſelf thus: *Though by reaſon of the great complication of the problem, he* [Mr Newton] *has not yet been able to make it purely geometrical, 'tis to be hoped, that in ſome further eſſay he may ſurmount the difficulty, and having perfected the theory of the moon, the long deſired diſcovery of the longitude* (which at ſea is only practicable this way) *may at length be brought to light, to the great honour of your Majeſty, and advantage of your ſubjects* ‖.

* Phil. Tranſ. No. 154. for Dec. 1683.

† See remark [*B B*] note (59).

‖ Phil. Tranſ. No. 226.

[*G G*] *His tables calculated from the bills of mortality at Breſlaw.*] In theſe bills then lately communicated to the Royal Society, both the ages and ſexes of all that died were monthly delivered, and compared with the number of the births for five years preceding the then preſent year 1692; and falling of courſe into the hands of Mr Halley, who was ſtill Aſſiſtant-Secretary to the Society, they appeared to him, on examination, to be drawn up with all the impartiality and exactneſs that the purpoſe required; whereupon he applied himſelf to make a proper uſe of them, in adjuſting thereby the valuation of annuities upon lives. He was induſtrious to calculate a table ſhewing the value of theſe annuities for every fifth year of age, to that of ſeventy; 'leaving it to the ordinary arith-'metician (theſe are his words) to compleat the calcu-'lation, whenever bills of mortality ſhould be given 'for a ſuitable large number of years.' But experience and obſervation having ſhewn theſe to be ſufficient, the ſubject has been proſecuted by others, and brought upon his grounds to a very uſeful degree of perfection (70). In 1736, there was publiſhed *an eſſay to aſcertain the value of leaſes and annuities for years and lives*, by Weyman Lee, Eſq; wherein the author attacked the juſtneſs of Mr Halley's rules. This brought out the following piece, *Obſervations on an Eſſay, &c. Wherein Dr Halley's method is particularly conſidered, and rules laid down for eſtimating the chances of the duration of lives, and the value of annuities for years and lives, in a letter to a friend*, by H. B. I. T. S. 1739, 8vo. Beſides this principal uſe of theſe bills, there are two more ſubjoined by our author which ought not to be omitted, as they are conſpicuous proofs of that religious and benevolent turn of mind with regard to his fellow creatures, which was ſo amiable a part of his character. Firſt then he infers from theſe tables, 'how unjuſtly we repine at the ſhort-'neſs of our lives, and think ourſelves wronged if we 'attain not old age. Whereas it appears hereby, 'that the one half of thoſe that are born, are dead in 'ſeventeen years time. So that inſtead of murmuring 'at what we call untimely death, we ought with patience and unconcern to ſubmit to that diſſolution, 'which is the neceſſary condition of our periſhable 'materials, and of our nice and frail ſtructure and 'compoſition: and to account it as a bleſſing, that we 'have ſurvived perhaps many years that period of life, 'whereat the one half of the race of mankind does not 'arrive. A ſecond obſervation, continues he, I make 'from the ſame table is, that the growth and increaſe 'of mankind is not ſo much ſtinted by any thing in the 'nature of the ſpecies, as it is from the cautious diffi-'culty moſt people make to adventure on the ſtate of 'marriage, from the proſpect of the trouble and 'charge of providing for a family; nor are the poorer 'ſort herein to be blamed, ſince their difficulty of ſubſiſting is occaſioned by the unequal diſtribution of 'poſſeſſions, all being neceſſarily fed from the earth, 'of which ſo few are maſters; ſo that beſides themſelves 'and families, they are yet to work for thoſe who own 'the ground that feeds them. And of ſuch does by very 'much the greater part of mankind conſiſt, otherwiſe 'it is plain that there might well be four times as many 'births as we now find. For by computation from 'the table, I find that there are nearly 15000 perſons 'above 16 and under 45 years of age, of which at leaſt '7000 are women capable to bear children; of theſe, 'notwithſtanding, there are but 1238 born yearly, 'which is but little more than a ſixth part, ſo that 'about one in ſix of theſe women do breed yearly. 'Whereas were they all married, it would not appear 'ſtrange or unlikely, that four of ſix ſhould bring a 'child every year. The political conſequences hereof 'I ſhall not inſiſt upon; but the ſtrength and glory of a 'King conſiſting in the multitude of his ſubjects, I ſhall 'only hint, that above all things celibacy ſhould be diſcouraged, as by extraordinary taxing and military 'ſervice, and thoſe who have numerous families of 'children to be countenanced and encouraged by ſuch 'laws, as the *jus trium liberorum* among the Romans; 'but eſpecially by an effectual care to provide for the 'ſubſiſtence of the poor, by finding them employments 'whereby they may earn their bread without being 'chargeable to the public.'

(70) See De Moivre's Annuities upon lives, the ſecond edit. of which was publiſhed in 1743, and another piece ſoon after on the ſame ſubject by Mr Simpſon.

[*H H*] *The three following years.*] The moſt conſiderable of theſe will be found occaſionally inſerted in the courſe of this memoir, except his new method of determining the exact time of the ſolſtices *. Wherein he proves, againſt the opinion of all former Aſtronomers both antient and modern, that it is eaſier to aſcertain the ſun's entrance into the tropical points, than it is to obſerve the

* Phil. Tranſ. No. 215.

nicated others that were not then printed. Among theſe was a piece in 1694, containing an *Hypotheſis concerning the Phyſical Cauſe of the Univerſal Deluge, by the approach of a Comet involving the Earth in it's watery Atmoſphere* (*yy*), which was firſt made uſe of afterwards by Mr Whiſton in his *New Theory of the Earth*. When the government had reſolved upon recoining the ſilver ſpecies, there being for diſpatch five mints erected on that occaſion, Mr Halley was appointed Comptroller of the Office at Cheſter in 1696 (*zz*). This employ brought him to that city, where he reſided for two years, that is, as long as the office was continued. In the mean time the attendance upon that buſineſs put no check to the vivacity of his active genius in following thoſe purſuits to which his inclination led him. Accordingly we find him at this time ſending to the Royal Society an account of an extraordinary ſtorm of hail, which fell in Wales and at Cheſter on the 29th of April 1697 (*aaa*), and preſently afterwards climbing to the top of Snowdon-hill, in order to improve the rule he had before recommended, for meaſuring great heights by the proportionable fall of the mercury in the barometer (*bbb*). He likewiſe made ſome uncommonly curious obſervations upon a ſurprizing rainbow ſeen by him at Cheſter on the 6th of Auguſt the following year 1698 (*ccc*) [*II*]. An account of this was publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions for Novemb r, and it was in the third of the ſame month, as has been already mentioned, that he ſet ſail in the Paramour Pink man of war, in order to obſerve the variation of the compaſs, &c (*ddd*). wherein we are informed, that his own private views were of much greater extent than the inſtructions of the Court. The Captain, for he had now acquired that ſtile and character, had been at home little more than half a year, when he went in the ſame ſhip, with another expreſs commiſſion from the King, to obſerve the courſe of the tides in every part of the Britiſh Channel at home, and take the longitude and latitude of the principal head-lan ſs, in order to lay down the coaſt truly (*eee*). Theſe orders were executed (*fff*) with his uſual expedition, and ſoon after his return he publiſhed, in 1702, a large map of the Britiſh Channel. The Emperor of Germany having come to a reſolution to make a convenient and ſafe harbour for ſhipping in that part of his dominions which borders upon the Adriatic, Captain Halley was ſent this year by Queen Anne to view the two ports on the Dalmatian coaſt lying to that ſea. He embarked in the Thames on the 27th of November, went over to Holland, and paſſing thence through Germany to Vienna, and having conferred with Mr Stepney the Engliſh miniſter there, he proceeded to Iſtria, with a view of entering on the execution of the Emperor's deſign; but ſome oppoſition being then given to it by the Dutch, he returned to Vienna, where being introduced by Mr Stepney to Leopold, he gave him an account of two harbours on the Iſtrian coaſt. Whereupon his Imperial Majeſty preſented him with a rich diamond ring from his own finger, and gave him a letter of high commendation, written with his own hand, to Queen Anne. He was likewiſe received with great reſpect by the King of the Romans, by Prince Eugene, and the principal officers of that Court. Preſently after his arrival in England he was diſpatched again upon the ſame buſineſs. This time he paſſed through Oſnaburg and Hanover, where he ſupped with his preſent Britiſh Majeſty then Electoral Prince, and his ſiſter the Queen of Pruſſia. Arriving at Vienna, he was preſented the ſame evening to the Emperor, who directly ſent his chief engineer to attend him to Iſtria, where they repaired and added ſome new fortifications to that of Trieſte, the port of Boccari being found by the Captain fit to receive all kind of ſhipping with ſafety (*ggg*). Having ſeen the work finiſhed he returned to England, where he arrived juſt before the great ſtorm which happened November 26, 1703; and Dr Wallis being deceaſed a few weeks before (*hhh*), our author was appointed Savilian Profeſſor of Geometry at Oxford in his room, and had

(*yy*) See remark [*A d*] above.

(*zz*) MS. Memoirs, ubi ſupra. N. B. This place was not improbably procured by Sir Iſaac Newton's intereſt with Mr Montague, who was alſo Preſident of the R. S. about this time. See the dedication of Vol. XIX. Phil. Tranſ. and remark [*F F*].

(*aaa*) Some of the hail-ſtones weighed 3 quarters of a pound. Phil. Tranſ. No. 229.

(*bbb*) Ibid. No. 240. he found the height of Snowdon to be 1240 yards perpendicular.

(*ccc*) Idem, ib. He alſo gave in the ſame number an account of an extraordinary rainbow ſeen by him in Abchurch-lane in 1695.

(*ddd*) The writer of his Eloge takes notice, that his rout in that voyage is marked on the laſt maps of Mr De L'iſle, among thoſe of the moſt eminent ſailors, in the number of whom he may be reckoned in reſpect to meer practical navigation, and the working of a ſhip.

(*eee*) He had long before obſerved that little had been done towards eſtabliſhing a true theory of thoſe tides. See Phil. Tranſ. No. 162. As to the ſurvey of the coaſt, Mr Whiſton tells us, our author wanted proper inſtruments for that purpoſe. Whiſton's Mem irs, Vol. I. p. 335. 2d edit. 1753.

(*fff*) Mr Maſon obſerves, that they were executed with an accuracy which ſeldom accompanies diſpatch. Dr Halley's Eloge, ubi ſupra.

(*ggg*) MS. Memoirs, ubi ſupra. The laſt cited author, who had his intelligence from Mr Folkes, late Preſident of the R. S. ſeems to inſinuate that this buſineſs was a cover to ſome private negotiation with which Mr Halley was charged.

(*hhh*) The doctor died Oct. 28, 1703. See his monument in St Mary's church at Oxford.

the true time of the equinoxes. He ſhews how to perform it by three ſubſequent obſervations, made near the tropics at proper intervals of time, which are capable of all the exactneſs requiſite; and that without any conſideration of the parallax of the ſun, refraction of the atmoſphere, the greateſt obliquity of the ecliptic, or the latitude of the place. Beſides what he publiſhed himſelf, our author was very ready to aſſiſt others in the purſuit of any laudable deſign. Of this, among others, there is the following inſtance; one Mr John Houghton, already mentioned †, F. R. S. projecting about the year 1682, to write a courſe of papers upon the ſubject of huſbandry and trade, found it neceſſary for his purpoſe to get ſome knowledge of the quantity of land in England. Upon that occaſion he took the freedom of applying to Mr Halley, whoſe communicative diſpoſition was no leſs known, than his excellent talent at contriving expeditious methods for diſpatch, when the caſe required it. Accordingly the following expedient was immediately put into practice by him. He procured the beſt map of England extant at that time, and having very carefully cut off the ſea all round the coaſt, he then ſtruck the largeſt circle that was poſſible upon it, and cutting it out, he took the weight of that in the niceſt ſcales, as alſo of the reſt of the map. This done, the rule of proportion would give the whole quantity of land. Thus, As the weight of the circle is to the weight of the reſt of the map: So the quantity of land in the circle (to be meaſured geometrically) is to the quantity of land in the reſt of the map, which two quantities put together make up the whole. This though acknowledged to be but a rude way, yet was thought to come as near the truth as any computation then extant, and being judged exact enough for Mr Houghton's purpoſe, was made uſe of by him, and inſerted (as well as the contents of each county performed in the ſame manner by Mr Halley) in his weekly paper for the improvement of huſbandry and trade (71)

† In note † to remark [*Z*].

[*II*] *A ſurprizing rainbow at Cheſter.*] This rainbow was a ſecondary arch produced by reflection from the river Dee Our author queries whether any ſuch had ever been obſerved before, and declares he had never read of any. '*For though*, ſays he, Des Cartes *ſpeaks of an inverted one, yet it is not poſſible to be ſeen as he deſcribes it.*' Mr Halley afterwards wrote a geometrical diſſertation concerning the rainbow, in which, by a direct method, is ſhewn how to find the diameter of each bow, the proportion of refraction being given; and *è contra* (72). This ſubject had been left very imperfect by Des Cartes, who in his chapter of meteors uſed only an indirect and tentative method. In which too he had been followed by other writers of eminent note upon this ſubject.

(71) No. 24 and 25. publiſhed in Jan. 1692-3. 8vo. in the firſt volume of Huſbandry and Trade improved. N. B. To this volume is prefixed a recommendation of this undertaking by ſeveral members of the R. S. and of Mr Halley among the reſt.

(72) Phil. Tranſ. No. 267. in the year 1700.

had the degree of Doctor of Laws conferred upon him by that univerſity. He was ſcarce well ſettled at Oxford, when Dr Aldrich, Dean of Chriſt-Church, engaged him in an undertaking that had been entered upon by Dr Bernard, which was, to tranſlate into Latin from the Arabic, *Apollonius de ſectione rationis*: the taſk was no ſlight one, eſpecially to our new profeſſor, who then was entirely unacquainted with the Arabic language, and his predeceſſor in the work had done no more than a few paſſages only. But Dr Halley, who was a perfect maſter of the ſubject, knew how to make uſe of theſe as a key to the reſt, by which means he in a manner decyphered the whole, and compleated the tranſlation with a ſucceſs that was very ſurprizing [*K K*]. At the ſame time our editor, from the account given of them by Pappus, reſtored the two books which are loſt, of the ſame author, *De Sectione Spatii*, and the whole work was put into one volume, and publiſhed by him at Oxford, 1706, 8vo. with the following title, *Apollonii Pergæi de Sectione rationis libri duo, ex Arabico manuſcripto latine verſi. Accedunt ejuſdem de Sectione ſpatii libri duo reſtituti. Opus Analyſeos Geometricæ ſtudioſis apprime utile. Præmittitur Pappi Alexandrini præfatio ad ſeptimum collectionis Mathematicæ nunc primum Græce edita: cum Lemmatibus ejuſdem Pappi ad hos Apollonii libros. Opera & ſtudio Edmundi Halley, apud Oxonienſes Geomet. Profeſſ. Saviliani.* Oxonii e Theatro Sheldoniano, 1706 (*l l l*). This was no ſooner out of his hands, than he took a ſhare with his colleague Dr David Gregory, in preparing for the preſs the ſame *Apollonius's Conics*.. Here again he engaged in that which was by far the moſt difficult part of the work, and ventured to ſupply the whole eighth book, which is loſt, of the original [*L L*]. Nor was this arduous undertaking ſufficient to employ the whole extent of his faculties. He likewiſe added the treatiſe of *Serenus on the Section of the Cylinder* (*k k k*) *and Cone*, printed from the original Greek, with a Latin tranſlation *, in two books, and publiſhed the whole in 1710 in folio †. At the ſame time he alſo prepared for the preſs an edition of *Menelaus's Spherics*

(*i i i*) He dedicated it to Dr Aldrich, ut *ſummo bonarum literarum præſertim mathematicarum Fautori ac Vindici in perpetuum grati animi teſtimonium.*

(*k k k*) He made an excellent uſe of this ſection in demonſtrating the proportional heat of the ſun upon the earth in all latitudes, where he ſhews the advantage of the preſent oblique poſition of the earth to the ſun. Abridgm. of the Phil. Tranſ. Vol. II. p. 126.

* The Greek original was never before printed.

† With this title, *Apollonii Pergæi Conicorum libri octo, & Sereni Antiſſenſis de ſectione Cylindri & Coni libri duo.*

(*l l l*)

[*K K*] *He reſtored and publiſhed Apollonius de ſectione rationis*] The Arabic manuſcript of this tract of Apollonius, περὶ λόγου ἀποτομῆς, was firſt diſcovered among thoſe of Selden in the Bodleian library by Dr Edward Bernard, who reſolved to tranſlate it into Latin, but laid it aſide before he had gone through a tenth part of the work, probably by reaſon of the difficulty thereof. For beſides that the manuſcript was very ill wrote, and the letters left frequently without the uſual points of diſtinction, very often words, and ſometimes whole periods, were omitted; and the letters marking the lines of the diagrams very incorrect. Some time after Dr Bernard's death, what he had left of the verſion was reviſed and corrected by Dr Gregory his ſucceſſor, who alſo procured a fair copy thereof to be written. This being ſhewn by Dean Aldrich to our author, then lately made Savilian Profeſſor of Geometry, he immediately reſolved to compleat the verſion, however difficult the taſk muſt be, eſpecially to him who then knew nothing at all of the Arabic language. The method therefore he took was, firſt to obſerve carefully the ſenſe of all ſuch words in the original, which Dr Bernard's verſion furniſhed, after that by conſidering the argument of Apollonius, he began by degrees to deſcry the ſenſe of the reſt, and thus going on in this way of decyphering, he read the whole book through; and in a manner underſtood it, ſo that by a ſecond peruſal he brought it to the form in which we now have it, without the help of any other perſon whatſoever. Dr Sykes, then Hebrew Profeſſor at Cambridge, and the greateſt orientaliſt of his time, was particularly ſurprized therewith, and told a friend, that the Captain talking with him upon this ſubject, ſhewed him two or three paſſages in the original, which ſhould be amended, telling him what the author actually there ſaid, and what he ſhould have ſaid; which ſenſe Dr Sykes found the words in queſtion would eaſily admit, with only a ſmall correction ‖. With regard to the Arabic manuſcript, Mr Halley obſerves that it is the only verſion extant of the original Greek, which is loſt: that as to it's antiquity, the poſſeſſor's name written in the firſt page, anno Hegiræ 633, that is of Chriſt 1235, ſhews it to be done at leaſt 500 years before. That there is no certain proof how much older it is, but he conjectures it was made a little after the year 820 of the Chriſtian æra, when Almaimon, Chalif or Emperor of the Saracens, purchaſed of the Grecian Emperors the books of their beſt Philoſophers and Mathematicians, and procured them to be tranſlated into Arabic. He obſerves that theſe pieces (as well as ſeveral more of the ſame author by others) had been after a manner reſtored before by Willebrozd Snellius, this being no difficult matter to do for any one ſkilled in Algebra. *Verum*, inquit ille, *perpendendum eſt, aliud eſſe problema aliqualiter reſolutum dare, quod modis variis plerumque fieri poteſt, aliud methodo elegantiſſima id ipſum efficere, analyſi breviſſima & ſimul perſpicua, ſyntheſi concinna & minime operoſa* (73).

‖ This remark of Dr Sykes was extracted from the MSS. Memoirs, to which we are ſo greatly obliged.

(73) Præfat. ad Apollon. de Sectione rationis.

[*L L*] *Apollonius's Conics, &c.*] This work was begun by Dr Gregory, who had undertaken to prepare the four firſt books for the preſs, with the comment of Eutocius in Greek and Latin, while Dr Halley was to do the reſt. But Dr Gregory dying, when he had proceeded no further than the 44th page, the whole remainder of the work fell upon Dr Halley. In the proſecution of it, he was obliged to peruſe ſeveral Arabic manuſcripts in the Bodleian library, particularly a verſion of Apollonius into that language, made by Thebit Ben Corah, but reviſed (about 450 years before 1710) by Naſir Eddin, two of the moſt famous Mathematicians of the Eaſt. He ſometimes alſo conſulted another Arabic manuſcript in the ſame library, by Abdolmelech Schizazita a Perſian, five hundred years ago, and brought out of the Eaſt by Chriſtianus Ravius, who had given a barbarous tranſlation of it. But that which he found of the greateſt uſe to him was the famous manuſcript of Golius, purchaſed of Golius's heirs by Dr Narciſſus Marſh, Primate of Ireland, who readily communicated it to him for the public benefit. From this he in many places not only corrected his own verſion, but alſo ſupplied the deficiencies in the Greek text. This manuſcript was likewiſe Thebit Ben Corah's verſion, but firſt corrected by Beni Moſes, and afterwards reviſed by Mohammed Ebn Al Hafan Taſæus, who began his corrections Auguſt 16, 1247, and finiſhed them March 9, 1248. The ſcholia were written by Achmed Ebn Ali Abülfarai Mohammed, ſurnamed Ebno Ibawwab of Bagdad, who finiſhed that part in October 1263, the whole being compleated on the 30th of March 1303, at Maraga, a city on the confines of Media and Aſſyria. This valuable manuſcript contains the firſt ſeven books of the Conics of Apollonius; but in the margin of the laſt page is written to the following effect. At the end of the copy from which this is tranſcribed, it is written, *That the eighth part of this book was not tranſlated into Arabic, becauſe it was wanting in the Greek copies* (74). Our author's attempt to reſtore this part, was a difficulty which perhaps nobody beſides himſelf would have thought of encountering. But that was neither ſufficient to diſcourage his induſtry, nor yet to baffle his ingenuity. He had here again the *lemmata* of Pappus ſtill extant to aſſiſt him. Theſe helped to ſhew the connection between the ſeventh book and the eighth, and by that help he entirely ſupplied it. In this performance the elegant taſte and manner of Apollonius are ſo perfectly copied, that the beſt judges have agreed, the whole eight books, as publiſhed by our author, may fairly be eſteemed to be the work of the ſame Grecian maſter.

(74) Præfat in Apollon. Conic.

[*M M*] *He*

(*lll*) This is not yet printed. MS. Memoirs.

(*lll*) [*MM*]. In the midſt of all this buſineſs came out the *Miſcellanea Curioſa*, containing beſides others, ſeveral of his pieces, and the whole printed under his direction in 1708, in three volumes, 8vo [*NN*]. In 1713, on the 13th of November, he ſucceeded Dr [afterwards Sir] Hans Sloane in the poſt of Secretary to the Royal-Society (*mmm*). As perfecting the theory of the moon's motion was always uppermoſt in his thoughts, ſo he had never omitted to give all the hours he could ſpare to that ſubject (*nnn*) from other employments, to which the care of his family called him. In the year 1715, he had nearly compleated this theory with regard to the ſyzigies or conjunctions. By this means he not only predicted within a very few minutes the central eclipſe of the ſun which happened that year, but drew a map likewiſe, wherein the extent of the moon's ſhadow was repreſented to a wonderful degree of exactneſs, as was verified by the event [*OO*]. The

(*mmm*) Ibid.

(*nnn*) In the year 1732, he mentions ſeveral obſervations made before by him in this deſign in ſeveral parts of his life. Phil. Tranſ. No. 421.

[*MM*] *He prepared for the preſs an edition of Menelaus's Spherics.*] There is in hiſtory the following account of this antient author. That he was by birth a Mileſian, that he made obſervations of the fixed ſtars at Rhodes, and alſo at Rome, and found the præceſſion of the equinox, or the firſt ſtar of aries, to be 6°. 12′. that he flouriſhed almoſt a whole century before Ptolemy, who compared his own obſervations with thoſe of Menelaus; who wrote ſix books *De Subtenſis vel Chordis*, beſides the three of *Sphærics*. That from the third book of this laſt treatiſe, which contains many acute demonſtrations concerning the proportion of ſines, ſeveral things were borrowed by Ptolemy, and inſerted in the firſt book of his Μεγαλη Συνταξις. But that the Sphærics of Menelaus, coming afterwards into the hands of Teibitius, were obſerved by him to be incorrect and defective, and that thereupon he reviſed and corrected the work; and by ſupplying the demonſtrations where they were wanting, brought the whole into much better order than it had appeared in before (75). Merſennus, from a MS. of this piece, has given in his Synopſis an extract of the propoſitions contained therein; and I have now lying before me a book printed in 8vo. compleat, only that there is neither preface nor title-page; but the running title is *Menelai Alexandrini Sphæricorum, libri tres.* The appellation of *Alexandrinus* muſt be a miſtake, if the above account, that Menelaus, the author of the Sphærics, was a Mileſian, may be depended on. However, as is already obſerved, the book is compleat, with the ſupplements of Teibitius entire, and inſerted in their proper places. Blancanus * mentions Menelaus of Alexandria, an excellent Geometrician likewiſe, who flouriſhed in the fourth century, and who gave ſome demonſtrations upon the 25th propoſition of the firſt book of Euclid's Elements, which are extant in Proclus †. Upon the whole, it will be eaſily underſtood, that the deſign of the preſent remark is, to furniſh ſome matter for forming a probable conjecture concerning the motives which might induce Dr Halley (whoſe regard for Ptolemy's works is ſeen on all occaſions) to think of publiſhing the Sphærics of Menelaus.

(75) See *Clarorum Mathematicorum Chronologia*, &c. p. 50. a P. Blancano. Bononiæ, 1615. 4to. Item *Univerſæ Geometriæ mixtæque Mathematicæ Synopſis, &c. ſtudio & opera* F. M. Merſenni M. Pariſ. 1644. 4to. p. 204. & *Maurolici Siculi Sphæricorum, lib.* I. *in præfatione.* Ibid. p. 230.

* *In Chronologia*, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 52.

† Dr Gregory tells us, that one Menelaus made obſervations of the fixed ſtars at Rome, in the firſt year of the reign of the Emperor Trajan. Greg. Aſtron. lib. ii. prop. 39.

[*NN*] *Miſcellanea Curioſa, &c.*] Among other pieces of our author contained in this collection, we find, in the ſecond volume, his *Compendious and eaſy Method for conſtructing the Logarithms, exemplified and demonſtrated from the nature of numbers, without any regard to the hyperbola, with a ſpeedy method for finding the number from the logarithm given.* In this diſcourſe, which is publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 216. he rejects the old definition of logarithms, *numerorum proportionalium æquidifferentes comites*, ſubſtituting a new one, wherein he calls them *numeri rationum exponentes*, conſidering ratio as a *quantitas ſui generis*, beginning from the ratio of equality, or 1 to 1 = 0: and theſe *rationes* he ſuppoſes to be meaſured by the number of *ratiunculæ* contained in each. Now theſe *ratiunculæ* are to be underſtood as in a continued ſcale of proportionals, infinite in number, between the two terms of the ratio, which infinite number of mean proportionals, is to that infinite number of the like and equal *ratiunculæ* between any other two terms, as the logarithm of the one ratio is to the logarithm of the other. Thus if there be ſuppoſed between 1 and 10 an infinite ſcale of mean proportionals, whoſe number is 100,000, &c. *in infinitum*, then between 1 and 2 there ſhall be 30,102, &c. and between 1 and 3 there will be 47,712, &c. of them, which numbers therefore are the logarithms of the *rationes* of 1 to 10, 1 to 2, and 1 to 3, and not ſo properly to be called the logarithms of 10, 2, and 3. But if, inſtead of ſuppoſing the logarithms compoſed of a number of equal *ratiunculæ* proportional to each ratio, we ſhall take the ratio of unity to any number to conſiſt always of the ſame infinite number of *ratiunculæ*, their magnitude in this caſe will be as their number in the former. Wherefore if between unity and any number propoſed there be any infinity of mean proportionals, the infinitely little augment or decrement of the firſt of thoſe means from unity will be a *ratiuncula*, that is the momentum or fluxion of the ratio of unity to the ſame number; and ſeeing that in theſe continual proportionals all the *ratiunculæ* are equal, their ſum, or the whole ratio, will be as the ſaid momentum is directly, that is the logarithm of each ratio will be as the fluxion thereof. Wherefore if the root of any infinite power be extracted out of any number, the differentiola of the ſaid roots from unity ſhall be as the logarithm of that number, and thence the logarithms are produced by extracting the root of an infinite power by Sir Iſaac Newton's binomial theorem. Now though it cannot be denied that the logarithms are calculated with a *moſt* ſurprizing eaſe and expedition by this method, which was likewiſe the firſt attempt to explain the conſtruction of logarithms without having recourſe to Geometry, yet the infinitely little augment or decrement of the firſt mean proportional, in an infinity of ſuch means, is inveloped ſo much in infinity, that it has been thought obſcure and almoſt unintelligible, at leaſt to conceive the idea clearly, is ſaid to put an ordinary imagination to the ſtrain; and on that account it is highly cenſured and condemned as too viſionary by Mr Stone (76), who for this reaſon prefers the former method made uſe of by Sir Iſaac Newton, of making uſe of the hyperbola in explaining the logarithms. But on the other hand, ſeveral of the beſt Algebraiſts have highly extolled this performance of our author as admirably neat and elegant (77); and 'tis certain that without taking in the conſideration of infinity, we can have no notion of logarithms; ſo that upon the whole, there ſeems to be no juſt reaſon for robbing him of any part of his merit in being the firſt inventor of a method of demonſtrating the nature and conſtruction of logarithms without the help of the hyperbola, eſpecially ſince this being a matter purely arithmetical, is not, as he well obſerves, ſo properly demonſtrated from the principles of Geometry (78). Another piece of Mr Halley's, inſerted in the *Miſcellanea Curioſa*, and which we ought not to omit mentioning here, is his *Analogy of the Logarithmic Tangents to the meridian line demonſtrated*, written in 1696 †, ſince it contains a much eaſier method than had been given before, for calculating a table of meridional parts, of ſuch neceſſary uſe in the art of Navigation.

(76) In his Mathematical Dictionary, article *Logarithms*, 2d edition, 8vo.

(77) Particularly by Mr Cotes in his *Logometria*. Phil. Tranſ. No. 338.

(78) The ſubſtance of this piece, and not ill performed, has been lately inſerted in an appendix to a treatiſe of Navigation, intitled *Navigatio Britannica*, &c. by Iſaac Barrow. Lond. 1751. 8vo.

† Phil. Tranſ. No. 219. for Jan. and Feb. 1695-6.

[*OO*] *As was verified by the event.*] Though it be certain from the principles of Aſtronomy, that there happens neceſſarily a central eclipſe of the ſun in ſome part or other of the globe, about 28 times in each period of 18 years, and that of theſe no leſs than 8 do paſs over the parallel of London, 3 of which 8 are total with continuance; yet from the great variety of the elements whereof eclipſes conſiſt, it had ſo happened before that time, that ſince the 20th of March 1140, there had not been a total eclipſe of the ſun at London, though the ſhadow had paſſed ſeveral times over other parts of Great Britain. Mr Halley therefore thought proper not to neglect this opportunity of getting the the dimenſions of this ſhadow aſcertained. To this purpoſe he cauſed the abovementioned ſmall map to be diſperſed all over England, with a requeſt to the Curious to obſerve what they could about the eclipſe, and more eſpecially the exact time of continuance of total darkneſs, as this required no other inſtrument than a pendulum clock, and being determinable to the utmoſt exactneſs, by reaſon of the momentaneous occultation and emergence of the luminous edge of the ſun, whoſe leaſt part makes day. The pains he took did not

The Aſtronomer Royal as well as Mr Whiſton gave out a ſcheme and calculation of this eclipſe, which proved to be nothing near ſo exact as that of our author. This was therefore a very conſpicuous inſtance of his ſuperior abilities at leaſt in that article of Aſtronomy. His merit in that ſcience became from this juncture univerſally acknowledged, ſo as to be above the reach of envy or party oppoſition. Several other inſtances of this merit appeared alſo in the ſubſequent years [*P P*], ſo that upon the death of Mr Flamſtead in 1719, Dr Halley was appointed to ſucceed him (*ooo*) by his late Majeſty King George the Firſt. Thus fixed at Greenwich, he now at length ſaw himſelf in poſſeſſion, not only of ſuch advantages in reſpect to his fortune as ſatisfied his moderation, but alſo of thoſe opportunities with regard to his fame, which had all along been the principal view of his life. His moſt ardent wiſh was to bring the theory of the moon's motion, at leaſt into ſo great a forwardneſs, as ſhould be a ſufficient incitement to others to finiſh his ſcheme of that which he had conſtantly to this time looked on as the only practicable method of finding the longitude at ſea. Here he was not only provided with the beſt conveniencies for that purpoſe, but had the honour of his royal maſter's expreſs commands to apply himſelf particularly to that ſubject (*ppp*), and at the ſame time he was put into a capacity of proſecuting it uninterruptedly (which had not been hitherto his fortune), by having a handſome competency for the ſupport of his family (*qqq*). Nor did he fail to anſwer the moſt ſanguine expectations of his friends. For though he entered at Greenwich into a houſe where nothing was left but bare walls (*rrr*), yet he immediately fixed a tranſit inſtrument upon the meridian, and fell to his darling employment with that aſſiduity which was a very diſtinguiſhing part of his character. He was now in the ſixty-fourth year of his age, a time of life when Cicero ſaid of himſelf in the words of Plautus, '*Mihi quidem ætas acta ferme eſt*, *Life is almoſt over with me* (*sss*),' and yet Dr Halley attended his teleſcope without any aſſiſtance for eighteen years afterwards. In all which period he ſcarce loſt a meridian view of the moon, whether by day or by night, as often as the heavens would permit (*ttt*). That he might have no avocation from this work, he reſigned the poſt of Secretary to the Royal Society in 1721 (*uuu*), and the next year he began to take the right aſcenſions of the moon with his tranſit inſtrument, 'till the celebrated mural arch was (*www*) erected and finiſhed at the publick expence in 1725, by which he was enabl'd to determine their longitudes from obſervations (*xxx*). Upon the acceſſion of his preſent Maj ſty to the throne, his conſort Queen Caroline thought proper to make a viſit at the Royal Obſervatory, and being greatly ſatisfied with the polite reception ſhe met with, among other things, took particular notice that our author had formerly ſerved the Crown under commiſſion of a Captain in the Navy; and ſhe was pleaſed ſhortly

(*ooo*) By the particular recommendation of the Earl of Macclesfield Lord High Chancellor, and the Earl of Sunderland ſecretary of State. Mr Mairan's Eloge, and Memoirs of W. Whiſton, p. 252. Vol. I. 2d edition.

(*ppp*) The words of his commiſſion are, *To apply himſelf with the utmoſt care and diligence to the rectifying the tables of the motions of the heavens, and the places of the fixed ſtars, in order to find out the ſo much deſired longitude at ſea, for the perfecting the art of Navigation.*

(*qqq*) Viz. In his two places, that at Oxford and this at Greenwich, and therefore we find him preſently after this laſt preferment reſigning the poſt of Secretary to the R. S. which he held before along with his Savilian Profeſſorſhip.

(*rrr*) The furniture of the Obſervatory, as well as that of the houſe, being the property of Mr Flamſtead, the whole was taken away by his executors; among the reſt was a mural arch erected at his own expence. Phil. Tranſ. No. 421.

(*sss*) See *Some Epiſtles between Brutus and Cicero*, in the 4th volume of Dr Middleton's Works in 4to. Lond. 1752. p. 381. Epiſt. 14. N. B. The genuineneſs of theſe epiſtles will be conſidered in it's proper place, viz. in the article MIDDLETON [Conyers].

(*ttt*. MS. Memoirs.

(*uuu*) He was ſucceeded therein by Dr Jurin, Nov. 17. Hiſtorical Regiſter, p. 44. for that year.

(*www*) There is a deſcription with a figure of both theſe inſtruments in Dr Smith's Optics, Vol. II.

(*xxx*) This appears from the title of this part of his lunar tables, as follows, *Lunæ meridianæ aſcenſiones reſtæ Grenovii obſervatæ a die Jan. 13, 1722. ann. Julian. ad diem Decemb. 27. ann. 1735. & eiuſdem longitudines ibidem obſervatæ a die Decemb. 5, ann. 1725. ad diem Decemb. 27, 1730. cum computo tabularum collata.*

not miſs of having their deſired effect. For the weather happening to prove generally favourable, he received from many places ſuch good accounts, that they fully anſwered all his expectations, and were ſufficient to eſtabliſh ſeveral of the elements of the calculus of eclipſes; 'So as for the future, ſays he, we may more ſe-'curely rely on our own predictions, though it muſt 'be granted, that in this our Aſtronomy has loſt no 'credit.' Our author received particular orders from the Royal Society to obſerve this eclipſe on the top of their houſe in Crane-court Fleet ſtreet, with the inſtruments belonging to the Society; theſe were a quadrant of near 30 inches radius, fixed with a teleſcopic ſight, and moved with ſcrews, ſo as to follow the ſun with great nicety. He was accompanied with ſeveral perſons of diſtinction and others, eminent for their ſkill in Aſtronomy, particularly the Earl of Abingdon and Lord Parker (afterwards Earl of Macclesfield) then Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, obſerved along with him, having inſtruments provided for them; as alſo had Mr Monmort and the Chevalier de Louville, which laſt came from Paris expreſsly on this occaſion.

When the central eclipſe happened, February 28, 1736, Mr Maclaurin obſerved it himſelf at Edinburgh, and ſent to his friends to determine the duration of the annular appearance, that by comparing their obſervations with his own, he might trace the path of the center and the limits of that phænomenon, after the example given in 1715 by Dr Halley, to whom, ſays he, we owe the beſt deſcription of an eclipſe that Aſtronomical Hiſtory affords (79).

[*P P*] *Several inſtances of his abilities in the following years*] Among theſe are an account of Venus ſeen in the day time in 1716. This is ſelected by the writer of his eloge, as a remarkable inſtance of our author's dexterity in applying calculation to phyſico-mathematical problems ‖. This planet appeared at that time viſible to the naked eye at mid-day, and in ſtrong ſun ſhine. I ſaw it ſo myſelf more than once or twice. Mr Halley's demonſtration, ſhews that proper allowances being made for her diſtance from the earth, and the magnitude of her viſible part, ſhe can never appear ſo bright to us, as when her luminous creſcent occupies but the fourth part of her diſk †. This account was publiſhed by our author in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (80), and in the ſame paper he inſerted his invention of a new diving-bell, wherein the diver might continue at the bottom of the ſea in much greater depth than in the uſual way, as long as he pleaſed, by means of a contrivance to convey freſh air to him for reſpiration. Of this he made an experiment himſelf, being let down in company of four others from a ſhip's ſide in it, to a prodigious depth, together with a chair, table, and pen, ink, and paper. The whole being ſo ordered as to remain very ſteady, and light being conveyed into it through a ſpherical glaſs fixed at the top, he could ſee to write very well, and actually ſent meſſages up to the ſhip in writing, containing directions for moving him, &c. as he thought proper. The machine indeed is too complicated and cumberſome for the uſe of the pearl fiſhery. However, the particulars of what he ſaw and felt during the experiment, the different colours and reflections of light, filtered as it were through ſuch an immenſe quantity of water, were, as Mr Mairan obſerves (81), worthy objects of a learned curioſity, and afforded great aſſiſtance to Sir Iſaac Newton in his optics (82). And it is worth notice, that the invention, by reducing it to the compaſs of four feet, was afterwards brought into general uſe in the Baltic ſea, by Mr Trierwold, Captain of Mechanics and Military Architect to his Swediſh Majeſty at Stockholm, who declares that experience had convinced him, that no invention built upon any other principles than thoſe of this bell, can be of uſe in any conſiderable depths, nor the diver a ſingle moment ſafe, Phil. Tranſ. No. 414, for 1736. Beſides theſe two articles, he publiſhed the following in the ſame Tranſactions within the time mentioned in the text. (1.) *An account of ſeveral extraordinary meteors ſeen by himſelf.* (2.) *An account of an aurora borealis in* 1715-16. (3.) *The parallax of the ſun.* (4.) *A ſmall teleſcopic comet ſeen June* 10, 1717. (5.) *A change of latitude in ſome of the fixed ſtars.* (6.) *An account of an extraordinary meteor ſeen March* 19, 1718-19. (7.) *An account of an extraordinary aurora borealis, November* 10, 1719 (83).

(79) Phil. Tranſ. No. 447.

‖ To effect this problem, he invented a new and very uſeful theorem in Trigonometry.

† She was then within 4c°, or in the middle, between her ſhorteſt and longeſt diſtance from the ſun.

(80) No 349. This invention had been ſtarted by him ſeveral years before. See Houghton's Huſbandry and Trade improved, &c. No. 103. July 20. 1694.

(81) See his paper, intitled, Some Queries concerning the nature of light and diaphanous bodies. Phil. Tranſ. No. 206.

(82) In his Eloge, ubi ſupra.

(83) Viz. No. 341, 347, 348, 354, 355, 390, 363.

ſhortly after to obtain of his Majeſty for him a grant of his half-pay for that commiſſion, which he enjoyed during his life from that time. An offer was alſo made to him of being appointed Mathematical Preceptor to the Duke of Cumberland, but he declined that honour by reaſon of his great age, and becauſe he deemed the ordinary attendance upon that employ would be inconſiſtent with the performance of his duty at Greenwich *(yyy)*. In Auguſt 1729, he was admitted as a foreign member of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, in the room of Signor Bianchini *(zzz)*. Even from his firſt entering upon the moon's theory, conſidering well the great tedioufneſs and difficulty of that taſk, he had been always very deſirous to have others join (leſt any thing ſhould happen to himſelf) in carrying it on to a perfect completion *(aaaa)*. It was with this view that he publiſhed a propoſal in 1731 for finding the longitude at ſea within one degree or 20 leagues [*QQ*]. He had now attained the 75th year of his age. Yet he ſtuck cloſe to his mural teleſcope as abovementioned, 'till the end of the year 1739. When having compleated his third Plinian period, he there cloſed this important work. He had indeed been ſeized a year or two before with a paralytic diſorder in his right hand. This was the firſt attack he had ever felt upon his conſtitution *(bbbb)*, and though it is true it did not diſable him from carrying on his obſervations with the ſame aſſiduity as before, yet after this time he was obliged to make uſe of a friend to write down his *calculus* *(cccc)*. He came ſtill as uſual once a week, 'till within a little while before his death, to ſee his friends in town on thurſday, before the meeting of the Royal Society. This pleaſure he continued to enjoy to the laſt verge almoſt of his life, neither 'till within a few months of his death did he quite neglect his mural arch *(dddd)*. He was of a happy conſtitution, and preſerved his memory and judgment to the laſt, as he did alſo that particular chearfulneſs of ſpirit for which he was remarkable. His paralytic diſorder gradually increaſing, and thereby his ſtrength wearing, though gently, yet continually, away, he came at length to be wholly ſupported by ſuch cordials as were ordered by his Phyſician *(eeee)*, 'till being tired with theſe he aſked for a glaſs of wine, and having drank it preſently expired as he ſat in his chair without a groan, on the 14th of Jan. 1741-2, in the 86th year of his age *(ffff)*.

(*yyy*) MS. Memoirs.

(*zzz*) See his Eloge by Mr Maian of that Academy, ubi ſupra.

(*aaaa*) See below in remark [*QQ*].

(*bbbb*) When attacked with a ſlight fever on catching cold, he uſed to take at one doſe half an ounce of Jeſuit's bark in water-gruel, which he called his chocolate, and by which he was always relieved. MS. Memoirs.

(*cccc*) This aſſiſtant was Mr Gale Morris, F. R. S. a gentleman remarkably ſkilled not only in Aſtronomical but in all other kinds of calculation. MS. Memoirs.

(*dddd*) He obſerved that a ſtudious life had this advantage, that it kept a man out of harm's way. Tillotſon's Life by Birch, p. 95.

(*eeee*) Dr Mead.

(*ffff*) Ibid.

His

[*QQ*] *A propoſal for finding the longitude at ſea, within a degree or twenty leagues*] He had now perfected his tables for one whole period of the moon's *apogæum*, which is performed in ſomething leſs than nine years. In that compaſs of time he had obſerved the right aſcenſion of the moon at her tranſit over the meridian near 1500 times, and with an exactneſs, he was bold to ſay (they are his words) preferable to any thing done before, a number, this not leſs, than all that were made by *Tycho Brahe*, *Hevelius*, and *Flamſtead*, taken in one ſum. There being near four of his lunar obſervations for each degree of the *argumentum annuum*, or diſtance of the ſun from the *apogæum*. Long before this he had reſumed his firſt deſign in 1683, of filling his Synopſis of the defects in the lunar theory. Being encouraged therein by Mr Flamſtead's obſervations publiſhed in 1704, and alſo by Sir Iſaac Newton's theory, a ſketch of which had been firſt inſerted by Dr Gregory, in his Aſtronomiæ, &c. Elementa, publiſhed in 1702, and again in the ſecond edition of Sir Iſaac's Principia, which came out in 1713. Where the ſame theory was reviſed and amended by himſelf to that degree of exactneſs, that the reſult frequently at that time, as our author found, for many months together, rarely differed two minutes of motion from the obſervations themſelves. Dr Halley had likewiſe computed tables of this theory, which though not then publiſhed, were printed in 1721. And now to the end that the obſervations he had made ſince his coming to Greenwich, might be duly applied to rectify the defects of his former computations; he had himſelf compared with the abovementioned tables, not only his own obſervations, but alſo upwards of eight hundred of Mr Flamſtead's; who indeed as he notes, had been long enough poſſeſſed of the Royal Obſervatory, to have had a continued ſeries of obſervations for more than two periods of eighteen years, by which he had it in his power to have done all that could be expected from obſervations towards diſcovering the law of the lunar motions; but that he contented himſelf with ſparſe obſervations, leaving wide gaps between, ſo as to omit frequently whole months together, and even the whole year 1716. He further informs us as to himſelf, that he had made ſome obſervations with a calculus in 1690 and 1708, which by comparing he perceived to differ inſenſibly from what he found in the like ſituation of the ſun and apogæum in 1726 [the next ſarotic period]. Encouraged by this event, he next examined what difference might ariſe from the period of nine years wanting nine days; but the return of the ſun to the apogæum in that time, differing above four times as much from an exact revolution, as in the period of eighteen years, he could not expect, he ſays, the like agreement in that; however, having now entered upon the tenth year, he compared what he had obſerved in 1721 and 1722, with the obſervations in 1730 and 1731, and rarely found a difference of more than a ſingle minute of motion (part of which might perhaps ariſe from the ſmall uncertainty that always attends aſtronomical obſervations), but moſt commonly this difference was wholly inſenſible; ſo that by the help of what he obſerved in 1722, he preſumed he was able during the then preſent year 1731, to compute the true place of the moon with certainty, within the compaſs of the two minutes of her motion mentioned in his appendix to Street's Caroline tables.——He then obſerves, that the motion of the moon was ſo ſwift as to afford us ſcarce ever leſs than two minutes for each degree of longitude, and ſometimes two and a half. 'Twas this ſwiftneſs of the moon's motion that firſt put the Captain upon thinking to diſcover the longitude by it, ſince the appulſes or occultations by the moon might be obſerved with a ſhort teleſcope, ſuch as was manageable on ſhipboard in moderate weather. This he experienced himſelf in the remote voyages he took in 1698, and the two following years, to aſcertain the magnetic variations, where the few obſervations he had made in 1683 and 1684, proved of ſignal uſe to him in determining the longitude of his ſhip, as often as he could get ſight of a near tranſit of the moon by a known good ſtar, and thereby he frequently corrected his journal in thoſe errors which are unavoidable by the common methods in long ſea voyages (84). Mr Hadley the ſame year had printed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 420, an account of his inſtrument for taking angles by reflection, which he concludes with the following remark. 'How far an inſtrument of this kind may be of uſe at ſea, to take the diſtance of the moon's limb from the ſun or a ſtar, in order to find the ſhip's longitude, when the theory of that planet is perfected, I leave to others to determine. The Society has the ſatisfaction to know that theory to be already brought to a good degree of certainty and exactneſs, through the conſummate ſkill of a very learned member, and have great reaſon to hope it will in a little time be compleated by the continued application of ſome of their own body.' So far Mr Hadley; and it muſt be obſerved, that to encourage others to this undertaking, our author had lately publiſhed in Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 369, his *Zodiacus Stellatus* improved, containing beſides the known ſtars, a great number of teleſcopical ſtars, whoſe poſitions were exactly aſcertained.

(84) Phil. Tranſ. No. 421.

[*R R*] *He*

His corpſe was interred near Greenwich, in the church-yard of a ſmall village called Lee, by his own requeſt, in the ſame grave where he had ſeen that of his beloved conſort laid a few years before [*R R*]. With regard to Dr Halley's character it may be obſerved, that in his perſon he was of a middle ſtature, inclining to tallneſs, of a thin habit of body, and a fair complection, and always ſpoke as well as acted with an uncommon degree of brightlineſs and vivacity. As he was a member whoſe name reflects an honour upon the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, Mr Mairan, a member thereof, read, according to cuſtom, the Eloge (which we have frequently quoted) of him before that Academy in 1742. Wherein after an oratorical account of the univerſality of his genius [*S S*], and the boldneſs of his philoſophical hypotheſes [*T T*], the concluſion preſents us with the following particulars relating to the character of our author's temper and manners, communicated by Mr Folkes, who ſucceeded him in the French Academy, and was then Preſident of the Royal-Society. He, Dr Halley, ſays this Eloge writer, poſſeſſed all the qualifications neceſſary to pleaſe princes who were deſirous of inſtruction, great extent of knowledge, and a conſtant preſence of mind; his anſwers were ready, and at the ſame time pertinent, judicious, polite, and ſincere. When Peter the Great, Emperor of Ruſſia, came into England, he ſent for Mr Halley, and found him equal to the great character he had heard of him. He aſked him many queſtions concerning the fleet which he intended to build, the ſciences and arts which he wiſhed to introduce into his dominions, and a thouſand other ſubjects which his unbounded curioſity ſuggeſted; he was ſo well ſatisfied with Mr Halley's anſwers, and ſo pleaſed with his converſation, that he admitted him familiarly to his table, and ranked him among the number of his friends, a term which we may venture to uſe with reſpect to a prince of his character; a prince truly great, in making no diſtinctions of men but that of their merit (*g g g g*). But Mr Halley, continues this writer, poſſeſſed ſtill more of the qualifications neceſſary to obtain him the love of his equals. In the firſt place he loved them; naturally of an ardent and glowing temper; he appeared animated in their preſence with a generous warmth, which the

(*g g g g*) See more of this under the year 1697 in an account of that Emperor's Life, by Mr Mottley, in folio, who obſerves that the Emperor then reſided in a houſe of Sir John Evelyn's, called Say's-court at Deptford.

[*R R*] *He was buried at Lee near Greenwich.*] Over the grave, which is near the fence on the eaſt ſide of the church-yard, there ſtands a handſome tomb of Portland ſtone, erected by his two ſurviving daughters, upon the face of which, is the following plain inſcription in Latin:

Sub hoc marmore
Placide requieſcit cum uxore cariſſima
Edmundus Halleius, LLD.
Aſtronomorum ſui ſeculi facile princeps
Ut vero ſcias lector
Qualis quantuſque vir ille fuit
Scripta ejus multifaria lege
Quibus omnes fere artes & ſcientias
Illuſtravit ornavit amplificavit
Æquum eſt igitur
Ut quem cives ſui virum
Tantopere coluere
Memoriam ejus poſteritas
Grata veneretur
Natus } *eſt. A. C.* { MDCLVI.
Mortuus } { MDCCXLI.
Hoc Saxum optimis parentibus
Sacrarunt duæ filiæ pientiſſimæ
Anno C. MDCCXLII.

Here is alſo interred Mrs Margaret Halley
Eldeſt daughter of the above Dr Halley
Who died on the 13 *of October* 1743
In the 55*th year of her age.*

Beſides this daughter (who was never married), and ſeveral other children who died in their infancy, the Doctor had a ſon who lived to man's eſtate and afterwards, but died long before his father. His other daughter is ſtill living, being married to a ſecond huſband [Mr Price], and is much eſteemed.

[*S S*] *An oratorical account of the univerſality of his genius.*] We have already produced two ſpecimens *, which our author's univerſal genius gave his euloge writer an occaſion to exert his excellent talents that way. Thoſe ſpecimens however looked no further than to Mr Halley's univerſal ſcholarſhip, and indeed were evidently deſigned for no more than leading ſteps, made uſe of to riſe by them gradually to the full completion of this part of his character. In this view, having gone thro' the ſeveral particulars of our author's life, to that of his reviewing the Emperor's ports on the gulph of Venice as an engineer, which gave room, as we have already obſerved, to inſinuate, that under *that* cover he negotiated ſome ſecret ſtate affairs between the two Crowns. Mr Mairan cloſes this part of his plan in theſe terms. '*While we thought the eulogium of an Aſtronomer, a Naturaliſt, a Scholar, and a Philoſopher, comprehended our whole ſubject; we have been inſenſibly ſurprized into the hiſtory of an excellent Mariner, an illuſtrious Traveller, an able Engineer, and almoſt a Stateſman.*'

* In remarks [*T*] and [*CC*].

[*T T*] *The boldneſs of his Philoſophical wit.*] We have already taken notice of his free manner of interpreting the Moſaic account of the Deluge in favour of his hypotheſis, which, aſcribing it to the near approach of a comet to the earth, as alſo of his extraordinary ſolution of the *Aurora Borealis*. Beſides theſe, he propoſed a method of tracing the world's age backwards to the Creation, by the repeated obſervations of many years upon the ſaltneſs of the ſea (85), which by ſome experiments of his own, he conjectures, is perpetually increaſing by the acquiſition of new ſalts extracted from the earth by the rivers, and ſo inceſſantly conveyed to the ſea. As this hypotheſis led him to a much greater age of the world than is uſually inferred from the Moſaic hiſtory, he ſuppoſes each of the ſix days of the Creation to be much longer than thoſe afterwards, and even extends every one of them to the length of a thouſand years; being of opinion, that ſuch a length is not inconſiſtent with any thing delivered by Moſes. Further. As he embraced the common opinion concerning the reality and infinitude of ſpace, he concludes the number of ſtars to be infinite upon the principal of mutual attraction, which muſt immediately unite them in one common centre, unleſs balanced every where and to infinitude (86). This opinion, 'tis well known, was long ago maintained by Lucretius, and upon account of this and ſome other bold philoſophical tenets, the Doctor's religious principles have been frequently ſuſpected, but without any juſt foundation. On the other hand, Mr Mairan, with much greater truth and candor, obſerves upon this part of our author's character [the boldneſs of his hypotheſes], that as he was not afraid to oppoſe popular opinions, conceiving and propoſing hypotheſes without the leaſt ſcruple, forming conjectures from his own obſervations and particular apprehenſion. So to this boldneſs, frequently fortunate, becauſe always directed by knowledge, we are indebted for the admirable *theory of the variations of the compaſs*, and the greater part of the other diſcoveries which have ſo much contributed to the advancement of learning and the benefit of ſociety.

(85) In Phil. Tranſ. No. 344.

(86) Ibid. No. 195.

[*U U*] *The*

the pleaſure alone of ſeeing them ſeemed to inſpire; he was open and punctual in his dealings, candid in his judgment, uniform and blameleſs in his manners, ſweet and affable, always ready to communicate, and diſintereſted. He opened a way to wealth by all that he effected for the improvement of Navigation: to the glory of which he has added that of having done nothing to enrich himſelf: he lived and died in that mediocrity ſo much extolled by Philoſophers, the free choice of which implies a great degree both of virtue and wiſdom. The only meer lucrative place he ever had, was that in the mint at Cheſter, which ſoon determined, and he never deſired another. He was generous, and his generoſity exerted itſelf even at the expence of a vanity from which the learned are no more exempted than other men, and which perhaps they more frequently betray. I am furniſhed, proceeds Mr Mairan, with an inſtance of this by a letter which accidentally came into my hands about ſix years ago, written by him to an author whom he knew only by reputation. Mr Halley, in this letter, with equal ſagacity and politeneſs points out an error in a very critical calculation which that author had fallen into, in treating on the turning point of a queſtion in Aſtronomy and Phyſics. It muſt not however be concealed, that Mr Halley never publiſhed that letter, although it would certainly have done him honour; but we muſt not too particularly reveal a ſecret, from concealing which he derives ſtill more. The reputation of others gave him no uneaſineſs, a reſtleſs jealouſy and anxious emulation were ſtrangers to his breaſt. He was equally ignorant of thoſe extravagant prejudices in favour of one nation, which are injurious to all others. The friend, countryman, and diſciple of Newton; he ſpoke of Des Cartes (*hhhh*) [*UU*] with reſpect; and ſucceſſor to Dr Wallis; he did juſtice to the merit of our

(*hhhh*) Beſides the ſeveral inſtances of this, mentioned below, there is a paper communicated to Mr Wotton by our author, wherein he declares, that as to Dioptrics, though ſome of the Antients mention refraction as a natural effect of tranſparent media, yet Des Cartes was the firſt who in this age diſcovered the laws of refraction, and brought dioptrics to a ſcience, Wotton's Reflections upon antient and modern Learning, chap. xxiv. p. 601. 3d ed. 1705. 8vo.

[*UU*] *The friend, countryman, and diſciple of Newton; he ſpoke of Des Cartes with reſpect.*] There are ſeveral inſtances of the truth of this remark. Among the reſt we ſhall inſert the following, as neceſſary to explain the juſt force of Mr Mairan's expreſſion. To begin with his paper *concerning the conſtruction of ſolid problems*; where making uſe of what Des Cartes had delivered upon that ſubject, he introduces it in the following words. 'Carteſius's conſtruction, which 'does very eaſily diſcover the roots of all cubic and bi-'quadratic equations where the ſecond term is want-'ing, may be ſuppoſed as known; yet ſince 'tis the 'main bottom, on which all that follows does de-'pend, that this diſſertation may not ſeem to want a 'principal part; I'll here add the rule taken out of his 'geometry, *altering ſome few things as I think for the 'better.*' Again purſuing the ſubject in a diſcourſe concerning *the number of roots in ſolid and biquadratic equations, &c.* having declared that his firſt view reached no farther than to perform ſomething ſerviceable to geometers of the ſecond rank, he proceeds in theſe terms: 'Coming to look nearer into the buſineſs 'ſays he, I found I was imprudently fallen in among 'ſome of the profound difficulties of geometry, and de-'ſtined to handle the ſame things, that formerly em-'ployed the pains of two illuſtrious men, Harriot, and 'Cartes. In which they either of them (by a like fate, 'though in a different way) committed a paralogyſm, 'perhaps the only one in all their geometrical writings '(87), as ſhall be afterwards proved.' Laſtly, *in his* geometrical diſſertation concerning the rainbow, ſpeaking of the cauſe and reaſon of the colours thereof, *he* writes thus. Theſe were things that a long while and very greatly perplexed, as well the Moderns as the Ancients, neither did they do any thing to the purpoſe therein, till the famous Monſieur Des Cartes, making uſe of the mathematical ſciences, ſhewed by ſeveral examples, that more ſtrict and cloſe methods of reaſoning might and ought to obtain, even in our management of thoſe phyſical ſpeculations. Among other things, he explained the theory of the rainbow, and having diſcovered the laws of refraction, he clearly demonſtrated, that the primary iris, &c. Mr Halley afterwards refers his reader to the 8th chapter of Cartes's book on meteors, and then remarks, that Cartes having uſed an indirect and tentative method in determining the angles of refraction, did not ſeem clearly to apprehend the eaſineſs of the problem he propoſed to himſelf; and becauſe, continues he, none that I know of ſince him has handled the ſame argument more fully; and alſo ſince, ſome have miſunderſtood what Des Cartes did, committing very great paralogyſms, I was willing to ſupply what I thought was wanting in his doctrine. Thus we ſee at the ſame time, that Dr Halley did not ſpare to do juſtice to the true merit of Des Cartes, he took care to raiſe a laſting monument to his own fame, by correcting the errors, and ſupplying the deficiences of that eminent French Philoſopher, herein treading exactly in the ſteps of his great maſter Sir Iſaac Newton. Nor was he leſs mindful to reflect back a good part of the honour derived to him in the friendſhip of that illuſtrious perſon. While Sir Iſaac was unfolding the myſteries of the mundane ſyſtem, by the help of a new geometry invented by himſelf, this diſciple extended that geometry to ſubjects altogether untouched, and perhaps unthought of by the inventor; ſeveral of theſe have been mentioned in the courſe of this memoir, to which we refer the reader; but as in applying the method of fluxions, Dr Halley has expreſſed himſelf concerning their nature, in terms which may not ſeem altogether agreeable to his great maſter's mind, it may be expected that ſome notice ſhould be taken of it in this place. It muſt indeed be acknowledged, that our author does not ſcruple to call moments by the name of indiviſibles (88), yet ſignifying at the ſame time that they are ſuch indiviſibles as have not *any* determinate magnitude. The repreſentation 'tis true ſeems harſh, at leaſt *prima facie*, and the term indiviſible, as well as the doctrine, is well known to be cautiouſly avoided by Sir Iſaac, when he teaches the nature of his fluxions. However, it cannot be denied, that the ſame harſh idea is conveyed almoſt unavoidably by his own words, while he calls his moments the evaneſcent decrements of quantities continually decreaſing, at which ſtate thoſe quantities when infinitely diminiſhed do arrive, being then, or on ſuch arrival, accurately in the ratio of their generating velocities, and are repreſented, as not differing really ſo much as modally from the limits at which thoſe velocities are taken (89). Mr Maclaurin alſo underſtands moments in reſpect to time, not to be parts, but terminations and limits of time (90), and ſurely a limit is ſtrictly indiviſible. In a ſentiment not much unlike this of our author, Mr Machin obſerves that $\dot{x}$ [the firſt moment] when conſidered as the meaſure of x, is indiviſible, though in reſpect of $\dot{x}$ [the ſecond moment] it be taken as the part, according to which the meaſure was made, and therefore be diviſible (91). In the mean time it is agreed, that theſe two properties expreſſed by the Doctor are thoſe characteriſtics which require a moſt careful attention in uſing the method of fluxions, and no body diſputes, that he has conſtantly and duly obſerved the caution, ſo that his concluſions always came out perfectly right. Thus was he an honour to his maſter's geometry; and whoever looks into the third book of the *Principia*, will preſently be convinced, that without Dr Halley's aſſiſtance, the ſyſtem of the world would have been far ſhort of that perfection, wherein it now appears. Almoſt every page preſents ſome inſtance or another of this truth. But there is one particular which the determined brevity of the illuſtrious author in that work, would not ſuffer him to ſhew in it's full proportion of merit, and which yet ſhines conſpicuouſly above the other various productions of his diſciple, and therefore muſt not be omitted here. I mean his *Synopſis of the Doctrine of Comets.* Sir Iſaac having ſhewn a method of delineating their orbits geometrically, on a ſuppoſition that they move about

(87) This remark will appear the more candid with regard to the latter, as Mr Fermat has ſhewn ſeveral miſtakes which Des Cartes fell into for want of underſtanding fully, as he ſays, the true nature of Geometry.

(88) See his Demonſtration of the Analogy of the Logarithmic Tangents, &c. and his General Propoſition, ſhewing the dimenſions of all curves of the cycloidal kind, where he not only calls, but conſiders them as indiviſibles, and declares that his demonſtration would not hold without it.

(89) See Principia Math. &c. lemma ii. and the general ſcholium.

(90) See his Treatiſe of Fluxions, Vol. I. p. 245.

(91) Phil. Tranſ. No. 447.

our antient Geometricians [*WW*]. To conclude, theſe uncommon and valuable qualifications were tempered in Mr Halley with a vein of gaiety and good humour, which neither his abſtracted ſpeculations, the infirmities of old age, nor the palſey itſelf, which ſeized him ſome years before his death, could impair: and this happy diſpoſition, the gift of nature, was the more perfect, as it was ſtill attendant upon that peace of mind, which is the nobler endowment of virtue.' Since his death, his long expected tables of the ſun and planets were publiſhed in 1752, in 4to. with this title, *Aſtronomical Tables, with Precepts both in Engliſh and Latin for computing the places of the Sun, Moon, Planets, and Comets* [*XX*].

about the ſun in a parabolic orb, and deſcribing areas taken at the center of the ſun, proportional to the times as he proved in the comet of 1680 (92). Dr Halley following the ſteps (they are his own words) of ſo great a man, attempted to bring the ſame to arithmetical calculation, and ſucceeded in the attempt. To effect this, having firſt collected all the obſervations he could meet with in all hiſtory, he thence formed a table exhibiting the aſtronomical elements of the motions in a parabolic orb of all the comets, that had then been duly obſerved. This table contains the nodes, parhelia diſtances, and courſe, of twenty-four comets, the firſt of which appeared in 1337, and the laſt in 1698 (93). In conſtructing this table, he ſpared no pains that it might come forth perfect, as a thing conſecrated to poſterity, and to laſt as long as aſtronomy itſelf, this he ſcruples not to declare; and however fond ſuch an opinion may ſeem, it has been in a large meaſure juſtified by the univerſal eſteem, which this great work (for ſo it may well be called, though lying in a very ſmall compaſs) (94) has been ſince received by the beſt aſtronomers. He declared it to be the labour of many years; and the preciſe number hath been lately determined to be eighteen, by a French author (95), who apparently reckons the whole interval between the firſt edition of the *Principia Mathematica*, &c. in 1687, to 1705, when the *Synopſis*, &c. was firſt publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 297, where he declares that opportunity of publiſhing it was taken, leaſt happening to die, the papers might be loſt, which every man, continues he, is not capable to retrieve, becauſe of the great difficulty of the calculation. The principal uſe of the table, and that which induced our author to conſtruct it is, that whenever a new comet ſhould appear, it might be known by comparing the elements, whether it be any of thoſe which have appeared before, and if ſo, we might be able to determine it's period, and the axis of it's orbit, and to predict it's return. Upon theſe principles he ventures to foretel, that the comet of 1531, was the ſame with that of 1682, and obſerving a period of 75 ½ years may be expected to return in 1757, which, if it ſhould happen, as he obſerves, will greatly confirm the truth of his table. He thinks alſo that the famous comet of 1680, was the ſame that appeared in the time of Julius Cæſar performing it's period in 575 years (96). It will no doubt ſeem a little paradoxical to ſuch as are not well acquainted with geometry, to talk of the periodical revolutions or returns of a body which is ſuppoſed to move in a parabola. For the ſake of thoſe perſons, it will not be amiſs to obſerve, that notwithſtanding our author, after his maſter, reduced the cometical orbits to a ſimple parabola, having the ſun in it's focus in common with the ellipſes deſcribed by the ordinary planets, which greatly facilitates the cometic calculus, and was agreeable to aſtronomical obſervations, yet the path or line of a comet's motion was not ſo preciſely determined by thoſe obſervations, but that it might be elliptical; however as theſe bodies do not make returns upon that ſuppoſition till after long periods of time, the ellipſes deſcribed by them muſt be very eccentrical; in which caſe, the velocity being very nearly equal to that in a parabola (97), the difference will be eaſily compenſated in determining the ſituation of the orbit. Indeed it ſeems probable that comets rather move in ſuch eccentric ellipſes for many reaſons, and particularly this, that though they appear frequently enough, yet none of them are found to move with an hyperbolic motion, or a motion ſwifter than what a comet might acquire by it's gravity toward the ſun. Upon that principle therefore, when the *Synopſis* came out again in the ſecond edition of the *Miſcellanea Curioſa*, &c. in 1727, the Doctor ſignified, that he had made ſome progreſs in calculating the elliptical orbits of the two comets abovementioned; declaring at the ſame time his reſolution to compleat it.

Accordingly we find this ineſtimable work with that addition, publiſhed with his Lunar tables, under the following title. *Synopſis Aſtronomiæ Cometicæ, qua cometarum hactenus debite obſervatarum motus in orbe parabolico debite repræſentantur. Eorumque qui annis* 1680 & 1682 *(98), fulſére poſt certas periodos redeuntium motus in orbibus ellipticis accurato calculo ſubjiciuntur.* By ſuch egregious productions as theſe, did Dr Halley tranſmit his own fame, in company with that of Sir Iſaac Newton; nor did his friendſhip degenerate into formal heartleſs expreſſions after Sir Iſaac's deceaſe. On the contrary, he thought himſelf then obliged by that tie to ſhew himſelf the guardian of his friend's fame, and in that character we find him ſeconding Sir Iſaac's defence of his Chronology, againſt ſome farther objections made by P. Souciet in 1727. This defence is inſerted in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 397. The piece is ſhort, but he has unanſwerably proved the point he undertook, and no humane mind can read it without being ſenſibly touched with that warmth of a moſt generous friendſhip, which glows ardently throughout the whole. To conclude, this friend of Sir Iſaac Newton, had the happineſs of flouriſhing under ſix crowned heads (99), and received favours from each of them, ſuch as were the pure effects of his ſingular merit; which merit being as well known abroad as it is at home, what wonder is it that foreigners in viewing the tombs in Weſtminſter-Abbey, after they have ſtood a while admiring Sir Iſaac's monument, are apt ſometimes to aſk, where is that of his friend Dr Halley.

[*WW*] *He did juſtice to the merit of our ancient Geometricians.*] This writer had before taken notice, that 'the geometry of the Ancients, the ſtrictneſs of their demonſtrations, and the elegance of their conſtructions, were always held by our author in great eſtimation; and that with this turn of mind he tranſlated Apollonius's Conics, and the two books of Serenus;' and to theſe may be added his copy of Menelaus's Sphærics, and the correct edition of Ptolemy's catalogue of the fixed ſtars mentioned in theſe remarks. But the inſtance of his doing juſtice to the merit of our ancient geometricians, produced by Mr Mairan in this place, ſeems a more direct proof of what he obſerves a little before, concerning Dr Halley's freedom from thoſe extravagant prejudices in favour of one nation, which are injurious to all others. Here follows the inſtance: 'In the 'introduction to an algebraical memoir which he '[Halley] read to the Royal Society, he makes no 'difficulty to acknowledge, that Harriot, Oughtred, 'and many others, as well Engliſh as foreigners, had 'taken from Vieta, all that was valuable in what-'ever they had publiſhed on that ſubject.' It is worth obſerving alſo, that our author's reſpect is tempered with the ſame impartiality to Vieta, as we have ſhewn in the laſt remark it was to Des Cartes, and that out of this reſpect he alſo raiſed a monument to his own fame, making the tediouſneſs (which he remarks) of Vietas's method for reſolving roots of equations, a foil to ſet off the elegance of his own, as delivered in the memoir here alluded to by Mr Mairan, being his *rational and irrational formula for extracting ſuch roots without any previous reduction*. It was firſt publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 210, in the year 1694, and afterwards in an appendix to the firſt edition of Sir Iſaac Newton's *Arithmetica Univerſalis*, in 1707, 8vo, as proper to ſupply that part of the treatiſe, which was left untouched by the author (100).

[*XX*] *Tables of the ſun, moon,* &c.] This work was printed in Latin by our author in 1739, with the following title prefixed, *Edmundi Halleii Aſtronomi dum viveret Regii Tabulæ Aſtronomicæ. Accedunt de uſu tabularum præcepta.* But after his death the precepts here mentioned, not being found, were added by another hand, as were alſo a table of the mean conjunctions of the ſun and moon (101); another of refrac-

(92) In the *Principia*, toward the end of the third book.

(93) To this he has ſubjoined another table for computing the motion of comets in general in a parabolic orb, of which he gives the conſtruction and alſo the uſe in two examples.

(94) It is contained in a ſingle 8vo page.

(95) Mr Monier, in his *Theorie des Comettes*, Paris, 1743. 8vo. N. B. This author, as well as Mr Coſtard in his *Riſe and Progreſs of Aſtronomy*, 1746, 8vo, is miſtaken in ſaying that Dr Halley's *Synopſis*, &c. was inſerted in *Scarborough's Euclid*, printed at Oxford, in 1705. fol. The firſt ſpecimens of it given to the public, appeared in Dr Gregory's Aſtronomy, book v. prop. 35. and it's ſcholium, publiſhed at Oxford, in 1702. fol. and theſe ſhew it was not then perfected.

(96) Mr Machin having obſerved the path of the comet in 1737, concluded it from our author's elements in this table to be the fifth comet inſerted there, which appeared in 1556. Phil. Tranſ. No. 446.

(97) Viz. In the ſubduplicate ratio of the diſtance of the aphelium in the ellipſis to it's whole axis; that being the proportion of the *latus rectum* of the ellipſis, to that of a parabola which has the ſame diſtance in it's perihelium.

(98) The laſt mentioned gentleman, Aſtronomical Profeſſor of Greſham-college, having diſcovered a very practicable rule for finding the true anamoly from the mean in the elliptic orbits of comets, illuſtrates it by the examples of theſe two. Phil. Tranſ. No. 447.

(99) Viz. Charles II. James II. William III. Queen Anne, George I. and George II.

(100) See Mr Whiſton's account of this matter in the *Arithmetica Univerſalis*, publiſhed by him, together with the appendix, by the particular conſent, as he declares, of both the authors.

(101) Our author's tables of the eclipſes which had happened in the 223 lunations, from 1701 to 1718, with the corrections which he had made for that purpoſe, and called the Plinian Period, are omitted, both becauſe that period is leſs accurate, and beſides after a few periods becomes of little uſe.

tions; and a third of the longitude and latitude of the moſt remarkable places for ancient eclipſes and modern obſervations; the whole being reviſed by Dr Bradley, the preſent Aſtronomer Royal. In the preface it is obſerved, that our author made uſe of Mr Flamſtead's obſervations, which, though taken with great care, and faithfully entered in his book, were too few of the ſun to determine the ſolar numbers with ſufficient exactneſs, of which Dr Halley frequently complained; hence he could not determine either the ſpecies or poſition of the earth's orbit, much leſs could he diſcover any equations to the motion of the aphelia and the other ſmall equations, by which the orbit is affected, ſince theſe are not to be found out, nor their quantities determined, but by a long ſeries of the niceſt obſervations. It is likewiſe further obſerved, that neither the aberration of the light of the fixed ſtars, nor the equations to the poſition of the equinoctial points, nor that of the nutation of the earth's axis were at that time known, which equations, though ſmall, are ſufficient to produce a ſenſible appearance of error in good obſervations. That the great candour of Dr Halley is manifeſt in this, that he never intended to offer his lunar tables to the public as perfect, rather chooſing to omit ſome equations, for determining which he had not proper obſervations; and at the ſame time reſolving to publiſh what errors he ſhould find in them from his own obſervations. As to the precepts, they are very ſhort, but illuſtrated with a great number of examples for the uſe of common mariners. The method is thus: Firſt, obſerve nicely the time of an occultation, or cloſe application of a fixed ſtar to the moon, then find in the tables a correſpondent obſervation, i e. when there is the ſame mean anamoly and diſtance of the moon from the ſun, in the ſame year of her period of eighteen years and eleven days, and about the ſame time of the year; this done, the difference of the time between the two obſervations, reckoning two minutes of time to a degree, gives the diſtance of the ſhip's meridian from that of London, for which the tables are calculated. The rule ſeems to be eaſy enough for general uſe, but it has not hitherto been found, that obſervations can ordinarily be made by ſailors to the required degree of exactneſs. Our author indeed hoped, or rather wiſhed, the ſame would be brought to perfection by Mr Hadley's reflecting quadrant (102), and ſeveral obſervations were made in 1732, on board the Chatham Yatcht, by Dr Bradley and Mr Hadley, off Graveſend, and alſo near Sheerneſs, for the trial of it. But the truth is, all farther proſecution of this method for finding the longitude at ſea, was dropped ſoon after thoſe trials, being ſuperſeded by Mr Harriſon's clock, which was approved by Dr Halley himſelf, as well as others, the beſt ſkilled in theſe matters; and which as well from the curious contrivance, as alſo from a ſucceſsful trial thereof croſs the Bay of Biſcay, is univerſally allowed to promiſe much the eaſieſt and moſt accurate way of attaining this grand Quæſitum. P

(102) Mentioned in remark [QQ].

HAMMOND [HENRY], one of the moſt learned, pious, and rational, Engliſh Divines in the laſt century, was born at Chertſey in Surrey Auguſt 18 (*a*), 1605. He was the youngeſt ſon of Dr John Hammond, Phyſician to Henry Prince of Wales, who was his godfather, and gave him his own name (*b*); and, by the mother's ſide, was deſcended from Dr Alexander Nowell, Dean of St Paul's. Being yet in his long coats, which formerly were worn beyond the years of infancy, he was ſent to Eaton-ſchool; where, thro' the more than paternal care and induſtry of his father (who was an exact critic in the learned languages, eſpecially the Greek), he became a great proficient in Latin and Greek. His ſingular improvement and ſkill in the latter, was owing more particularly to the friendſhip and converſation of Mr Thomas Allen, Fellow of Eaton-college (*c*). He is alſo ſaid to have attained at ſchool a competent knowledge of the Hebrew tongue [*A*]. And was very remarkable for ſweetneſs of behaviour and uncommon piety; never engaging upon any occaſion into fights or quarrels, and often retiring into places of privacy to ſay his prayers. At the age of thirteen, anno 1618, being ripe for the univerſity, he was ſent to Magdalen-college in Oxford; of which, on July 30, 1622, he was choſen Demie (*d*), and the 11th of December following took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (*e*). June 30, 1625, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*f*), and on the 26th of July the ſame year was elected Fellow of his college (*g*); having been appointed before reader of the Natural Philoſophy lecture there. Some time after taking his degree, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity [*B*]; and in 1629, being arrived to the age of twenty-four, entered into Holy Orders, as the ſtatutes of the college required. During his reſidence in the univerſity, he generally ſpent thirteen hours a day in his ſtudies, which carried him not only through the whole courſe of Philoſophy, but almoſt through all the claſſick authors; upon the more conſiderable of which he wrote notes and critical emendations, and drew up indexes for his private uſe at the beginning and end of each book (*h*). On the 28th of January, 1633-4, he proceeded Bachelor in Divinity (*i*): and ſome time before [*C*], Dr Frewen, then Preſident of his college, and one of his Majeſty's Chaplains, afterwards Archbiſhop of York, giving him the honour to ſupply one of his turns at Court; Robert Sydney Earl of Leiceſter, who happened to be one of his auditors, was ſo deeply affected with the ſermon, and thence took ſo juſt a meaſure of the preacher's merit, that

(*a*) Life of Dr Hammond, by John Fell, D D. Lond. 1662. p. 1. But A. Wood places his birthday on the 26th, Athenæ, edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 245.

(*b*) Fell, ibid. p. 2. and Life of Dr Hammond, prefixed to his Practical Catechiſm, edit. 1715. 8vo.

(*c*) The ſame that aſſiſted Sir Henry Saville in his fine edition of St Chryſoſtome. Fell, p. 4.

(*d*) Fell, p. 3, 4, 5, 6. and Wood Athen. ut ſupra.

(*e*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 222.

(*f*) Ibid. col. 231.

(*g*) Idem Ath. Vol. II. col. 245.

(*h*) Fell, p. 6, 7, 8.

(*i*) Wood Faſti, ut ſupra, col. 257.

[*A*] *He is alſo ſaid to have attained at ſchool a competent knowledge of the Hebrew tongue.*] And to have even become a kind of tutor to ſeveral perſons in that language. For (as Dr Fell obſerves) 'It being then 'rarely heard of even out of grammar-ſchools, he 'grew the tutor of thoſe who began to write them-'ſelves men, but thought it no ſhame to learn of one 'whoſe knowledge ſeemed rather infuſed than ac-'quired; or in whom the learned languages might be 'thought to be the mother-tongue (1).'

(1) Fell, P. 3, 4.

[*B*] *He applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Divinity.*] Dr Fell informs us, that 'Having taken his degree [of 'Maſter of Arts] he preſently bought *a Syſtem of Divi-'nity*, with deſign to apply himſelf ſtraightway to that 'ſtudy; but, upon ſecond thoughts, he returned for a 'time to human learning: and, afterwards, when he 'reſumed his purpoſe for theology, took a quite diffe-'rent courſe of reading from the other too much uſual, 'beginning that ſcience at the upper end, as conceiving 'it moſt reaſonable to ſearch for primitive truth in the 'primitive writers [He ſhould have added, *eſpecially 'the Holy Scriptures*] and not to ſuffer his underſtand-'ing to be prepoſſeſt by the *contrived and intereſſed 'ſchemes of modern, and withal obnoxious authors* '(2).'

(2) Id. p. 7.

[*C*] *And ſome time before*] Dr Fell ſays, that 'not long after' his entring into holy orders, he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity. And, as he places that fact before his preaching at Court, one would be apt thence to conclude, that he took that degree in the beginning of the year 1633. But by comparing Dr Fell's relation (3) with A. Wood's Faſti (4), it is evident, that Mr Hammond did not take his Bachelor of Divinity's degree till January 28, 1633-4; ſome months after he had been inducted into his living.

(3) P. 8.

(4) Col. 257.

[*D*] *Not*

that he immediately offered him the rectory of Penſhurſt in Kent, then void, and in his gift. Our author accepting of it, was inducted Auguſt 22, 1633. Thereupon he quitted the college, and went and reſided upon his cure, where he performed every branch of the miniſterial function in the moſt diligent and exemplary manner: not only by conſtant preaching [D], but alſo in daily reading the public prayers [E], adminiſtring the Sacraments [F], relieving the poor, keeping hoſpitality [G], reconciling differences amongſt neighbours, viſiting the ſick, catechiſing the youth [H], &c. (k). March 7, 1638-9, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity (l): and in 1640 was choſen one of the members of the Convocation, called with the ſhort Parliament that began April 13 that year. Alſo, by the unſought-for favour of Dr Brian Duppa, then Biſhop of Chicheſter and afterwards of Wincheſter, he was made in 1643 Archdeacon of Chicheſter: and the ſame year named one of the Aſſembly of Divines, but never ſat amongſt them (m). In the beginning of the national troubles, he continued undiſturbed at his living (except the being now and then ſummoned before the committee of the country) 'till the middle of July 1643. But joining then in the fruitleſs attempt made at Tunbridge in favour of the King, he was forced to retire in diſguiſe to his old tutor Dr Buckner, to whom he came about the 25th of July, early in the morning. In this retirement he continued quietly about three weeks, 'till an alarm was brought, that ſtrict enquiry was made after Dr Hammond, and a hundred pounds reward promiſed to the perſon that ſhould produce him. Thereupon he found it neceſſary to remove; and, by the perſwaſion of Dr Oliver, newly choſen Preſident of Magdalen-college, who had abſconded with him, they jointly withdrew to Oxford [I]. Having procured an apartment in his old college, he ſought that peace in his retirement and ſtudy which was no where elſe to be found; taking no other diverſion than what the giving encouragement and inſtruction to ingenious young ſtudents afforded him, and the ſatisfaction which he received from the converſation of learned men (n). In the

(k) Fell, p. 9, 10, 11.

(l) Wood, Faſti, ut ſupra, col. 276.

(m) Fell, p. 23.

(n) Fell, p. 26—33.

[D] *Not only by conſtant preaching.*] His preaching was not *at the ordinary rate of the times*, an unpremeditated, undigeſted effuſion of ſhallow and crude conceptions; but a rational and juſt diſcourſe. His method was, after every ſermon to reſolve upon the enſuing ſubject; and that being done, to purſue the courſe of ſtudy which he was then in hand with, reſerving the cloſe of the week for the proviſion of the next Lord's-day. Whereby not only a conſtant progreſs was made in knowledge, but materials unawares gained for the immediate future work (5).

(5) Fell, p. 11, 12.

[E] *But alſo in daily reading the public prayers.*] Namely in his own church: and that, not only upon ſundays, and feſtivals and their eves, as alſo on wedneſdays and fridays, according to the rubrick; but every day in the week, and twice on ſaturdays and holy-day eves. And at thoſe devotions he took order, that his family ſhould give diligent attendance (6).—— Even when deprived of his living, he did not intermit ſo neceſſary a duty, as that of prayer. For, in the ten laſt years of his life, his certain perpetual returns of prayer exceeded David's ſeven times a day. As ſoon as he was ready, which was uſually early, he prayed in his chamber with his ſervant, in a peculiar form compoſed for that purpoſe. After this he retired to his own more ſecret devotions in his cloſet. Betwixt ten and eleven in the morning he had a ſolemn interceſſion in reference to the national calamities: to this, after a little diſtance, ſucceeded the morning office of the Church, which he particularly deſired to perform in his own perſon, and would by no means accept the eaſe of having it read by any other. In the afternoon he had another hour of private prayer, which on ſundays he enlarged, and ſo religiouſly obſerved, that if any neceſſary buſineſs or charity had diverted him at the uſual time, he ſpent the ſupper-time therein. About five of the clock, the ſolemn private prayers for the nation, and the evening ſervice of the Church returned. At bed time his private prayers cloſed the day: and after all even the night was not without its office, the 51ſt Pſalm being his midnight entertainment (7).

(6) Ibid. p. 12, 13.

(7) Ibid. p. 115—117.

[F] *Adminiſtring the Sacraments.*] The adminiſtration of the holy communion in particular, he reduced to an imitation, though a diſtant one, of primitive frequency, to once a month; and therewith its ancient inſeparable attendant, the Offertory: wherein his inſtruction and example ſo far prevailed, that there was thenceforth little need of ever making any poor-rate in his pariſh. Nay 'tis reported, that in a ſhort time a ſtock was raiſed to be always ready for putting out children apprentices. And, after that, there yet remained a ſurplus, for the aſſiſtance of the neighbouring pariſhes (8).

(8) Ibid. p. 13, 14.

[G] *Relieving the poor, keeping hoſpitality.*] For the relief of the poor, he conſtantly ſet apart a weekly allowance of money, over and above the tenth part of all he received, and the daily alms given at his door. To which muſt be added, his ſelling of corn to his poor neighbours under the market-price; which though, as he ſaid, he had reaſon to do, in that it ſaved him the charge of carriage, yet was it no ſmall benefit to poor labourers, who, beſides the abatement of price, and forbearance of payment ſometimes, ſaved thereby a day's work.——As he was thus liberal to the neceſſitous, ſo was he no leſs hoſpitable to thoſe of better quality; eſpecially on Sundays, which ſeldom paſſed without ſome of his neighbours at his table; he well knowing how much the application at the table inforced the doctrines of the pulpit, and how neceſſary the endearing of his perſon was to the recommending his inſtructions.—— In every inſtance he was kind and obliging to his pariſhioners; not only in compounding with them for their tithes, but alſo in receding even ſometimes from his right. For inſtance; having ſet the tithe of a large meadow, and upon agreement received part of the money at the beginning of the year; it happening that the crop was afterwards ſpoiled by a flood, when the tenant came to make the laſt payment, he not only refuſed it, but returned the former ſum, ſaying to the poor man, *God forbid I ſhould take the tenth where you have not the nine parts.* By theſe and the like means he came to be univerſally beloved in his pariſh: ſo that when he was driven away, and his books plundered, one of his neighbours bought them in his behalf, and preſerved them for him till the end of the war (9).

(9) Fell, p. 14—19.

[H] *Catechiſing the youth.*] His cuſtom was, during the warmer ſeaſon of the year, to ſpend an hour before evening prayer in catechiſing; at which the parents, and older ſort of people uſed to be preſent, and from whence (as he was wont to ſay) they reaped more benefit than from his ſermons.——And that no imaginable aſſiſtance might be wanting, he provided an able ſchool maſter in the pariſh, whom he continued during the whole time of his abode there (10).

(10) Id. p. 20—22.

[I] *They jointly withdrew to Oxford.*] Dr Hammond was forced to withdraw, chiefly through the malice of one who wanted to get into his good living. He made much difficulty to conſent to go to Oxford, thinking that too public a place; and, what he more conſidered, too far from his cure, whither he had hopes, (when the preſent fury was allayed) to return again: and, for that purpoſe, had wrote to ſuch friends of his as were in power, to uſe their intereſt for procuring his ſafety. But his letters meeting with a cold reception, and the company of his friend on one hand, and the appearance of deſerting him on the other, charming him to it, he was at laſt perſuaded: ſo encompaſſing Hamſhire, they came with ſome difficulty to Oxford (11).

(11) Fell, p. 26—32.

[K] *And*

the number of these was Dr Christopher Potter, Provost of Queen's college, with whom he had a particular intimacy, and who prevailed upon him to publish his Practical Catechism in 1644 [K]. The same year, and the following, he put out several useful pieces adapted to the times [L]. In December 1644, he attended, as chaplain, the Duke of Richmond, and Earl of Southampton, who were sent to London by King Charles the First, with terms of peace and accommodation to the Parliament (o). And when a treaty was appointed at Uxbridge, he appeared there as one of the Divines on the King's side; in which station, he not only laboured to undeceive those seduced persons whom he had opportunity to converse with: but also managed, greatly to his honour, a dispute with Richard Vines [M], one of the Presbyterian ministers sent by the Parliament (p). A few days after the breaking of this treaty, a Canonry of Christ-church in Oxford becoming void by the death of Dr William Strode, King Charles bestowed it, about March 15, 1644-5, on Dr Hammond (q); and the university chose him also their public Orator [N] His Majesty coming to reside in that city, appointed him moreover one of his chaplains in ordinary. But these new employments did not divert him from his beloved studies, nor hinder him from publishing several books, adapted chiefly to the increasing mischiefs of the times (r) [O]. His attendance as chaplain was superseded by the surrender of Oxford, and the King's captivity in the Scots camp, and at Holdenby: but, when his Majesty came into the army's power, he was permitted to attend him again, in his several confinements

(o) See the Memorable Occurrences, at the end of Mercurius Rusticus.

(p) Fell, p. 37, 38, 39.

(q) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Esq; Vol. II. p. 450.

(r) Fell, p. 44, 45.

[K] *And who prevailed upon him to publish his Practical Catechism*] It was published at their joint charge, (as the reader may see in Dr Hammond's life) and without the author's name; at Oxford 1644, in 4to, and in 1645, 12mo. The bookseller printed a new impression of it in 1646, 4to. without the author's knowledge, to all appearance. For, before publication, the Doctor sent to him additions and changes, which he printed under the title of, 'Large Additions 'to the Practicall Catechisme, written by Henry 'Hammond, D D. Containing these heads, Of 'Just Dealing; Of the Creed; The Sacraments; The 'Commandments; St Basil's Prayer, &c. Together 'with the Author's Preface, and many other inser- 'tions by way of Appendix:' which were printed in 4to, as part of the IVth, and the Vth, and VIth, books of that work. This is a very neat edition.—— Though it was one of the most valuable and excellent books published at that time, yet because it did not suit the nonsense then prevailing, great objections were raised against it by fifty-two ministers within the province of London; and especially by Fr. Cheynell, the same infamous person that slandered, in the meanest manner, the memory of the most learned Mr Chillingworth (12). Dr Hammond therefore was obliged to vindicate his Catechism in the following pieces. 1. 'A view of some Exceptions to the Practicall Cate- 'chisme: from the censures affixt on them by the Mi- 'nisters of London, in a book entituled, *A Testimony* 'to the Truth of Jesus Christ, &c.' 2. 'A copy of 'some Papers past at Oxford, betwixt the Author of 'the Practicall Catechisme, and Mr Cheynell.' Lond. 1646, 4to. 3. 'Vindication of three passages in the 'practical Catechism.' Lond. 1648, 4to.——Notwithstanding all discouragements and opposition, that good book met with so kind a reception, that the 7th edition came out in 1662: and the 15th edition was published in 1715. The 2d, 3d, and 4th books are an explanation of our Saviour's sermon *on* the mount.

(12) See the article CHILLINGWORTH [WILLIAM].

[L] *The same year, and the following, he put out several useful pieces adapted to the times.*] I. 'Of resisting 'the Lawfull Magistrate under colour of Religion: 'and appendant to it, of the word Κρίμα rendered 'Damnation, Rom. 13. Also, of the Zelots among 'the Jewes; Of taking up the crosse; A vindication 'of Christ's reprehending St Peter, from the excep- 'tions of Mr Marshall.' Oxford, 1644, 4to. II. 'Of Conscience, Scandall, Will-worship, and Super- 'stition.' Oxford, 1645, 4to. III. 'Considera- 'tions of present use concerning the Danger resulting 'from the Change of our Church-government.' IV. 'A view of the new Directory, and a Vindication of 'the ancient Liturgy of the Church of England; in 'answer to the Reasons pretended in the Ordinance 'and Preface, for the abolishing the one, and establish- 'ing the other.' Oxford.

[M] *But also managed, greatly to his honour, a dispute with Richard Vines.*] At this treaty, Dr Steward and Mr Henderson were at first only admitted to dispute; but at the second meeting the other Divines were called in: which was a surprise, and designed for such, to those of the King's part, who came as chaplains and private attendants on the Lords; but was before designed and prepared by those of the Presbyterian way. And in this conflict it was the lot of Dr Hammond to have Mr Vines for his antagonist; who, instead of offering a scholastick disputation, read from a paper a long Divinity lecture, in which were interwoven several little cavils and exceptions designed for arguments. Dr Hammond perceiving this, drew out his pen and ink, and as the other was reading, took notes of what was said, and then immediately answered the several suggestions in order, being about forty. Which he did with that readiness and sufficiency, as at once gave testimony to his ability, and to the evidence of the truth he asserted. However, an impudent falsity was afterwards raised upon the Doctor, namely, That Mr Vines utterly silenced him; insomuch that he was fain to use this unheard-of stratagem to avoid his adversary's demonstration, viz. to swear *by God and the holy Angels*, that though at present a solution did not occur to him, he could answer it. But the Doctor being informed of this slander, wrote a letter in his own vindication, Jan. 22. 1655, wherein he has these words; 'I am both sure that I 'never called God and his holy Angels to witness any 'thing in my life, nor ever swore one voluntary oath 'that I know of (and sure there was then none imposed 'on *me*) and that *I* was not, at that meeting, con- 'scious to myself, of wanting ability to express my 'thoughts, or pressed with any considerable difficulty, 'or forced by any consideration to wave the answer of 'any thing objected (13).'

(13) Fell, p. 38—43.

[N] *And the university chose him their public Orator.*] In his predecessor's time, viz. in 1626, that Canonry was annexed to the office of public Orator (14); which is the reason why Mr Wood says (15), that 'By virtue of this Canonry he became Orator of 'the university.' But it has been separated again since from that office.

(14) Wood Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 47.

[O] *Nor hinder him from publishing several books, adapted chiefly to the increasing mischiefs of the times.*] Namely, V. 'Of Sinnes of Weakness, Wilfulness, 'And appendant to it, A paraphrasticall Explication 'of two difficult Texts, Heb. vi. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, '7, 8. and Heb. x. 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31.' Oxford, 1646. 4to. VI. 'Of a late or a death-bed Repent- 'ance.' Oxford, 1646. 4to. VII. 'Of Idolatry.' Oxford, 1646. 4to. VIII. 'A View of some Excep- 'tions which have beene made by a Romanist, to the 'Lord Viscount Falkland's Discourse of the Infallibi- 'litie of the Church of Rome. Together with the 'Discourse itselfe of Infallibilitie prefixt to it' 1646. 4to. IX. 'Of the Power of the Keyes: or, of binding 'and loosing.' Lond. 1647. 4to. X. 'Of fraternal 'Admonition and Correption.' Lond. 1647. 4to. XI. 'The Christian's Obligation to Peace and Charity. 'Delivered in an Advent-Sermon at Carisbrooke-castle, 'an. 1647. And now published with IX. Sermons 'more.' Lond. 1649. 4to. They are dedicated to the King; who had been 'pleased to call, for about 'twelve weeks' before, for the first sermon; as the learned author says in his dedication, which is dated Sept. 16, 1648.

(15) Athenæ, ut supra.

[P] *When*

confinements and removes of Woburn, Caveſham, Hampton-court, and the Iſle of Wight; at which laſt place he continued 'till Chriſtmas 1647, the time that all his Majeſty's ſervants were put away from him (s). Deprived of this his deſired employment, he returned again to Oxford; where being choſen Sub-dean of Chriſt-Church (an office to which belongs much of the ſcholaſtic government of that college), he undertook the entire management of all affairs; and diſcharged it with great abilities and admirable diligence, 'till March 30, 1648, when he was forcibly turned out by the parliamentary viſitors (t) [P]. Inſtead of being commanded immediately to quit Oxford, as others were, a Committee of Parliament voted him and Dr Sheldon to be priſoners in that place, where they continued in reſtraint for about ten weeks. During this confinement, he begin his excellent Paraphraſe and Annotations on the New Teſtament [Q]. Some intention there was of removing him and his fellow-priſoner to Wallingford-caſtle [R]. But, by the interpoſition of his brother-in-law Sir John Temple, he had leave to be removed to Clapham in Bedfordſhire, the houſe in which his friend Sir Philip Warwick lived. The tryal of King Charles drawing on, and our author being in no other capacity to interpoſe than by writing, drew up an addreſs to the General and Council of Officers, and tranſmitted it to them [S]. His grief for the death of his royal maſter was extreme; but, after having indulged it a while, he reſumed his ſtudies, and publiſhed ſeveral pieces (u) [T]. And the rigour of his reſtraint being taken off in the beginning of the year 1649, he removed to Weſtwood in Worceſterſhire, the ſeat of the loyal Sir John Packington, from whom he

(s) Fell, p. 47, 48.

(t) Fell, p. 48, &c. J. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. Part ii. p. 103.

(u) Fell, p. 52—57.

* [P] *When he was forcibly turned out by the parliamentary viſitors.*] The accuſations laid againſt him were; His refuſing to ſubmit to the viſitors power; His being concerned in drawing up the reaſons which were preſented to the Convocation againſt the authority of that viſitation; and, His refuſing to publiſh the viſitors orders for the expulſion of ſeveral of the members of Chriſt-church (16).

(16) Wood Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Lib. I. p. 394, 397, 398.

[Q] *His Paraphraſe and Annotations on the New Teſtament.*] The ground-work of this excellent book was this: Having written in Latin two large volumes, in 4to of the way of interpreting the New-Teſtament, with reference to the *cuſtoms* of the Jews, and of the firſt Heretics in the Chriſtian Church, and alſo of the Heathens, eſpecially in the Grecian games; above all, the importance of the Helleniſtical dialect, into which he had made the exacteſt ſearch (by which means in a manner he happened to take in all the difficulties of that ſacred book): he began to conſider that it might be more uſeful to the Engliſh reader, who was to be his immediate care, to write in our vulgar language, and ſet every obſervation in its natural order, according to the direction of the text. And having ſome years before collated ſeveral Greek copies of the New Teſtament; obſerved the variation of our Engliſh from the original; and made an entire tranſlation of the whole for his private uſe; being thus prepared, he caſt his work into that form in which it now appears (17). It firſt came out in 1653. He publiſhed, in 1656, *A Review* of it *with ſome Additions and Alterations*, Lond. 8vo. And in 1698, Mr John Le Clerc put out a Latin tranſlation of this work, namely of the Paraphraſe and Annotations, (with the text of the vulgate) wherein he hath intermixed many of his own animadverſions, explaining thoſe points upon which Dr Hammond had but ſlightly touched; and corrected many of his miſtakes. He frequently criticizes upon the Doctor's ſentiments, and examines his quotations by the originals; whereby he has diſcovered a great many typographical errors, eſpecially in numbers, and not a few of the Doctor's miſtakes in quoting upon the credit of others. Sometimes he blames him, for giving a particular ſenſe to certain Greek words, contrary to the common uſe of thoſe words in Greek authors, wherein he thinks the Doctor was not very converſant, and that he learned his Greek rather in ſtudying the Fathers to know their ſentiments, than to obtain an exact ſkill in the language. He blames him alſo, (and indeed he is juſtly blameable) for meeting ſo often with the Gnoſtics; thinking that the writers of the New Teſtament allude to them oftner than they do; and even wreſting ſome texts to favour that hypotheſis.—But the Doctor ſhewed his good ſenſe, judgment, and honeſty, in following the immortal Grotius, eſpecially in his commentaries on the Epiſtle to the Romans.

(17) Fell, p. 58.

[R] *Some intention there was of removing him and his fellow-priſoner to Wallingford-caſtle.*] But Colonel Evelyn, the Governor of that caſtle (though a man of as oppoſite principles to church and church-men as any in thoſe rebellious times) wholly declined the employment; ſolemnly proteſting, that if they came to him, they ſhould be entertained as friends, and not as priſoners.—During their confinement at Oxford, the King deſired that they ſhould attend him at the treaty in the Iſle of Wight. But this reaſonable requeſt was not granted; under pretence, that they were priſoners. And, probably, the gaining that, was the cauſe why they were ſo; as Dr Fell obſerves (18).

(18) See Fell, p. 53, 54.

[S] *Drew up an addreſs to the General, and Council of Officers.*] Which he publiſhed under this title, XII. 'To the right honourable the Lord Fairfax, 'and his Councell of Warre; the humble Addreſſe of 'Henry Hammond.' Lond. 1649, 4to. XIII. Shortly after he put out a vindication of the ſame, intituled. 'A Vindication of Dr Hammond's Addreſſe, '&c. from the Exceptions of *Eutactus Philodemius*, in 'two particulars; concerning the Power ſuppoſed in 'the Jew, over his own Freedome; the no-power 'over a man's own life. Together with a brief Reply 'to Mr John Goodwin's Υπερασπικα as far as con-'cerns Dr Hammond' Lond. 1650, 4to. The perſon who aſſumed the name of *Eutactus Philodemius*, was the author of *The Original and End of civil Government*

[T] *And publiſhed ſeveral pieces.*] Particularly, XIV. '*Of the Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtian Religion.*' Lond. 1650, 12mo, printed ſince at the end of his Practical Catechiſm. He publiſhed alſo an anſwer to David Blondell's objections, concerning the Valentinian Hereſy, and Epiſcopal, and Chorepiſcopal power, occaſioned by Archbiſhop Uſher's edition of Ignatius's Epiſtles. This anſwer was in Latin, and intituled, XV. *Diſſertationes quatuor, quibus Epiſcopatûs jura ex S. Scripturis & primæva Antiquitate aſſtruuntur, contra ſententiam D. Blondelli, & aliorum.* To which is prefixed, *Diſſertatio de Antichriſto, de myſterio Iniquitatis, de Diotrephe, & de Gnoſticis ſub Apoſtolorum ævo ſe prodentibus.* Lond. 1651, 4to. In purſuance of the ſame argument, he publiſhed the two following tracts in Engliſh. XVI. 'A Vindication 'of the Diſſertations concerning Epiſcopacie, from 'the Anſwers or Exceptions offered againſt them by 'the London Miniſters, in their *Jus Divinum Mini-'ſterii Evangelici.*' And, XVII. 'An Anſwer to 'the Animadverſions on the Diſſertations touching Ig-'natius's Epiſtles, and the Epiſcopacie in them aſ-'ſerted.' Lond. 1654, 4to.—In the former of theſe, namely in the *Vindication of the Diſſertations*, &c. from page 125 to 137, he vindicates himſelf againſt ſome detractors, who affirmed, that in his annotations on the New Teſtament, he had ſtolen a great deal from Grotius. To which he adds, 'A digreſſion 'concerning ſome jealouſies ſpread of Hugo Grotius:' whom his enemies had repreſented as a Socinian, a Papiſt, and what not.—In further vindication of that excellent writer, he publiſhed, XVIII 'A Defence 'of the learned Hugo Grotius, &c.' Lond. 1655, 4to. XIX. 'A ſecond Defence of the learned Hugo Gro-'tius, or a vindication of the Digreſſion concerning him 'from ſome freſh Exceptions.' Lond. 1655, 4to. And, XX. 'A continuation of the Defence of Hugo 'Grotius, in an Anſwer to the Review of his Annota-'tions on the New Teſtament.' Lond. 1657, 4to.

he had received a kind invitation. Here he ſpent the remainder of his days. In 1651, when King Charles the Second came into thoſe parts, he waited upon him, and received a letter from his own hand, of great importance, to ſatisfy his loyal ſubjects concerning his adherence to the Religion of the Church of England. His Majeſty's defeat, and the ſubſequent perſecution that fell upon the generous maſter of the family in which he was entertained, greatly diſconcerted his mind. But his grief was much alleviated by the King's deliverance and wonderful eſcape (*w*). And, as ſoon as he could compoſe his thoughts, he purſued his ſtudies with amazing diligence. For in 1653 he publiſhed his great work on the New Teſtament; and after that went on applying antidotes to the diſtempers of the Church and State, and oppoſing thoſe monſtrous, ill-grounded, and abſurd tenets, which were daily broached under the name of Religion: particularly thoſe of the Anabaptiſts, and other Enthuſiaſts [*U*]. Popery, which alſo was lifting up its head, through the uſurper's connivance or encouragement, and by taking advantage of our unhappy troubles and diviſions, received due correction from his maſterly hand [*W*]. And, though the loſs of all his preferments had in a great meaſure deprived him of the means of exerting his favourite virtue of Charity [*X*], yet he exerciſed it to the utmoſt of his power, eſpecially towards the loyal exiles [*Y*]. Alſo he formed at the ſame time this generous deſign, namely, to preſerve the future being of the Church of England, which was in danger of being utterly deſtroyed by the cruel interdict of January 1655 (*x*) [*Z*]. But theſe deſigns did not divert him from his further endeavours to improve and benefit the world by his learning: ſince he undertook a Paraphraſe and Commentary on all the books of the Old Teſtament; of which he publiſhed the Pſalms, and went through a third part of

(*w*) Fell, p. 64, 65, 66.

(*x*) Fell, p. 73, 73, 76, 78.

[*U*] *Particularly thoſe of the Anabaptiſts and other Enthuſiaſts.*] Of this kind were, XXI. 'A Letter of 'Reſolution to ſix Queries of preſent uſe in the Church 'of England, viz. 1. Of the way of reſolving Controverſies, which are not clearly ſtated and reſolved 'in the Scriptures. 2. Of marrying the wife's ſiſter. '3. Of Polygamy and Divorces. 4. Of the baptiſm 'of infants. 5. Of impoſition of hands for ordination. '6. Of the obſervation of Chriſtmas-day, and other 'Feſtivals of the Church.' Lond. 1653, 8vo. XXII. 'An Account of Mr Cawdry's *triplex diatribe*, con'cerning Superſtition, Wil-worſhip, and Chriſtmaſs-'feſtivall.' Lond. 1654, 4to. XXIII. 'Of Funda'mentals in a notion referring to practice.' Lond. 1654, 12mo. XXIV. 'The Baptiſing of Infants re'viewed and defended from the Exceptions of Mr 'Tombes, in the three laſt chapters of his book enti'tuled *Anti-pædo-baptiſm*.' Lond. 1655, 4to. XXV. 'The degrees of ardency in Chriſt's Prayer, reconciled 'with his fullneſs of habitual Grace, in reply to the 'author of a book entit. *A mixture of Scholaſtical 'Divinity, &c. by Henry Jeanes.*' Lond. 1656, 4to. XXVI. 'The grounds of Uniformity from 1 Cor. xiv. '40, vindicated from Mr Henry Jeanes's Exceptions 'in one paſſage in the View of the Directory.' Lond. 1657, 4to.

[*W*] *Popery—alſo———received due correction from his maſterly hand.*] For, (beſides his two pieces againſt the Romaniſts mentioned above under note [*O*] No. 7, 8.) he publiſhed againſt them, XXVII. 'An 'Appendix, or Anſwer, to what was returned by the 'Apologiſt.' Lond. 1650, 4to. That Apologiſt was the author of, '*A Treatiſe apologetical touching the 'infallibility of the Church Catholic, &c.*' in anſwer to Lord Falkland. XXVIII. 'Of Schiſm: or, a De'fence of the Church of England, againſt the Ex'ceptions of the Romaniſts.' Lond. 1653, 12mo. [John Serjeant put out an anſwer to it.] XXIX. 'A 'Reply to the Catholick Gentleman's Anſwer to the 'moſt materiall parts of the booke of Schiſme. Where'to is annexed, An Account of H. T. his Appendix 'to his Manual of Controverſies, concerning the 'Abbot of Bangor's Anſwer to Auguſtine,' Lond. 1654, 4to. XXX. 'The Diſarmer's Dexterities ex'amined. In a ſecond defence of the Treatiſe of 'Schiſme.' Lond. 1656, 4to. XXXI. '*Paræneſis*, &c. 'A diſcourſe of Hereſy in defence of our Church a'gainſt the Romaniſt.' Lond. 1656, 8vo. XXXII. 'Reply to ſome paſſages of the Reviewer, in his late 'Book of Schiſme, concerning his charge of Corrup'tions in the primitive Church, and ſome other par'ticulars.' Lond. 1657, 4to. XXXIII. 'The 'Diſpatcher diſpatched: Or, an Examination of the 'Romaniſts rejoynder to the Replies of D. H. being a 'third Defence of the Treatiſe of Schiſme, wherein is 'inſerted a view of their poſſeſſion and oral Tradition 'in the way of M. White.' Lond. 1659, 4to. [This is moſt particularly levelled againſt D. Holden, T. White, and Richworth or Ruſhworth.] XXXIV. 'Ἀπὸ ἀλληθείαν, or a Brief Account of one Suggeſtion 'of the Romaniſt againſt the Diſpatcher diſpatched.' Lond. 1660, 4to.

[*X*] *And, though the loſs of all his preferments had in a great meaſure deprived him of the means of exerting his favourite virtue of Charity.*] At the time of his flight from Penſhurſt, his whole fortune was barely three hundred pounds. But, by the ſale of a leaſe left him for his portion from his father, and the aſſiſtance of his Canonry of Chriſt-church, he raiſed it to near a thouſand, notwithſtanding all his laviſh charities. The only other way of income he had, was the buying of leaſes for years, and the printing of his books; from the latter of which, when all charges were deducted, very little came into his pocket. And yet he grew rich in ſpight of all his liberality, as Dr Fell expreſſes it, being worth at the time of his death about 1500 l. (19)

(19) Fell, p. 144—148.

[*Y*] *Yet he exerciſed it to the utmoſt of his power, eſpecially towards the loyal exiles.*] The reader may ſee an account of his great and very numerous charities, (too many to come within the compaſs of this note) in his life written by Dr Fell (20): and, among the reſt, his remittances to the Royal exiles, though it was declared high-treaſon. The perſon intruſted with theſe was diſcovered to Oliver Cromwell, who notwithſtanding let the Doctor eſcape without puniſhment (21).

(20) From p. 136 to 165.

(21) Fell, p. 77, 78.

[*Z*] *Which was in danger of being utterly deſtroyed by the cruel interdict of January* 1655.] This interdict, or declaration, injoyned, that after the firſt day of January 1655, no perſons ſhould keep in their houſes or families, as chaplains or ſchool-maſters for the education of their children, any ſequeſtered or ejected Miniſter, Fellow of a College, or School-maſter; nor permit any of their children to be taught by ſuch. And that no perſon who had been ſequeſtered, or ejected out of any benefice, college, or ſchool, ſhould from and after the ſaid firſt day of January, keep any ſchool either public or private:——nor preach in any public place, or at any private meeting of any other perſons than thoſe of his own family; nor adminiſter baptiſm, or the Lord's Supper, or marry any perſons, or uſe the book of Common-Prayer, or the forms of prayer therein contained (22). As the ancient flock of clergymen were by this edict in a manner rendered uſeleſs, and the Church was at beſt but a ſet of ancient perſons haſtening to their graves, who muſt in a few years be waſted; Dr Hammond projected, by penſions to hopeful perſons in our two Univerſities, to maintain a ſeminary of youth trained up in piety and learning upon the ſober principles and old eſtabliſhment of the Church of England: giving in charge to thoſe whom he employed in this affair, 'carefully to ſeek out ſuch as 'were pioufly inclined, and to prefer that qualification 'before unſanctified good parts,' adding this as a certain maxim, 'That exemplary virtue muſt reſtore the 'Church (23).'

(22) See J. Walker's Sufferings, &c. as above, Part i. p. 194. and Scobell's Collection, p. 346.

(23) Fell, p. 6, 77.

[*AA*] Of

of the book of Proverbs [*A A*]. His want of health only hindered him from proceeding further. For, that ſtrength of body, which before had attended his indefatigable mind, beginning to fail him about the year 1654, he was ſeized by thoſe four tormenting diſtempers, each of which hath been judged a competent tryal of human patience, namely, the ſtone, the gout, the colick, and the cramp; the laſt of which was as painful as any of the other (*y*). But the ſtone put an end to his valuable life. For, while King Charles the Second was deſigning him for the biſhopric of Worceſter, and he was preparing to go to London, whither he had been invited by the moſt eminent divines, he was ſeized with a ſharp fit of the ſtone [*B B*] on the 4th of April, of which he died the 25th of the ſame month, in the 55th year of his age. The next day he was decently buried in the neighbouring church of Hampton-Lovet, with the office and rites of the Church of England; his body, in token of reſpect, being borne to the grave by clergymen (*z*). Dr Hammond was a very handſome man; his *ſtature* being of juſt height, and all proportionate dimenſions; his *complexion* clear and florid; his *eye* quick [*C C*] and ſprightly; and his *face* carried dignity and attractives in it, being ſcarce ever clouded with a frown, or ſo much as darkened by reſervedneſs. His conſtitution was ſtrong; patient of cold [*D D*], and of the greateſt labour, and ſevereſt hardſhips. As to the faculties of his mind; his judgment was ſound, clear, and diſcerning; his invention fruitful, nay inexhauſtible, whence proceeded his great facility in compoſing [*E E*], and that copiouſneſs, or rather in ſome reſpects blameable exuberance, which appears in his writings [*F F*]. His memory was a ſign of his good judgment, that is, it was ſerviceable but not officious; faithful to things and buſineſs, but unwillingly retaining the contexture and punctualities of words. With regard to his moral conduct, he was moſt exemplary for charity [*G G*], temperance [*H H*], chaſtity, and all ſocial virtues [*I I*]. He was likewiſe a man of uncommon diligence and

(*y*) Fell, p. 71, 83.

(*z*) Fell, p. 209—236.

[*A A*] *Of which he publiſhed the Pſalms, and went through a third part of the book of Proverbs.*] He publiſhed, XXXIV his 'Paraphraſe and Annotations 'on the book of Pſalms.' Lond. 1659, fol. And XXXV. The 'Paraphraſe and Annotations on the ten 'firſt Chapters of the Proverbs,' which he lived to finiſh, were publiſhed after his deceaſe. Lond. 1683, fol.

[*B B*] *He was ſeized with a ſharp fit of the ſtone.*] Namely, on the 4th of April; with thoſe ſymptoms that are uſual in ſuch caſes; which yet upon the voidance of a ſtone ceaſed for that time. However, on the 8th of the ſame month it returned again with greater violence: and, though after two days the pain decreaſed, the ſuppreſſion of urine yet continued, with frequent vomitings, and a diſtention of the whole body, and likewiſe ſhortneſs of breath upon every little motion. At length, it turned to a violent bleeding at the noſe, which put an end to his life (24).

(24) Fell, p. 213, 214, 225, 231.

[*C C*] *His eye quick.*] His ſight was quick to an unuſual degree; inſomuch that if by chance he ſaw a knot of men, a flock of ſheep, or herd of cattle, being engaged in diſcourſe, and not at all thinking of it, he would involuntarily caſt up their number, which others after long delays could hardly reckon. His ear alſo was accurate and tuned to his harmonious ſoul, ſo that having never learned to ſing by book or ſtudy, he would exactly perform his part of many things to a harpſicon or theorbo; and frequently did ſo in his more vigorous years after the toyl and labour of the day, and before the remaining ſtudies of the night (25).

(25) Fell, p. 87, 88.

[*D D*] *Patient of cold.*] Inſomuch that for the moſt part of his life, in the fierceſt cold, he took no other advantage of a fire, than to look upon it, at a diſtance (26).

(26) Fell, p. 87.

[*E E*] *Whence proceeded his great facility in compoſing.*] He diſpatched his writings with incredible ſwiftneſs, uſually compoſing faſter than his amanuenſis, though a very dextrous perſon, could tranſcribe after him. His *conſiderations of preſent uſe concerning Epiſcopacy* were drawn up after ten of the clock at night in a friend's chamber, who profeſſed, that ſitting by all the while, he remembered not that he took off pen from paper till he had done; and the very next morning, it being fully approved by the Biſhop of Saliſbury [Dr Duppa] he ſent it to the preſs (27): to which work he could have no premeditation or ſecond thoughts, he being that very night after ſupper employed by the ſaid Biſhop on that taſk. So likewiſe he began his tract of *Scandal* at eleven at night, and finiſhed it before he went to bed. Nor was this a peculiar or extraordinary thing with him, but moſt cuſtomary; five ſheets having, amidſt his other diverſions, been ſundry times his one day's work; adding to it ſo much of the night as he frequently borrowed from ſleep and ſupper [28].

(27) They made 24 pages in 4to. printed cloſe and ſmall.

(28) Fell, p. 90, 91, 92.

[*F F*] *And that copiouſneſs, or rather in ſome reſpects blameable exuberance, which appears in his writings.*] This defect is acknowledged by the writer of his life, the learned Dr Fell, who calls it, 'The beſt kind of defect; the tide and torrent of his matter being not eaſily confined by periods; whereby his ſtyle, though round and comprehenſive, was incumbred ſometimes by *Parentheſes*, and became difficult to vulgar underſtandings: but (adds he) by the uſe of writing, and his deſire to accommodate himſelf to all capacities, he in his latter years maſtered that defect: ſo as to deſerve from King Charles I. this character and teſtimony, 'That he was the moſt natural orator he ever heard (29).' This fault was plainly owing to his overhaſtineſs in compoſing, and the not allowing himſelf time to arrange his thoughts in neat, ſhort, and clear periods; a method indeed not very common in his time, and chiefly brought in after the Reſtoration.

(29) Id. p. 97.

[*G G*] *He was moſt exemplary for charity.*] As Dr Fell expreſſes it (30), 'Miſery and want, wherever he met with them, ſufficiently endeared the object. His alms was as exuberant as his love; and in calamities, he never was a ſtranger to the exigence, whatever he might be to the man that ſuffered.' To this beneficent diſpoſition he devoted the tenth of all his income; wherein he was ſo ſtrictly punctual, that commonly the firſt thing he did was to compute and ſeparate the poor man's ſhare. To this he added every week five ſhillings. Over and above which, he compleated the devotions of his weekly faſt, by adding twenty ſhillings to the poor man's heap.' For inſtances of his charity, ſee his life by Dr Fell (31).

(30) P. 138, 135.

(31) P. 157, &c.

[*H H*] *Temperance.*] His diet was of the plaineſt meats. Sauces he ſcarce ever taſted of, but often expreſſed his wonder, 'How rational creatures ſhould eat 'for any thing but health, ſince he that did eat or 'drink that which might cauſe a fit of the ſtone or 'gout, though a year after, unmanned himſelf, and 'acted as a beaſt.' Therefore, in the time of his full health, he ſeldom did eat or drink more than once in 24 hours, and ſome fruit towards night; and two days in every week, and in Lent and Ember-week three days, he eat but once in thirty-ſix. His temperance in ſleep reſembled that of his meats, midnight being the uſual time of his going to reſt, and four or five, very rarely ſix, the hour of his riſing (32).

(32) Fell, p. 106, 107, 110.

[*I I*] *And all ſocial virtues.*] He was, in particular, a paſſionate lover of friendſhip; which, in his opinion, was the next ſacred thing unto religion. Therefore he reflected with compaſſion on the ignorance of thoſe, who were ſtrangers to it, ſaying that 'ſuch muſt lead a pitiful inſipid herb-john-like life.' Upon this ground, he uſed induſtriouſly to recommend and propagate friendſhip; and profeſſed, that 'he had no 'ſuch way of enjoying any thing as by reflexion from 'the perſon he loved: ſo that his friend's being happy,

'was

and induſtry, abhorring ſloth and idleneſs (*a*) [*K K*]. And, to conclude his character with what A. Wood and Biſhop Burnet have ſaid of him; 'Great were his natural 'abilities, greater his acquired; and in the whole circle of arts he was moſt accurate. 'He was alſo eloquent in the tongues, exact in antient and modern writers, well verſed 'in Philoſophy, and better in Philology, moſt learned in School-Divinity, and a great 'maſter in Church-Antiquity (*b*).' 'His death, ſaith Biſhop Burnet (*c*), was an un- 'ſpeakable loſs to the Church. For, as he was a man of great learning, and of moſt 'eminent merit, he having been the perſon that during the bad times had maintained 'the cauſe of the Church in a very ſingular manner; ſo he was a very moderate man in 'his temper, though with a high principle, and probably he would have fallen into healing 'counſels. He was alſo much ſet on reforming abuſes, and for raiſing in the clergy a 'due ſenſe of the obligations they lay under.' Beſides his ſeveral pieces abovementioned, ſome were publiſhed after his deceaſe [*L L*]: and his *amanuenſis*, the learned Mr William Fulman, collected them together into four volumes folio in 1684.

(*a*) Fell, p. 111, 112, &c.

(*b*) Wood Ath. ut ſupra, col. 246.

(*c*) Hiſt. of his own Time, edit. 1724. p. 177.

'was the readieſt way to make him ſo.' The principal thing he contracted for in friendſhip, was a free uſe of *mutual admonition*; and he uſed to ſay, that he 'delighted to *be loved, not reverenced* (33).'

(33) Id. p. 122, 123, 125, 133.

[*K K*] *He was likewiſe a man of uncommon diligence and induſtry.*] He not only avoided, but bore a perfect hate, and ſeemed to have a forcible antipathy to idleneſs, and ſcarcely recommended any thing in his advices with that concern and vigour, as, *to be furniſhed always with ſomewhat to do.* This he propoſed as the beſt expedient for innocence and pleaſure; aſſuring, that 'No burthen is more heavy, or temptation more 'dangerous, than to have time lye on ones hand; the 'idle man's brain being not only (as he worded it) 'the devil's ſhop, but his kingdom too, a model of, 'and appendage to, hell, a place given up to torment 'and miſchief.' Beſides thoſe portions of time which the neceſſities of nature and of civil life extorted from him, there was not a minute of the day which he left vacant. When he walked abroad, which he did not ſo much to recreate himſelf as to obey the preſcriptions of his phyſician, he never failed to take a book with him, and read all the while: and in his chamber alſo he had one lay conſtantly open, out of which his ſervant read to him while he was dreſſing and undreſſing; by which one piece of huſbandry, in a ſhort time he diſpatched ſeveral conſiderable volumes (34). The following obſervations of the learned author of his life, are further proofs of his very great induſtry. 'He that ſhall conſider his laborious way, immerſt in almoſt infinite quotations, to which the turning over books and conſulting ſeveral editions was abſolutely needful; his obligation to read not only claſſick authors, but the more recent abortions of the preſs, wherein he proved frequently concerned; his peruſal of the writings of his friends and ſtrangers, deſigned for the preſs; his reviews of his own works, and correcting them with his own hand ſheet by ſheet as they were printed, which he did to all his later tracts; his receptions of viſits, whether of civility, or for reſolution of conſcience, or information in points of difficulty, which were numerous and great devourers of his time; his agency for men of quality, providing them ſchoolmaſters for their children, and chaplains in their houſes, in which affair he had ſet up a kind of office; his general correſpondencies by letter, whereof ſome coſt him 10, others 20, 30, 40, nay 60 ſheets of paper, and ever took up two days of the week entirely; the time exhauſted by his ſickneſſes; his conſtant preaching, and inſtructing the family where he was; and, amidſt all, his ſure returns of prayer: all theſe, were ſufficient proofs of a moſt uncommon diligence (35).

(34) Id. p. 111, 112.

(35) Fell. p. 92, 93, 94.

[*L L*] *Some were publiſhed after his deceaſe.*] Namely, XXXVI. 'Prayers of interceſſion for their 'uſe who mourn in ſecret for the publick calamities of 'this nation, with an anniverſary prayer for the 30th 'of January, &c.' Lond. 1659, 8vo (36). XXXVII. 'Χάρις ϗ Εἰρήνη; Or, a pacific Diſcourſe of God's 'Grace and Decrees; in a letter of full accordance 'written to the Reverend and moſt learned Dr Sander- 'ſon. To which are annexed the Extracts of three 'Letters concerning God's Preſcience reconciled with 'Liberty and Contingency' Lond. 1660, 8vo. XXXVIII. His laſt words; being two prayers for the peaceful re-ſettlement of this Church and State. XXXIX. 'The daily Practice of Piety: With devo- 'tions and Prayers in time of Captivity.' Lond. 1660, 8vo. XL. 'Spiritual Sacrifice: Or, Devotions and 'Prayers, &c.' XLI. 'A ſolemn Petition and Ad- 'vice to the Convocation, with directions to the Laity 'how to prolong their happineſs.' Cambr. 1661. Publiſhed by Tho. Smith, of Chriſt-college in Cambridge. XLII. *De Confirmatione ſive benedictione poſt baptiſmum ſolenni, per impoſitionem manuum Epiſcopi celebrata, commentarius, ex ſententia Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ.* Lond. 1661, 8vo. XLIII. 'Several Ser- 'mons.' Lond. 1664, fol. They are in number 31, and ſome of them had been publiſhed before. XLIV. 'Of Hell-Torments: Or, an Aſſertion of the Exiſtence 'and Duration of Hell-Torments, &c.' Ox. 1664, 12mo. XLV. 'An Accordance of St Paul with St 'James in the great point of Faith and Works.' Ox. 1665, 8vo. XLVI. 'Anſwer to Mr Richard Smith's 'Letter concerning the Senſe of that Article in the 'Creed, *He deſcended into Hell*: Dated 29 April, '1659.' Lond. 1684, 8vo (37). XLVII. Nineteen Letters of his were publiſhed by Fr. Peck, M. A. in 1739.

(36) See Biſhop Kennet's Reg. p. 38.

(37) This account is partly taken from the books themſelves, and partly from A. Wood's Athenæ.

C

HAMPDEN [JOHN], Eſq; of Hamden in Buckinghamſhire, frequently diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Patriot Hampden, was a gentleman of a fair eſtate and good extraction*, and couſin-german to Oliver Cromwell [*A*]. He was born in London in the year 1594, and at the age of fifteen ſent from ſchool to Oxford in 1609, where he was admitted a Commoner of Magdalen-college; but leaving the univerſity without any degree, he removed to the Inns of Court, where he made a conſiderable progreſs in the ſtudy of the Law (*a*). With this, the ordinary education of a gentleman, he went to reſide upon his eſtate at Hamden; ſetting out at firſt in the jovial way ſuitable to his years. In that diſpoſition he indulged to himſelf all the freedom in ſports and exerciſes and company which were uſed by men of the moſt jolly converſation. In the ſecond parliament of King Charles the Firſt he obtained a ſeat in the Houſe of Commons [*B*], and having alſo a place

* Clarendon's *Hiſt. of the Rebellion*, Vol. I. p. 204. firſt edit. in fol. Whitlocke ſays, of the antienteſt extraction in Buckinghamſhire. *Memorials of the Engliſh Affairs*, p. 70. edit. 1732. in fol.

(*a*) Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 30. Sir Philip Warwick obſerves, that he had great knowledge both in Scholarſhip and the Law. Mem. of the reign of K. Charles I. p. 240. Lond. 1701.

(1) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 31. & Faſti, col. 88 and 90.

(2) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, &c. Vol. III. p. 60. firſt edit. 1704. fol.

[*A*] *Couſin to Oliver Cromwell.*] His father John Hampden, Eſq: married Elizabeth, ſecond daughter of Sir Henry Cromwell, of Hinchinbroke in Huntingdonſhire, Grandfather to the Protector, who 'tis ſaid, was adviſed by this kinſman while alive (1), and always adored his memory after his death (2).

[*B*] *This Parliament met at Weſtminſter, Feb.* 4, 1625-6.] So that Mr Hampden was then turned of thirty, a proper age as has been ſometimes remarked, for putting off the man of pleaſure, and taking up the man of buſineſs; the ſeeds of that ambition (without which perſons of the higheſt rank and faireſt opportunities, ſink into ſome degree of diſvalue) naturally ſpringing up in all hopeful minds about that age. To this purpoſe Mr Whitlocke obſerves, that it was Mr Hampden's *affection to public liberty and applauſe*

in

place there in the two ſucceeding parliaments, he quitted his pleaſures, and turned his mind to public buſineſs; wherein ſiding with the party againſt the Court, he took up a reſerved and preciſe behaviour, living with extraordinary ſobriety and ſtrictneſs; but ſtill preſerved the natural cheerfulneſs and affability of his temper (*b*). It ſeems to be about this time that, changing alſo his condition, he married Sarah, ſecond daughter of Thomas Foley, Eſq; great-grand-father to the firſt Lord Foley, and widow of Eſſex Knightley, Eſq; [*C*] of Faweſley in Northamptonſhire (*c*). Hitherto Mr Hampden made no remarkable figure in the public. For though he concurred in the proſecution againſt the Duke of Buckingham, and ſuffered among many others for refuſing to comply with the loan (*d*) in 1626; yet his name is not among thoſe who were pricked for Sheriffs, in order to prevent their election in the enſuing parliament; nor was he any of thoſe who were committed to the Tower in 1628 for a riotous proceeding in the Houſe of Commons, while the Proteſtation was read, that *whoever ſhould bring in innovations in religion, &c. ſhould be accounted enemies to the kingdom.* But in the year 1636 he became univerſally known, by a ſolemn tryal at the King's-Bench, on his refuſal to pay the ſhip-money [*D*]. He behaved with ſingular temper and modeſty in this ſuit, and obtained more advantage and credit by loſing it, than the King did of ſervice by gaining it (*e*) [*E*]. From this time he ſoon grew to be one of the moſt popular men in the nation (*f*), and a principal leading member in the Long Parliament (*g*): ſo that his actions and conduct became the ſubject of general hiſtory, to which therefore we refer the reader (*h*) [*F*]; and ſhall only (as falling more

(*b*) Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, &c. Vol. I. p. 146 and 205. firſt edit. in folio.

(*c*) Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 286. Lond. 1741. in 4 vols 8vo.

(*d*) Whitlocke's Memorials, &c. p. 70. edit. 1732. fol.

(*e*) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 53. ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Lord Clarendon ſays, he was poſſeſſed with the moſt abſolute ſpirit of popularity, and the moſt abſolute faculties to govern the people, of any man he ever knew. Ibid. p. 205.

(*g*) He was returned for his county both in this and the ſhort parliament preceding.

(*h*) Theſe are, Ruſhworth, Whitlocke, and eſpecially Clarendon.

in his country, which [drawing him into action] *expoſed him to many difficulties and troubles* (3).

(3) Memorials of the Engliſh affairs, p. 70. Lond. 1732. fol.

[*C*] *He married Mr Knightly's widow.*] A certain author writes, that, 'Mr Hampden being a perſon of 'antimonarchical principles, he did not only ride for 'ſeveral years, before the grand rebellion broke out, 'into Scotland, to keep conſults with the covenanting brethren there, but kept his circuits to ſeveral 'puritannical houſes in England, particularly to that 'of Knightley in Northamptonſhire, and alſo to that 'of Lord Say, at Broughton near Banbury in Oxfordſhire, where there was a room and a paſſage thereto, 'which his Lordſhip's ſervants were prohibited to 'come near, when the company met.' The ſame author alſo relates, 'that the party having in theſe and 'other places their council-chambers and chief ſpeakers; whatever embrioes were conceived in the 'country, were afterwards ſhaped in Gray's Inn-lane 'near London; where, continues he, the undertakers for the Iſle of Providence did meet, brought 'them to paſs, and put them out to nurſe in London '(4).' We ſhould not have cited an author, whoſe reputation is notoriouſly murdered by his own virulency, and has lain long rotten in the grave of oblivion; but only as ſome facts are there found, which are not improbable from other circumſtances, in relation to the particular company with whom Mr Hampden joined after he left the jovial courſe, and which alſo are of uſe to confirm and illuſtrate a remark on this change of his life, made by Lord Clarendon, whoſe words are, that, '*he retired to a more reſerved 'and melancholy ſociety.*' For which change in his manners, his Lordſhip proceeds to give this as a proof. 'That though they who converſed nearly with him, 'found him growing into a diſlike of the eccleſiaſtical 'government of the Church; yet moſt believed it 'rather a diſlike of ſome churchmen, and of ſome introducements of theirs, which he apprehended might 'diſquiet the public peace (5).' That is (as is evident from his Lordſhip's character of Mr Hampden) that the bottom of his heart was carefully concealed, even from thoſe who converſed nearly with him.

(4) See a piece intitled, *Perſecutio Undecima*, or, *the Church's Eleventh Perſecution*, &c. chap. vii. p. 103. Lond. 1648. 4to.

(5) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, &c. Vol. I. p. 205. firſt edit. in fol.

[*D*] *He became famous by his trial for refuſing to pay the ſhip-money.*] The particulars of this tranſaction are too well known to be inlarged upon here; it will be more agreeable to the deſign of this undertaking, to enquire by what means Mr Hampden came to obtain a trial, which had been refuſed to ſeveral others. For inſtance, Mr Richard Chambers, a merchant in London, on his refuſal to pay this tax, was impriſoned in the King's bench; and though upon bringing his *habeas corpus*, he was admitted to bail, yet the judge [Berkeley] abſolutely refuſed in June 1636 to let the legality of the tax be argued (6). A petition was alſo offered about the ſame time by the city of London, complaining of it's illegality, but the trial was ſtill avoided, and other means made uſe of to perſuade the city to a compliance (7). We are likewiſe aſſured by the noble hiſtorian, that, 'Lord Say did as abſolutely 'refuſe the payment of ſhip-money as Mr Hampden, 'though the latter by the choice of the King's counſel 'had brought his cauſe to be firſt heard and argued, 'with which judgment it was intended the whole right 'of that matter ſhould be concluded, and all other 'caſes over-ruled. Yet the Lord Say, continues the 'Earl, would not acquieſce, but preſſed to have 'his own caſe argued, and was ſollicitous in perſon 'with all the Judges, both privately at their chambers, and publickly in the courts of Weſtminſter, and 'indeed was very grievous to them (8).' The noble author has not given his opinion what might be the reaſon of this preference ſhewn to Mr Hampden, but perhaps it may be found clearly enough in one part of the character given of him by his Lordſhip, that he was a man of the greateſt addreſs and inſinuation to bring any thing to paſs which he deſired, of any man of that time; and that a great part of this addreſs conſiſted in his ſingular modeſty, humility, and ſubmiſſion. This conjecture ſeems to be confirmed by another paſſage in the ſame hiſtory, where his Lordſhip giving an account of the debates on the grievance of ſhip-money, at the beginning of the ſhort Parliament in April 1640, obſerves, that Herbert the Sollicitor-General, while he was ſpeaking in commendation of the King's candour in that affair, took occaſion *to ſtroke and commend Mr Hampden, who ſat under him, for his great temper and modeſty in the proſecution of that ſuit* (9).

(6) Ruſhworth's Collections, Part ii. p. 323. firſt edit. in fol.

(7) Ibid. chap. ii. p. 334.

(8) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 145. Vol. I.

(9) Ibid. p. 148, 205, 206.

[*E*] *Obtained more advantage and credit by loſing it, &c.*] 'Tis this ſingle tranſaction of his life, which firſt procured him the title mentioned in the text, of Patriot Hampden, and his memory has been very lately embalmed afreſh for it, in an elegant Poem (10), intituled, *An Elegy written in a Country Churchyard*, where the author preſents him in the moſt intereſting view, as follows.

(10) Written by Mr Gray. The ninth edition of it was printed in 1754.

'*Perhaps in this neglected ſpot is laid,*
'*Some heart once pregnant with celeſtial fire;*
'*Hands that the rod of empire might have ſway'd,*
'*Or wak'd to extaſy the living lyre.*
* * * * * * * *
'*Some* village Hampden, *that with dauntleſs breaſt*
'*The little tyrant of his fields withſtood,*
'*Some mute inglorious* Milton, *here may reſt;*
'*Some* Cromwell, *guiltleſs of his country's blood.*'

[*F*] *We refer to the general hiſtories.*] In the note to theſe words, Lord Clarendon is diſtinguiſhed above the reſt, as the author who has given us many more particulars of Mr Hampden's life, than are to be found in any of his cotemporary writers, and thoſe too made much more intereſting by a finely animated ſtile. His Lordſhip was indeed moſt ſenſibly touched by the effects of Mr Hampden's addreſs, eſpecially in the caſe of his darling Lord Falkland; and has not only ſet forth his antagoniſt's merits and demerits, with regard to the public, by particular inſtances, in the courſe of his life, but brought the whole together into one view, in a general character of him after his death. The

more properly under the design of this work) take notice of some few particulars concerning him, which have been either unfairly and partially represented, or else left altogether untouched by others [*G*]. After he had, by the advantage of some peculiar and extraordinary talents [*H*], held the chief direction of his party in the House of Commons against the

noble author's singular talent at drawing characters is universally acknowledged. Whence this is the most entertaining part of his history to all readers, and principally useful to young students in this science. In which view the character of Mr Hampden deserves particular notice, it being easy to make an extract of the several facts as they lie in the history, which are the proper foundation for an attempt to form the character, and by comparing this, when done, to that of his Lordship, the difference is seen at once, and easily noted for improvement.

[*G*] *Particulars partially represented or untouched.*] The fact suggested above to be partially represented, is to be found under our author's article in the General Dictionary, in the remark [*B*], to these words, *Before this trial* [of the Earl of Strafford] (11), *there was said to be a proposal for restoring the Earl to his former favour and honour, on condition that his Majesty would promote Mr Hampden, to be Tutor to the Prince, and other eminent oppofers of the Court, to the most considerable posts.* In support of this, only Mr Whitlocke is cited (12), without mentioning Lord Clarendon's account of this matter, or so much as referring to it, which at least might fairly be expected. For though indeed with regard to Mr Hampden, the difference between the two accounts is not material, yet in respect to the King there is an essential difference. For instance, Mr Whitlocke concludes his account with this reflection. '*But whether upon the King's alteration of* '*his mind, or by what other means is uncertain, these* '*things were not effected; and the great men baffled* '*thereby, became the more incensed and violent against* '*the Earl, joining with the Scots Commissioners, who* '*were implacable against him.*' Here the reader is put into the road of assigning the worst cause for this change of his Majesty's mind, especially when he considers how often he was afterwards charged by these persons with breach of promise. But all just grounds for such an injurious insinuation are taken away by the following account, which Lord Clarendon gives of this transaction (13). 'From the time, says he, that there 'was no more fear of the Archbishop, nor the Lord 'Deputy of Ireland, nor of any particular men, who 'were like to succeed them in favour, all who had 'been active in the Court, or in any service for the 'King being totally dispirited, and most of them to 'be disposed to any ill offices against him. The great 'patriots thought they might be able to do their coun'try better service, if they got the places and prefer'ments of the Court for themselves, and so prevent 'the evil counsels which had been used to spring from 'thence; for which purpose they had a fast friend in 'the Marquis of Hamilton, who could put such an 'affair into agitation, &c.' His Lordship afterwards mentions the particular persons to be promoted, the same with Mr Whitlocke, only Mr Hampden is omitted here, being taken notice of presently, and proceeds. 'Thus far the intrigue for preferments was 'entirely complied with, and it is great pity it was not 'fully executed, that so the King might have had 'some able men to have advised and assisted him, '*which probably these very men would have done, after* '*they had been so thoroughly engaged*; whereas the 'King had none left about him in any immediate trust 'in business (for I speak not of the Duke of Richmond, 'and some very few men more about his person, who 'always behaved themselves honourably) who did not 'either betray, or sink under the weight or reproach of 'it.——But the Earl of Bedford was resolved, that he 'would not enter into the Treasury, 'till the revenue 'was in some degree settled; at least, the bill for 'tonnage and poundage passed, with all decent cir'cumstances, and for life; which both he and Mr 'Pym did very heartily labour to effect, and had in 'their thoughts many good expedients by which they 'intended to raise the revenue of the Crown, and none 'of them were very sollicitous to take their prefer'ments, before other accommodations were provided 'for some of the rest of their chief companions, who 'would be neither so well pleased with their so hasty 'advancement before them, nor so submissive in it 'after, to follow their dictates. Hampden was a man 'they could not leave unprovided for, and therefore 'there were several designs, and very far driven, for 'the satisfaction and promotion of him, and Essex, 'Kimbolton, and others; though not so fully con'cluded as those abovementioned. For the King's 'great end was by these compliances to save the life of 'the Earl of Strafford, and to preserve the Church 'from ruin; for no-body thought the Archbishop in 'danger of his life: and there were few of the persons 'mentioned before, who thought their preferments 'would do them much good, if the Earl was suffered 'to live: but in that of the Church, the major part 'even of those persons would have been willing to have 'satisfied the King, the rather, because they had no 'reason to think the two houses, or indeed either of 'them, could have been induced to have pursued the 'contrary. And so the continued and enraged vio'lence in the prosecution of the Earl of Strafford, 'made the King well contented (as other reasons pre'vailed with other persons) that the putting these pro'motions in practice, should be for a time suspended.' By this account the noble author seems to be well aware how much, and how unjustly his Majesty either had been or would be censured in this proceeding, and therefore thought it necessary to shew the world clearly, that it was not indeed to much the King's fault as it was his misfortune to have the scheme of the promotions frustrated.

The particulars hinted above as untouched by any of the historians, relate first to the report about the City of London in the beginning of 1643, that the Earl of Essex was to resign his post of General, and to be succeeded therein by Mr Hampden (14), and the truth of the report seems probable enough. His first resolution to make no peace with the King, as well as the great influence and authority he had in the army, and his personal courage, both sufficiently manifested in the action of Chalgrove-Field, mentioned in the text, suit very well with such a design. But the same action shews, that his courage was not sufficiently tempered; he was hot and rash, and the fatal consequence of that rashness, to which he fell a sacrifice, clearly demonstrates him not so fit for a General's command. Another remark which has escaped all the writers who mention him, respects the consequence of his loss to the Parliament. Lord Clarendon indeed touches upon that consequence to both sides in general, as follows. '*But that which would have been looked upon as a con*'*siderable recompence for a defeat, could not but be* '*thought a great addition to the victory, which was* '*the death of Mr Hampden, to as great a consternation* '*of all that party, as if their whole army had been de*'*feated or cut off* (15).' The greatness of the consternation is strongly marked in these words, but the particular effects of that consternation are not produced. However, when a little below, in the same history, we read of Sir Will. Waller's defeat at Roundway Down near the Devizes in Wiltshire on one side, and of the Queen's safe arrival at Oxford with the forces from France on the other side, and both these events attributed to the Earl of Essex, who suffered a strong party of horse to march out of that garrison, by which means the destruction of the former was effected; and gave no kind of hindrance to her Majesty's march into it; *but spent his time between Tame and Ailsbury about ten miles from Oxford, without any action after that skirmish in which* (they are his Lordship's words) *Mr Hampden was slain* (16). Surely it will be thought no injury to the noble author, if we presume his intention in these last words was to suggest, that this change, which brought a better face upon the King's affairs, than they had appeared with since the beginning of the war, was owing at least in some measure, to that consternation into which the Earl of Essex's army was thrown by Mr Hampden's death, and which had rendered the whole corps discreet, or if you will dispirited.

[*H*] *Some peculiar and extraordinary talents.*] What these are may be fully seen in his character drawn by Lord Clarendon in the History of the Rebellion, &c (17), to which therefore we send the reader for the reason mentioned in the text, and shall spend this remark agreeable to the plan of the proceeding, in taking notice

(11) Mr Hampden was of the committee to prepare the charge and manage the evidence against the Earl.

(12) Memorials, &c. p. 41.

(13) Hist. of the Civil Wars, Vol. I. p. 166, 167, 168, 169. folio edition.

(14) Wood, Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 30.

(15) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 204. Vol. II. ubi supra.

(16) Ibid. p. 224.

(17) P. 205. Vol. II.

the King, he took up arms in the ſame cauſe, and was one of the firſt who opened the war by an action (though without ſucceſs) at a place called Brill, a garriſon of the King's upon the edge of Buckinghamſhire (*i*), about five miles from Oxford. He took the command of a regiment of foot under the Earl of Eſſex, and had he lived, would probably have been ſoon raiſed to the poſt of a General (*k*). Always behaving with a military bravery in the Field, equal to the civil intrepidity which he had ſhewn in the Houſe. But whatever views either himſelf or his friends for him had of any kind, they were all cut off by a mortal wound, which he received in a ſkirmiſh with Prince Rupert at Chalgrove-field in Oxfordſhire (*l*); of which we have the following uncontеſted account. '*It was confeſſed*, ſays Lord Clarendon, *by the priſoners that were taken that day, and acknowledged by all, that upon the alarm that morning after their quarters were beaten up, Mr Hampden was exceeding ſollicitous to draw forces together to purſue the enemy, and being a Colonel of foot, put himſelf as a volunteer among thoſe horſe who were firſt ready; and that when the Prince made a ſtand, all the officers were of opinion to ſtay 'till their body came up; and he alone (being ſecond to none but the General himſelf in the obſervance and application of all men) perſwaded and prevailed with them to advance* (*m*).' He was ſhot into the ſhoulder with a brace of bullets, which broke the bone, on the 18th of June 1643; and after ſuffering much pain and miſery, he died thereof on the 24th of that month (*n*), greatly lamented by the Parliament [*I*], who ordered the ſum of 5000 pounds to be paid to his aſſignees, out of the exciſe in courſe, the moiety of the receipts of Goldſmith's-hall, and the King's revenue (*o*). He was interred in the church of Great Hamden, where, by his will, he directed a ſtone to be laid over his grave, with the figures of himſelf, his wife, and ten children engraven upon it (*p*) [*K*]. Mr Wood has given him a place among the Oxford writers, and tells us of ſeveral ſpeeches printed under his name, but deſcribes only one which now lies before me, and is entitled, *A diſcreet and learned Speech ſpoken in the Parliament, on Wedneſday the 4th of January*, 1641, *by Mr* Hampden *Burgeſs of* Buckingham (*q*), *concerning the accuſation of high-treaſon preferred by His Majeſty againſt himſelf*, Lord Kimbolton, Sir Arthur Haſlerig, Mr Pym, Mr Stroud, and Mr Hollis, *worthy members of the Houſe of Commons. Therein ſhortly declaring the difference between a good ſubject and a bad*

(*i*) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, &c. Vol. II. p. 126.

(*k*) See below in remark [*G*].

(*l*) The place where he had firſt executed the ordinance of the militia about a year before. Hiſt. of the Rebellion, Vol. II. p. 204.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 205.

(*n*) Ruſhworth's Collections, Part iii. Vol. II. p. 274. firſt edit. folio. Lord Clarendon, who is obſerved not to be exact in his dates, ſays, he lay three weeks in extraordinary pain.

(*o*) Ibid. Part iv. Vol. VII. p. 934.

(*p*) Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 31.

(*q*) It ſhould be Buckinghamſhire.

notice of a paſſage in that character, which has been we apprehend a little unfairly, though artfully, repreſented by a late author. The paſſage is that famous one which concludes the character, that *he* [Mr Hampden] *had a head to contrive, a tongue to perſuade, and a hand to execute any miſchief*. In an account of this gentleman lately publiſhed, the author having cited the words, takes this opportunity to obſerve, that notwithſtanding what has been aſſerted to the contrary, the hiſtory, where they are found, is faithfully printed from the original manuſcript, which he had ſeen; and every body elſe ſees the reflection caſt upon his Lordſhip in this artful inſinuation (18). Suppoſe it to be what Cicero calls *Verbum Ardens*, yet even then, in the opinion of that orator and critic, it brings it's own excuſe. But the preſent caſe admits ſtill of a further plea in his Lordſhip's behalf. 'Tis generally allowed, that the beſt way to come at the true ſenſe of ſcripture, is to interpret it by itſelf; if this rule had been obſerved here, no injury had been done to his Lordſhip's memory, as is evident from the following paſſage in the ſame hiſtory (19), where the noble author having mentioned Mr Hampden as one of the committee that attended the King in his journey to Scotland, takes occaſion to give him this character. '*The latter* [Hampden] hath been mentioned before as a man 'of great underſtanding and parts, and of great ſaga-'city in diſcerning men's natures and manners, and 'he muſt upon all occaſions ſtill be mentioned, as 'a perſon of great dexterity and abilities, *and equal* '*to any truſt or management*, good or bad, *which he* '*was inclined to undertake*.'

(18) Life of John Hampden, in the Lives of ſeveral Illuſtrious Perſons, &c. with cuts, Lond. 1743. folio.

(19) P. 235. Vol. I.

[*I*] *Greatly lamented by the Parliament*.] Mr Wood (20), in his uſual vein, having told us, 'that ſoon after his death, Mr Richard Baxter did tranſlate the ſoul of him and of John Pym into heaven, in his *Saint's everlaſting reſt*, and that others of his opinion made elegies on him, declaring to the world his great worth and loſs, proceeds to inform us, that *he was the very perſon who adviſed his kinſman*, Oliver Cromwell (afterwards Lord Protector) *to oppoſe the juſtice and honour of his Majeſty's cauſe, with an affected zeal of conſcience and pure religion*, as the ſaid Cromwell did ſeveral times confeſs to his friends and relations. Whatever may be thought of this ſtory, taken apparently from the ſcandalous chronicle, we have a much better authority for aſſerting, that theſe two were boſom friends, and were actuated with the ſame ſpirit of hypocriſy, and for the ſame ends, though wearing contrary faces. Cromwell's roughneſs and unpoliſhedneſs, which in the beginning of the [Long] Parliament he affected, contrary to the ſmoothneſs and complaiſance which his kinſman and boſom friend Hampden practiſed towards all men, being equally neceſſary, and alike employed, to nurſe in it's infant ſtate their jointly determined purpoſe (21).

(20) Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 31.

(21) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, p. 80. Vol. III. ubi ſupra.

[*K*] *His wife and ten children*.] His wife has been already taken notice of in the text. Of his children, one daughter, Mary, was married to Sir John Hobart, ſon of Sir Miles Hobart, who in 1628, was impriſoned for locking the door of the Houſe of Commons, while the famous Proteſtation above mentioned was read (22). Colonel Hammond, Governor of the Iſle of Wight, who had the cuſtody of the King there, married another of Mr Hampden's daughters by the advice of Oliver Cromwell (23). Mr Hampden's eldeſt ſon Richard (for we have found no account of any other) as well as his grandſon John, made a figure in Parliament, and in the public, from the Reſtoration to the reign of Queen Anne, as may be ſeen in the General Hiſtory of England (24), to which therefore, for the reaſon already mentioned, we refer the reader, and ſhall only take notice of two particulars which are not in that hiſtory. The firſt is, That Richard when young, was choſen one of the five Knights for Buckinghamſhire, to ſerve in the Parliament called Sept. 17, 1656, by the Protector, who alſo about the ſame time created him a Lord, to ſit in the upper or *other* houſe (25). The other particular not mentioned in the General Hiſtory of England, relates to the grandſon John Hampden, Eſq; who being confined two years * in the ſame priſon with Mr Sam. Johnſon, author (among other things) of a piece intitled, *The Abrogation of King James II.* gave an account of that performance to the Ducheſs of Mazarine, wherein he recounts the ſeveral pleas advanced by the clergy, to reconcile their compliance with the Revolution to the doctrine of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, which they had maintained in an unlimited ſenſe in the preceding reign; he reduces theſe pleas in defence of King William's right, to four, (1.) The right of conqueſt. (2.) That of Providence. (3.) That of poſſeſſion. And (4.) That of the vacancy of the throne by King James's abdication. This account is prefixed to an edition of Mr Johnſon's works, by the editor, who obſerves, *That every body muſt own Mr Hampden to have been as able a judge of that ſubject, as any man in England before or ſince* (26).

(22) Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 338. edit. 1741. 8vo.

(23) Hiſt. of the Rebellion where laſt cited.

(24) See Kennet's Hiſt. of England, in 3 vols folio. And Boyer's Hiſt. of Queen Anne, folio.

(25) Ath. Ox. where laſt cited.

* He was condemned for high-treaſon in Dec. 1685; but his life ſaved. He had before been found guilty of a miſdemeanour in the Fanatic plot, and fined 40,000 l.

(26) Memorials of the Life and Writings of Mr Samuel Johnſon, prefixed to his Works, 2d edit. 1713. folio.

[*L*] *A*

bad, and referring his own tryal to the judgment of that honourable aſſembly [*L*]. Lond. 1641. 4to.

[*L*] *A ſpeech in the Houſe of Commons—referring his trial to that honourable aſſembly.*] As this is the only ſpecimen we have of his talent this way (27), it muſt not be omitted here, though it is printed in the General Dictionary.

(27) Mr Wood refers to the Earl of Strafford's tryal, where he was one of the managers of the Houſe of Commons for more of his ſpeeches; and we find him indeed frequently ſpeaking in the interlocutory parts of that tryal, but never making any thing like what is uſually underſtood by A SPEECH.

Mr SPEAKER,

'*It is a true ſaying of the wiſe man,* That all things happen alike to all men, *as well to the good man as to the bad. There is no ſtate or condition whatſoever, either of proſperity or adverſity, but all men are ſharers in the ſame. No man can be diſcerned truly by the outward appearance, whether he be a good ſubject either to his God, his Prince, or his Country, until he be tried by the touchſtone of loyalty, Give me leave, I beſeech you, to parallel the lives of either ſort, that we may in ſome meaſure diſtern truth from falſhood. And in ſpeaking I ſhall ſimilize their lives. (1.) In religion towards God. (2.) In loyalty and due ſubjection to their ſovereign, in their affection towards the ſafety of their country. 1. Concerning religion; the beſt means to diſcern between the true and falſe religion is, by ſearching the ſacred writings of the old and new Teſtament, which is of itſelf pure, indited by the ſpirit of God, and written by holy men unſpotted in their lives and converſations; and by this ſacred word, we may prove whether our religion be of God or no; and by looking in this glaſs, we may diſcern whether we are in the right way or no. And looking into the ſame, I find by this truth of God, that there is but one God, one Chriſt, one Faith, one Religion, which is the goſpel of Chriſt, and the doctrine of the prophets and apoſtles. In theſe two Teſtaments are contained all things neceſſary to ſalvation. If that our religion doth hang upon this doctrine, and no other ſecondary means, then it is true; to which comes neareſt the Proteſtant religion, which we profeſs, as I really and verily believe; and conſequently that religion, which joineth with the doctrine of Chriſt and his apoſtles, the traditions and inventions of men, prayers to the Virgin Mary, angels, ſaints, that are uſed in the exerciſe of their religion, ſtrange and ſuperſtitious worſhipping, cringing, bowing, creeping to the altar, uſing pictures, dirges, and ſuch like, cannot be true, but erroneous, nay deviliſh; and all that is maintained in the Church of Rome, as neceſſary as the ſcripture to ſalvation, therefore is a falſe and erroneous Church both in doctrine and diſcipline; and all other ſects and ſchiſms that lean not* only *on the ſcriptures, though never ſo contrary to the Church of Rome, is a falſe worſhiping of God, and not true religion. And thus much concerning religion, to diſcern the truth and falſehood thereof. I come now, Mr Speaker, to the ſecond thing intimated unto you, which was to diſcern in a ſtate between good ſubjects and bad, by their loyalty and due ſubjection to their lawful ſovereign; in which I ſhall, under favour, obſerve two things. (1.) Lawful ſubjection to a King in his own perſon, and the commands, edicts, and proclamations of the Prince and his Privy-Council. 2. Lawful obedience to the laws, ſtatutes, and ordinances made, enacted by by the King and the Lords, with the free conſent of his great Council of State aſſembled in Parliament. For the firſt to deny a willing and due obedience to a lawful ſovereign and his Privy-Council (for as Camden truly ſaith,* The command of the Lords, Privy-Counſellors, and the edicts of the Prince are all one, for they are inſeparable, the one never without the other) *either to defend his royal perſon and kingdoms againſt the enemies of the ſame either publick or private; or to defend the antient privileges and prerogatives of the King pertaining and belonging of right to his Royal Crown and the maintenance of his honour and dignity; or to defend and maintain true religion eſtabliſhed in the land according to the truth of God; is one ſign of an evil and bad ſubject. Secondly, to yield obedience to the commands of a King, if againſt the true religion, againſt the antient and fundamental laws of the land, is another ſign of an ill ſubject. Thirdly, to reſiſt the lawful power of the King; to raiſe inſurrection againſt the King, admit him adverſe in his religion; to conſpire againſt his ſacred perſon, or any ways to rebel, though commanding things againſt our conſcience in exerciſing religion, or againſt the rights and privileges of the ſubject; is an abſolute ſign of a diſaffected and traiterous ſubject. And now having given the ſigns of diſcerning evil and diſloyal ſubjects, I ſhall only give you in a word or two the ſigns of diſcerning which are loyal and good ſubjects, only by turning theſe three ſigns already ſhown on the contrary ſide. 1. He that willingly and chearfully endeavoureth himſelf to obey his ſovereign's commands for the defence of his own perſon and kingdoms, for the defence of true religion, for the defence of the laws of his country, is a loyal and good ſubject. 2. To deny obedience to a King commanding any thing againſt God's true worſhip and religion, againſt the ancient and fundamental laws of the land; in endeavouring to perform the ſame, is a good ſubject. 3. Not to reſiſt the lawful and royal power of the King; not to raiſe ſedition or inſurrection againſt his perſon, nor to ſet diviſion between the King and his good ſubjects by rebellion, although commanding things againſt conſcience in the exerciſe of religion, or againſt the rights and privileges of the ſubject; but patiently for the ſame to undergo his Prince's diſpleaſure, whether it be to his impriſonment, confiſcation of goods, baniſhment, or any other puniſhment whatſoever, without murmuring, grudging, or reviling againſt his ſovereign or his proceedings; but ſubmitting willingly and chearfully himſelf, and his cauſe to Almighty God, is the only ſign of an obedient and loyal ſubject. I come now to the ſecond means to know the difference between a good ſubject and a bad, by their obedience to the laws, ſtatutes, and ordinances made by the King, with the whole conſent of his Parliament. And in this I obſerve a two-fold ſubjection; in the particular members thereof diſſenting from the general votes of the whole Parliament; and ſecondly, the whole ſtate of the kingdom in a full Parliament. Firſt, I confeſs, if any particular member of Parliament, although his judgment and vote be contrary, do not willingly ſubmit to the reſt, he is an ill ſubject to the King and country. Secondly, to reſiſt the ordinance of the whole ſtate of the kingdom, either by ſtirring up a diſlike in the hearts of his Majeſty's ſubjects of the proceedings of the Parliament; to endeavour by levying of arms to compel the King and Parliament to make ſuch laws as ſeem beſt to them; to deny the power, authority, and privileges of Parliament; to caſt aſperſions upon the ſame; to procure the untimely diſſolution and breaking off the Parliament, before all things be ſettled by the ſame for the ſafety and tranquillity both of King and ſtate; is an apparent ſign of a traiterous and diſloyal ſubject againſt his King and country. And thus having troubled your patience in ſhewing the difference, between true Proteſtants and falſe, between loyal ſubjects and traitors, in a ſtate or kingdom; and the means how to diſcern them: I humbly deſire my actions may be compared with either, both as I am a ſubject, a Proteſtant, and a native in this country; and as I am a member of this preſent and happy Parliament. And as I ſhall be found guilty upon theſe articles exhibited againſt myſelf and the other gentlemen, either a bad or a good ſubject to my gracious ſovereign and native country, to receive ſuch ſentence upon the ſame, as by this honourable Houſe ſhall be conceived to agree with law and juſtice.'*

P

HARRINGTON [JAMES], an eminent political writer in the XVIIth century, was the eldeſt ſon of Sir Sapcote Harrington, by Jane the daughter of Sir William Samuel of Upton in Northamptonſhire (*a*). Though his immediate predeceſſors were not ennobled, his family was one of the moſt honourable in England. It had long flouriſhed in Rutlandſhire; and, as the hiſtorian of that county obſerves, had, when he wrote, produced eight dukes, three marquiſes, ſeventy earls, twenty-ſeven viſcounts, and thirty-ſix barons; of which number ſixteen were Knights of the Garter (*b*). He was born at Upton the firſt Friday of January, 1611 (*c*). In his very infancy there appeared promiſing indications of his future ability and attainments. He had an early propenſity to learning; with a ſerioufneſs of temper, and gravity of behaviour, ſo much beyond what is commonly ſeen in children, that, inſtead of needing reſtraint or correction, he rather impreſſed on his parents and teachers an awe of him: and yet, when grown to manhood, he diſcovered not the leaſt ſourneſs or auſterity of diſpoſition; but, on the contrary, was remarkably facetious and witty (*d*). When he had made a ſufficient progreſs in the rudiments of learning, he was, ſome time in 1629, entered a Fellow-Commoner of Trinity-college in Oxford, where he had the happineſs of being placed under the tuition of the famous William Chillingworth (*e*), who had been admitted a Fellow thereof on the 10th of June in the preceding year (*f*). Here he made a conſiderable proficiency in the literature then in vogue, and taught in thoſe ſeminaries; and more particularly applied himſelf to the learning of ſeveral foreign languages; for the underſtanding of which, as he was determined to ſee the world, he prudently foreſaw an occaſion. He had not been above three years at his ſtudies, when his father died, leaving him under age (*g*). Though the oppreſſive Court of Wards was in being, yet the tenure of his eſtate impowering him to chuſe his own guardian, he pitched on the Lady Samuel, his maternal grandmother, a woman of diſtinguiſhed prudence and virtue. From her and the reſt of his governors he obtained a permiſſion of quitting the univerſity, before he was of ſtanding requiſite for a degree, and of travelling abroad (*h*). His firſt ſtep was into Holland, in thoſe days the principal ſchool of martial diſcipline; and (what ſtill rendered it more agreeable to him) a country ſo wonderfully flouriſhing, under the auſpices of liberty, in commerce, ſtrength, and grandure, as excited the envy or admiration of all Europe. Now, we may ſuppoſe, it was, that he began to make government the main ſubject of his meditations; for he uſed to ſay frequently afterwards to his acquaintance, that, before he left England, he knew not the true nature of monarchy, anarchy, ariſtocracy, oligarchy, and the like. On his coming into the Netherlands he entered a volunteer, and ſo continued ſome months, in Lord Craven's regiment; during which, being much at the Hague, he had an opportunity of adding greatly to the accompliſhments both of his mind and perſon, by frequenting the courts of the Prince of Orange and the Queen of Bohemia, both of which were then reſident in that beautiful village. Mr Harrington had qualities that ſoon recommended him to the notice of the latter of theſe excellent perſons, and ſhe accordingly received him very graciouſly. She was indeed influenced in her conſideration of him by a two fold motive, viz. on the ſcore of his own merit, and in regard of his uncle John Lord Harrington, who had formerly been her governor. The Elector alſo courted him into his ſervice. He attended his Highneſs in a viſit he paid the King of Denmark at Copenhagen, whither he went to try if he could engage that monarch in his intereſt; he waited upon him likewiſe ſome years in his chamber, and was intruſted by him with the affairs of the Palatinate ſo far as they were tranſacted at the Britiſh Court (*i*). Returning from Denmark to Holland, Mr Harrington ſtayed there but a ſhort time. No one could reliſh the charms of that Republic more exquiſitely; but nothing could extinguiſh the thirſt he had of viſiting other nations; and therefore, taking Flanders in his way, he ſet out on a tour through part of Germany, France, and Italy. While he was at Rome, the Pope performed the ceremony of conſecrating wax-lights on Candlemas-day. When his Holineſs had ſanctified theſe torches, they were diſtributed among the people, who ſought for them very eagerly. Mr Harrington was deſirous of one of them; but, as it was not to be obtained without kiſſing the Pontiff's toe, he declined the ſacred bauble. His companions were not ſo ſqueamiſh; they gained them by a mean ſubmiſſion. When they came home to England, they had the folly to complain of his ſtiffneſs to the King; who telling him he might have complied with the practice, as a reſpect only to a temporal prince, he very politely replied, That ſince he had the honour of kiſſing his Majeſty's hand, he thought it beneath him to kiſs any other prince's foot (*k*). Venice he admired beyond all the other Latian ſtates; eſteeming it's conſtitution the beſt in the world, immutable by any external or internal cauſes. Here he cultivated an acquaintance with men of letters, or otherwiſe of character, by whoſe friendſhip he could reap any benefit; and enriched his library with a collection of all the valuable books to be found there in the Italian tongue, eſpecially relating to Politics (*l*). He came back to his native country in all points greatly improved, and qualified to ſerve and adorn it. He was heartily welcomed by many, and received moſt joyfully by his own family, the ordering of which was now an object of his deepeſt concern [*A*]. At the commencement of the civil

(*a*) Life of James Harrington, p. 13. prefixed to his Oceana and other Works, printed at London, 1737, in folio.

(*b*) Wright, in his Antiquities of the county of Rutland, p. 52.

(*c*) Wood, Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 588. 2d edit. Lond. 1721.

(*d*) Life of Harrington, p. 14.

(*e*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Life of Chillingworth, by P. Des Maizeaux, p. 2.

(*g*) Life of Harrington, p. 14.

(*h*) Ibid.

(*i*) Wood and Toland, ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Life of Harrington by Toland, p. 15.

(*l*) Idem.

[*A*] *An object of his deepeſt concern.*] His brother William, as Mr Toland informs us (1), he bred to be a merchant, in which calling he became a conſiderable man; he was a good architect, and was ſo much noticed for his ingenious contrivances, that he was received a Fellow of the Royal Society. He took all the care of a parent in the education of his ſiſters, and would himſelf make large diſcourſes to them concern-

(1) Life of Harrington, p. 15.

civil war, in 1642, he was manifeſtly inclined on the Parliament's ſide [*B*]; and endeavoured to procure a ſeat in the Houſe; but in this he was diſappointed (*m*). His inclination to ſtudy kept him from ſeeking after public employments; ſo that we have nothing more concerning him 'till January 1646; when, out of curioſity, accompanying the Commiſſioners appointed by the Parliament to go to the King at Newcaſtle, to treat of peace, and bring him nearer to London, he was by ſome of theſe Commiſſioners named to wait on his Majeſty, as a perſon known to him before, and engaged in no party or faction. The King approved the propoſal, and Harrington entered on the ſtation of a domeſtic. However, he would never preſume to come into the royal preſence, except in public, 'till he was particularly commanded by the King; and that he and Thomas Herbert (created a Baronet after the Reſtoration) were made Grooms of his Bed-Chamber at Holmby, in the month of May, 1647, on the diſmiſſion of ſome of his old ſervants. The Commiſſioners were ordered by the Parliament to recommend thoſe two gentlemen for that poſt; and the King having taken notice that they had followed the Court ſince his coming from Newcaſtle, and being ſatisfied with what he himſelf had obſerved, and with the report he had received concerning them from others, as to their ſobriety and good education, he received them very willingly in that capacity. Mr Harrington performed the duties of his office with untainted fidelity to his Sovereign, without doing any thing inconſiſtent with the welfare of his country; and he thereupon became very acceptable to the King. His Majeſty perceiving him to be a learned ingenious man, loved his company, and choſe rather to converſe with him than with the reſt about him (*n*). They talked of books and foreign countries with mutual pleaſure; but Government was Mr Harrington's favourite topic; the King often diſcourſed with him thereon, but was always manifeſtly chagrined when he entered on the ſubject of a Commonwealth [*C*]. Theſe frequent familiar intercourſes gradually rectified the miſtaken notion Mr Harrington, as well as many other honeſt men, had formerly conceived of his Majeſty, for want of a nearer acquaintance with him, and through the wicked miſrepreſentations of a faction, who ſerved their own villainous ends by lies and ſcandal (*o*). Mr Harrington's growing eſteem of the King, and compaſſionate concern on account of his diſtreſsful circumſtances, induced him to ſollicit his friends in Parliament to have matters accommodated to the contentment both of Prince and People. During the treaty in the Iſle of Wight, he frequently warned the divines of his acquaintance, to take heed how far they preſſed the King to inſiſt upon any thing, which, however it conduced to their dignity, was no eſſential point of religion; and that ſuch matters, driven too far, would infallibly ruin all the endeavours uſed for a peace (*p*). Soon after the breaking off this treaty, he was turned out of the King's ſervice, by thoſe who had then forcibly aſſumed the diſpoſal of his ſacred perſon. He incurred the diſpleaſure of theſe ſons of violence in the following manner. His Majeſty being carried away from Holmby, to the head quarters of the army, from thence conveyed by ſlow journeys to Hampton-court, next deluded into the Iſle of Wight (where he treated with the Commiſſioners of Parliament for peace), and from Newport, there, hurried away, by Lieutenant-Colonel Ralph Cobber, to Hurſt-caſtle in Hampſhire

(*m*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*n*) Wood, ut ſupra. Life of Harrington by Toland, p. 16.

(*o*) Wood, ut ſupra.

(*p*) Life of Harrington by Toland, ut ſupra.

ing the reverence that was due to Almighty God; the benevolence they were obliged to ſhew all mankind; how they ought to furniſh their minds with knowledge by reading of uſeful books, and to ſhew the goodneſs of their diſpoſition by a conſtant practice of virtue: in a word, he taught them the true rules of humanity and decency, always inculcating to them that good manners did not ſo much conſiſt in a faſhionable carriage (which yet ought not to be neglected), as in becoming words and actions, an obliging addreſs, and a modeſt behaviour. He treated his mother-in-law, as if ſhe were his own, and made no diſtinction between her children and the reſt of his brothers and ſiſters.

[*B*] *Inclined on the Parliament's ſide.*] There were many truly honeſt and judicious men, at that juncture, who were of the ſame principles, and had the ſame views as our author. The adminiſtration, during the courſe of Charles the Firſt's reign, to that time, was ſo far from unblameable, that it abounded with errors, and was chargeable with very grievous encroachments on the rights of the people. The King himſelf had an upright heart, but he had been miſled and ill-biaſſed; he had not been inſpired with a juſt idea of the Britiſh Conſtitution, and could hardly be induced to think his ſubjects properties exempt from the ſtretch of his prerogative: he fancied this to be ſomewhat conferred on him by Heaven; not a delegation from the people, to be limited by, and exerciſed only for, their intereſts. It was to maintain theſe, and reſcue them from unwarrantable infractions, that thoſe brave patriots, who made a majority of the long Parliament, firſt entered into that diſpute with the Crown, which proceeded to ſuch an unjuſtifiable length, and had ſo lamentable an iſſue. They foreſaw not the tragical cataſtrope. It was not againſt his Majeſty's perſon or legal government they unſheathed the ſword; but againſt that exorbitance of power, which was raiſed to an intolerable height, and which my Lord Clarendon, an unexceptionable loyaliſt, has fairly deſcribed. Mr Harrington was one of this claſs, and not to be reckoned among thoſe firebrands, who were unhappily mixed with the genuine friends of liberty, at laſt got the better of them, as well as of their ſovereign, and reduced all to ruin.

[*C*] *When he entered on the ſubject of a Commonwealth, &c.*] Toland, on this occaſion, makes the following reflection: 'Here I know not which moſt 'to commend; the King for truſting a man of repub-'lican principles, or Harrington for owning his princi-'ples while he ſerved a King (z).' But, in truth, there ſeems little to commend or wonder at on either ſide in this caſe. The King, we may ſuppoſe, confided no farther in Harrington, than as the leaſt exceptionable of thoſe, whom, in that deplorable ſituation, he was conſtrained to receive, as attendants, at the pleaſure of the Parliament, who were then his maſters. Nor did it diſcover any extraordinary greatneſs of ſoul in Harrington, to talk to a captive prince (for ſuch the King really then was) in ſo diſagreeable a ſtrain. It would have been more noble in him to have ſhunned the diſguſtful topic at that ſeaſon; and more prudent in his Majeſty to have betrayed no reſentment of it. The one would hardly have preſumed to act the part of an advocate for a Commonwealth, a few years before, at Whitehall, when the King was in the ſplendor of his dignity; nor would the other have ſuffered it, without inflicting ſeverer tokens of his diſpleaſure.

(z) Life of Harrington, p. 16.

[*D*] To

Hampſhire [*D*], on November 30, 1648; it happened that Harrington, who in all theſe changes accompanied his Majeſty, did one morning fall into converſation with the governor of that caſtle, and ſome other officers of the Parliament forces, concerning the late negotiations at Newport, wherein he magnified the King's wiſdom in his arguments with the Commiſſioners upon the propoſitions for peace; alledged the ſatisfactorineſs of his conceſſions; and the probability of an happy iſſue of that affair, if this force in removing him to Hurſt-caſtle had not intervened, and made an unhappy rupture; enlarging alſo upon his Majeſty's learned diſputes with Mr Richard Vines, and other Preſbyterian Miniſters, on the points of eccleſiaſtical government and diſcipline. This diſcourſe, however true in itſelf, was, in that unlucky ſeaſon, undeniably, inconſiſtent with prudence: and this was his Majeſty's own ſentiment of it; who, inſtead of reaping any benefit thereby, had the mortification, on the ſcore thereof, to be deprived of the moſt valued of his ſervants; and ſo had reaſon for blaming the good man's indiſcretion, though he could not but entertain a grateful ſenſe of his zeal and affection. In ſhort, the perſons to whom he had thus talked, whoſe conviction was what he aimed at, without any deſign of offending them, withdrew, greatly incenſed; and, after conſulting a little among themſelves, returned, and let him know they were diſſatisfied with what he had ſaid. He deſired them to inſtance wherein, and would have explained and juſtified his meaning. But they, interrupting, told him in plain terms, they could not ſuffer his attendance on the King any longer. Accordingly he was ſecluded his preſence; and there is no ſure ground to think he ſaw him any more [*E*], 'till that fatal day when he was brought to the ſcaffold, where Mr Harrington

[*D*] *To Hurſt-caſtle in Hampſhire.*] The King's circumſtances here were truly miſerable: abſolutely in the power of a ſet of men inured to ſlaughter; haunted by the diſmal apprehenſions of their inſolent cruelty; no friend or ſervant of his own at hand, to comfort or defend him, except Herbert, of his bedchamber, and he weak and diſpirited by an aguiſh diſorder. An incident relative to this matter, and which in ſome ſort ſhews the wretchedneſs of his Majeſty's condition, is told by Wood (3). 'About three days before he 'was moved to Windſor, at midnight, there was an 'unuſual noiſe in the ſaid Hurſt caſtle, that awakened 'him out of his ſleep; and he was in ſome marvel to 'hear the draw-bridge let down at that unſeaſonable 'hour, and ſome horſemen enter, who being alighted, 'the reſt of the night was in deep ſilence. The King 'being deſirous to know the matter, he rung his ſilver 'bell long before break of day, (which, with both 'his watches, he uſually laid upon a ſtool near the 'wax lamp that was ſet near them in a large ſilver 'baſon) upon which call, Herbert opened the bed-'chamber door to know his Majeſty's pleaſure. The 'King told him he would riſe; and as he was making 'ready, he aſked him if he heard a noiſe that was 'made about midnight. Herbert anſwered he did, 'as alſo the falling of the draw-bridge, but he being 'ſhut up in the back-ſtair room next to the bed-'chamber, and the door, by the Governor's order, 'being bolted without, he neither could nor would, 'without his Majeſty's order, adventure out at ſuch a 'time of night. The King then bid him go and learn 'what the matter was, which he did accordingly, and 'knocking at the back ſtair door, the ſoldiers unbolted 'it without; ſo that entering into the next room he 'happily found Capt. Reynolds there alone by a fire, 'and, after ſome diſcourſe, he enquired of him who 'they were that came ſo very late into the caſtle laſt 'night, and their errand. The Captain in a joking 'way bad him be wary in carrying news to the King, 'for he was among ſupercilious ſuperintendants, 'and his comrade was ſerved for an example. Her-'bert thanked him for his friendly caution, and at 'length got out of him who the commander was that 'came ſo late into the caſtle, but would not diſcover 'what his buſineſs was. Whereupon he returned to 'his Majeſty, and told him it was Major Thomas 'Harriſon that came ſo late into the caſtle. *Are you 'ſure it was Major Harriſon*, ſaid the King? *May it 'pleaſe your Majeſty* (ſaid Herbert) *Captain Reynolds 'told me ſo.*' The King then making a little pauſe, 'ſaid, *Then I believe it; but did you ſee Major Harri-'ſon? No*, Sir, ſaid Herbert, Then the King ſaid, '*Would not Captain Reynolds tell you what the Major's 'buſineſs is?* Herbert then replied, that *he did what he 'could to be informed, but that all he could then learn 'from the Captain was, that the occaſion of Harriſon's 'coming would be known ſuddenly.* The King ſaid no 'more, but bad him wait in the next room; and forth-'with his Majeſty went to his prayers. In leſs than an 'hour the King opened his bed-chamber door, and 'beckoned to Herbert to come in and make him 'ready. Herbert was in ſome conſternation to ſee his 'Majeſty ſo much diſcompoſed, and wept: which the 'King obſerving, aſked him the meaning of it; Her-'bert replied, *Becauſe I perceive your Majeſty ſo much 'concerned at the news I brought.* The King ſaid there-'upon, *I am not afraid; but do you not know that this 'is the man (Harriſon) who intendeth to aſſaſſinate me; 'as by letter I was informed during the late treaty? 'to my knowledge I never ſaw the Major, though I 'have often heard of him, nor ever did him injury. The 'commiſſioners indeed hearing of it, repreſented it from 'Newport to the Houſe of Lords: what ſatisfaction he 'gave them I cannot tell; this I can, that I truſt 'in God, who is my helper; I would not be ſurpriſed, 'but this is a place fit for ſuch a purpoſe. Herbert, I 'truſt to your care; go again, and make farther in-'quiry into this buſineſs.* Immediately afterwards 'Herbert went out, and finding an opportunity of 'ſpeaking in private with Captain Reynolds (who 'being a gentleman well educated, and at all eſſays 'ready to expreſs civility towards the King, with 'whom he moſt times walked upon a long narrow paſ-'ſage of ſtony ground joining to the caſtle, and was 'always courteous to his ſervants) he told him the 'Major's buſineſs was to remove the King thence to 'Windſor-caſtle, within three days at fartheſt. Her-'bert believing the King would be pleaſed with the 'exchange, by leaving the worſt to enjoy the beſt 'caſtle in England, returned to his Majeſty with a 'mirthful countenance, little imagining, God knows, 'the ſad conſequence; but as ſoon as the King heard 'Windſor named he ſeemed to rejoice at it.' *It was* on a window of Hurſt-caſtle that this diſconſolate prince wrote the following line of Ovid;

Qui decumbit humi non habet unde cadet.

He was conveyed hence to Windſor in his own coach, Harriſon ſitting therein with him, all the way, covered.

[*E*] *No ſure ground to think he ſaw him any more.*] Neither Wood nor Toland expreſs themſelves intelligibly concerning this circumſtance; but they ſeem to contradict one another. Wood ſays, 'I think he '(Harrington) was never admitted again when the 'King was afterwards conveyed to Windſor, and ſo to 'St James's (4),' which is not ſenſe. Toland, after ſaying, he was forcibly turned out of the King's ſervice, adds, 'As they were taking the King to Wind-'ſor, he begged admittance to the boot of the coach, 'that he might bid his maſter farewel, which being 'granted, and he preparing to kneel, the King took 'him by the hand, and pulled him into him; he was 'for three or four days permitted to ſtay; but becauſe 'he would not take an oath againſt aſſiſting or conceal-'ing the King's eſcape, he was not only diſcharged 'from his office, but alſo for ſome time detained in 'cuſtody, till Major General Ireton obtained his li-'berty. He afterwards found means to ſee the King 'at St James's (5).'——*He was for three or four days permitted*

(3) Athenæ, 2d edit. Vol. II. col. 589.

(4) Wood, ut ſupra, col. 589.

(5) Toland, ut ſupra, p. 17.

Harrington was with him, and where, or a little before, he received a token of his Majeſty's affection (*q*). The King's execution affected him extremely. He often ſaid, nothing ever went nearer him, and that his grief on the ſcore of it was ſo great, he had thereby contracted a diſeaſe; ever after, even while Oliver reigned, ſpeaking of that unfortunate prince with the greateſt zeal and paſſion imaginable (*r*). After this ſhocking event he was more recluſe than ordinary; keeping for the moſt part in his library. His friends attributed this for a good while to melancholy and diſcontent, and took all opportunities of perſwading him to a more agreeable ſort of life. At length, to convince them of their miſtake, and rid himſelf of their importunity, he ſhewed them the real cauſe of his retirement, and how he was therein employed, by laying before them a copy of his *Oceana* [*F*], which he had been then writing: telling them withal, that ever ſince he began to examine things ſeriouſly, he had principally addicted himſelf to the ſtudy of civil government, as being of the higheſt importance to the peace and felicity of mankind; and that he ſucceeded, at leaſt, to his own ſatisfaction; being now convinced that no government is of ſo accidental or arbitrary an inſtitution as people are wont to imagine; there being in ſocieties natural cauſes producing their neceſſary effects, as well as in the earth or the air (*s*). It was with difficulty that he produced this curious piece to the world. After he had effectuated the conception of ſo elaborate a ſyſtem, it had like to have been ſtifled in the birth. Some of Oliver's courtiers hearing of it, and that it was in the preſs, ſet all their emiſſaries at work in ſearch of it. In ſhort, they found, they ſeized, and carried it to Whitehall. All the author's ſollicitations were inſufficient for the recovery of it. At laſt, his memory ſuggeſted an happy expedient. He recollected, that Oliver's favourite daughter, Lady Claypole, acted the part of a princeſs very naturally, obliging all perſons with her civility, and frequently interceding for the miſerable. To her, therefore, he determined to apply; and he ſucceeded to the very utmoſt of his wiſhes. This, however, was, perhaps, owing to an unforeſeen and comical incident [*G*].

(*q*) Wood, ut ſupra, col. 589.

(*r*) Idem.

(*s*) Toland, ut ſupra, p. 17.

Be

permitted to ſtay.—To ſtay where? or, in what character? —No-body can gather from this paſſage —*He was diſcharged from his office.*—He was in no office. He had, by Toland's own account, been diſcharged from his office a while before. The circumſtance indeed is in itſelf of little moment; but I take notice of it, to inſtance what obſcure and inaccurate writers Wood and Toland are.

[*F*] *A copy of his Oceana*] This is a kind of political romance, in imitation of Plato's atlantic ſtory, where by Oceana Harrington intends England; exhibiting a plan of republican government, which he would have had erected here, in caſe theſe kingdoms had formed themſelves into a genuine Commonwealth, inſtead of that ſpurious monſter which aſſumed the venerable name during Oliver's uſurpation. The book, according to Toland's analyſis of it (6), conſiſts of preliminaries divided into two parts, and a third ſection called the Council of Legiſlators; then follows the Commonwealth; and laſtly comes the concluſion or corollary.

(6) Toland, ut ſupra, p. 21.

The preliminary diſcourſes contain the principles, generation, and effects of all governments, whether monarchical, ariſtocratical, or popular; and their ſeveral corruptions, as tyranny, oligarchy, and anarchy, with all the good or bad mixtures that naturally reſult from them.

The firſt part of the preliminaries particularly treats of antient prudence, or that kind of government which generally prevailed in the world 'till the time of Julius Cæſar. None can conſult a ſurer oracle, that would conceive rightly of foreign or domeſtic empire; the balance of land or money; arms or contracts; magiſtrates and judicatures; agrarian laws; elections by the ballot; rotation of officers, and the like.

The ſecond part of the preliminaries treats of modern prudence, or that which has chiefly obtained ſince the expiration of the Roman liberty; eſpecially the Gothic conſtitution. Here we may acquire a clear idea of the Engliſh government, under the Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, till the foundations of it were ſubverted under Charles I. and here we may learn to underſtand the antient feuds and tenures, the origin and degrees of our nobility, with the inferior orders of the populace: What was meant, under the Saxons, by Ealdorman or Earl; King's Thane; middle Thane or Vavaſors; their Shire Moots, Sheriffs and Viſcounts; their Halymoots, Weidengemoots, &c. Here alſo we ſee what the Baronage of the Normans was; ſome being of that rank by their poſſeſſions, others by writ, or by patent. In the latter part of this diſcourſe, the author diſplays the natural cauſes of the diſſolution of the Norman monarchy under Charles the Firſt, and the generation of the Commonwealth, or rather anarchy, that ſucceeded.

Next follows the Council of Legiſlators. Harrington deſigning to offer the world a moſt perfect ſyſtem of government, ſtudied all the ancient and modern politicians, that he might imitate what was excellent, and avoid or rectify whatever he found inconvenient in their ſeveral ſyſtems. To this end therefore he introduces nine legiſlators, under fictitious names, perfectly acquainted with the different ſtates they are appointed to repreſent. The province of the firſt is that of the Jews; of the ſecond, Athens; of the third, Sparta; of the fourth, Carthage; of the fifth, the Archæans, Ætolians, and Lycians; of the ſixth, Rome; of the ſeventh, Venice; of the eighth, Switzerland; of the ninth Holland. Of the excellencies of all theſe, and the fruits of his own wiſe invention, he framed the model of his Oceana.

The method he obſerves in that work, is, to lay down his laws or orders in ſo many poſitive propoſitions, ſubjoining to each an explanatory diſcourſe; and, if occaſion requires, adding a ſpeech, ſuppoſed to be delivered by the archon, or ſome of the legiſlators. In the corollary, or, concluſion, he ſhews how the laſt hand was put to his Commonwealth. His ſyſtem comprehends not only the form of a ſenate and aſſemblies of the people, the manner of waging war and governing in peace, but, moreover, the diſcipline of a national religion, and the ſecurity of a liberty of conſcience; a form of government for Scotland, Ireland, and the other provinces of the Republic; governments for London and Weſtminſter, proportionably to which the other corporations of the nation are to be faſhioned; directions for the promoting of trade; laws for regulating academies; with admirable rules for the educating of youth, as well to the wars or the ſea, to manufactures or huſbandry, as to law, phyſic, or divinity, and, chiefly, to the breeding and figure of accompliſhed gentlemen; excellent orders for reforming the ſtage; the number, choice, duty, and ſalaries, of the officers of ſtate, of the revenue, and the like; with an eſtimate of the ordinary annual expence of the whole community.

[*G*] *Owing to an unforeſeen and comical incident.*] Toland relates (7), that Harrington having thought fit to make his application to Lady Claypole, though ſhe was an abſolute ſtranger to him, being led into her antichamber, he ſent in his name, with his humble requeſt that ſhe would admit him into her preſence. While he attended, ſome of her women coming into the room, were followed by her little daughter, about three years old, who ſtaid behind them. He entertained the child ſo divertingly, that ſhe ſuffered him to take her up in his arms 'till her mother came; whereupon, he ſtepping towards her, and ſetting the child down at her feet, ſaid, Madam, 'tis well you are come at this nick

(7) Toland, ubi ſupra, p. 19.

of

Be that as it will, his copy was reſtored, and he was ſuffered to proceed in the printing of it. As ſoon as it appeared in the world, it was greedily bought up, and became the general ſubject of converſation (*t*). Several undertook a refutation of it, to whom Harrington replied [*H*]. Many were deſirous of an epitome of it; and indeed it might very well bear one. Mr Harrington was not uſed to ſay too little upon any matter; he was rather apt to encumber or obſcure his ſubject by an exuberance of expreſſion. His ſcheme, when reduced to a narrower compaſs, would become more perſpicuous, and eaſier in the purchaſe, and ſo be of greater utility. In compliance therefore with a general importunity, he printed an abridgment of it in the year 1649, calling it *The Art of Lawgiving*, in three books. The firſt, which treats of the *Foundation and Superſtructures of all kinds of Government*, is an abſtract of his preliminaries to the *Oceana*: and the third book, ſhewing *A Model of Popular Government, fitted to the preſent State or Balance of this Nation*, is an exact compendium of the *Oceana* itſelf, with ſhort diſcourſes explaining the propoſitions. The ſecond book, between theſe two, is *A full Account of the Commonwealth of Iſrael, with all the Variations it underwent.* To the *Art of Lawgiving* is annexed a ſmall diſſertation, or *A Word concerning a Houſe of Peers* (*u*). Harrington not only endeavoured to propagate his republican notions by writing, but for the more effectually advancing a cauſe, of which he was enthuſiaſtically enamoured, he formed a ſociety of gentlemen, agreeing with him in principles, who met nightly at Miles's coffee-houſe in the New-Palace-yard Weſtminſter, and were called the *Rota* (*w*). The room where they aſſembled was open to all, and many came out of curioſity, and probably for the ſake of prating or diſputing; for it ſeems as if ſtrangers and occaſional viſitants had that liberty. The diſcourſes here were political, tending to inſtil a diſlike of Monarchy, and by diſplaying the advantages of a Commonwealth, to create a fondneſs in the people of that ſort of government. Wood is very particular in his account of this aſſociation, or gang as he terms it (*x*) [*I*]. After the Reſtoration Mr Harrington lived rather more privately than he had done

(*t*) Toland, ut ſupra, p. 26.

(*u*) Ibid.

(*w*) Ut ſupra, p. 28. Wood, ut ſupra, col. 591.

(*x*) Ut ſupra.

of time, or I had certainly ſtolen this pretty little lady. Stolen her, replied the mother! pray, what to do with her? for ſhe is yet too young to become your miſtreſs. Madam, ſaid he, though her charms aſſure her of a more conſiderable conqueſt, yet I muſt confeſs it is not love, but revenge, that prompted me to commit this theft. Lord, anſwered the Lady again, what injury have I done you, that you ſhould ſteal my child? none at all, replied he, but that you might be induced to prevail with your father to do me juſtice, by reſtoring my child that he has ſtolen But ſhe urging it was impoſſible, becauſe her father had children enough of his own; he told her, at laſt, it was the iſſue of his brain, which was miſrepreſented to the Protector, and taken out of the preſs by his order. She immediately promiſed to procure it for him, if it contained nothing prejudicial to her father's government; and he aſſuring her it was only a kind of political romance, ſo far from any treaſon againſt her father, that he hoped ſhe would acquaint him he deſigned to dedicate it to him; and promiſing that ſhe herſelf ſhould be preſented with one of the firſt copies; the Lady was ſatisfied, and ſo well pleaſed with his manner of addreſs, that he had his book ſpeedily reſtored to him.

[*H*] *Several undertook a refutation of it, to whom Harrington replied.*] The firſt of theſe was Dr Henry Ferne, afterwards Biſhop of Cheſter. Harrington publiſhed the whole controverſy between them in the year 1656, under the title of *Pian Piano, or, An Intercourſe between Henry Ferne, Doctor in Divinity, and James Harrington, Eſq; upon occaſion of the Doctor's Cenſure of the Commonwealth of Oceana* (8). The next that appeared againſt it, was Matthew Wren, eldeſt ſon to the Biſhop of Ely. His book was intitled *Conſiderations*, and confined to the firſt part of the preliminaries only. Mr Harrington anſwered in the firſt book of his Prerogative of Popular Government, where he explains and vindicates his aſſertions. He treats his adverſary with a good deal of contempt, and it was thought he had the better of him by much (9). In the courſe of this debate with Wren, he has diſcuſſed ſeveral curious and intereſting points: as, whether a Commonwealth be rightly defined to be a government of laws, and not of men; and monarchy to be a government of ſome men, or a few men, and not of laws?—Whether the balance of dominion in land be the natural cauſe of empire?—Whether the decrees of the Roman Senate, or, *Senatus Conſulta*, had the power of laws?——Whether the Ten Commandments, propoſed by God or Moſes, were voted and paſſed into laws by the people of Iſrael?——Whether a Commonwealth, coming up to the perfection of the kind, comes not up to the perfection of government? that is, whether the beſt Commonwealth be not the beſt government?——Whether monarchy, coming up to the perfection of the kind, comes not ſhort of the perfection of government, and has not ſome flaw in it? that is, whether the beſt monarchy be not the worſt government.———Whether any Commonwealth, that was not firſt broken or divided by itſelf, was ever conquered by any monarch? where he ſhews that none ever were; and that the greateſt monarchies have been broken by very ſmall commonwealths, &c. &c (10).

(8) Toland, ubi ſupra, p. 24.

(9) Ibid.

(10) Ibid.

It was chiefly againſt the Oceana that Richard Baxter wrote his Holy Commonwealth. But Mr Harrington had ſo contemptuous an opinion of this piece, that he vouchſafed it no other anſwer but half a ſheet of cant and ridicule (11). Wren, not ſatisfied with Harrington's anſwer to his Conſiderations, immediately publiſhed a vindication of them, under the title of Monarchy Aſſerted (12). This was penned in a very abuſive ſtrain, with little force of argument. In both theſe reſpects Harrington was even with him in his reply.

(11) Ibid. p. 26.

(12) Ibid.

Something alſo paſſed between Dr Stubbe and Harrington, relative to Oceana; but it was ſo trifling as not to deſerve any farther mention.

[*I*] *Wood is very particular in his account of this aſſociation.*] 'They had a balloting box, and 'balloted how things ſhould be carried, by way 'of Tentamens; which not being uſed or known 'in England before for this purpoſe, the room 'every evening was very full. Beſides Harrington and Henry Nevill, who were the prime men of 'this club, were Cyriack Skinner, a Mercer's ſon of 'London, an ingenious young gentleman, and ſcholar 'to John Milton, which Skinner ſometimes held the 'chair; Major John Wildman, Charles Wolſeley of 'Staffordſhire, Roger Coke, author of the Detection 'of the four laſt reigns, William Poultney, afterwards 'a Knight, who ſometimes held the chair; John 'Hoſkyns, John Aubrey, Maximilian Pettie of Tetſ'worth in Oxfordſhire, a very able man in theſe mat'ters, and who had more than once turned the coun'cil board of Oliver Cromwell, Michael Mallet, Phi'lip Carteret of the Iſle of Guernſey, Francis Cradock 'a Merchant, Henry Ford, Major Venner, Thomas 'Marriett of Warwickſhire, Henry Croone a Phyſi'cian, Edward Bagſhaw of Chriſt-church, and ſome'times Robert Wood of Lincoln-college, and James 'Arderne, then or ſoon after a divine, with many 'others beſides antagoniſts and auditors of note. Dr 'William Petty was a rota-man, and would ſometimes 'trouble Harrington in his club; and one Stafford, a 'gentleman of Northamptonſhire, who uſed to be an 'auditor, did with his gang come among them one 'evening very mellow from the tavern, and did much 'affront the Junto, and tore their orders and minutes.

done during the uſurpation; demeaning himſelf peaceably, as became a man of no party. He was viſited however by many of different ranks and denominations; ſome with a malevolent deſign as ſpies, others with nobler intentions, either to improve by his inſtructive converſation, or to put him on the compoſing of ſomething which might direct to a thorough ſettlement of the kingdom. Among theſe was an eminent Royaliſt, who prevailed with him to draw up ſome inſtructions for the King's ſervice, whereby he might be enabled to govern with ſatisfaction to the people and ſafety to himſelf. This being performed, and ſigned with his own name, his friend, after ſhewing it to ſeveral of the courtiers, found, as he might eaſily have foreſeen, they did not approve a ſcheme that was not favourable to their purpoſes. On this, the author himſelf delivered it to a great miniſter about the King, in order to it's being offered his Majeſty. The acceptation it there found may be imagined from the uſage, we are going to mention, which he met with ſhortly after. About this time he was buſy in reducing his politics to ſhort and eaſy aphoriſms, digeſted into a natural order, and ſuited to vulgar capacities. Of this he made no ſecret, and freely communicated his papers to any of his acquaintance. It muſt be confeſſed there was too little prudence in this behaviour. He ſhould have known, a work of this nature could not fail (if divulged) of rendering him obnoxious to a monarch, who had his principles in the utmoſt deteſtation, and whoſe meaſures were the reverſe of them. Accordingly, while he was putting the laſt hand to this ſyſtem, he was, by an order from the King, on the 28th of December, 1661 (y), ſeized by Sir William Poultney (a quondam brother of the Rota) and others, and committed to the Tower of London for treaſonable deſigns and practices. He had the written ſheets of his Aphoriſms lying before him on the table, when the aforeſaid perſons entered his chamber; and underſtanding they intended to carry them to the Council, he begged they would permit him to ſtitch them together, which was granted, and ſo they were removed with ſome other papers to Whitehall (x). He himſelf was inſtantly hurried to the Tower, without being allowed to take leave of any one, and ſecreted from the ſpeech or ſight of any of his friends. His ſiſters were hereupon inconſolable. One of them, who had formerly experienced the King's favour, threw herſelf at his feet, beſeeching him to compaſſionate her brother, who, through a great miſtake, was fallen under his Majeſty's diſpleaſure; for as ſhe was ſure that none of his ſubjects exceeded him in loyalty, ſo his Majeſty might ſee he was not the man they deſigned, ſince the warrant was for Sir James Harrington, whereas her brother was never honoured with ſuch a title by his Majeſty's anceſtors, and he would not have accepted it from Oliver. To this artful plea the King as politely anſwered, That though they might be miſtaken in his title, he doubted he might be found more guilty of the crimes alledged againſt him, than he wiſhed any brother of her's to be. Then ſhe petitioned he might be examined before his Majeſty, or brought to a ſpeedy tryal. Not one of her requeſts was gratified. Shortly after, Lord Lauderdale, who was ſomewhat a-kin to him, Sir George Carteret, and Sir Edward Walker, were ſent to examine him in the Tower, about a plot, which they ſaid he had contrived againſt his Majeſty's perſon and government (y). At the hearing of this he was greatly revived: for, 'till then, though he might know he was not engaged in any conſpiracy againſt the King, ſince his Reſtoration, he could not be inſenſible how virulently, nay even traiterouſly, he had abuſed his character, as well as his royal progenitors, before that period [K]; and

(y) Wood dates this incident November 26.

(x) Toland, ut ſupra, p. 30.

(y) Ibid. p. 31.

' The ſoldiers, who commonly were there as auditors ' and ſpectators, would have kicked them down ſtairs, ' but Harrington's moderation and perſuaſion hindred ' them (13).' The plan of government theſe meetings were intended to recommend, was conformable to Harrington's Oceana. The ſupreme authority of the nation was to be in a ſenate, a third part of which ſhould rote out by ballot every year; ſo that every ninth year the ſaid ſenate would be wholly altered. No magiſtrate was to continue in office above three years, and all to be choſen by ballot. This doctrine was very taking; and the more, as there ſcarcely appeared at that time a poſſibility of the King's return. However, the greateſt of the parliament men hated it, as being againſt their power. Eight or ten were for it, of which number Henry Nevil was one, who propoſed it to the Houſe, and made it out to the members thereof, that, except they embraced that way of government, they ſhould be ruined. This club laſted till about the 21ſt of February, 1659, when the ſecluded members being reſtored by General Monke, all their ſchemes vaniſhed (14).

(13) Wood, ut ſupra, col. 591.

(14) Idem.

[K] *He had abuſed his character, as well as his royal progenitors, before that period.*] Nothing can be viler than the picture he has drawn of Mary Queen of Scots: he even outſcandalizes Buchanan (15). He has painted her ſon, James the Firſt, alſo, in the moſt odious colours; ſuggeſting at the ſame time, that he was not born of the Queen, but was a ſuppoſitious impoſtor, and, of courſe, had no right to the Crowns he inherited (16). His portrait of Charles the Firſt is an abominable figure (17). Beſides ſeveral other bad things, and one moſt horrible, even parricide, he ſays of him, ' Never was man ſo reſolute and obſtinate in a ' tyranny.——He was one of the moſt conſummate in ' the arts of tyranny that ever was. And it could be ' no other than God's hand that arreſted him in the ' height of his deſigns and greatneſs, and cut off him ' and his family (18).' Charles the Second was in Scotland when this libel was publiſhed, ſo defamatory of him and his anceſtors; which circumſtance I mention, that the enſuing paſſages may be more intelligible to the reader. He went thither at the earneſt requeſt of that people, who profeſſed the higheſt loyalty and affection. How they uſed him there is known to every one. His ſituation was truly miſerable; rather an object of pitty, than to be envyed. They treated him liker a ſlave than a ſovereign. But, inſtead of commiſerating the unhappy Prince, or blaming the brutality and ſottiſhneſs of his mock ſubjects, Harrington predicts the vengeance of God on them, for receiving him at all, unleſs (as he odly ſays) the Engliſh army prevented the Deities inflicting it. He repreſents him, there, with that nation, as a Log among his Frogs, ſuffering them to play about him; then adds, ' Yet God will ' ſuffer him (if the Engliſh army prevents not) to turn ' Stork and devour them, while their cries ſhall not be ' heard, as thoſe that (in ſpight of the warning of Pro- ' vidence, and the light of their own reaſons, for their ' own corrupt intereſt and greedy ambition) brought ' thoſe miſeries upon themſelves (19).' And he cloſes The Grounds and Reaſons of Monarchy (a magazine of this and abundantly more ſlander) with the following paragraph: ' Our ſcene is again in Scotland, which ' has accepted Charles the Firſt's ſon, whom, for di- ' ſtinction ſake, we will be content to call Charles the ' Second,

(15) Works of Harrington collected by Toland, Lond. 1737. fol. p. 28.

(16) Idem, & ſeq.

(17) Idem, p. 31.

(18) Idem, p. 32.

(19) Idem, p. 15.

and therefore might well fear the weight of his vengeance, whenever an occaſion preſented of inflicting it. But now he perceived his accuſation was not of that, but of a more recent crime, whereof he was not guilty, he fancied he ſhould eaſily clear himſelf, and be ſpeedily releaſed. However, though, according to that account of his examination which he tranſmitted to his ſiſters, he made a plauſible defence, and even ſeems to have in ſome meaſure inclined Lauderdale and the reſt to believe him innocent; and though a committee of Lords and Commons, after ſeveral ſittings, could make nothing of this imaginary plot [*L*], and never ſo much as named him in all their reports (*z*), he remained a cloſe priſoner. His ſiſters in the mean time being impatient to know his condition, after ſeveral petitions, at length obtained an order of Council to admit them into the Tower; where they found him barbarouſly uſed by the Lieutenant, whom they ſoftened into more humanity by a preſent of fifty pounds, under the notion of fees. By them he delivered a petition to the King; not only aſſerting his innocence, but commending his own behaviour in the late times, 'When he had oppoſed the uſurper in ſuch a manner, as was judged, 'even by the Royaliſts themſelves, to be very much to his diſadvantage.' Wherefore he begged the favour of a public tryal, or a more eaſy confinement (*a*). Other ſupplications were made in his behalf, but all to no purpoſe. Finding no relief from this quarter, he turned his eyes toward the Parliament, and framed a petition, repreſenting to that illuſtrious body the hardſhips he had undergone, 'by lying a cloſe priſoner in the 'Tower for five months, on a bare ſuſpicion of ſome diſaffection to the government; 'which in all his examinations did not in the leaſt appear; that he hoped in that time 'ſo to have cleared his innocence by a public tryal, as to deſerve his liberty; and that 'becauſe he underſtood theſe matters were in ſome meaſure before their Houſe, he 'would not preſume, without firſt making his application to them, to ſue for his 'freedom by other legal means.' But ſo much was that Houſe then under the awe and influence of the Court, that his ſiſter could get none of the members to deliver this petition, or to give her any encouragement. Several, on the other hand, diſſwaded her from any application at all, leſt, inſtead of procuring her brother any benefit thereby, ſhe haſtened his deſtruction: whereas, if ſhe continued patient under his ſufferings, he might be ſafe in his reſtraint (*b*). Theſe methods failing, he adviſed his ſiſter to move for an *habeas corpus*. She did ſo. It was at firſt abſolutely denied. It was afterwards granted, and duly ſerved; but the effect of it baſely defeated by a moſt arbitrary and cruel proceeding: for when he and his friends juſtly expected, that, in conſequence of this writ, he ſhould have been preſently brought to a legal tryal, or enlarged, his warder came one day to his ſiſters at Weſtminſter, and informed them, that, between one and two o'clock that morning, their brother was put on board a ſhip, to be tranſported he knew not whither, without any time given him, either to ſee his friends, or to make proviſion of money, linnen, or other neceſſaries (*c*). His relations were under the deepeſt concern on account of this ſtrange incident. They made all the enquiry they could poſſibly after him, at the Tower, and at the Secretary's office, but all to no purpoſe. They could get no intelligence

(*z*) Idem.

(*a*) Life of Harrington, by Toland, p. 35.

(*b*) Ibid, p. 36.

(*c*) Idem.

'Second. Certainly theſe people were ſtrangely blind 'as to God's judgment perpetually poured out upon a 'family; or elſe wonderfully addicted to their own 'intereſt, to admit the ſpray of ſuch a ſtock; one that 'has ſo little to commend him, and ſo great improba-'bility to further their deſigns and happineſs; a 'popiſh education, if not religion too, however for 'the preſent he may ſeem to diſſemble it; France, 'the Jeſuits, and his mother, good means of ſuch an 'improvement; the dangerous maxims of his father, 'beſides the revenge he owes his death, of which he 'will never totally acquit the Scots; his hate to the 'whole nation; his ſenſe of Montroſe's death; his 'backwardneſs to come to them 'till all other means 'failed (both his foreign begged aſſiſtance, his propo-'ſitions to the Pope, and commiſſions to Montroſe) 'and, laſtly, his late running away to his old friends 'in the North: ſo that any may ſee his preſent com-'pliance to be but hiſtrionical and forced, and that as 'ſoon as he has led them into the ſnare, and got power 'into his own hands, ſo as that he may appear once 'more bare-faced, he will be a ſcourge upon them for 'their groſs hypocriſy, and leave them a ſad inſtance 'to all nations, how dangerous it is to eſpouſe ſuch an 'intereſt,' againſt which God with ſo viſible and ſevere 'a hand does fight, carried on by and for the ſupport 'of a tyrannizing nobility and clergy, and wherein the 'poor people are blindly led on—and made inſtrumen-'tal with their own eſtates and blood towards inſlaving 'and ruining themſelves (20).' Whatever ground there might be for this invective, there can be none for ſuppoſing the writer of it a true friend or ſubject of Charles the Second: nor can we conceive with what face his ſiſter could plead for that Prince's compaſſion towards him, under that character; or in the leaſt wonder at the diſmal apprehenſions he entertained in the beginning of his impriſonment, while he was unacquainted with the real occaſion of it.

(20) Idem, p. 32.

[*L*] *Could make nothing of this imaginary plot.*] The account Chancellor Hide gave of it, at a conference of the Lords and Commons, was, 'That one and thirty 'perſons were the chief managers of it; that they met 'in Bow-ſtreet Covent garden, in St Martins-le-grand, 'at the Mill-bank, and in other places; and that they 'were of ſeven different parties or intereſts, as, three 'for the Commonwealth, three for the long Parlia-'ment, three for the city, three for the purchaſers, 'three for the diſbanded army, three for the indepen-'dents, and three for the fifth-monarchy men. That their 'firſt conſideration was how to agree on the choice of 'Parliament-men againſt the inſuing ſeſſion; and that 'a ſpecial care ought to be had about members for the 'city of London, as a precedent for the reſt of the 'kingdom to follow, whereupon they nominated the 'four members after choſen, and then ſitting in Parlia-'ment. Their next care was to frame a petition to the 'Parliament for a preaching miniſtry, and liberty of 'conſcience. Then they were to divide and ſub-divide 'themſelves into ſeveral councils and committees, for 'the better carrying on their buſineſs by themſelves or 'their agents and accomplices all over the kingdom. 'In theſe meetings Harrington was ſaid to be often in 'the chair; that they had taken an oath of ſecrecy, 'and concerted meaſures for levying men and money.' The Chancellor added, that though he had certain information of the times and places of their meetings, and particularly thoſe of Harrington and Wildman, they were nevertheleſs ſo fixed in their nefarious deſign, that none of thoſe they had taken would confeſs any thing, not ſo much as that they had ſeen or ſpoken to one another at thoſe times or places (21).

(21) Life of Harrington, by Toland, p. 35.

[*M*] *Was*

telligence of him any where. They were a fortnight labouring under this painful anxiety, uncertain of his condition, and dreading his fate; when they received a note from his own hand on board one of the King's ships, then lying under Hurſt-caſtle, informing them he believed he was bound for Plymouth. About a month after, he ſent them word, by another letter, that he was landed on a fort of rock oppoſite to Plymouth, called St Nicholas's iſland; from whence he frequently afterwards wrote to them (*d*). His cloſe reſtraint here, where the water was very bad, and he had ſcarcely room enough to move in, quickly impaired his health. This occaſioned a petition for his being removed to Plymouth, which was complied with, on his brother and uncle obliging themſelves in a bond of five thouſand pounds, for his ſafe impriſonment. Here he had the liberty of walking on the hoe, and was exceedingly well treated by the Deputy-Governor of the fort, Sir John Skelton. At this place he unfortunately became acquainted with one Dr Dunſtan, who adviſed him to take a preparation of Guaiacum in coffee, as a certain cure for the ſcurvy, with which he was then troubled. He drank of this liquor in great quantities, morning and evening; which, it is like, had a very pernicious effect, for he ſoon grew delirious. His ſiſters having notice of this from his landlady, one of them applied to the Earl of Bath, then Chief Governor of Plymouth, and informed him of his priſoner's ſad condition (*e*). This noble lord hereupon repreſenting his caſe to the King, and interceding for his removal to London, where he might have the advice of able Phyſicians, his Majeſty granted a warrant for his releaſe, ſince nothing appeared againſt him, ſupported by any credible evidence or preſumption (*f*). The next day Lady Aſhton, with another of his ſiſters, ſet out for Plymouth, where they found him in a miſerable ſtate; his underſtanding quite impaired, and his body waſted to a ſkeleton. A rumour among the people of the town, that he had taken ſome drink which would make any one mad in a month; the ſurlineſs of the doctor, and ſome expreſſions that dropped from a maid, who was put to attend him againſt his will, made ſeveral ſuſpect he had foul play, leſt he ſhould write any more *Oceanas* (*g*). It was near a month before he was able to bear the journey to London in a coach. Here (after paſſing a time at Aſhted in Surry, to drink the Epſom waters, from which he received no benefit) he was put wholly under the care of Dr Prujean, who with all his art could afford him little help for the weakneſs of his body, and none at all for the diſorder of his mind. He would diſcourſe of other things as rationally as any man; but when his own diſtemper was touched on, he would fancy and utter ſtrange things about the operation of his animal ſpirits, which tranſpired from him, he ſaid, in the ſhape of birds, flies, bees, or the like. He talked ſo much of good and evil ſpirits, that he even terrified thoſe about him. But he was wont to argue ſo ſtrenuouſly, that theſe chimeras were not the iſſues of a diſordered imagination, that his Doctor, as we are told, was often put to his ſhifts for an anſwer [*M*]. He would on ſuch occaſions compare himſelf to Democritus, who, for his admirable diſcoveries in Anatomy, was reckoned diſtracted by his fellow-citizens (*b*). In this crazy condition he married the daughter of Sir Marmaduke Dorrel of Buckinghamſhire; a very agreeable woman, and celebrated wit, whoſe perſon and converſation he always admired, and who had been long intimate with his family. He had made his addreſſes to this lady in his younger days; but ſhe was then in the height of her charms, and did not make thoſe returns of affection he deſired. And now ſhe thought fit to accept him, having probably been diſappointed of greater expectations, it preſently appeared the match was not ſo diſintereſted on her ſide as ſhe pretended. Some intimations of this in her conduct occaſioned a difference between them, ſoon after their nuptials; however, a reconciliation quickly enſued, and he treated her with great generoſity and reſpect during the remainder of his life. Towards his latter end he was ſubject to the gout, and enjoyed little eaſe, but drooping and languiſhing a good while, he was at laſt ſeized with a palſy, and died at Weſtminſter, the eleventh of September, 1677, leaving his eſtate to his brother's children, and lies buried in St Margaret's church, on the ſouth ſide of the altar, next the grave of Sir Walter Ralegh (*i*). Mr Harrington was a man of genius and learning, but he can hardly be deemed a fine writer. He is redundant in reſpect of his matter, too verboſe, and his ſtile not only exuberant, but diſfigured with uncouth terms and phraſes. However, a ſkilful and patient reader may collect a very valuable ſtock of political knowledge out of his writings. We ſhall give a liſt of them below [*N*].

(*d*) Idem.

(*e*) Idem.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 37.

(*g*) Idem.

(*b*) Idem.

(*i*) Ib'd. p. 38.

[*M*] *Was often put to his ſhifts for an anſwer.*] There muſt ſurely have been ſome flaw in the Doctor's own underſtanding, or he would never have ſtudied any reply to the ravings of a lunatic: for ſuch Mr Harrington was certainly in this inſtance. Nor can one otherwiſe than ſmile at the grave apology which Mr Toland offers in behalf of theſe whimſies; which he owns indeed puzzled him for a while, 'till he at length happened on a ſolution, that, in his judgment, frees them from all imputation of madneſs. 'This he found in a paper written by Harrington himſelf, and communicated, after his death, to Mr Toland; whereby it appeared, 'That the ſaid Harrington's pretended viſions of angels and devils were nothing elſe but 'good or bad animal ſpirits, and that his flies and 'bees were only ſimilitudes whereby he uſed to expreſs 'the various figures and forms of thoſe particles (22).' Mr Toland, it ſeems, on the reading of this piece, was perfectly amazed at the diſcovery of ſo mighty a ſecret; and it had ſuch an influence on him, that he could never after, as he tells us, be convinced of Harrington's being delirious in this particular. And to ſatisfy the learned in the point, who are all, as he imagines, concerned therein, he has preſented them with the diſcourſe itſelf, at the concluſion of the author's life (23).'

(22) Idem, p. 38.

(23) Ibid. p. 42.

[*N*] *We ſhall give a liſt of them below*] I. 'The 'Commonwealth of Oceana' Firſt printed at London, in Folio, 1656. II. 'The Prerogative of Po-'pular Government.' Firſt printed at London, in quarto, 1658. III. 'The Art of Lawgiving.' Firſt printed at London, in octavo, 1659. IV. 'A Word 'concerning a Houſe of Peers.' Firſt printed at London, in octavo, 1659. V. '*Valerius* and *Publicola*, 'or the true Form of a Popular Commonwealth ex-'tracted *e puris naturalibus*.' Firſt printed in quarto, 1659.

1659. VI. ‘ A Syſtem of Politics delineated in ſhort ‘ and eaſy Aphoriſms.’ This was firſt publiſhed from a manuſcript of the author's, after his death, by Mr Toland. VII. ‘ Political Aphoriſms.’ Firſt printed at London, in quarto, 1659. VIII. ‘ Seven Models ‘ of a Commonwealth, or brief Directions ſhewing ‘ how a fit and perfect Model of Popular Government ‘ may be made, found, or underſtood.’ Firſt printed at London, in quarto, 1659. IX. ‘ The Ways and ‘ Means whereby an equal and laſting Commonwealth ‘ may be ſuddenly introduced and perfectly founded, ‘ with the free Conſent and actual Confirmation of the ‘ whole People of England.’ Firſt printed at London in quarto, 1660 X. ‘ The humble petition of divers ‘ well affected Perſons, delivered the ſixth of July, ‘ 1659; with the Parliament's Anſwer thereto.’ Theſe were the writings of Mr Harrington that Toland collected, methodized, reviewed, and publiſhed in one volume, folio, at London, in the year 1700. But there was another and much compleater edition of his works ſet forth, in 1737, by Andrew Millar, Bookſeller, of the ſame city. This edition contains the following articles, omitted in Mr Toland's; and for which the world is obliged to the Rev. Thomas Birch, D D. F. R. S. who communicated them to the editor, viz. XI. ‘ *Pian Piano*, or, Intercourſe between H. Ferne, ‘ D. D. and J Harrington, Eſq; upon Occaſion of the ‘ Doctor's Cenſure of the Commonwealth of Oceana ’ Firſt printed at London, in duodecimo, 1656. XII. ‘ The Stumbling Block of Diſobedience and Rebellion, ‘ cunningly imputed by P. H. unto Calvin, removed in ‘ a Letter to the ſaid P. H. from J H ’ Firſt printed at London, in quarto, 1659. ‘ XIII. ‘ A Letter unto ‘ Mr Stubbs, in Anſwer to his Oceana weighed, &c.’ Firſt printed at London, in quarto, 1659. XIV. ‘ Politicaſter, or a comical Diſcourſe, in Anſwer to ‘ Mr Wren's book, intitled, Monarchy Aſſerted againſt ‘ Mr Harrington's Oceana.’ Firſt printed at London, in duodecimo, 1659. XV. *Pour enclouer le Canon.* Firſt printed at London, in quarto, 1659. XVI. ‘ A Diſcourſe upon this ſaying, The Spirit of the ‘ Nation is not yet to be truſted with Liberty, leſt it ‘ introduce Monarchy, or invade the Liberty of Conſcience.’ Firſt printed at London, in quarto, 1659. XVII. ‘ A Diſcourſe ſhewing, that the Spirit of Parliaments, with a Council in the Intervals, is not to ‘ be truſted for a Settlement, leſt it introduce Monarchy ‘ and Perſecution for Conſcience.’ Firſt printed at London, in quarto, 1659. XVIII. ‘ A Parallel of ‘ the Spirit of the People with the Spirit of Mr ‘ Rogers; and an Appeal thereupon unto the Reader, ‘ whether the Spirit of the People, or the Spirit of ‘ Men like Mr Rogers, be the fitter to be truſted with ‘ the Government.’ Firſt printed at London, in quarto, 1659. XIX. ‘ A ſufficient Anſwer to Mr Stubbs.’ Firſt printed at London, in quarto, 1659. XX. ‘ A ‘ Propoſition in order to the propoſing of a Common‘ wealth or Democracy.’ Firſt printed at London, in folio, 1659. XXI. ‘ The Rota, or a Model of a ‘ Free State or equal Commonwealth, once propoſed ‘ and debated in brief, and to be again more at large ‘ propoſed to, and debated by, a free and open So‘ ciety of ingenious Gentlemen.’ Firſt printed at London, in quarto, 1660 (24). Mr Harrington made ſome attempts in the poetical way, but they gained him no reputation (25). However, in 1658, he publiſhed an Engliſh tranſlation of two Eclogues of Virgil, and two books of the Æneis, under the title of, ‘ An ‘ Eſſay upon two of Virgil's Eclogues and two of his ‘ Æneis, towards the tranſlation of the whole,’ octavo; and in 1659, was printed his tranſlation of the third, fourth, fifth, and ſixth books of the Æneis (26). I

(24) Ibid. p. 45.

(25) Wood, ut ſupra, col. 590.

(26) Ibid. col. 594.

HARRIOT [THOMAS], the firſt inventor of the way of notation ſince univerſally uſed in Algebra (*a*), was born and bred at Oxford (*b*); and having completed his Bachelor of Arts degree in Lent 1579 (*c*), being then about 19 years of age, he had ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ſkill in Mathematics, as to be recommended ſoon after to Sir Walter Ralegh as a proper Preceptor for him in thoſe ſciences. Accordingly that gentleman became his firſt patron, and took him into his family, with the allowance of an annual penſion (*d*). This was the firſt reward of his merit, and there are ſeveral inſtances which undeniably evince that his patron found him worthy of his eſteem and confidence. For in the firſt place, after he had, in purſuance of his purpoſe, made a ſufficient diſcovery of the country now called Virginia, in 1584, he ſent our author, with the colony, under Sir Richard Greenvile, the following year, as a perſon every way qualified to open the way for ſettling it (*e*). From their firſt arrival there, in June 1585, Mr Harriot applied himſelf to the buſineſs with all the diligence which the occaſion required (*f*); and upon their return home, after a full year's ſtay, by reaſon of ſome unforeſeen accidents, without having made ſuch a progreſs towards the ſettlement as was expected [*A*], he was employed by Sir Walter to draw up and publiſh a topography of the country, in order to keep up the ſpirit of the undertaking [*B*]. This piece was publiſhed in 1588 in 4to (*g*); and it was

(*a*) See below in remark [*H*].

(*b*) See the inſcription upon his monument in remark [*F*].

(*c*) He took this degree Feb. 12. and completed it the following Lent. Wood's Faſti, Vol. I. col. 118. & Ath. Ox. ibid. col. 459. where he tells us, Mr Harriot was entered of St Mary-Hall, and bred under two ſucceeding Principals there, both ſtrict Diſciplinarians.

(*d*) Idem ibid. col. 460.

(*e*) In the liſt of the perſons who ſtaid a year in Virginia, our author is ranked among the *gentlemen*, and his name put in the ſecond place next to the Admiral Amada, who firſt diſcovered the country. See an account of the particularities of the employments of the Engliſhmen left in Virginia, &c. in 1585. Hakluyt's Voyages, &c. Vol. III. p. 255. Lond. 1660. fol.

(*f*) See Sir Richard Grinvile's Voyage for Sir W. Ralegh in 1585. Ibid. p. 251. In the concluſion, where he ſays, he had drawn up a chronicle of all the remarkable occurrences of the ſeveral colonies, from the firſt diſcovery of Virginia in 1584 to that time, which he then intended to publiſh, but did not, being probably prevented by the accounts of others.

(*g*) It is ſubſcribed February 1587. in the

(1) An account of the particularities, of the employments of the Engliſhmen left in Virginia under the care of Maſter Ralph Lane, &c. ſent and directed to Sir Walter Ralegh. Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 255. & ſeq. edit. 1660. folio.

(2) In his brief and true Report of the New found Land of Virginia, in the introduction. Ibid. p. 266. & ſeq.

* Viz. from ſacking San Domingo, Carthagena, and St Auguſtine. Third Voyage to Virginia in 1586. Id. p. 265.

(3) Account of the Particularities, &c. part ii. at the end.

[*A*] *Some unforeſeen accidents obliged them to return without ſucceſs.*] Mr (afterwards Sir) Ralph Lane, who on the departure of Sir Richard Greenvile, was left by him Deputy Governour of the colony, thought himſelf obliged to leave the country on account of the weakneſs of his company, as well as their ſmall number; the loſs of their bark, which with all their proviſions was carried away by a ſtorm, and their diſappointment in their expected ſupply, which though promiſed by Sir Richard Greenvile, to be with them undoubtedly before Eaſter, yet was not then [in June] come, nor likely to come that year (1). And to theſe reaſons may be added what Mr Harriot writes concerning the temper and qualities of ſome of the inferior members of this colony (2), that either through ignorance of the nature of ſuch an undertaking, or malice and ill-will to their maſters, or elſe through lazineſs and an accuſtomed delicacy of life (which probably reduced them to that weak condition mentioned by the Deputy Governour) they were either grown weary of, or not well affected to, the enterprize. For theſe reaſons it was thought proper not to loſe the opportunity of returning in the Fleet with Sir Francis Drake, who happened to touch there in his way home *. Accordingly they ſet ſail on the 19th of June 1586, and arrived at Portſmouth the 27th of July following (3).

[*B*] *He drew up a topography of the country, to keep up the ſpirit of the undertaking.*] It is intitled, *A Brief and true Report of the New Found Land of Virginia: Of the Commodities there found and to be raiſed, as well merchantible as others. Written by Thomas Harriot, Servant to Sir Walter Ralegh, a Member of the Colony, and there employed in diſcovering it a twelve month.* From this treatiſe we have already in the preceding remark taken notice of the ill-will which had begun to take root in ſome of the inferior ſort of the colony before their departure; this was apparently nothing elſe but the ſimple effect, as is ordinarily ſeen, of diſappointment †; and there being no poſſible way of removing that cauſe for the preſent, the diſtemper grew to a head in the paſſage, and ſoon after their arrival in England broke out in various diſparaging miſrepreſentations of the country, in order to involve the ruin of the whole deſign in their particular diſappointment. Every body knows how many difficulties inſeparably attend an attempt to ſettle a new colony abroad, as well as the general diſpoſition of the people at home to believe the worſt reports which they hear about it. 'Twas to prevent the miſchief of ſuch falſe and ſlanderous reports, that our author, as he declares (4), was prompted to draw up and publiſh the preſent treatiſe, which therefore is called by him very appoſitely,

† In not finding gold and ſilver ſo ſoon as they looked for.

(4) In the introduction, addreſſed to the adventurers, favourers, and well-willers, of the enterprize for the inhabiting and planting of Virginia.

was probably either this or the following year, that his patron introduced him to the knowledge of Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, who being pleaſed with his affability and peaceable temper, and convinced of his profound learning, gave him a penſion of one hundred and twenty pounds a year, and afterwards kept a handſome table for him, and ſome other of his mathematical friends [*C*], in the Tower, where his Lordſhip was impriſoned in 1606 for life, diverting the melancholy of his confinement in the daily ſociety of men of learning and ingenuity. Sir Walter Ralegh being alſo in the Tower at the ſame time, frequently joined in the company (*b*), enjoying the ſweets of friendſhip in a free and unreſerved declaration of ſentiment upon points of literature with his preceptor [*D*], who always retained a moſt grateful ſenſe of his patron's favours. It was in this ſentiment that he firſt introduced Captain Keymis to him [*E*], whoſe information afterwards of a gold

(*b*) Wood, where laſt cited.

appoſitely, *A true Report* of the New Found Land, &c. and to gain credit to his report, he ſignifies not only that he had been in the diſcovery, but was eſpecially employed in dealing with the natural inhabitants, and had therefore ſeen and known more than the ordinary ſort. In further confirmation of the truth of his report, there is prefixed a preface by Mr Lane, the Deputy-Governour abovementioned; wherein he ſtakes his own credit for the ſaid truth, atteſting that the author of the treatiſe, was a man no leſs for his honeſty, than for his learning commendable.

[*C*] *Kept a table for him and ſome of his mathematical friends.*] Theſe friends were Walter Warner and Robert Hughes. He alſo allowed to each of theſe a penſion, but of leſs value than that of Mr Harriot, as indeed their merit was leſs (5). They were the Earl's conſtant companions while he was detained in the Tower, and were uſually called the Earl of Northumberland's Three Mags (6). Of Mr Warner, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak further in the ſequel; the other, Mr Hughes, is well known by his treatiſe of the globes, the firſt edition of which was printed in Latin in 1593, 8vo. with this title, *Tractatus de globis & eorum uſu; accomodatus iis qui Londini editi ſunt.* Mr Hughes was alſo tutor to the Earl of Northumberland's ſon, Algernoon Percy, while he was at Chriſt-church-college in Oxford (7). We are told that the Earl retained an acquaintance of Mr Hughes's in his ſervice, the famous Nicholas Hill (8), author of a piece intitled, *Philoſophia Epicurea, Democritana, Theophraſtica, propoſita ſimpliciter non edocta*, Pariſ. 1601, 8vo. of which Ben Johnſon has theſe lines (9):

(5) Wallifii Opera, Vol. II. in præfatione.

(6) Wood's Ath. Ox. col. 460. Vol. I. To theſe the Earl afterwards added Nath. Torperley, who had been amanuenſis to the famous Vieta in France. Ibid. col. 566.

(7) Ath. Ox. col. 572. Vol. I.

(8) Idem ibid. col. 365.

(9) In his epigrams, No. 134.

Thoſe atomi ridiculous, whereof old Democrite, and
Hill Nicholis,
One ſaid, the other ſwore, the world conſiſts.

The witty Ben might probably be prompted to introduce Hill Nicholis into this epigram, on account of the following pleaſant ſtory concerning him. That when he was ſecretary to Edward, the poetical and prodigal Earl of Oxford, among other accounts he brought in this. *Item, for making a man*, 10*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* and being required by the Earl to explain it, he ſaid he had merely out of charity given that ſum to a poor perſon who had frequently told him, that *ten pounds would make him a man* (10).

(10) Wood, where laſt cited.

[*D*] *A free converſation upon points of learning with his preceptor.*] Mr Wood, from whom this account is collected, will needs have our author to be a deiſt, and ſuggeſts, that when theſe converſations turned upon religion, the infinity of matter and of the world, and other points, contrary to the accounts in the Bible, were maintained by him. But it has been already ſuggeſted (11), that this imputation is charged upon him without any authority, and alſo is very inconſiſtent with Mr Harriot's behaviour. In his employment to convert the natives of Virginia to the Chriſtian religion, when explaining to them the contents of the Bible, he declared, 'That therein was ſet forth the true and only 'God and his mighty works; that it contained the true 'doctrine of ſalvation through Chriſt, with many par-'ticularities of miracles and chief points of religion, 'as I was able, ſays he, then to utter, and thought fit 'for the time.' However at the ſame time we find him prudently cautioning them againſt running into any ſuperſtitious veneration of the ſaid book, when he ſaw them embrace and kiſs it, and ſtroke over all their bodies with it, obſerving to them that the book materially and of itſelf was not of ſuch virtue as he thought they conceived, but only the doctrine therein contained. In reality, the whole diſcourſe of our author with thoſe heathens, is dictated by a true ſpirit of piety, as well as good ſenſe; and that he continued ſteady in the ſame principles of religion to his death, appears both from the inſcription upon his monument, where he is declared to be, *Dei Trinitatis cultor piiſſimus*, and alſo from a remark in a poem on the appearance of the comet in 1618, addreſſed to Sir Tho. Aiſbury, by Dr Richard Corbet, ſucceſſively Biſhop of Oxford and Norwich, where he writes thus,

(11) In the General Dictionary, under our author's article.

Now for the peace of God and men adviſe,
Thou that haſt where withal to make us wiſe,
Thine own rich ſtudies, and deep Harriot's mine,
In which there is no droſs, but all refine (12).

(12) Corbet's Poems, p. 56. Lond. 1672. 8vo.

As this poem appear to be wrote particularly upon the opinion at that time in general vogue, that comets were certain fore-runners of ſome impendent judgment from the Deity. The Biſhop therein ſeems to allude to a remarkable paſſage in the diſcourſe about religion to the natives of Virginia juſt mentioned, wherein Mr Harriot, ſpeaking of the extraordinary ſucceſs in their military engagements againſt thoſe idolators, which became more effectual by a general ſickneſs wherewith they were ſeized, thereupon makes this remark. Some of them ſaid, 'It was the eſpecial work of God for our 'ſakes, as we ourſelves, continues he, have cauſe in 'ſome ſort to think no leſs, whatever ſome do, or 'may imagine to the contrary, eſpecially ſome aſtrolo-'gers knowing of the eclipſe of the ſun, which we ſaw 'the ſame year before in our voyage thitherward, 'which in the time appeared very terrible; and alſo of 'a comet which begun to appear but a few days be-'fore the beginning of the ſaid ſickneſs; *but to exclude 'them from being the eſpecial cauſes of ſo eſpecial an ac-'cident, there are further reaſons than I think fit at 'preſent to be alledged.*' Hence it appears that Mr Harriot's religion and piety were kept by his good ſenſe within the bounds of reaſon, and if in the free converſation between him and his patron, ſome ſuperſtitious and groundleſs conceits, too ſtiffly maintained by the divines of thoſe times, were handſomely rallied, that was a further proof of the good ſenſe of both; Though turned by Mr Wood into an occaſion of aſperſing both as deiſts (13).

(13) Sir Walter Ralegh's character is vindicated alſo by an appeal to ſeveral parts of his *Hiſtory of the World*. See his Life by Mr Oldys, p. 71.

[*E*] *He introduced Captain Keymis to Sir Walter.*] This is inſerted upon the authority of Mr Wood *, who has ranked him among the number of our author's mathematical friends, of which the following Latin poem written by Captain Keymis, and prefixed to the account of his ſecond voyage to Guiana in 1596, is an illuſtrious proof. It contains a deſcription of that country, and runs thus:

* Ath. Ox. Vol. I. col. 433.

Ad Thomam Hariotum, Matheſeos et Univerſæ, Philoſophiæ peritiſſimum. De Guiana Carmen.
Datum Anno 1595.

Montibus eſt Regia, quaſi muris, obſita multis,
Circumſepit aquis quos Raleeana ſuis.
Intus habet largos Guaïna receſſus,
Hoſtili geſtans libera colla jugo.
Hiſpanus clivis illis ſudavit, et alſit,
Septem annos novies: nec tamen invaluit.
Numen & omen ineſt numeris: fatale ſit illi,
Et nobis, virtus ſit recidiva, precor.
Gualtero *patefacta via eſt duce & auſpice* Ralegh
Menſe uno: ô factum hoc nomine quo celebrem?
Nocte dieque, datis velis, remiſque laborans,
Exegit ſummæ dexteritatis opus.
Scilicet expenſis magnis non ille pepercit,
Communi natus conſuluiſſe bono.

Providus

gold mine in Guaiana (*i*), as 'tis ſaid, was made uſe of by Sir Walter to procure his releaſe from the Tower. The attempt conſequent thereupon proved indeed fatally ruinous to both theſe friends of Mr Harriot by different ways, though from the ſame cauſe. But the death of Sir Walter particularly brought an indelible infamy upon the royal author of it. 'Neither did his friend, the ſubject of the preſent article, long ſurvive it. For being ſeized with a cancer in his lip, he put himſelf under the care of Dr Alexander Rhead (*k*); but that cruelly painful incurable malady (*l*) put an end to his life, July 2, 1621. He died in Sion-college, where he had reſided ſeveral years for the ſake of his ſtudies; whence his corpſe was carried with great funeral ſolemnity to St Chriſtopher's church, and interred there, a monument being erected to his memory by his noble executors, Robert Sidney Viſcount Liſle, and Sir Thomas Ayleſbury, with an inſcription (*m*) which is inſerted below [*F*]. Our author left ſeveral poſthumous pieces (*n*), none of which have been printed (*o*) except the following in folio, whereof the title-page is thus drawn up, *Artis Analyticæ praxis ad æquationes algebraicas nova expedita, & generali methodo reſolvendas; e Poſthumis Thomæ Harrioti, Philoſophi ac Mathematici celeberrimi ſchediaſmatis ſumma fide & diligentia deſcriptis, & Illuſtriſſimo Domino Henrico Perceio Northumbricæ Comiti, qui hæc primo ſub patronatus munificentiæ ſuæ auſpiciis ad proprios uſus & lucubrata in communem Mathematicorum utilitatem denuo reviſenda deſcribenda & publicanda mandavit, meritiſſimi honoris ergo nuncupatus.* Lond. 1631 [*G*]. This work contains ſo many excellently uſeful improvements

(*i*) See General Hiſtory of Great-Britain, or the Life and Reign of King James I. Lond. 1653. p. 112. and Howel's Letters, &c. let. 43. p. 95. edit. 1650.

(*k*) See Dr Rhead's Works, Treatiſe 2. of Ulcers, Lect. 26. Lond. 1650. where the doctor alſo obſerves, that Harriot and his three friends beforementioned were main aimed by the noble Earl of Northumberland while in the Tower, whom he ſtiles the Mæcænas of learning and all learned men.

(*l*) Mr Oldys, ubi ſupra, imagines, this cancer might be occaſioned by holding frequently mathematical inſtruments of braſs in his mouth. But he ſeems to forget that Mr Harriot's ſtudies lay more in the ſpeculation than in the practice of that art.

(*m*) Ath. Ox. Vol. I. col. 460.

(*n*) See remark [*G*].

(*o*) One intitled *Ephemeris Chirometrica* is preſerved in Sion-college library.

Providus excubuit ſimili diſcrimine Joſeph,
Sic fratres fratrem deſeruere ſuum.
Fama coloratam deſignet ſi bona veſtem,
Veſtis ſciſſa malis ſic fuit illa modis.
Mira leges, aureſque animumque tuum arrige, tellus
Hæc aurum et gemma, graminis inſtar, habet.
Ver ibi perpetuum eſt: ibi prodiga terra quotannis
Luxuriat, ſola fertilitate nocens.
Anglia noſtra licet dives ſit, et undique fœlix,
Anglia, ſi corſers, indiga frugis erit.
Expertes capitum volucres, piſceſque, feraſque,
Prætereo: haud proſunt. quæ novitate placent.
Eſt ibi, vel nuſquam, quod quærimus. Ergo petamus:
Det Deus hanc Canaan poſſideamus, Amen.
Tui amantiſſ. L. K (14).

(14) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 666.

[*F*] *An inſcription upon his monument.*] It was conſumed in the fire of London, but is preſerved by Mr Stowe, whence, as it contains ſome particulars of his life referred to in this memoir, we ſhall tranſcribe it at length.

Siſte Viator, leviter preme,
Jacet hic juxta quod mortale fuit
C. V.
Thomæ Harrioti.
Hic fuit doctiſſimus Ille Harriotus
De Syon ad flumen Thameſin,
Patria & Educatione
Oxonienſis.
Qui omnes ſcientias calluit, & in omnibus excelluit;
Mathematicis, Philoſophicis, Theologicis.
Veritatis Indagator Studioſiſſimus.
Dei Triniunius cultor piiſſimus.
Sexagenarius aut eo circiter
Mortalitati valedixit non Vitæ
An. Chriſti MDCXXI. 2. Julij (15).

(15) Stowe's Survey of London, Vol. I. book ii. p. 123. edit. 1725.

[*G*] *Artis analyticæ praxis, &c.*] This book was publiſhed by Mr Warner (though without mentioning his name) (16), concerning which Mr Wood gives the following account (17). That, 'the ſum of it coming 'to the hands of Sir Thomas Ailſbury, Mr Warner 'undertook to perfect and publiſh it, on condition 'that Algernoon, eldeſt ſon of Henry Earl of Nor-'thumberland would, after his father's deceaſe, con-'tinue his penſion to him during his life. This being 'obtained by the intereſt of Sir Thomas Ailſbury (18), 'Warner took a great deal of pains in it, and at length 'publiſhed in that ſort as we ſee it now extant.' The obvious inference from this account is, that the manuſcript being left imperfect by the author, theſe defects were ſupplied by the editor, which however is ſo far wide of the truth, that beſides no notice being taken by the latter, of his having made any ſuch ſupplies, it is certain that one remarkable hiatus in the manuſcript was left by him unſupplied in the printed copy, and was afterwards obſerved and filled up by Dr Wallis in his hiſtory of Algebra. All that Mr Warner added, was a preface and an epilogue, in both which he has indeed ſhewn himſelf to be a friend worthy of Mr Harriot, the ſtile in both being perſpicuous and elegant, and the matter cloſe and pertinent. With regard to the *preface*, in order to give the reader an exact and comprehenſive view of Mr Harriot's true merit in this piece, he lays before him an account of the ſtate of the analytick art in the ſeveral ſtages from it's origin and invention by the Ancients, to it's reſtitution by Vieta. In executing this general plan, he proceeds to obſerve, particularly, 'That in the buſineſs of inveſtigation, 'the Ancients generally made uſe of the analytic art, 'though nothing thereof appeared upon the face of the 'problem as it ſtood in their works, the conſtruction 'being ſynthetical, which was conſequently demon-'ſtrated geometrically; but that this method was ex-'tended univerſally no farther than to quadratic equa-'tions, or to the *loci plani*, for when the analytical ſo-'lution terminated in the formula of the higher orders, 'as cubics, biquadratics, &c. they had recourſe to the '*loci ſolidi*, or the conic ſections; and where that failed, 'to the *loci*, which they called *linear*, that is, to me-'chanic curves, ſuch as the helix, conchoid, quadra-'trix, &c. but that this laſt method was only a neceſ-'ſary ſupplement to their defective art; theſe mecha-'nical conſtructions being by the nature of them inca-'pable of geometrical demonſtrations. In this ſtate 'the analytic art or power in ſolving problems, ſtuck 'among the Grecians, nor were any improvements 'made therein by the Arabs, who did nothing more 'than give to the art the name of Algebra from their 'own language. Here it ſtood 'till Cardan and Tarta-'glia, Italians, building upon a certain geometrical 'foundation, endeavoured to advance it to the ſolu-'tion of cubic equations demonſtratively, and this 'they performed in ſome conditional caſes accurately, 'but by a very perplexed form in binomial roots: 'and even ſo, this baſis of the ſolution is not general 'and abſolute. Which being obſerved by Stevinus, 'he proceeded a ſtep further, and exhibited, (1.) A 'method of ſolution for ſuch cubic equations as were 'reſolvable by their original nature and condition, 'that is, ſuch whoſe ſolutions may be drawn from the 'ſuppoſed foundation. (2.) He reduced and reſolved 'thoſe forms of cubic equations which are reducible by 'their condition to the primary ones. (3.) He re-'ſolves ſuch biquadratics after they are reduced to 'thoſe primary cubics to which they are reducible. 'All the reſt unconditionated, as well cubics as biqua-'dratics (which is a great part of the whole) being, 'by a tacit excluſion, condemned as irreſolvable, to 'the great detriment of the art. This was the pro-'greſs, and theſe the boundaries of the Italian inven-'tion, limited, continues Mr Warner, not ſo much 'by our ignorance, as by the nature of the thing. At 'laſt appeared *Vieta*, that great analytical archi-'tect, who after many fruitleſs trials and reſearches in 'the geometrical way, turned himſelf at length to the 'arithmetical

(16) Wallis's Hiſtory of Algebra, edit. 1685. fol. in the preface.

(17) Ath. Ox. Vol. I. col. 461.

(18) That gentleman alſo gave Mr Warner an annual penſion, though ſmaller than that which he had from the Earl of Northumberland. Idem ibid.

ments in Algebra, entirely his own inventions, that he is deſervedly ranked among thoſe illuſtrious authors who are an honour to our country; which requires the more notice, as we were for many years robbed of that honour by the management of Des Cartes, who plumed himſelf with theſe Engliſh feathers ſo artfully, that they were generally eſteemed abroad to be the genuine growth of France [*H*].

' arithmetical courſe, and thereby happily invented ' both the *logiſtes ſpecioſa*, and *exegeſis numeroſa*, ' which by the nature of it comprehending the ſolution ' of all equations, of all orders and forms by a general ' uniform and invariable method, ſo that the ſolution ' of problems being finally compleated by the reſolu- ' tion of equations, he marked it by the magnificent ' name of that univerſal problem, *nullum non problema ' ſolvere.*' Mr Warner concludes the preface, with ſhewing the improvements which were made in Vieta's method by Mr Harriot, the particulars of which will be ſeen in the next remark.

In the *epilogue*, the editor declares, that he had publiſhed this work of his friend as a *prodromus* to ſeveral others, all built upon the ſame method of logiſtic ſpecies by the ſame author; which he had in his hands, and intended to give to the public; but none of theſe were ever printed, and are now probably long ſince loſt. As to Mr Warner, we are informed (19), that he was born at Leiceſterſhire, and was a good philoſopher as well as a mathematician, that he invented a table of logarithms, different from that of Briggs (20). That beſides this he wrote a *treatiſe upon coin and coinage*, and firſt communicated the ſecret of the circulation of the blood to Dr Harvey, an account whereof will be ſeen in his article, and that he died in 1640.

(19) By Mr Wood, ibid.

(20) See more of this in the article of PELL [JOHN]

[*H*] *Mr Harriot's inventions were borrowed by Des Cartes.*] After what is ſaid of theſe inventions above, the curious reader will naturally expect to ſee ſome account of them here, and his curioſity will be fully gratified with the following liſt of them given firſt by Dr Wallis. Mr Harriot greatly improves the art, ſays he, (1) *In producing ſmall letters inſtead of capitals to define his ſpecies, as taking up leſs room, eſpecially when they come to be frequently repeated.* (2.) *His waving the terms of quadratic, cubic, ſurſolid, &c. in the deſignation of them, which he performs very naturally by the bare number of their dimenſions as aa, aaa, aaaa, which when they come to be numerous, are conveniently expreſſed by numeral figures* *, *which is alſo ſometimes uſed by others.* (3.) *His putting the whole equation to one ſide, making it equal to nothing; and, which was the end why he did it,* (4.) *Shewing thence the true original of higher equations from a compoſition of lateral or more ſimple equations*, which is the great key, that opens the moſt abſtruſe myſteries in algebra, and which I think we owe purely to him. And, conſequently thereupon, (5.) *Determining the number of roots (affirmative, negative, or imaginary) in every equation, viz. ſo many as are the dimenſions of it's higheſt term.* (6.) *Diſcovering the genuine conſtruction of the abſolutely known quantity*, or homogeneum comparationis, *as Vieta calls it, viz. by a continual multiplication of all the roots.* (7.) *As alſo the conſtitution of all the coëfficients, viz. of what and how many numbers each coëfficient doth conſiſt, and by what multiplication of roots into one another each member is made.* (8.) *Reſolving by diviſion an equation ſo compounded into thoſe ſimple equations, of which by multiplication it is made up.* (9.) *Determining (by comparing common equations with his canonicals) how many roots of each equation are real (and not merely imaginary) and how many of theſe are affirmative, and how many negative.* (10.) *Reducing conditional equations to more ſimple forms by ſuppoſition of certain qualities, or reſpective proportions in their ſeveral roots among themſelves, whereby ſome of their places become vacant, or ſo and ſo qualified, and (conſequently).* (11.) *A diſcovery of thoſe qualities and proportions in the roots, from ſuch want of, or qualifications of the coëfficients as ariſe from thence.* (12.) *Turning at once by changing the ſigns of even places, all the affirmative roots into negative, & è contra.* (13.) *Multiplying and dividing the roots of any equation yet unknown, in any proportion at pleaſure. And,* (14.) *Thereby freeing the coefficients of any equation from fractions and ſurds.* (15.) *Increaſing or diminiſhing the value of ſuch unknown roots, by the addition or ſubduction of any quantity aſſigned. And ſo,* (16.) *By this means (if there be occaſion) making ſome or all of the negative roots to become affirmative or vice verſa. And,* (17) *Taking away (by the ſame means) one or more of the intermediate terms in any equation, and thereby reducing the equation to fewer terms.* (18.) *Taking away in particular, the ſecond term in any equation, by increaſing or diminiſhing the value of the root by an aliquot part of the coëfficient, denominated by ſuch number as is that of the dimenſions of the higheſt term.* (19.) *Reducing thereby all affected quadratic equations to ſimple quadratic.* (20.) *Reducing in like manner all affected cubic equations to two forms very convenient for further reduction.* (21.) *Reducing farther the ſame affected cubic equations to ſimple cubics, as far as they are capable of being reduced into ſpecies.* (22.) *Diſcovering thoſe cubic equations, which are not capable of explication in ſpecies (according to ſuch ways of notation as are yet received) without imagining the ſquare root of a negative quantity, with the demonſtration of that incapacity.* (23.) *Shewing notwithſtanding that theſe ſame equations have real roots, and not merely imaginary.* (24.) *A peculiar way, and very expedient, of reducing affected quadratic equations, to ſimple quadratics, by completing the ſquare.* (25.) *An improvement of the* exegeſis numeroſa, *that is, the numeral ſolution or extraction of roots of affected equations, firſt introduced by* Vieta. All theſe, continues the Doctor, *are either explicitly delivered by him, or are obvious to remark upon the bare inſpection of what he delivers, and moſt of them are properly his own diſcoveries, as far as I can yet find, though in ſome few of them Vieta had gone before him. To this ſtate had Harriot advanced algebra, in that his poſthumous work, written long before; for he died in* 1621, *but publiſhed in* 1631. In running over theſe improvements of Harriot, the Doctor remarks thoſe (and they were the greateſt part of them) which he obſerves were borrowed by Des Cartes, and inſerted in the firſt edition of his Geometry, publiſhed by himſelf in 1637. Whence upon the whole, the Doctor concludes with the following remark in juſtice to Mr Harriot. ' That, *pure algebra, as it ſimply conſiders the* ' *computation and management of proportion, abſtract* ' *from the conſideration of any particular ſubject, none* ' *before him* [Harriot] *had ſo accurately delivered by a* ' *genuine deduction from it's true principles, and what* ' *Des Cartes (who hath borrowed his algebra from him,* ' *and others ſince him) has added to it, are built upon* ' *thoſe foundations which he had laid* (21.)' While this was in the preſs, the Doctor received the following account from Dr John Pell, to whom it was related by Sir Charles Cavendiſh, (only brother to William, then Earl, and afterwards Duke of Newcaſtle,) a perſon of honour, well ſkilled in the mathematics. He diſcourſing at Paris with Monſ. Roberval, an eminent French mathematician concerning that piece of Des Cartes then lately publiſhed. ' *I admire*, ſaith Roberval, *that no-* ' *tion in Des Cartes, of putting over the whole equation* ' *to one ſide, making it equal to nothing* (22); *and how* ' *he lighted upon it. The reaſon why you admire it,* ' ſays Sir Charles, *is becauſe you are a Frenchman; for* ' *if you were an Engliſhman, you would not admire it.* ' *Why ſo?* ſaith Mr Roberval. *Becauſe*, ſaith Sir ' Charles, *we in England know where he had it, name-* ' *ly from Harriot's Algebra. What book is that?* ' ſaith Monſieur Roberval, *I never ſaw it. Next time* ' *you come to my chambers*, ſays Sir Charles, *I will ſhew* ' *it you.* Which a while after he did, and upon peruſal of it, Monſieur Roberval exclaimed with admiration. *Il l'a veu! Il l'a veu!* i. e. *He had ſeen it,* ' *he had ſeen it*, finding all *that* in Harriot, which he had before admired in Des Cartes, and not doubting ' but that Des Cartes had it from thence (23).' Upon this, Dr Wallis, in the preface to his hiſtory of Algebra, ſcruples not to aſſert that Mr Harriot in his Artis Analyticæ Praxis, &c. ' *Had taught (in a manner) all* ' *that, which hath ſince paſſed for* the Carteſian method ' of Algebra, *there being ſcarce any thing of pure Alge-* ' *bra in Des Cartes, which was not before in Harriot,* ' *from whom Des Cartes ſeems to have taken what he* ' *hath that is purely Algebra, but without naming him.*' So bold an attack upon Des Cartes, made a great noiſe both in France and Holland, where it had always paſſed current for truth, that he was the undoubted genuine inventor of what was called the Carteſian Algebra.

* 'Tis no injuſtice to Sir Iſaac Newton to ſay that ſome of his improvements in Algebra are raiſed out of this way of notation.

(21) The doctor had before expreſſed the ſame things in the following words, *Without which* (foundation of Harriot) *the whole ſuperſtructure of Des Cartes (I doubt) had never been.* Hiſt. of Algebra, c. 30.

(22) This is the third improvement by Harriot beforementioned.

(23) Wallis's Hiſtory of Algebra, c. 53. edit. 1685.

Algebra (24). And this book of Dr Wallis coming to the hands of Mr Baillet, that gentleman in his *Abridgment of the life of Des Cartes*, endeavoured to vindicate him in the following manner. 'First, He obſerves that both Roberval and a certain Jeſuit, had objected the conformity of Des Cartes's Algebra, to that of Harriot, in order to prejudice Cartes's reputation, which he was informed of by a letter from Carcavi, but thought ſo unworthy a treatment from ſuch a friend as Mr Roberval, did not deſerve any anſwer (25). 2. Mr Baillet declares, that the matter was decided in favour of Des Cartes by Hudden, in a letter inſerted in Carteſius's Geometry; as alſo by Schooten, in his notes upon that treatiſe, and by Mr Preſtet, in the preface to the ſecond edition of his *Mathematical Elements* (26).' This attempt of Mr Baillet in defence of Des Cartes, being publiſhed in 1693, was peruſed by Dr Wallis, who took the opportunity of returning an anſwer to it in ſome additions to the preface of his Hiſtory of Algebra in Latin in folio, the following year (27). Where he obſerves, firſt, 'That Des Cartes's behaviour, as repreſented by Mr Baillet, amounts to a confeſſion of the charge. He was informed by a letter from Carcavi, that Roberval had objected the conformity of his method with that of Harriot But what ſays he to this, does he deny the fact that he had made uſe of Harriot's inventions? No. What then? *Il n'y eut que l'indignite de la conduite de Roberval qui empecha M. Des Cartes de repondre ſur ce point.* That is, ſays the Doctor, If I conſtrue it right, he took it heinouſly that it ſhould be imputed to him by Roberval, that he had made uſe of Harriot's inventions, but did not deny the thing, rather choſe to make no anſwer to it.' Carcavi, it ſeems, as a friend to Des Cartes, had declared to him very explicitly what had happened. His letter is dated at Paris, September 24th, 1649, where he writes thus. 'Monſieur Roberval *aſſures me, what I would not mention to you, but that it concerns your intereſt to know it, that he could reproach you with what an anonymous author, who wrote a ſmall tract in Algebra (ſome believe him to be a Jeſuit) objects to you*, that in the formation of equations, you only copy what was publiſhed in the year 1631, by an Engliſhman, whoſe name was Harriot, and who is very little known to us here, at leaſt to me (28).' In anſwer to the ſecond part of Mr Baillet's apology, Dr Wallis produces the words of Hudden, which are, '*Regulam hanc de æquatione biquadratica in duas quadraticas reſolvenda quam Dom. Des Cartes, p.* 79, 80, 81, *ſuæ geometriæ deſcripſit, meo, inquit, judicio non veriſimile videtur ipſum ex ullis aliis authoribus, ut nonnulli opinantur, deſumpſiſſe.* i. e. It does not ſeem probable in my opinion, that Des Cartes borrowed the rule, which he gives in the 79, 80, 81 pages of his Geometry for reſolving biquadratic equations into two quadratics, from any other authors, as ſome imagine. Schooten likewiſe makes the ſame remark. *Hem*, cries Wallis, *macrum teſtimonium!* a ſlender evidence this! Hudden thought, that for one ſingle rule, Carteſius was obliged to no body. But what ſays he of the reſt, which he has in common with Harriot, not a ſyllable, *ne γρῦ quidem*. Why am not I alſo ſummoned on the ſame ſide, who throughout the whole 55th chap. of my Algebra, contend that this very rule was not taken from Harriot, nor in Harriot's book, but (as far as I ſaw) was Carteſius's own invention.' As to Mr Preſtet, 'tis true he ſpeaks indeed more directly and poſitively, and does not ſtick to charge the Doctor with being inſtigated herein by an envious principle againſt the glory of the French nation in reſpect of mathematical learning; proteſting that his accuſation of Des Cartes, was raiſed upon idle conjectures alone, unſupported by any kind of proof, and conſequently deſerved not the leaſt credit. His words as related by Dr Wallis, are, '*Invenio ibidem [in præfatione ad elementa ſua mathematica] Dom. Preſtet male habere, quod ego in Algebra mea Anglice edita an.* 1685, *Harrioto noſtro aſſuerum (prout res eſt) eorum plurima puram Algebram ſpectantia, quæ in Carteſii geometria comparent; quodque id (ut ait) vanis conjecturis fecerim, præque invidia et æmulatione Gallicæ gloriæ in rebus mathematicis*, quodque ita renovatum iverim (prout ille loquitur) ridiculam illam accuſationem (29), *cui, cum ego abſque ulla probatione id dixerim, non vult eſſe credendum.*' But what this teſtimony contains of ſubſtance, was ſo notoriouſly falſe, that to wipe it away, the Doctor had nothing more to do than to appeal as he does to the ſeveral facts upon which his charge was grounded: and as to the confident air with which Mr Preſtet pronounces his aſſertion. It may be obſerved, that ſuch a face is frequently aſſumed, to ſupply the want of veracity. To conclude, In further confirmation of his point, the Doctor takes notice that Mr Baillet acknowledges Des Cartes's being in England in this very year 1631, when Mr Harriot's book was printed, and that he came to conſult our famous mathematicians (30). Whence it is more than probable, that he muſt then have heard of the book at leaſt, and have been alſo informed of the nature of it, and upon that account, if we ſhould ſuppoſe, which is more than can be made probable, that it was not finiſhed at the preſs, and publiſhed before his departure: yet it would be doing him an injury to imagine, he had not the curioſity to procure it afterwards.

(24) See Sir Samuel Moreland's Letter from Utrecht, dated January 8, 1688; and Dr Wallis's Anſwer, dated July 4, 1692, to Mr Preſtet, a French author, both inſerted in Wall's's Hiſtory of Algebra, &c. cap. 53. edit. 1694.

(25) La Vie de Monſ. Des Cartes reduite en ab egé par Monſ. Baillet, p. 240. Paris, 1691. 12mo.

(26) Idem ibid. p. 490, 491.

(27) It makes the ſecond volume of his Works, in 3 vols in Latin, 1694. folio.

(28) Lettres de Monſ. Des Cartes, let. lxxviii. Tom. III. p. 457. Paris, 1667. 4to.

(29) This expreſſion, that Dr Wallis was going to repeat that ridiculous accuſation of Des Cartes, ſhews, that Mr Preſtet had heard of the doctor's deſign to publiſh his own works.

(30) La vie de Des Cartes, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 229, 230. where he alſo obſerves, that Des Cartes then made ſome magnetical experiments at London, and in the neighbouring parts, and learned from us the change of the variation of the needle.

P

HARSNET [SAMUEL], a learned writer in the laſt century, ſucceſſively Biſhop of Chicheſter and Norwich, and Archbiſhop of York. He was born in the pariſh of St Botolph, in the town of Colcheſter in Eſſex, and baptized June 20, 1561 (*a*) [*A*]. Moſt probably, he received his firſt education in the free-ſchool of his native place. However, September 8, 1576, he was admitted into King's-college in Cambridge: from whence he removed to Pembroke-hall, of which he became ſcholar, and was elected Fellow of the ſame, November 27, 1583 (*b*). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1580, and that of Maſter in 1584 (*c*). About three years after, being offered the maſterſhip of the free-ſchool in Colcheſter, he accepted of it [*B*], and was elected in March 1586-7 (*d*). But, after a ſhort tryal of little more than a year and a half, chuſing rather to follow his ſtudies at Cambridge, than the painful trade of teaching; he quitted the ſchool [*C*] in November,

(*a*) From his Will, and the Regiſter of St Botolph's.

(*b*) J. Le Neve's Lives of the Proteſtant Biſhops, Vol. I. Part ii. p. 128.

(*c*) From the Univerſity Regiſters.

(*d*) Hiſt. of Colcheſter, by P. M. book ii. p. 17, 18. and book iii. p. 14.

[*A*] *And baptized June 20, 1561.*] The day of his birth is not mentioned any where: but that he was baptized June 20, 1561, appears from the regiſter of St Botolph's, where he is entered under the name of 'Samuel Haſnothe, ſon of ——— Haſnoth;' for ſo is the ſurname incorrectly written, being ſet down as it was vulgarly ſounded. The Harſnet, or Halſnothe, family was very numerous in Colcheſter in the ſixteenth century; many of that name being frequently mentioned in the Town-Records: but it is now quite extinct. Our learned author's father was named William, and a Baker (1).

(1) Hiſt. of Colcheſter, by P. M. fol. 1748. book ii. p. 17, 18.

[*B*] *He accepted of it.*] The teſtimonial given him by his college, upon that occaſion, was in theſe words. 'Our comendations remembred, &c. Wheras we late-lye received letters from you touchinge Mr Harſnet 'fellow of our colledge: we thoughte good in tyme 'convenient to make aunſwer to the ſame. Thes 'therfore may certifye you concerning thoſe pointes 'you requeſted of us, namelie his ſufficiencye to teache 'in the Latin and Greek tongues as well proaſe as 'verſe, with his honeſt behavioure and converſation; 'that we do knowe and promiſe in his behalfe, that 'he is very meet, able, and ſufficient to performe 'thoſe duties, as alſoe of a good name, and honeſt 'converſation amonge us. In ſignification whereof, 'We the Præſident and Fellowes of the Colledge have 'ſeverallie ſubſcribed our names to thes our letters, and 'ſo with our hartie commendations we wiſhe you fare 'well. From Pembrook hall this thirde of May 1586.' Subſcribed by Henry Farr, Lancel. Andrewes,—and fifteen more of the fellows (2).

(2) From the original.

[*C*] *He quitted the ſchool.*] When he had determined to leave it, he writ the following letter to the then bailiffs of the town, who were the electors. 'Right worſhipfull, my bounden duetie remembred, 'I give you all moſte humble thanks for your godlie 'lovinge kindneſſe and curteſie, which I have re-'ceived

November 1588, and retired to Pembroke-hall (e), where he applied himſelf to Divinity, with great diligence and ſucceſs. But he was well initiated in that moſt uſeful ſcience, even before his accepting of the ſchool, as appears by a learned and very rational ſermon, preached by him at Paul's-Croſs, October, 27, 1584 [D]. He was one of the Proctors of his Univerſity in 1592 (f). About five years after, he became Chaplain to Dr Richard Bancroft Biſhop of London (g), by whoſe favour he obtained ſucceſſively numerous and conſiderable preferments. For, he had, of his gift, the Rectory of St Margaret Fiſh-ſtreet, London, which he reſigned in 1604 (h). On the 14th of June, 1597, he was inſtituted by him to the Vicarage of Chigwell in Eſſex, but reſigned it in 1605 (i). Auguſt 5, 1598, he was collated to the Prebend of Mapeſbury in St Paul's cathedral: and January 17, 1602, to the Archdeaconry of Eſſex; all in the Biſhop's diſpoſal (k). The 16th

(e) From his MS. Letters, and other M.SS.

(f) J. Le Neve's Faſti, p. 398.

(g) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 432.

(h) Newcourt's Repert. Vol. I. p. 73, 406.

(i) Idem, Vol. II. p. 143.

(k) Idem, Vol. I. p. 176, 73.

'ceived from you all. It hath pleaſed God, whoſe 'pleaſure is good, to chaung the thoughts of my harte, 'and to diſpoſe of my purpoſes, beſides my purpoſe, 'unto the ſtudye of divinitye: pardonne me tight 'worſhipfull, if I crave your pardonne and your prayer 'bothe, that it may be to his glorie, and the good of 'his Churche. Nowe mine earneſt ſuite unto your 'W. is that it may pleaſe you to remember the pro-'miſe which with one conſent you made unto me at 'my firſte entrance, namelie to accept at myne hands 'a twelve monthes warninge, for which time, I be-'ſeeche you to admitte uppon triall, the man alreadie 'commended unto you Mr Sadlingtonne.'——*After giving a character of whom, he goes on thus.*——'This 'my ſuyte I truſte is reaſonable, and I knowe you are 'my good frendes, which I deſire no further than I 'am a frend unto your towne, and unto my poor 'ſchollers whom I favor from your harte, and thus I 'ſhall be bound to praye alwaies unto God, that it may 'pleaſe him to be preſent in the middeſt of your meet-'ings and conſultations for the good of that Chriſtian 'people committed to your chardge. Your W. ſer-'vant to command S. Harſnet. From Pembrook-hall 'the 28 October (3).'

(3) From the original.

[D] *Sermon preached by him at St Paul's-croſs, Oct. 27, 1584.*] We cannot learn with any certainty, whether this ſermon was publiſhed the ſame year, or ſoon after, it was preached; or, whether it firſt appeared in print in 1658, at the end of three of Dr Stewart's ſermons. The text is Ezek. xxxiii. 11. and the deſign of this excellent diſcourſe, is, to ſhew the unreaſonableneſs and abſurdity of the cruel doctrine of unconditionate predeſtination; as appears by the following extracts, with which we ſhall oblige the reader; the book being now grown very ſcarce.——'There 'is a conceit in the world (ſays he)—*That God ſhould 'deſign many thouſands of ſouls to hell before they were, 'not in eye to their faults, but to his own abſolute will 'and power, and to get him glory in their damnation.* 'This opinion is grown huge and monſtrous (like a 'Goliah) and men do ſhake and tremble at it; yet 'never a man reacheth to David's ſling to caſt it down. 'In the name of the Lord of Hoſts, we will encounter 'it: for it hath reviled, not the hoſt of the living 'God, but the Lord of hoſts. 1. It is directly oppo-'ſite to this text of holy ſcripture, and ſo turns the 'truth of God into a lye. For whereas God in this 'text doth ſay and ſwear, that he doth not delight in 'the death of man; this opinion ſaith, that not one or 'two, but millions of men ſhould fry in hell; and 'that he made them for no other purpoſe, than to be 'the children of death and hell; and that, for no 'other cauſe but his mere pleaſure's ſake, and ſo ſays, 'that God did not only ſay, but ſwear to a lye; for the 'oath ſhould have run thus: *As I live* (ſaith the Lord) *I 'do delight in the death of man.* 2. It doth (not by conſequence, but) directly make God the author of ſin. 'For, if God, without eye to ſin, did deſign men to 'hell, then did he ſay and ſet down, that he ſhould 'ſin: for without ſin he cannot come to hell. And 'indeed, doth not this opinion ſay, that the Almighty 'God, in the eye of his counſel, did not only ſee, but 'ſay, that Adam ſhould fall, and ſo order and decree, 'and ſet down his fall, that it was no more poſſible for 'him not to fall, than it was poſſible for him not to 'eat? and of that which God doth order, ſet down, 'and decree, (I truſt) he is the author.——3. It takes 'away from Adam (in his ſtate of innocency) all free-'dom of will, and liberty not to ſin. For had he had 'freedom to have altered God's deſignment, Adam's 'liberty had been above the deſignment of God. And 'here I remember a little witty ſolution is made; 'that is, if we reſpect Adam's will, he had power to 'ſin, or not to ſin; but if God's decree, he could not 'but ſin. This is a ſilly ſolution: and indeed, it is 'as much, as if you ſhould take a ſound ſtrong man '(that hath power to walk and to lie ſtill) and bind 'him hand and foot (as they do in Bedlam) and lay 'him down; and then bid him riſe up and walk, or 'elſe you will ſtir him up with a whip; and he tell 'you that there be chains upon him, ſo that he is not 'able to ſtir; and you tell him again, that that is no 'excuſe, for if he look upon his health, his ſtrength, 'his legs, he hath power to walk or to lie ſtill; but if 'upon his chains, indeed, in that reſpect he is not able 'to walk: I truſt, he that ſhould whip that man for 'not walking, were well worthy to be whipped himſelf.——And therefore, if God ſet it down for a decree, that Adam ſhould fall, Adam had no more liberty not to fall, than the man in the chains had liberty to walk.——4. As God doth abhor a heart 'and a heart, and his ſoul deteſteth a double-minded 'man; ſo himſelf cannot have a mind and a mind, a 'face (like Janus) to look two ways. Yet, this opinion maketh in God two wills, the one flat oppoſite to the other: an hidden will, by which he appointed, and willed that Adam ſhould ſin; and an 'open will, by which he forbad him to ſin. His 'open will ſaid to Adam in paradiſe, Adam *thou ſhalt 'not eat of the tree of good and evil*: his hidden will 'ſaid, *Thou ſhalt eat*; nay more, I myſelf cannot 'keep thee from eating, for my decree from eternity 'is paſſed; thou ſhalt eat, that thou mayeſt drown all 'thy poſterity in ſin, and that I may drench them (as 'I have deſigned) in the bottomleſs pit of hell.——— '8. The poets had a device of their old god Saturn, 'that he eat up his children as ſoon as they were 'born, for fear leſt ſome of them ſhould diſpoſſeſs him 'of heaven. Pharaoh King of Egypt had (almoſt) the 'ſame plea; for he made away all the young Hebrew 'males, leſt they ſhould multiply too faſt: Herod, for 'fear our Saviour Chriſt ſhould ſupplant him in his 'kingdom, cauſed all the young children in Galilee to 'be ſlain: thoſe had all ſome colour for their barba-'rous cruelty. But, if any of thoſe had made a law, 'deſigning young children to torments before they had 'been born; and for no other cauſe and purpoſe, but 'his own abſolute will, the heavens in courſe would 'have called for revenge. It is the law of nations, *'No man innocent ſhall be condemned*; of reaſon, not 'to hate where we are not hurt; of nature, to like and 'love our own brood. Θεογενεις ἐσμεν (ſaith the 'Holy Ghoſt) we are God's kindred; he cannot hate 'us when we are innocent, when we are nothing, 'when we are not. Now, touching God's glory '(which is to us all as dear as our life) this opinion 'hath told us a very inglorious and ſhameful tale: for 'it ſaith, The almighty God would have many ſouls 'go to hell; and that they may come thither, they 'muſt ſin, that ſo he may have juſt cauſe to condemn 'them. Who doth not ſmile at the Grecians conceit, 'that gave their god a glorious title for killing of flies? 'God's glory in puniſhing ariſeth from his juſtice in 'revenging of ſin: and for that it tells (as I ſaid) a 'very ſad and unpleaſant tale: for who could digeſt 'it, to hear a prince ſay after this manner? I will be-'get me a ſon that I may kill him, that I may ſo get 'me a name: and that I may have ſome colour to 'kill him, I will beget him without both his feet; 'and when he is grown up, having no feet, I will 'command him to walk on pain of death: and when 'he breaketh my commandment, I will put him to 'death. O beloved, theſe glorious fancies, imagina-'tions and ſhews, are far from the nature of our gra-'cious, mercifull, and glorious God.'—

[E] *Was*

16th of April, 1604, he received inſtitution to the Rectory of Shenfield in the ſaid county; being preſented to it by Sir Thomas Lucas of Colcheſter (*l*). And the year following, upon the reſignation of Biſhop Andrews, was choſen Maſter of Pembroke-hall; which place he held 'till 1616 (*m*) [*E*]. He ſerved the honourable office of Vice-Chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge in 1605, and again in 1614; and in 1605 was created Doctor in Divinity (*n*). But, to go on with his other eccleſiaſtical preferments; May 16, 1606, he was admitted to the Vicarage of Hutton in Eſſex (*o*); which, though but ſmall, he accepted, undoubtedly on account of its nearneſs to Shenfield. However, he reſigned it in 1609, as he did alſo his Prebend of Mapeſbury, and Archdeaconry of Eſſex (*p*). Whereupon Dr Bancroft, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to whom he continued Chaplain, gave him, September 28, the Rectory of Styſtead in Eſſex (*q*). As he had ſucceeded Dr Lancelot Andrews in the Maſterſhip of Pembroke-hall, ſo did he alſo ſucceed him in the See of Chicheſter. For, upon that learned Prelate's tranſlation to Ely, our author being nominated Biſhop of Chicheſter in his room, was elected November 13, confirmed December 2, and conſecrated the day following, by Archbiſhop Bancroft, who had undoubtedly a great hand in his promotion (*r*). He was allowed to hold with his Biſhopric the Rectory of Styſtead in commendam, 'till the year 1619, when he was tranſlated to Norwich [*F*], upon the death of Dr John Overall (*s*). We find, that he was one of thoſe divines, who had the ill luck of not being in the good graces of the troubleſome Puritans of his time. For, in the laſt Parliament of King James the Firſt, the Commons, at a conference, accuſed him of ſeveral miſdemeanours [*G*]. This accuſation, however, was no

(*l*) Idem, Vol. II. p. 526.

(*m*) J. Le Neve's Faſti, p. 399, 400. and Lives of the Biſhops, &c. p. 129.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 129, 130. His exerciſe for that degree was excuſed by a grace of the Houſe.

(*o*) Newcourt, Vol. II. p. 344.

(*p*) Idem, Vol. I. p. 73, 176.

(*q*) Idem, Vol. II. p. 562.

(*r*) J. Le Neve's Lives, ubi ſupra, p. 130.

(*s*) J. Le Neve's Faſti, p. 212.

[*E*] *Was choſen Maſter of Pembroke-hall; which place he held till* 1616.] Mr J. Le Neve ſays (4), That, in that year, 'Pembroke-hall petitioned the 'King againſt him, to whom they exhibited their 'grievances in fifty-ſeven articles. They wrote alſo 'to Dr Andrews, Biſhop of Ely, the Earl of Suffolk, 'Chancellor of the Univerſity, the Lord Hay, Sir 'Thomas Lake, Sir George Villiers, and others, de'ſiring their aſſiſtance in this affair. Some of the 'crimes in the articles objected againſt him were ſo 'ſcandalous, and the proof ſo evident, that the Biſhop 'thought beſt to retire, and ſo he did, reſigning the 'maſterſhip in June this year.'—Mr Le Neve adds, that, notwithſtanding 'all decent endeavours, he could 'not obtain a copy of thoſe articles.' And, therefore, what they were, we cannot judge. They might be, for preſſing too rigorouſly the obſervance of the new ceremonies, as they were then called: or, perhaps, for hurting the college revenues.

(4) Lives of the Biſhops, &c. as above, p. 130, 131.

[*F*] *When he was tranſlated to Norwich*] His *congé d'eſlire* was dated June 1, and he was elected June 16, obtained the royal aſſent July 20, was confirmed Aug. 28, and had reſtitution of the temporalities, Sept. 22, 1619 (5).

(5) Continuation of Rymer's Acta Regia by Sanderſon, Vol. XVII. p. 163, 176, 180.

[*G*] *Accuſed him of ſeveral miſdemeanors.*] What the ſubſtance of the accuſation, and of his miſdemeanors, was, will beſt appear by the following extract from the Journals of the Houſe of Commons (6), 17 May 1624. 'The Committee met at Sir Edward 'Cooke's chamber to examine and conſider of the 'heads of the charge, to be preſented againſt the Bi'ſhop of Norwich. — 19 May, Sir Edw. Cooke re'ports from the Lords about the Biſhop of Norwich. '—Have related the whole charge to the Lords, con'ſiſting of ſix heads. 1. Putting down of preaching. '2. Setting up of images. 3. Praying to the eaſt. '4. Puniſhing ſome, for coming to hear their own 'miniſter, after evening prayer, catechiſe, and ſing 'pſalms. 5. Extorting of undue fees. 6. Not re'giſtering inſtitutions and inductions.'———*From the Lords*, 'Anſwer was, that they would take ſuch order 'herein, as ſhould appertain to juſtice, and our ſatiſ'faction.'——But this being ſet forth more at large in the Parliamentary Hiſtory, we ſhall give the following extract of it.

(6) Vol. I. p. 789, 790.

'May 8, 1624. The Commons deſired a conference with the Lords, touching ſome accuſation againſt the Lord Biſhop of Norwich, unto which his Lordſhip has not yet been heard †. The 14th of the ſame month, the Biſhop beſought the Lords to remember the aboveſaid meſſage from the Commons, and to appoint a time for hearing his accuſation. The 19th, after a conference with the Commons, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury reported the charge againſt the Biſhop, exhibited by the citizens of Norwich; which conſiſted of theſe ſix articles. 1. That he inhibited or diſheartened preachers on the Sabbath-day in the forenoon. 2. That images were ſet up in the churches, and one of the Holy Ghoſt fluttering over the font; that a marble tomb was pulled down, and images ſet up in its room, and the Biſhop bleſſed them that did it. 3. That he puniſhed thoſe who prayed not towards the eaſt. 4. That he puniſhed a miniſter for catechiſing his family, and ſinging of Pſalms. 5. That he uſed extortion many ways. 6. That he did not enter inſtitutions, to the prejudice of patrons.—The Biſhop anſwered theſe articles diſtinctly, after having made the following previous obſervations. He proteſted he was no way guilty of the firſt part of his accuſation; if he were, then he was unworthy to bear the name of a Clergyman. He ſhewed the unworthineſs of ſuch as ſhould diſhearten preachers from preaching the word of God. That whilſt he was Vicar and Parſon, he preached every Sabbath in the morning, and catechized in the afternoon; and that he continued the like preaching whilſt he was Biſhop of Chicheſter: that in Norwich he never miſſed the public place, and ever preached there againſt Popery.—As touching preaching and non-reſidence, he had been reckoned more than half a Puritan; he left the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's ſervice that he might go to his cure. He wondered why he ſhould be thought a Papiſt; he thought it might be owing to his diſputations, and his ſermons at Paul's-Croſs, on Predeſtination negative, unadviſedly preached by him for which he was checked by Archbiſhop Whitgift, and commanded to preach no more of it; and he never did, though Dr Abbot, late Biſhop of Sarum, hath ſince declared in print that which he then preached to be no Popery. That Popery is a fire that will never be quiet: he hath preached a thouſand ſermons, and nothing of Popery can be imputed to him out of any of them. That there were divers obſtacles to keep him from Popery: four of which he mentions; namely The uſurpations of the Pope of Rome; their religion dyed in blood; their juggling and feigned miracles, of which he had writ a book againſt them; and their equivocations. He concluded, with acknowledging the Church of England to come neareſt to the primitive; and that we fetch not our reformation from Wickliff, Huſs, and Luther, of latter times, but from the firſt 400 years next after Chriſt.

† Parliamentary Hiſtory of England, Vol. VI. p. 255.

Then he proceeds to anſwer the ſeveral articles of his accuſation. As to the firſt, he confeſſed, that ſix or ſeven of the abler ſort of miniſters in Norwich uſed to expound, in their own churches, before the ſermon began in the cathedral church; and many reſorted from other places to theſe expoſitions, and in the afternoon to their ſermons. The preachers themſelves found fault with this, being willing to be rid of the pains, for they were to preach in the afternoon and on the week days, and ſhewed him many diſorders therein; as the cutting off part of the prayers, or beginning them too early; and they beſought his Lordſhip to remedy it, becauſe they, being ſtipendiary men, were loth to do it, for fear, belike, to loſe their ſtipends: whereupon he ſent for them by an officer, and willed them to omit theſe expoſitions in the forenoon; and yet he had ſince taken order for the erecting of three ſermons in the moſt remote parts of the city from the cathedral

no hindrance to his further advancement. For, upon the death of Dr Monteigne, he was tranſlated, in his room, to the Archbiſhopric of York [*H*]; being elected November 26, 1628, and confirmed the 23d of January following (*t*). November 10, 1629, he was ſworn of the Privy-Council (*u*) He enjoyed his Archiepiſcopal dignity but a little while: For, he died at Morton-in-the-marſh in Glouceſterſhire, the 25th of May 1631 (*w*), on his return from Bath to his manor of Southwell in Nottinghamſhire (*x*): and was buried in Chigwell-church in Eſſex, according to the direction he had given in his will (*y*) [*I*]. A year or two before his deceaſe, he had founded and endowed a free-ſchool in that pariſh, wherein are to be two maſters, one to teach Latin and Greek, and the other writing and cyphering; and alſo ſome alms-houſes (*z*). By his will, he gave his library to the corporation of Colcheſter, for the uſe of the clergy there; and legacies to ſeveral places [*K*]. Beſides his Sermon abovementioned, he had a controverſy with one John Darrell about the caſting out of devils, of which an account is given in the note [*L*]. He was one

(*t*) J. Le Neve's Lives, as above, p. 132.

(*u*) J. Stowe's Annales, edit. 1631. p. 1055.

(*w*) J. Le Neve's Lives, &c. p. 132.

(*x*) Wood Athen. edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 731.

(*y*) J. Le Neve, ubi ſupra.

(*z*) Newcourt, Vol. I. p. 73.

cathedral church; and he had alſo erected many lectures in ſeveral places of the country. 2. As touching the images in a church: what was done, was done without his knowledge; it was meant by St Peter's church. He never ſaw that church 'till one evening as he came by: when going in, and perceiving the pariſhioners had beſtowed very great coſt, and not ſeeing or knowing of any image at all ſet up there, he ſaid, 'God's bleſſing on their hearts that had beſtowed ſuch 'coſt on God's houſe.' 3. As touching prayers to the eaſt: he never enjoined it, nor heard of it 'till now. 4. The miniſter he puniſhed, with doing of penance, was ſent to him by the Juſtices of the Peace, and had formerly been convicted of ſimony and conventicling, and of infecting the pariſh with ſtrange opinions. 5. His Lordſhip abſolutely denied that he impoſed any fees, and affirmed that he had not any of thoſe fees which were complained of; only the fees for inſtitution, which he took as his predeceſſors did. 6. His Lordſhip affirmed, that he had regiſtred all the inſtitutions *.—Upon the whole therefore, the ſum of theſe accuſations was no other, than the common clamours of the Puritans of thoſe times. Now, at this day, when the world can reflect coolly upon ſuch matters, we cannot, on the one hand, wonder enough at the weakneſs and preſumption of thoſe men, who preſſed too earneſtly ſuch points; when they were quite diſagreeable, and gave ſo great offence to the generality of the nation. And, on the other hand, how great was the obſtinacy, ill-behaviour, and I may truly ſay, diſhoneſty, of the Puritans; to raiſe vehement outcries about ſuch trifles; and to treat thoſe who ſtood for them as Papiſts, or popiſhly affected, when they were in the main as ſound Proteſtants as themſelves their accuſers, and better ſons of the Church of England! We ought therefore to look down with pity upon the contentions of both ſides about ſuch inſignificant matters. Unworthy they certainly were of the cognizance of Parliament: but what would not ſuch a ſour ill-tempered man as Sir E. Coke, then in diſgrace, not do, to be revenged of the Court; which favoured Dr Harſnet, and other divines of his perſuaſion?—To which muſt be added, that, for ſome of the articles above ſet down, particularly for the laſt, the doctor was not accountable. For the regiſtering of inſtitutions and inductions belongs to the Regiſter of each dioceſe, not to the Biſhop.

* Parliamentary Hiſtory, as above, p. 311, 312, &c.

[*H*] *He was tranſlated to the Archbiſhopric of York.*] This high dignity was procured him by Thomas Earl of Arundel, who had a great eſteem for him, and had committed his younger ſon to him for education (7).

(7) J. Le Neve's Lives of the Biſhops, &c. p. 132.

[*I*] *According to the direction he had given in his will.*] Namely, in the following words, 'My body 'I will to be buried within the pariſh church of Chig-'well without pomp or ſolemnity, at the foot of Tho-'mazine late my beloved wife, having only a marble-'ſtone laid upon my grave, with a plate of braſs mol-'ten into the ſtone an inch thick, having the effigies 'of a Biſhop ſtamped upon it, with his mitre and cro-'zier-ſtaff, but the braſs to be ſo rivetted and faſtened 'clear through the ſtone, as ſacrilegious hands may 'not rend off the one, without breaking the other. 'And I will that this inſcription be engraven round 'about the braſs: *Hic jacet* Samuel Harſnet, *quondam Vi-'carius hujus eccleſiæ; primò indignus Epiſcopus* Ciceſtren-'ſis, *dein indignior* Norwicenſ. *demum indigniſſimus Ar-'chiepiſcopus* Eboracenſ.' Which was accordingly performed with theſe additional words, *Qui obiit 25 die Maii, A. D.* 1631. *Quod ipſiſſimum Epitaphium ex abundanti humilitate ſibi poni curavit teſtamento Reverendiſſimus Præſul* (8).

(8) Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. I. p. 55.

[*K*] *And legacies to ſeveral places.*] The words of his will are, 'I bequeath to twelve poor widows of 'Chigwell, who ſhall attend my hearſe from my houſe 'at Chigwell unto my burial, twelve black gowns.— 'Ten pounds for a ſober civil banquet for as many of 'the pariſhioners as ſhall pleaſe to accompany my body 'to the earth.—To the Prebendaries of Southwell 50l. 'to furniſh their Communion table with plate.—To 'the building of the poor-houſe at Cawood, in caſe I 'live not to finiſh the ſame myſelf, 100l. together 'with the bricks, timber, and ſtone, that I have pro-'vided for the ſame.—To the poor of St Botolph's in 'Colcheſter, where I was born, 10l.—of Shenfield in 'Eſſex 10l.—of Stiſted in Eſſex 10l.—To the poor 'priſoners in the King's-Bench 20l.—in Ludgate 20l. '—in the White Lion in Southwark 20l.'—Beſides legacies to his ſervants. He left no iſſue. Therefore his nephew Samuel Harſnet was his ſole executor.

[*L*] *He had a controverſy with one John Darrell about the caſting out of devils.*] Take an account of this Darrell, and his practices, in the words of the induſtrious Mr Strype (9). 'When the open practices 'of the Puritans for ſettling the new diſcipline would 'not prevail, there was a more ſecret method made uſe 'of by ſome of their miniſters, of doing ſomething 'that looked little leſs than miraculous; namely, The 'caſting out devils from perſons pretending to be poſ-'ſeſſed by them: that ſo the amazed multitude, hav-'ing a great veneration for theſe exorciſers of devils by 'the power of their prayers and faſtings, might the 'more readily and awfully ſubmit to their opinions 'and ways. (Which likewiſe was a practice borrowed 'from the Papiſts, to make their prieſts revered, and 'to confirm the laity in their ſuperſtitions) (10).' One of them was John Darrell, B. A who about the year 1586, at the age of three or four and twenty, before he was a miniſter, did take upon him to caſt out firſt *one* devil, and afterwards (upon a pretended repoſſeſſion) *eight* devils, out of a maid near ſeventeen years old in Derbyſhire, named Katherine Wright. The hiſtory of this feat he himſelf writ, and gave one copy of it to the Lady Bowes. From that time 'till the 28th of March, 1596, the ſaid Mr Darrell (now become one of the miniſters at Nottingham) was out of work; notwithſtanding he omitted few occaſions to intimate what he had done about Kath. Wright: beſides the printing of his book. But in the year 1596, his glory enlarged itſelf, when it was pretended that he caſt a devil out of one Thomas Darling, a boy in Burton, aged about 14 years; of which an account was publiſhed by one Mr Deniſon, after it had been ſeen and allowed by Mr Darrell and Mr Hilderſham. Upon the fame of this mighty exploit, Darrell was ſent for into Lancaſhire, by one Mr Starkie; and on the 17th of March 1596-7, he diſpoſſeſſed, in the ſaid Mr Starkie's houſe, ſeven perſons at one clap; viz John Starkie, Anne Starkie, Margaret Hardman, Elianor Hardman, Ellen Holland, Margaret Byrom, and Jane Aſhton: [which laſt falling into the hands of certain ſeminary prieſts, was carried by them up and down the country, and by her cunning counterfeiting of fits, got her craft-maſters no ſmall gain and credit.] Thoſe nine perſons abovementioned coſt Mr Darrell but little trouble; for he diſpatched them in two or three days. But one William Somers of Nottingham, ſuppoſed to be poſſeſſed, and whom he took in hand in November 1597, ſtuck in his fingers almoſt five months: however, he conquered the devil

(9) Life of Abp Whitgift, p. 492. and his Annals of the Reformation, Vol. III. p. 432.

(10) What follows is taken from S. Harſnet's Diſcovery, p. 1, &c.

one of the beſt and cleareſt writers in his time; and the firſt, according to Mr Fuller (a), who uſed the expreſſion of Conformable Puritans, to denote thoſe who conformed out of policy, and yet diſſented in their judgments.

(a) Church Hiſtory, book xi. p. 144.

devil at laſt. But Somers, after having counterfeited himſelf to be poſſeſſed, diſpoſſeſſed, and repoſſeſſed, and held on that courſe ſucceſſively, for the ſpace of about three months; he did at the laſt, being got out of Mr Darrell's hands, confeſs and avow, that all he had done that while was but diſſembled, and as he had been trained and inſtructed by Mr Darrel: ſhewing to the Mayor and Aldermen of Nottingham, how he had acted all his former fits. Whereupon Darrell being called before the High Commiſſion-Court at Lambeth, was condemned for a counterfeit; and he, with George More a miniſter and his confederate, depoſed from the miniſtry, and both committed cloſe priſoners.—To expoſe this wicked and ſenſeleſs impoſture, our learned author Mr Harſnet, who was then Chaplain to Biſhop Bancroft, publiſhed, I. 'A *Diſcovery of the fraudulent practiſes of John Darrel Batcheler of Artes, in his proceedings concerning the pretended poſſeſſion and diſpoſſeſſion of* William Somers *at* Nottingham: *of* Thomas Darling *the boy of* Burton *at* Caldwall: *and of* Katherine Wright *at* Mansfield *and* Whittington: *and of his dealings with one* Mary Couper *at* Nottingham, *detecting in ſome ſort the deceitful trade in theſe latter dayes of caſting out devils.* Lond. 1599. 4to. A paſſionate anſwer to which was publiſhed by Mr Darrell, under this title, 'A Detection of that ſinful, ſhamful, lying, and ridiculous Diſcours, of Samuel Harſhnet. Entituled: A Diſcoverie of the fraudulent Practiſes of John Darrell. Wherein is manifeſtly and apparantly ſhewed in the eyes of the world Not only the unlikelihoode, but the flate impoſſibilitie of the pretended counterfayting of William Somers, Thomas Darling Kath. Wright, and Mary Couper, togeather with the other 7 in Lancaſhire, and the ſuppoſed teaching of them by one John Darrell.' 4to. 1600. The ſame year, Mr Darrell publiſhed alſo, 'A true Narration of the ſtrange and grevous Vexation by the Devil, of 7 perſons in Lancaſhire, and William Somers of Nottingham. Wherein the doctrine of Poſſeſſion and Diſpoſſeſſion of Demoniakes out of the word of God is particularly applyed unto Somers, and the reſt of the perſons controverted: togeather with the uſe we are to make of theſe workes of God. By John Darrell Miniſter of the word of God.' 4to. Both viſibly printed abroad.—During his impriſonment, he publiſhed likewiſe, 'An Apology or Defence of the poſſeſſion of William Somers, &c. Wherein this work of God is cleared from the evil name of counterfeiting. And therupon alſo it is ſhewn, that in theſe days men may be poſſeſſed with devils; and that being ſo, by prayer and faſting the unclean ſpirit may be caſt out. (11)'—His confederate George More ſeconded him, in, 'A true Diſcourſe concerning the certaine poſſeſſion and diſpoſſeſſion of 7 perſons in one familie in Lancaſhire, which alſo may ſerve as part of an Anſwere to a fayned and falſe *Diſcoverie* which ſpeaketh very much evill, as well of this, as of the reſt of thoſe great and mightie workes of God, which be of the like excellent nature.' 1600. 8vo.—Mr D. Neal, in whoſe eyes a Puritan is always innocent, has endeavoured to defend, at leaſt to palliate, theſe extraordinary proceedings; by ſaying, 'One would think here was a plot of ſome cunning, 'deſigning men, to conjure the people into the belief 'of the diſcipline; but all vaniſhes in the peculiar 'principles of *A weak* and (as Mr Strype confeſſes) honeſt *man*, whoſe name was Darrel, &c. (12).' [N. B. Mr Strype's words are (13),—*This weak but honeſt man (ſhall I call him?)*—Which is doubting, not confeſſing.] Had Mr Neal given himſelf the trouble to peruſe Darrell's writings, he would have found, that he was not the *one and only man* concerned in this affair. For there were no leſs than *ſixteen preachers*, (as wiſe as himſelf) after an exerciſe at Aſhby-de-la-Zouch, that adviſed and preſſed him to go to Mr Starchy's, when he was ſent for (14). Several miniſters alſo were concerned in the diſpoſſeſſing of Somers (15). Conſult, moreover, Mr George More's Diſcourſe—The affair of the Surey Demoniack in the laſt century, may be called the ſecond part of Mr Darrell's pranks (16). II. Beſides the Diſcovery of Darrell's fraudulent practices, Dr Harſnet writ, '*A Declaration of egregious Popiſh Impoſtures, to withdraw the Hearts of her Majeſty's Subjects from their Allegiance, &c. under the pretence of caſting out Devils, practiſed by* Edmonds, *alias* Weſton, *a Jeſuit.*' Lond. 1603. 4to.

(11) In theſe pieces Mr Darrell plainly appears to have been a man of a weak head, or a very bad heart.

(12) Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. I. edit. 1732. p. 585.

(13) Life of Whitgift, p. 495.

(14) Detection of S. Harſnet's Diſcovery, p. 26.

(15) See Life of Whitgift, p. 495.

(16) The *Surey Demoniack* in Lancaſhire, was publiſhed in 1695, and the Anſwer to it by Zach. Taylor, in 1697. 4to.

HARVEY [WILLIAM], an eminent Phyſician, who firſt diſcovered the circulation of the blood; was eldeſt ſon of Thomas Harvey, Gentleman (a), of Folkſtone in Kent, where he was born April 2, 1578. At ten years of age he was put to the grammar-ſchool at Canterbury, and thence at fourteen removed to Gonvil and Caius-college in Cambridge, in the view of breeding him to Phyſic. Having ſpent five years there in the ſtudy of his art, he went at the age of nineteen, for further improvement, through France and Germany to Padua (b) in Italy; and having purſued his ſtudies under the beſt maſters, particularly the famous Hieron. Fabricius ab Aquapendente (c) [A], for five years more, he was created Doctor of Phyſic and Chirurgery in that univerſity in 1602. Soon after this he returned to England; and taking his Doctor of Phyſic's degree at Cambridge, he went to London, entered upon the practice of his profeſſion there, and married (d) [B]. In

(a) His mother's name was Joan Halke. Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 6.

(b) He went alſo occaſionally to Venice. *Exercitat. de Generatione Animalium, Exercitat.* 46.

(c) *Nouvelles de la Republique des lettres pour Mois de Juin* 1684. Art. 2.

(d) Wood, ubi ſupra; and Goodall's Hiſtorical Account of the proceedings of the College of Phyſicians in London againſt Empirics, &c. in the dedication. Lond. 1684. 4to.

[A] *He was inſtructed by Fabricius ab Aquapendente.*] Beſides Fabricius, Mr Wood mentions (1), our author's ſtudying at Padua under two other maſters, Euſtacius Radius, and Joh. Tho. Minodaus, which indeed is not at all improbable; but Fabricius was the perſon whoſe lectures he ſeems to have attended the moſt diligently, as being moſt agreeable to him. 'Tis certain he had a particular regard for this maſter, whom he often quotes, and in terms of the higheſt reſpect (2), and even declares that he was the more willing to publiſh his book *de motus cordis*, &c. becauſe this maſter who had learnedly and accurately delineated in a particular treatiſe, almoſt all the parts of animals, had left the heart alone untouched (3).

[B] *And married.*] We have not met with any account either of the name or family of his lady, but whoever ſhe was, it ſeems the Doctor had no iſſue by her (4); and 'twas probably for want of children to employ her time and care, that ſhe became very fond of, and amuſed herſelf often with an excellent talking parrot, whoſe extraordinary fate furniſhed her huſband with the firſt experiment in ſupport of his doctrine, that the female bird has a power of conceiving perfect eggs (5) without the help of the male. The following account of this event is inſerted in the Doctor's own words, as a ſample of his elegant Latin ſtile. 'Imo 'vero uſque adeo libidinoſe interdum aves ſunt, ut ſi dor-'ſum earum manu ſolum leviter tangas, ſtatim procum-'bant, orificiumque uterinum nudent et exporrigant: 'quod ſi blande digito demulſeris, vago murmure ala-'rumque geſticulatione gratam Veneris dulcedinem expri-'munt. Quinetiam famellas ova inde concipere, et 'Ariſtoteles auctor eſt, & ipſemet in turdo, merula, 'aliiſque expertus ſum: idque olim primum fortuito, 'neque damno didici. Pſittacum nempe inſignem doc-'teque garrulum, uxor mea diu in deliciis habuit. 'Erat is adeo familiaris, ut quocunque vellet, libere 'per ædes vagaretur; abſentem dominam inquireret; 'inventæ hilari voce ablandiretur; vocanti etiam re-'ſponderet; advolaret; veſtemque roſtro pedibuſque 'viciſſim comprehendens, ad ſummum humerum ſcan-'deret; indeque per brachium deſcendens ſuper 'manum ſemper ſe ſiſteret. Juſſus loqui aut cantare 'etiam noctu & in tenebris morem geſſit. Sæpe ludi-'bundus

(1) In his Faſti, Vol. II. col. 6.
(2) Particularly in the preface to his *Exercit. de Gener. Animal.* he profeſſes to follow Ariſtotle among the Antients and Fabricius among the Moderns: *illum tanquam ducem; hunc ut præmonſtratorem.*
(3) *De Motu Cordis*, &c. Exercit. 1. cap. 1.
(4) The inſcription upon his monument in the church of Hemſted in Hartfordſhire, concludes in theſe terms, *Quum totum circuit Microcoſmum, Medicinæ Doctor & Medicorum Imperator obdormivit.*

(5) His words are, *ova* undique perfecta licet ſubventanea, & ob defectum maris infœcunda. *De Generatione Animalium Exercit.* v.

In 1604 he was admitted candidate of the College of Phyſicians, and three years after elected Fellow. In 1615 he was choſen Lecturer of the Anatomy and Surgery Lecture, founded by Dr Richard Caldwal *; and he began his firſt courſe of Lectures in Anatomy in April the following year, when he firſt opened his famous diſcovery of the circulation of the blood, which he continued to explain in his ſubſequent lectures, and a few years afterwards [C] finiſhed his treatiſe upon that ſubject. It was probably about this time that he became Phyſician to King James I. and that he was continued in the ſame character by K. Charles I. from the beginning of his reign [D]. Dec. 3, 1627, he was appointed one of the Elects of the College of Phyſicians †, and his *Exercitatio Anatomica de motu cordis & ſanguinis*

* Idem ibid.

† From the College Regiſter.

' bundus et laſcivus ſedentis gremium adibat; ubi ' caput ſibi attractari dorſumque demulceri geſtiebat, ' & blando ſtrepitu ſummam animi lætitiam teſtabatur. ' Ego hæc omnia ab uſitata pridem familiaritate & ' obſequio proficiſci interpretabar; marem enim ſum ' arbitratus ob loquelæ & cantus eximiam præſtantiam. ' Quippe inter aves fœmellæ raro cantillare, aut voce ' invicem provocare ſolent: ſed mares ſolum ſuavi ' vocis modulamine fœmellas delinire, & ad veneris ' obſequium pellicere, animadvertimus.' The Doctor then cites Ariſtotle and Virgil to confirm this obſervation, and proceeds thus. ' Non diu autem poſt blandas ' has contrectationes pſittacus, qui multos jam annos ' ſanus vixerat, ægrotavit, crebriſque tandem convul- ' ſionibus obortis, in dominæ ſuæ gremio, ubi toties ' luſerat, animam, plurimum deſideratus, expiravit. ' *Diſſecto itaque cadavere (ut mortis cauſam inquirerem)* ' *ovum fere perfectum in utero reperio; ſed ob defectum* ' *maris corruptum quamadmodum aviculis in caveis reclu-* ' *ſis ſæpe accidit, quæ maris conſortium deſiderant* (6).'

(6) Ibid.

[C] *He firſt opened the diſcovery of the circulation of the blood, and drew up his treatiſe upon that ſubject a few years afterwards.*] That he then firſt opened this diſcovery appears from the original manuſcript of theſe lectures, which is preſerved in the valuable Muſæum of the late Sir Hans Sloane, purchaſed by the Parliament. It is intitled, *Prælectiones Anatom. Univerſal. per me Gulielmum Harveium, Medicum Londinenſem, Anato. & Chirurg. Profeſſorem, An. Dom.* 1616. *Anno ætatis* 37. *Prælect. Apr.* 16, 17, 18. That he continued to explain the circulation in the ſubſequent lectures, is evident from the dedication of his book (7) upon this ſubject, which begins thus. ' *Meam de mo-* ' *tu & uſu cordis & circuitu ſanguinis ſententiam, excel-* ' *lentiſſ. D. D. antea ſæpius in prælectionibus meis ani-* ' *tomicis aperui novam, ſed jam per novem & amplius* ' *annos multis ocularibus demonſtrationibus in conſpectu* ' *veſtro confirmatam, &c.——Hoc libello in lucem pro-* ' *duximus.*' *My new opinion concerning the motion and uſe of the heart, and the circulation of the blood, which was frequently declared before in my anatomical lectures, being now confirmed by ocular demonſtration before the college for more than nine years, I have thought fit to publiſh to the world in the following treatiſe.* The ſame dedication furniſhes the proof in part, that this treatiſe was finiſhed not many years after the reading of his firſt anatomical lectures in 1616. For there he expreſsly declares, that it had been finiſhed ſome years before [1628]. *Libellum hanc per aliquot abhinc retro annos perfectum.* But we are able to determine the time of our author's writing this treatiſe, ſomething nearer the truth by what follows. Johannes Leonicenus having aſſerted that Father Paul, author of the *Hiſtory of the Council of Trent*, diſcovered the circulation of the blood, as well as the valves of the veins, obſerves, that he durſt not make that diſcovery public for fear of expoſing himſelf to trouble, ſince he was already ſuſpected, and there wanted only ſuch a paradox to transform him into a heretic in a country where the Inquiſition prevails. For this reaſon he truſted the ſecret to Aquapendente alone, who being cautious of rendering himſelf obnoxious to the rage of a great many perſons, who would treat ſuch a notion as a capital offence againſt the Ancients, never opened the ſecret intruſted to him by Father Paul to any, but men of whom he had not the leaſt ſuſpicion; and waited till that father's death before he would ſuffer his treatiſe of the valves of the veins to be preſented to the Republic of Venice. But becauſe in that country the ſlighteſt novelties are apt to terrify the minds of of people, this treatiſe was repoſited privately in the library of St Mark. But as Aquapendente had diſcovered the ſecret to a curious young Engliſh gentleman, whoſe name was Harvey, and who ſtudied under him at Padua; and at the ſame time Father Paul made the ſame diſcovery in confidence to the Engliſhmen upon their return home, being in a country of freedom publiſhed it, and having confirmed it by a variety of experiments, claimed the whole honour to themſelves (8). From the ſame ſtory, the diſcovery of the circulation of the blood was aſcribed alſo to Father Paul, by Charles Fracaſſati, in his preliminary epiſtle to Malpighi, and by John Wæleus, in his firſt epiſtle to Bartholine. Theſe attempts to deprive our countryman of the honour juſtly due to him for making that diſcovery, being obſerved by his intimate friend Dr George Ent, he to confute theſe pretences remarks, that Dr Harvey had long before related to him the occaſion of this ſtory, which was as follows. The Venetian embaſſador upon his return home, having been preſented by the Doctor with his book concerning the circulation of the blood, lent it to read to Father Paul, who tranſcribed a great many things out of it, in order that he might remember them; theſe tranſcripts after his death came into the hands of his executors, gave occaſion to ſeveral perſons to imagine that he was the author of thoſe tranſcripts. And Dr Harvey had letters from Fra. Fulgentio, Father Paul's moſt intimate friend, which ſet the affair in a clear light (9). From the whole, it appears that Dr Harvey's book muſt have been finiſhed ſome time before the year 1623, ſince Father Paul died January the 14th in that year (10). Perhaps we ſhall not be far wide of the truth, in fixing it to the year 1618 or 1619; that is nine years before it was publiſhed, which, upon reviewing what has been ſaid of it, ſeems not altogether improbable to be ſuggeſted by him in the words already cited from the beginning of his dedication.

(7) To Dr Argent the Preſident, and the reſt of the College of Phyſicians in London. There is another dedication to the King.

(8) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, for June 1684. art. 2.

(9) Letter to Dr Harvey, prefixed by Sir G. Ent to his *Apologia pro Circulatione Sanguinis*. Lond. 1611. 4to.

(10) Vita del Padre Paolo, a Fra. Fulgentio.

[D] *It is probable about this time he became phyſician to King James I. and was in the ſame poſt under King Charles I from the beginning of his reign.*] That he was phyſician to the firſt of theſe crowned heads all agree, but as to the year, no time is fixed by any author when he was called to that honour, they are all ſilent. This defect then can only (if at all) be ſupplied by circumſtances, and what circumſtance bids fairer to ground a probability upon, than that of his finiſhing his treatiſe of the circulation of the blood, and preſenting the copy of it in manuſcript to the Venetian embaſſador upon his return home. Before that time the Doctor had ſcarcely attained his fortieth year, and was too young a practitioner to be eminent enough for ſuch a diſtinction; but his diſcovery of the circulation of the blood, ſufficiently demonſtrated by experiments, and drawn up in an elegant Latin ſtile, into a compleat treatiſe, muſt unavoidably bring him into the eye of the Court, and entitled him to the honour of the King's Archiater, and that the ſame honour was continued to him in the ſucceeding reign, ſeems evident from the following paſſage in his book *De Generatione Animalium, &c.* where he takes notice, that King Charles's uſing the exerciſe of flag or buck hunting almoſt every week in each ſeaſon after he came to man's eſtate, gave him [the Doctor] abundant opportunities of diſſecting what number he pleaſed of both the ſexes of theſe animals. ' *Sereniſſimo Regi Carolo, quam primum exceſſit ex ephe-* ' *bis, mos erat, animi a curis gravioribus laxandi fri-* ' *mandæque valetudinis gratia, ſingulis fere ſeptimanis* ' *feras venari; præcipue cervos & damas; cujus generis* ' *nemo in orbe princeps plures vel in ſaltibus ſylviſque* ' *errantes, vel intra ſepta ac vivaria concluſos in hunc* ' *finem aluit. Tribus quidem æſtivis menſibus mares jam* ' *obeſos, eſuique jucundos, autumno vero & hyeme pari* ' *temporis ſpatio fœmellas venabatur. Hinc mihi (quo* ' *tempore fœminæ libidinantur mareſque admittunt, conci-* ' *piunt, & utero novellos fœtus gerunt) eas diſſecandi* ' *quotidie facta eſt copia; parteſque omnes, præſertim* ' *genitales intueri atque obſervare quoties vellem libere* ' *licuit* (11).'

(11) *Exercitationes de Generatione Animalium*, Exercitat. lxiv. N. B. His Majeſty's frequent hunting furniſhed the doctor with ſo many opportunities of diſſecting theſe animals, that he has made nature's proceſs in their generation the ſubject of this and the 6 following Exercitations, the whole being ſuperſcribed with this title, *Hiſtoria Generationis Cervarum & Damarum, cæu reliquarum viviparorum exemplar, ponitur a faſtigio ratio redditur.*

[E] *His*

guinis in animalibus, was printed the following year at Francfort in 4to [*E*]. This piece being

[*E*] *His Exercitatio Anatomica de motu Cordis & Sanguinis circuitu.*] The beſt account of the nature of Dr Harvey's diſcovery, is ſeen in the following recapitulation of it by himſelf, which will be ſo much the more ſatisfactory, as it was drawn up expreſsly with a view of clearing it from the various miſrepreſentations which he had obſerved to have been given of it by others (12). 'Becauſe, ſays he, I ſee men doubtful of the circulation, and ſome men oppoſe ſuch things which underſtand them not aright as I intended them.' I ſhall briefly rehearſe, out of my book of the motion of the heart and blood, what I did there intend. The blood which is contained in the veins (as in it's own hold) there where it is moſt abundant (viz. in the vena cava) near the baſis of the heart, and the right auricle growing hot by degrees from it's own internal heat; and being attenuated, it ſwells and riſes like leaven, whence that auricle being firſt dilated, and afterwards contracting itſelf by it's pulſific faculty, ſtraitways drives it out into the right ventricle of the heart, which being filled in it's ſyſtole, and thereby conſequently freeing itſelf from that blood which is driven into it, as the valvulæ bicuſpides hinders it's regreſs that way, it impels the ſame blood into the *vena arteriosa*, where the paſſage is open and diſtends it. Whence not being able to return againſt the *valvulæ ſigmoides*, it finds through the lungs (which are extended, amplified, and reſtricted, both by inſpiration and expiration) a paſſage to the arteria venoſa, and from thence into the left auricle, which performing it's office with a motion the ſame, and in the ſame order to that of the right auricles, impels the ſame blood into the left ventricle, as the right auricle drove it into the right ventricle, whence the left ventricle, in like manner and at the ſame time with the right (the paſſage back to the left auricle being ſtopt by the valves) forces it into the trunk of the aorta, and conſequently into all the branches of that artery, ſo that the arteries being filled with the ſudden impulſe, and not able ſo ſuddenly to diſburthen themſelves, are diſtended, impelled, and ſuffer a diaſtole. Whence, ſince the ſame motion is reiterated continually and inceſſantly, I collect, that the arteries, both in the lungs and in the whole body, by ſo many ſtrokes and impulſions of the heart, would be ſo diſtended and ſtuffed with blood, that either the impulſion muſt entirely ceaſe, or elſe the arteries muſt burſt, or be dilated ſo much as to contain the whole maſs of blood exhauſted from the veins, unleſs they were unloaded by an efflux of the blood ſomewhere. The ſame reaſoning holds likewiſe with regard to the ventricles of the heart, which being filled and ſtuffed in like manner with blood, would at laſt be diſtended and deſtitute of all motion, unleſs the arteries ſomewhere diſburthened themſelves. This conſequence of mine is demonſtratively true, and ſo lows of neceſſity, if the premiſes be true, but the truth or falſehood of theſe muſt be had from our ſenſes, and not from any received ways of reaſoning; not from the operation of the mind, but from ocular teſtimony. I affirm likewiſe of the blood in the veins, that it does always and every where run out of the leſſer into the greater, and haſtens from all parts towards the heart; whence I collect, that the whole impelled quantity of blood which the arteries receive from the veins, returns and flows back thither from whence it was firſt driven, and in this manner the blood moves in a circuit in a flux and reflux from the heart by impulſion, the force of which carries it into all the fibres of the arteries, and that being abſorpt and exhauſted thence from all parts into the veins, it afterwards returns by a continual flux through them to the heart. Our ſenſes teach us theſe truths, and neceſſary deductions drawn from things obvious to ſenſe leave no room for a doubt. Upon the whole, this is what I endeavoured to declare and make manifeſt by obſervations and experiments, and I choſe to prove it not by reaſoning from cauſes and probable principles, but to eſtabliſh it by the greater authority of ſenſe and experience in an anatomical way.' This account is inſerted at length for the ſake of the following remarks. (1.) It is obſervable, that our author here has expreſſed himſelf very cautiouſly in general terms only, concerning the paſſage (abſorption or exhauſtion) of the blood from the extremities of the arteries to the veins. This caution appears to be the genuine effect both of his modeſty and fidelity. In his firſt exercitation (13), he had expreſſed it, that the blood paſſes from the arteries into the veins, either immediately by anaſtomoſis, or immediately through the poroſities of the fleſh, or both ways. He had declared before (14), that no man had then ſaid any thing right concerning the *anaſtomoſis*, where it is, how it is, or for what cauſe; I am at preſent upon that inquiry; and what was the reſult of this inquiry, we find in his third *Exercitation* *, where he openly declares his opinion againſt that way of communication or connection of the arteries to the veins, and diſputed the reality of them with Riolanus upon his grand principle, that neither he himſelf, nor any body elſe, could ſhew their exiſtence anatomically; however, his modeſty and good ſenſe appears in this, that he does not pretend poſitively to defend the queſtion, but rather recommends it as a proper ſubject for further enquiries. (2.) We find the Doctor in this laſt reviſal of his hypotheſis, maintaining as he had done at firſt, the ſynchronal motions of the two auricles and the two ventricles of the heart, aſſerting that the paſſage from the ventricles through the arteries and veins of the lungs, and thoſe of the reſt of the body into the auricles, is cauſed wholly by the impulſe of the ventricles of the heart, without any help from the arteries, and performed in the ſame time with the paſſage from the auricles into the ventricles, and this order, he ſays, is even perceptible to the ſenſe in touching the heart; and for a further ſupport of this doctrine he maintains, that the arteries have no proper pulſific faculty, and therefore their diaſtole being intirely occaſioned by the impulſe of the blood from the heart, when free from that impulſe they collapſe, and that no time intercedes between the conſtriction of the heart and the dilatation of the arteries, not even of thoſe that are furtheſt diſtant from it, but theſe two motions are ſimultaneous * †, whence the two auricles beat together, and alternately to the two ventricles, which alſo beat together. This opinion of the office of the arteries in carrying on the circulation, not being approved by Dr Frank Nicholls, Phyſician to his preſent Majeſty, and formerly Profeſſor of Anatomy at Oxford. That gentleman aſcribing, with other anatomiſts, a ſyſtole and diaſtole to the two arteries, equal in their effects to the ſyſtole and diaſtole of the auricles and ventricles of the heart, in conſequence thereof, ſuppoſes the circulation not to be performed without ſix diſtinct ſteps or impulſes; whence it follows, contrary to our author's doctrine, that the two auricles, the two ventricles, and the two arteries, are relaxed and contracted alternately, i. e. the ſyſtole and diaſtole of the *right* auricle, the *pulmonary artery*, and the left ventricle are ſynchronous to each other, and alternate to the ſyſtole and diaſtole of the right ventricle, the left auricle, and the aorta, which conſequently are ſynchronous alſo among themſelves. In ſupport of this opinion, the Doctor maintains that the coats of the arteries, though not muſcular, are elaſtic, and therefore muſt have in themſelves a contractive force, or pulſific faculty. He thinks his opinion is likewiſe confirmed from the following conſequences of it, which ſeem neceſſary for carrying on the circulation. *Firſt* he obſerves, that the whole heart, and ſo much of the two great arteries as is included within the *pericardium* taken together, as alſo the two auricles taken together, and the two ventricles taken together, and likewiſe both the auricles and both the ventricles taken together, will by this means always make up an equal bulk, and fill an equal ſpace in every ſtep and ſtate of the circulation, and *thereby that motion and friction, which he conceives* muſt attend Dr Harvey's theſis, and would greatly diſturb the œconomy, will be avoided. In the ſame view, another conſequence favouring this latter poſition is, that the *canalis arteriosus*, and the *foramen ovale*, will thereby be found to produce a circulation, in which the inferior artery beats alternately to the ſuperior artery, and the blood of the *inferior cava*, will wholly and ſolely paſs through the *foramen ovale* into the left auricle, and the blood of the *ſuperior cava*, will wholly and ſolely paſs through the right auricle and the right ventricle into the pulmonary artery, to be diſtributed partly into the pulmonic branches, and partly through the *canalis arteriosus* into the *aorta* inferior, and thereby the circulation will be carried on in ſuch a manner as is peculiarly neceſſary to the fœtus, which does not breathe; and upon theſe principles likewiſe, the alteration of thoſe paſſages becomes the neceſſary conſequence

(12) Exercitat. Anatom. iii. publiſhed in 1649.

(13) Cap. xi.

(14) Ibid. cap. ix.

* Exercitat. de Motu Cordis, cap. iii. & Exercitat. iii. in parte prima.

* Our author's words are *fiant ſimul*.

† Though this poſition is conſtantly maintained by him, yet he accounts for the dilatation of the great arteries, from their not being able to eject or diſcharge themſelves of the blood ſo ſuddenly [*tam ſubito*] as it is impelled into them by the heart. *Exercitat. iii.*

being attacked in different views by several authors [F], and particularly by Jo Riolanus, a celebrated

consequence of that protrusion of the heart, and stretch of the *canalis arteriosus*, which immediately follows upon the first respiration of the infant *. The Doctor thinks that the truth of his position, as grounded upon this reasoning, is clearly more than probable, and if he has not been able, by reason of the almost insuperable difficulty thereof, to make such anatomical experiments in this case as come up perfectly to the point, and can safely be relied on, in order to establish it upon that sure foundation: so neither does he apprehend, that the opinion of Dr Harvey in this particular, notwithstanding it's universal reception, can be fairly said from any experiments produced by himself or by others for him, to have a just claim to such an establishment. Upon the whole, it is now a long time since Dr Nicholls has laid aside all researches of this kind, and he hopes it will not now be expected that he should resume them. He acknowledges there are many things in the circulation not yet satisfactorily explained, and therefore he would recommend the further inquiry into the true manner thereof, as a proper subject to employ the industry of every studious anatomist.

* N. B. The reader will take notice, that we have inserted purely what was communicated by Dr Nicholls, without interposing our own opinion. Indeed we do not see the grounds for objecting the want of these consequential advantages to Dr Harvey's thesis.

[F] *His discovery was attacked by authors in different views.*] The Doctor's adversaries on this occasion may be divided into two parties, by whom he was attacked on different sides and by very different arguments, though probably both were urged thereto by the same principle of envy. Of these, one party denied the truth of his discovery, while the other party acknowledging that, gave away the honour of it from him to his predecessors in anatomy. The first he answered himself, as far as they deserved an answer, an account of which will be the subject of the next remark. But of the other he was more regardless, either not being apprehensive of any danger to his fame from that quarter, or else (which we may judge from his writings, was indeed the case) he was more sollicitous to shew the important use of the discovery, since it was made, to the practice of physic, than anxious about his right of being the first discoverer; and this is confirmed by his conduct already mentioned, in respect to Fracassati and Walæus, who had ascribed the discovery to Father Paul Servita the Venetian. He contented himself, we see, with relating to his friends in private discourse, the grounds of that mistake, by which it appeared that Servita had the discovery from himself (15). He had, 'tis true, in the proem to his book, demonstrated his own right consequentially, in demonstrating, that whatever had been said by any author before him concerning the motion and use of the heart and arteries, was either absurd, incongruous, obscure, or impossible; and in the same view we find him at the entrance upon his treatise, very aptly applying the following words of the poet to himself.

(15) See remark [C].

> *Nunquam quisquam ita bene subducta ratione ad vitam fuit,*
> *Quin res ætas usus aliquid apportet novi,*
> *Aliquid admoneat, ut quæ te scire credas, nescias,*
> *Et, quæ tibi putaris prima, in experiunda repudies* (16).

(16) Terence.

But this, though sufficient as it was for the satisfaction of all such as would give themselves leave to consider the matter thoroughly and impartially, yet did not prove sufficient to secure his fame from the attacks of several persons besides those already mentioned. For instance, Mr Wood tells us, that Dr Morley, Bishop of Winchester, and Dr John Pell, used to say, that Warner, mentioned in a preceding article (17), made it appear in a manuscript of his composition, that the blood in a body circulates; which he communicating to Harvey, the Doctor took his first hint thence concerning that matter, who afterwards published it as the first inventor (18). But this is too imperfect a story to deserve any notice. Honoratus Faber likewise made some pretensions to the first discovery, which are confuted by his own account, as is shewn by Borelli, who on this occasion handsomely exposes Faber's vanity (well known in the mathematical republic) as follows. *Cum vero sit omnino incredibile & impossibile hominem nobilem, religiosum & pium* [Harvæum *sc.*] *ea, quæ vera non sunt, asserere voluisse, nil aliud in ejus* [*Fabri*] *excusationem dicendum restat, nisi quod, cum ingenio velocissimo præditus sit, a celeritate ipsa qua aliena legit, & propria scribit, multoties decipiatur. Quod alias ei contigisse non erit supervacaneum ostendere, ut inde pateat solenne ei esse authores alicujus rominis furti insimulare, hac solummodo de causa, quia cursim & ostitanter eorum opera legit, si enim patienter & debita attentione dignatus fuisset legere ea, quæ spatio 38 annorum edita fuerant, & vulgatissima per universam Europam erant, procul dubio non scripsisset, anno 1666, Lib. primo de Homine, Prop. 2. de circulationem sanguinis invenisse & docuisse ab anno 1638, antequam* Gulielmi Harveii, Exercitatio Anatomica de motu Cordis *prodiret* (19), *quam pariter multa Fabri inventa in suis exercitationibus inseruisse asserunt: omnes enim sciunt* Harveium, *An. Dom.* 1624, *Francofurti, typis Guat. Fitzeri, suam exercitationem primum edidisse; scilicet decem annos antequam Cl. Faber sanguinis circulationem docuisset* (20). These were feeble attacks and easily repelled. But others went further, Vander Linden, publishing an edition of Hippocrates in Holland, about 1664, took a great deal of pains therein to prove, that Hippocrates knew the circulation of the blood, and that Dr Harvey only revived it; and many years afterwards Mr Bayle, in his Dictionary (21), very confidently asserts, that 'it would be robbing Cæsalpinus of 'a very great honour, to pass over in silence that he 'knew the circulation of the blood, the proofs of which, 'says he, are so clear, that they cannot be eluded by 'any evasion.' These proofs are two passage from two pieces of that author, one of which is cited at length (22), and the other referred to in a marginal note (23). However, we have the satisfaction to observe, that these and other injuries and insults offered to Dr Harvey's memory, have been clearly wiped away by some of his countrymen, and as it is done by no body that I know of so pertinently and so much to the mind of Dr Harvey, as by Dr Freind, we shall lay his account of the matter before the reader, and the rather, because the true merit of this most important discovery is there set in the most conspicuous light, and expressed also in that genteel, proper, and easy language, which distinguishes the gentleman united to the scholar. The Doctor traces the subject as high as to the end of the fourth century, when Nemesius, Bishop of Edessa, wrote a treatise *concerning the nature of man*, which being published at Oxford in 1671, 8vo. the editor had therein contended, that the circulation of the blood, an invention, says the Doctor, the most considerable that ever was made in physic, and which the last century so much bragged of, was known to *Nemesius*, and described by him in very plain and significant terms, which are these. *For the motion of the pulse takes it's rise from the heart, and chiefly from the left ventricle of it: the artery is with great vehemence dilated and contracted by a sort of constant harmony and order; while it is dilated, it draws the thinner part of the blood from the next veins, the exhalation or vapour of which blood is made the element for the vital spirits; but while it contracts, it exhales whatsoever fumes it has through the whole body and by secret passages; so that the heart throws out whatever is fuliginous, through the mouth and the nose by expiration* † 'Upon this single slender proof, continues the Doctor, does he [the Oxford editor] attribute this great discovery of the circulation to Nemesius; and those who have insisted that it was known both to Hippocrates and Galen, have full as good arguments on their side. I shall only say this, that from this very description, and from what the same author says of the liver in the same chapter, that it ministers nourishment to the body by the veins, one may demonstrably infer, that Nemesius had no idea of the manner in which the circulation of the blood is performed, 'I shall not enter into a dispute upon this head, but 'shall now content myself with observing, that the 'true circulation was not at all rightly understood by 'a much later writer, and that a very elegant and accurate one, Columbus; who, as he was an excellent 'anatomist, about one hundred and fifty years ago 'with the nicest exactness explained not only the structure, but the use too of every part belonging to the 'heart, except a little mistake about some of the vessels; and does in as clear a manner as words could 'express shew, how by the contraction and dilatation 'of the heart, and mechanism of the vessels, the blood 'circulates through the lungs from the cava to the 'aorta into body, as he says himself, having either 'observed

(17) Remark [G], in the article HARRIOT [THOMAS].

(18) Ath. Ox. Vol. I. col. 461.

(19) Faber doubtless was drawn into this ridicule, by losing the answer of Parisanus, mentioned in remark [G], printed in 1619, who in the dedication intimates, that Harvey's book had reached Venice only some months before. His words are, *Superioribus elapsis mensibus hic Venetias Harveii Exercitatio appulit.*

(20) *Metrologia Æthæi, sive Hesperi & Meteorologia incendii Ætnæi*, anni 1669, &c. Regio Julio, 1670. 4to.

(21) Under the article CÆSALPINUS.

(22) From his *Quæstiones Peripateticæ*, lib. iv. cap. vii. fol. 125.

(23) Idem, *Quæstion. Medican.* lib. ii. c. 17. fol. 234. edit. 1593. N. B. A Scotch author also speaking of this discovery, has these words, *Par decus manet & illum* (Cæsalpinum) *qui primum invenit, & (Harvæum) qui postremum perfecit.* Bibliogr. Anat. Specimen, p. 140. a Jacob. Douglas, &c. edit. 1715. 8vo.

† Ch. xxiv. de politibus.

a celebrated Anatomiſt (*e*); the Doctor afterwards * publiſhed two Exercitations more in defence of his doctrine, under the title of *Exercitationes Anatomicæ duæ de circulatione ſanguinis, ad J. Riolanum J. Filium* [G]. December 30, 1629, he reſigned the place of Treaſurer

* See rem [K].

(*e*) In the inſcription to theſe Exercitations, he is ſtiled, *The moſt experienced Phyſician in the univerſity of Paris, the Prince of Diſſectors of bodies, King's Profeſſor and Dean of Anatomy and Botany, and Archiater to the Queen-Mother of Lewis* XIII. See alſo Douglas's *Specimen Bibl. Anat.* ubi ſupra, p 161. Item, p. 204.

obſerved this, or written any thing of it) and from thence into all the parts of the body. *In his language* (as to the ſenſe, much indeed the ſame with what we find in Servetus a contemporary writer, though much more fully explained) *the lungs are for generating vital ſpirits, and this he deſcribes in the following expreſſion* *. *The wind-pipe draws the air into all parts of the lungs, the lungs mix this air with the blood, which comes from the right ventricle of the heart by the pulmonary artery; the blood, by this continual motion of the fluid, is agitated, attenuated, and mingled with the air, which air itſelf by this colliſion and rarefaction is ſo prepared, that both the blood and air, mixed together, are taken in by the branches of the pulmonary vein, and through it's trunk conveyed to the left ventricle of the heart; and the air conveyed hither, is wholly mixed and attenuated, that there is little more left to do for the heart; therefore after a little further labour here, which gives as it were the laſt hand to the vital ſpirits, there remains nothing, unleſs that the heart, by the help of the aorta, ſhould throw and diſtribute the blood into all the parts of the body.* This is literally the ſenſe of this inquiſitive anatomiſt, and we ſee how exactly conſonant to the truth his doctrine is, only he ſtopt ſhort here, and does not at all explain how the blood flows from the arteries to the veins; nay it is evident from what he ſays, in ſeveral places, of theſe veſſels, that he did not in the leaſt comprehend any communication between them. For beſides that he aſſigns the carrying of the vital ſpirits only to the arteries; in another diſcourſe he tells us, that the veins convey the blood from the liver to all parts of the body. And in this point chiefly, that is the intercourſe between the arteries and the veins, is his doctrine of the circulation deficient; however little it has been underſtood by thoſe, who have wrote for or againſt Harvey. Cæſalpinus indeed drops the word *Anaſtomoſis* † (copying perhaps from Servetus, whoſe word it is ‖) by which he ſuppoſes the native heat may paſs from the arteries to the veins, but this in the time of ſleep only; and from the ſentence immediately following it is plain, that he had no notion of the circular progreſs of the blood, for he makes it only move like an *euripus*, the very word he uſes, a ſort of undulating motion from one extremity of the veſſel to the other, which is indeed the very idea Hippocrates himſelf had of the motion of the blood. And Aquapendente in direct terms deſcribes the blood as circulating by way of flux and reflux in the arteries. Were we indeed to reaſon from what theſe writers ſay concerning the circulation of the blood, both through the heart and through the lungs into the aorta, the concluſion muſt demonſtrably be, that the blood which goes into the aorta, muſt return back into the cava; elſe how could the conſtant current which by their own account runs through the heart and lungs be maintained (24). But it is alſo demonſtrable, that they did not perceive this conſequence which naturally and neceſſarily flows from their own principles. Neither is this ſo much to be wondered at, for Columbus and Cæſalpinus might as well go ſo far and no farther, as that Aquapendente could diſcover and deſcribe the valves of the veins, and yet be at the ſame time ignorant of the true uſe of them ‡, as it is very plain he was from his own deſcription of them.' Whence the Doctor concludes with giving the honour of this invention to Harvey, as follows. 'As this great diſcovery was intirely owing to our countryman, ſo he has explained it with all the clearneſs imaginable; and though much has been written upon that ſubject, I may venture to ſay, his own book is the ſhorteſt, the plaineſt, and the moſt convincing of any, as we may be ſatisfied, if we look into the many apologies written in defence of the circulation, or have the patience to read the tedious uninſtructive treatiſe of Raymund Vieuſſens *de ſanguine & corde* (25).'

* Lib. vii. cap. 24.

† *Quæſt. Peripat.*

‖ *De Trinitate.*

(24) This demonſtration was performed by Harvey. See the remark preceding.

‡ *De Venarum Oſtiolis.*

(25) Freind's Hiſtory of Phyſic, Vol. I. p. 227. & ſeq. Lond. 1725. 2 vols, 8vo.

[G] *Exercitationes de circulatione ſanguinis, &c.*] In 1639, there came out in quarto, from the preſs at Leyden in Holland, a piece intituled, *Gulielmi Harvæi Angli, Medici Regii, & in Londinenſi Medicorum Collegio Profeſſoris Anatomicæ, de Motu Cordis & Sanguinis in Animalibus Anatomica Exercitatio, cum Refutationibus Æmilii Pariſani Romani Philoſophi ac Medici Veneti. Et Jacobi Primroſii in Londinenſi Collegio Doctoris Medici.* In anſwer to the firſt of theſe, it was that Sir George Ent publiſhed his *Apologia pro circulatione Sanguinis contra Æmilium Pariſanum*, already mentioned. But this was doing him more honour than either of them, or any other of his antagoniſts deſerved, in the opinion of Dr Freind, who in that view makes the following remark. '*Sed ut fere invidia premitur quicquid eminet, quique omnibus antecellit multos habet ut plurimum inimicos, fuerunt futiles quidam homunculi, ignari perinde atque invidi, qui divinis illius laboribus obtrectarent. Quos quidem ille, qua fuit animi conſtantia, contemptui habuiſſet, niſi amplius quid & enucleatius de iiſdem rebus a ſe dici poſſe putaſſet* (26).' How agreeable this remark was to the mind of our author, appears from the following paſſage in his third Exercitation, where ſpeaking of the ſame opponents, though without naming any of them, he expreſſes himſelf in theſe terms. 'Viteratores, momos, ſcriptoreſque convitiorum labe ſordidos, ut nunquam legendos mecum ſtatui, (a quibus nihil ſolidum aut præter maledicta egregium ſperandum) ita multo minus reſponſione dignos judicavi. Utantur ſuo malo genio, vix unquam benevolos lectores habituros puto; neque (quod præſtantiſſimum & maxime optandum) ſapientiam donat Deus optimus improbis; pergant maledicendo, donec ipſos (ſi non pudet) pigeat, vel denique tædeat.—In libello *de cordis & ſanguinis motu in animalibus*, illa tantum exhibui ex multis aliis obſervationibus meis, quibus aut errores redargui, aut veritatem ſatis ſtabilitam iri arbitrabar; plurima alia diſſectionis ope ſenſu perceptibilia, tanquam redundantia & inutilia dereliqui; quorum quædam in gratiam ſtudioſorum, qui illa efflagitant, paucis verbis nunc addam (27). On the other hand it muſt be obſerved, that the Doctor treats Riolanus, an antagoniſt of a different claſs, with all poſſible reſpect, thanks him for the preſent of his *Enchiridion*, which he calls a learned, polite, and ſuccinct treatiſe, and declares that he had never received any thing more elegant; and as Riolanus had therein aſſented to a great part of his doctrine concerning the circulation, and ſeemed only drawn to oppoſe the reſt out of a veneration for the Ancients, and for Fernelius, who had been his maſter, more than from any perſuaſion of his own mind, the Doctor congratulates himſelf on the occaſion, *Gratulor, inquit ille, mihi ob ſententiam qua circulationem exornaſti* (28). It muſt be obſerved, that Riolanus having in the time of the troubles of France, attended his miſtreſs Mary de Medicis, Queen-Mother of Lewis the Thirteenth into England, had then frequently diſcourſed with Dr Harvey about his diſcovery of the circulation. Againſt which, though he was not ſatisfied with the Doctor's arguments, he made no objection at that time, becauſe (if we may believe his own account of the matter) being then in a ſtate of baniſhment, he thought it not ſuitable to ſpeak his doubts freely *. His opinion, as it is contained in his *Enchiridion Anatomicum & Pathologicum*, to which the ſecond Exercitation of Dr Harvey *de circulo ſanguinis* † is an anſwer, was, that the circulation went no farther than the larger veſſels, being abſorpt in their extremities for the nouriſhment of the parts. Dr Freind likewiſe in the ſame ſpirit with Dr Harvey having obſerved, that this doctrine of the circulation, though proved beyond all doubt in a demonſtrative way, met with great oppoſition, and that the inventor of it was obliged to bear the attacks of numberleſs adverſaries, who generally in their anſwers had more a ſpirit of contradiction than any force of reaſoning, proceeds thus, 'The learned Gaſſendus acted very differently, and behaved with that ingenuity which became a ſcholar, and though he had very ſtrenuouſly denied the circulation, and the communication of the chyle with the blood, yet at laſt was convinced of his error by Pecquet, the diſcoverer of the receptacle of the chyle, and the tracer of the thoracic duct in a human body; and as ſoon as he was convinced, he expreſſed great joy, that, dying as he was, he had come to the knowledge of theſe two important diſcoveries. Adding, that he looked upon theſe two truths, which prove one another, as the two poles, upon which for the future all phyſic ought to turn (29).'

(26) *Oratio Anniverſaria in Theatro Collegii Regalis Medicorum Londinis habita ex Harvæi Inſtituto, &c.* Octob. die 18. anno 1720.

(27) *Exercitat. Anatom. iii. de circulatione ſanguinis*, prope initium.

(28) *Exercitat. Anatom. ii.* ad finem.

* *Sed poſtmodum in patriam reverſus anno* 1645, *ab itinere decennali cum Maria Medicæa, ſenſum ſuum non diutius ſuppreſſit.* Specimen Bibl. Anat. p. 161.

† Publiſhed at Leyden in 1649.

(29) Freind's Hiſtory of Phyſic, ubi ſupra.

ſurer of the college, and ſeems to have attended his Majeſty King Charles I. as King's Phyſician, in his journey to Scotland in 1633 * [*I*]. And adhering to the royal cauſe upon the breaking out of the civil war, he attended his Majeſty at the battle of Edge-hill, and thence to Oxford, where he was incorporated Doctor of Phyſic December 7, 1642, and by virtue of the King's letter, he was elected Warden of Merton-college in that univerſity in 1645 †. But this preferment, which he had ſo well merited of his Majeſty [*I*], he was not ſuffered to hold long; for, upon the ſurrendry of Oxford to the Parliament, the following year the doctor reſigned (*f*) his wardenſhip, and retired to London. But paſſed his time privately in the neighbourhood of that city, greatly lamenting the iniquity and calamity of the times (*g*). However, he took this opportunity of purſuing his favourite ſtudy, with all the diligence which affection naturally inſpires; and finiſhed his *Exercitationes de generatione Animalium* [*K*], which was publiſhed in 1651, in 4to. at the requeſt of

* Mr Wood tells us, he was made King's Phyſician the preceding year. Faſti, ubi ſupra. Whereas he ſtiles himſelf *Medicus Regius* in the title-page of his book *de Motu Cordis*, &c. printed in 1628. See *Specimen Bib. Anat.* p. 226.

† Wood, ibid.

(*f*) On this change Sir Nath. Brent returned to Oxford, and was reinſtated in the Wardenſhip. Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 161.

(*g*) See the dedication of his Exercitationes de Generatione Animalium.

[*H*] *He attended the King to Scotland in* 1633.] This is collected from the following paſſage in his Exercitationes de generatione, which ſhews that he had been in Scotland, and there ſeems to be no time in the courſe of his life ſo likely to fix the journey thither, as the occaſion here mentioned *. The paſſage exhibits a moſt pictureſque view of the Baſſe, a rock or ſmall iſland ſo called in that country. ' *In Scotiæ inſulis orientalibus deſertis tanta omnis fere generis avium marinarum copia reperitur, ut ſi quæ a fide dignis accepi retulero; vereor ne fabulas majores narrare videar, quam quas authores varii de anſeribus Scoticis, ex arborum quarundam fructibus (quos nunquam viderunt) in mare delabentibus, prognatis tradiderunt.* Quæ ipſemet vidi, bona fide ediſſeram.

' Eſt inſula parva, Scoti Baſſe nominant, (ex hac una, lector, noſce omnes) non procul a littore in alto mari ſita, abrupto & confragoſo clivo editiſſima, (verius ſaxum ingens ſive ſcopulum dixeris) haud amplius mille paſſuum circuitu amplitudo ejus clauditur. Hujus inſulæ ſuperficies (menſibus Majo & Junio) nidis, ovis, pulliſque propemodum tota inſtrata eſt; adeo ut vix uſpiam, præ eorum copia, pedem libere ponere liceat: tantaque ſupervolitantium turba, ut (nubium inſtar) ſolem cœlumque auferant; tantuſque vociferantium clangor & ſtrepitus, ut prope alloquentes vix audias. Si ſubjectum mare inde (tanquam ex edita turri & altiſſimo præcipitio) deſpexeris, idem quoquoverſum infinitis diverſorum generum avibus natantibus prædæque inhiantibus opertum videas; quemadmodum verno tempore ſtagna alicubi ranis refertiſſima cernuntur, & aprici colles monteſque acclives frequentiſſimis ovium caprarumque gregibus obſeſſi eminus ſpectantur. Si circumnavigando eminentem clivum ſuſpicere libuerit, videas in ſingulis prærupti loci crepidinibus & receſſibus avium cujuſlibet generis & magnitudinis ordines innumerabiles; plures ſane quam illuni nocte & ſereno cœlo ſtellæ conſpiciuntur; ſi advolantes avolanteſque eminus adſpexeris, apum profecto ingens examen credas. Haud facile dixerim quantus reditus quotannis ex plumis & nidorum (foco utilium) reliquiis, ovorumque coctorum commercio poſſeſſori accedat; adeo, quod ipſe mihi narravit, fidem exſuperat. Hoc unum, quod ad propoſitum noſtrum propius ſpectat, potiſſimum mihi memorabile videtur, eſtque præfatæ multitudinis clarum indicium. Tota hæc inſula adventantibus candido nitore micat, clivique tanquam ex albiſſima creta, fulgent; ſaxi tamen nativus color obſcurus & niger eſt. Inſulam albam & ſplendentem reddit cruſta ei adhærens albiſſima, friabilis, ejuſdemque cum ovi cortice conſiſtentiæ, coloris, & naturæ: adeo omnia ejus latera integumento duro, teſtaque friabili ſuperinducta, trulliſſata ſunt. Pars ima quam reciproca maris unda quotidie abluit, nativo ſuo colore conſpicua, luculenter docet albedinem illam in ſummo fucatam eſſe, & a liquidis avium excrementis (quæ cum alvi ſæcibus eliduntur) proficiſci; quibus tanquam ovi teſta alba, dura, & friabili ſaxum obtegunt, & (accedente aëris ambientis frigore) incruſtant: eodemque modo Ariſtoteles quoque & Plinius ovi teſtam fieri voluerunt. Harum avium nullæ iſtius loci inquilini ſunt, ſed pariendi cauſa advenæ, per aliquot duntaxat ſeptimanas ibidem, tanquam in diverſorio, morantur. Tamen alba illa cruſta, adeo ſolida, firma, & profunda adhæret, ut genuinam illius ſoli naturam crederes (30).'

* It is probable that he alſo attended the King thither in 1639.

(30) *De Generatione Animalium*, Exercitat. xi.

[*I*] *He had merited of his Majeſty the wardenſhip of Merton-college.*] This merit did not only conſiſt in his conſtant and diligent attendance upon the King, for whom he takes all occaſions of expreſſing the moſt profound reſpect, and to whoſe cauſe he faithfully adhered; he had alſo another and more particular claim to this bounty. Notwithſtanding he had both leave, and an expreſs order from the Parliament, to attend his Majeſty upon his leaving Whitehall, yet his houſe in London was in his abſence plundered of all the furniture, and his Adverſaria, with a great number of anatomical obſervations, eſpecially relating to the generation of inſects, were taken away; a loſs which he laments ſeveral years afterwards, as it muſt needs touch him moſt ſenſibly, in the following pathetic words, ' *Atque hæc dum agimus, ignoſcant mihi niviæ animæ, ſi (ſummarum injuriarum memor) levem gemitum effudero. Doloris mihi hæc cauſa eſt: cum inter nuperos noſtros tumultus, & bella piuſquam civilia, ſereniſſimum Regem (itque non ſolum Senatus permiſſione ſed & juſſu) ſequor; rapaces quædam manus non modo ædium mearum ſupellectilem omnem expilarunt, ſed etiam ſque mihi cauſa gravior querimoniæ) Adverſaria mea multorum annorum laboribus parta, e muſæo meo ſummaverunt. Quo factum eſt, ut obſervationes plurimæ (preſertim de generatione inſectorum) cum reipublicæ literariæ (a ſin dicere) detrimento perierint* (31).' We have obſerved in another place (32), that Mr John Greaves, who was then Fellow of Merton college, had a ſhare in this promotion of Dr Harvey to the wardenſhip, in which he ſucceeded Dr Nathaniel Brent, who, as Wood obſerves, though he had received the honour of knighthood from his Majeſty, at Woodſtock, in 1629; yet ſided with the Preſbyterians afterwards, became a frequent witneſs againſt Archbiſhop Laud, and left his college when the King garriſoned Oxford (33). It may alſo be obſerved, that Dr Harvey very probably rendered himſelf more acceptable to the King by his courtly addreſs, wherein he was no ordinary adept, as is evident from the genteel and prudent caution with which the account of his being plundered is expreſſed; and that he was a very univerſal ſcholar, appears by the ſeveral parts of his writings. But we are told alſo, that he was particularly well ſkilled in the hiſtory and politicks of both the ancient and modern times; and that upon *that* account he is introduced under the title of the Phyſician, in the dialogue called Plato Redivivus, written by Mr Henry Nevil (34).

(31) Id. Exercitat. lxviii. ad finem.

(32) In the article of GREAVES [JOHN].

(33) Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 161.

(34) Account of the Life and Writings of Mr Moyle, prefixed to his Poſthumous Works, 1723.

[*K*] *Exercitationes Anatomicæ de Generatione Animalium* *, *&c.*] The Doctor had given the public ſome expectation of ſeeing this work, and alſo raiſed it's curioſity thereto, in his treatiſe *De Circulatione Sanguinis* (35); where ſpeaking of the opinion of Ariſtotle, who maintained the heart to be the principle of attraction, and the generation of the blood and ſpirits, he ſays, If I may ſpeak freely, I do not think that theſe things are ſo, as they are commonly believed; for there are many things which perſwade me to that opinion, whereof I will take notice in the generation of the parts of animals, which do not properly belong to this place; but it may be things more wonderful than theſe, and ſuch as will give more light to Natural Philoſophy, ſhall ſoon be publiſhed by me. ' *Aperte ſi loquar, hæc ita eſſe (ut vulgo recepta ſunt) non opinor: multa enim ſunt, quæ me in aliam ſententiam ire ſuadent in generatione partium obſervanda, quæ hic recitare non expedit; ſed propediem forſan miraculoſiora, majoremque lucem naturali philoſophiæ allatura, a me in publicum dabuntur* ‖.' But notwithſtanding this promiſe, we find he was with-held ſome time from performing it, by the oppoſition and trouble which his firſt work had brought upon him; and it was at laſt owing to the perſwaſions of Sir George Ent that he conſented to the publication †.

* The whole title is, *Exercitationes de Generatione Animalium, quibus accedunt quædam de partu: de membranis ac humoribus uteri: & de conceptione.* There have been ſeveral editions of it, and it has been alſo tranſlated into Engliſh. The laſt edition in Latin, both of this and the *Exercitat. de Cordis Motu*, was printed at Leyden in 1737. 4to.

(35) Exercitat. ii. ad Riolanum, p. 274. edit. Rotterdam, 1661. 12mo.

‖ This being printed at Cambridge, and alſo at Rotterdam in 1649, 12mo. ſhews that our author's promiſe was performed ſooner than the account of it given by the editor in his dedication, and tranſcribed by Dr Goodall, ubi ſupra, would induce one to believe.

† See the dedication.

We have the following account of this work by Dr Goodall. After the anatomy of the parts ſerving for generation

of Dr George Ent (*b*), who dedicated it to the Preſident and College of Phyſicians. In 1654, on Michaelmas-day, Dr Harvey was choſen Preſident of the college in his abſence, and apparently without his knowledge; but coming thither the day after, he acknowledged his great obligation to the electors, for chuſing him into a place of the ſame honour and dignity, as if he had been elected to be *Medicorum omnium apud Anglos Princeps*; but that his age and weakneſs were ſo great, that he could not diſcharge the duty incumbent upon that great office: and therefore requeſted them to chuſe their learned Preſident Dr Prujean, who had been highly ſerviceable to the college in his former diſcreet and prudent government (*i*). And as he had no children, he made the college heirs to his paternal eſtate, for which purpoſe, he ſettled that eſtate, which lay in Kent, upon the college, on the 28th of July following (*k*). He had three years before built them a combination room, a library, and a muſæum; and in 1656 he brought the deeds of his eſtate, and preſented them to the college; at which time he was preſent at the firſt feaſt inſtituted by himſelf [*L*], to be continued annually, together with a commemoration ſpeech in Latin, to be ſpoken on the 18th of October, in honour of the benefactors to the college; having appointed a handſome ſtipend for the orator *, and alſo for the keeper of the library and muſæum, which ſtill are called by his name. For the ſupply of which, and alſo for keeping the college-buildings in repair, the annual produce of his eſtate, which amounted to fifty-ſix pounds, was appropriated by him (*l*). Having thus compleated theſe munificent benefactions upon the verge of his eightieth year, he reſigned his Lecturer's place (*m*); and gave way to fate in June 1657 (*n*). His body wrapped in lead was carried to Hempſted in Hartfordſhaire, and interred in a vault in that church, where there is a monument erected to his memory (*o*); and not long afterwards, a character of him was drawn up, and engraved on a copper plate, which was put under his picture at the college [*M*]. It appears from ſeveral paſſages in the two books which were printed by him, that he had materials for ſeveral

(*b*) Ibid.

(*i*) Goodall, ubi ſupra.

(*k*) From the college Regiſter.

* See remark [*M*].

(*l*) See below, in remark [*M*].

(*m*) He was ſucceeded therein by Sir Charles Scarborough. *Goodall*, ibid.

(*n*) On the third day, according to the inſcription upon his monument, which may be ſeen in the Gen. Dict. with which agrees the inſcription under his picture in the college. But Mr Wood, in Faſti, Vol. II. col. 6. ſays, June 30. as does alſo the author of the Lives of ſeveral Illuſtrious Perſons, &c. in 1743. fol. in the article of Dr HARVEY. But Peck, in *Deſiderata Curioſa*, Vol. II. ch. xv. p. 29. fixes it on June 22.

(*o*) Wood, where laſt cited.

generation in the hen, our author acquaints us with the formation and growth of the egg, and then with the ſeveral parts whereof it conſiſts. This done, he proceeds to give an account how the chick is formed, which he obſerved by a daily inſpection of the eggs during the time of incubation; and was the firſt who diſcovered, that the original of the chick was from the *cicatricula*. He then gives an account in what order the ſeveral parts appear, and confutes a multitude of errors delivered by former writers; proving that the *punctum ſaliens* is the heart; that the blood is not formed by the liver, becauſe it's *parenchyma* is formed after, and of, the blood, and grows to the blood-veſſels; nor yet by the heart, becauſe *that* is not in being 'till ſome time after the blood. He ſhews that all the *viſcera*, at their firſt formation, appear white; that the veins are the firſt conſpicuous foundation, as it were, of the whole body; that the diviſion of the parts into ſpermatical and ſanguineous is ridiculous, ſince all come from the ſame original. He delivereth an account of the parts ſerving for generation in a deer, and how the fœtus is formed; he acquaints us that nothing is to be found *in utero* for a conſiderable time after coition; and how analogous conception is to an egg; and that it is ſome time *in utero* before it is affixed to it. He takes notice of ſeveral memorable things concerning the generation of other animals, both oviparous and viviparous. In ſpeaking of the formation of the human *fœtus*, he delivers ſeveral curious obſervations made on abortions of ſeveral ages; as alſo inſtances of ſuperfœtation, hermaphrodites, of a *fœtus* found in *tuba uteri*, &c. When he treats *de partu*, he gives very curious and memorable inſtances to ſhew how the *fœtus* conduces to it's own birth. Beſides theſe, there are ſeveral remarkable obſervations occaſionally interſperſed through the whole book; as *de partu difficili, de gravidatione falſa, de ulcere uteri, de uteri procidentia*, &c. as alſo *de uteri membranis, humoribus, placenta, de conceptione, de calido innato, de humido primigenio*, &c. and of his cure of a *ſarcocele*, of that bigneſs, that none durſt undertake the cure, either by cutting or otherwiſe; which he happily performed by tying the artery, and thereby depriving it of nouriſhment; by which means it was afterwards eaſily extirpated. To this account of Dr Goodall we ſhall add, that in this book our author brings the following remarkable inſtance to confirm his doctrine of the circulation. A young nobleman of the Montgomery family having the misfortune to break the ribs of his left ſide, was perfectly cured, and ſo as to be reſtored to his former health; but, however, not without a large aperture remaining in his breaſt, through which, upon removing a thin plate of metal, which he uſually wore upon it, the cone of his heart was laid immediately open to the ſight. By which means the doctor laying his finger to the wriſt, could perceive that the ſyſtole of the heart was exactly ſynchronous with the diaſtole of the artery ‖. Whence it follows (though he does not indeed make the inference here, having done it before in his former book) that the diaſtole of the right auricle is immediately ſubſequent to the ſyſtole of the left ventricle, And, as by parity of reaſon, the diaſtole of the left auricle is immediately ſubſequent to the ſyſtole of the right ventricle. The concluſion becomes unavoidable, that the two auricles are relaxed and contracted together, and alternately to the relaxation and contraction of the two ventricles, which are in theſe alſo ſynchronous to each other, according to the opinion conſtantly maintained by Dr Harvey ‡.

‖ *De Generatione Animalium*, Exercitatio liii.

‡ This poſition is the main difficulty that attends his theſis of the manner in which the circulation is performed; ſince it ſuppoſes the blood to paſs from the ventricles through the whole length of the arteries, and by the veins into the auricles, as ſuddenly as it paſſes from the auricles immediately into the ventricles.

[*L*] *He was preſent at the firſt feaſt and annual ſpeech inſtituted by himſelf.*] The reader will be pleaſed with the following account of this matter in the elegant words of Dr Freind. Having ſpoken of Dr Harvey's writings, he proceeds thus. '*At parum fuit Harvæo donare Collegium ſcriptis, niſi ædes ipſas locupletaret ornaretque, niſi cœnaculum & muſæum conderet, niſi bibliothecam ſuo ſumptu inſtrueret, niſi demum exemplo pluſquam Attalico & prope inaudito, ipſe alacer pleno in ſodalium conſeſſu, & ut admodum ſenex cum adeſſet ſponte ſua ſe exueret patrimonio, ad nos ut pertineret illa, ipſo vivente, hæreditas. Omitto minora inſtrumenta Chirurgiæ, Profeſſorem uſibus, deſtinata. Convivium menſtruis Cenſorum comitiis inſtructum: licet, cum in beneficiis æſtimandis id præcipue attendi debeat, quo ea quiſque animo, ſtudio, atque voluntate fecerit, etiam leviſſima munuſcula utcunque parum habeant gloriæ atque ſplendoris, tamen neque gratia ſua carent neque dignitate. Illud vero præterire nefas eſſe arbitror, epulum hoc hodiernum, & nunc tandem, uti auguror, futurum prout eſſe debuit annuum,* (36) *non magnifice magis quam prudenter fuiſſe inſtitutum. Videre videor qua vultus hilaritate, qua animi lætitia munificentiſſimus ille ſenex ſuo interfuerit convivæ convivio: quam fauſta omnia de hoc ſodalitio ominatus ſit, cum ſenſerit id, quod in omni ſocietate maxime valet, ſe eſſe confecutum, ut hac convictus ſermonumque liberalium jucunditate recreati, ad vitæ morumque comitatem, ad concordiam atque amicitiam traheremur. Hunc ipſum in finem, & fortaſſe etiam ut epulo ſuo aliquid condimenti accederet, annuum & honeſtis præmiis ornatum oratorem conſtituit, qui virorum de nobis noſtriſque rebus optima merentium res geſtas memoraret. Quorſum enim hoc? niſi ut animis noſtris eorum, qui in hoc nos curriculo præceſſere, fama gloriaque accenſi, ad omnem ſcientiæ laudem, ad omnia humanitatis officia provocentur* (37).

(36) By reaſon of ſome diſorder in the college finances, this ſpeech was diſcontinued for many years, but revived in 1719, when the firſt ſpeech was ſpoken by Dr Pellet, afterwards Preſident of the college.

(37) Oratio Anniverſaria, &c. a Johanne Freind, M. D. Oct. 18. 1720.

[*M*] *A character upon a copper plate under his picture.*] This character, containing ſeveral particulars of his life, not to be found elſe where, is thought proper to be inſerted here as follows.

Gulielmus

ſeveral other treatiſes, and that he had ſometimes thoughts of making them public. Of theſe we have the following catalogue by Dr Goodall. (1.) *A Practice of Phyſic, conformable to his Theſis of the circulation of the blood* [N]. (2.) *Tractatus de pulmonum uſu & motu, de eventilatione omni aëriſque neceſſitate & uſu; de variis & differentibus organis hujus cauſa in animalibus factis.* (3.) *Tractatus de quantitate ſanguinis in unoquoque, aut ſingulis pulſionibus protruſa, & quando plus, & quando minus, & qua de cauſa; itidem de circuitus cauſis utilitatibus, & ſanguinis arcanis.* (4.) *Obſervationes de uſu lienis.* (5.) *Exercitationes de reſpirationis cauſa; itidem de circuitus cauſis utilitatibus, & ſanguinis arcanis.* (6.) *Obſervationes de uſu lienis.* (7.) *Exercitationes de reſpirationis cauſis organis & uſu.* (8.) *Obſervationes de motivis organis animalium, & de muſculorum fabrica.* (9.) *Tractatus de animalium amore, libidine, & coitu.* (10.) *Obſervationes medicinales de herniæ carnoſæ curatione, aliiſque*

Gulielmus Harvæus
Anglus natu, Galliæ, Italiæ, Germaniæ, hoſpes,
Ubique Amor & Deſiderium.
Quem omnis terra expetiſſet Civem,
Medicinæ Dr Coll. Med. Lond. Socius & Conſiliarius
Anatomes, Chirurgiæque Profeſſor,
Regis Jacobi Familiæ Caroloque Regi Medicus
Geſtis clarus, omiſſiſque, honoribus,
Quorum alios tulit, oblatos renuit alios,
Omnes meruit.
Laudatis priſcorum ingeniis par;
Quos honoravit maxime imitando,
Docuitque Poſteros exemplo.
Nullius laceſſivit famam, veritatis ſtudens magis quam gloriæ,
Hanc tamen adeptus
Induſtria, ſagacitate, ſucceſſu nobilis
Perpetuos ſanguinis æſtus circulari gyro
Fugientis, ſeque ſequentis,
Primus promulgavit mundo.
Nec paſſus ultrà mortales ſua ignorare primordia,
Aureum edidit de ovo atque pullo librum,
Albæ Gallinæ Filium.
Sic novis inventis Apollineam ampliavit artem
Atque noſtrum Apollinis Sacrarium Auguſtius eſſe
Tandem voluit;
Suaſu enim & cura D. D. Dni Franciſci Prujeani Præſidis
Et
Edmundi Smith Electoris
An. MDCLIII,
Senaculum, & de nomine ſuo Muſæum horto ſuperſtruxit
Quorum alterum plurimis libris & Inſtrumentis Chirur-[gicis
Alterum omnigena ſupellectile ornavit & inſtruxit
Medicinæ Patronus ſimul & Alumnus.
Non hic anhela ſubſtitit Herois Virtus, Impatiens vinci
Acceſſit porro Munificentiæ decus.
Suaſu enim & Conſilio Dni. Dris. Edv. Alſtoni Præſidis
Anno MDCLVI.
Rem noſtram anguſtam prius, annuo LVI. l. reditu
Auxit.
Paterni Fundi ex aſſe hæredem collegium dicens;
Quo nihil Illi charius Nobiſve honeſtius.
Unde ædificium ſartum tectum perennare,
Unde Bibliothecario Honorarium ſuum, ſuumque Ora-[tori
Quotannis pendi *;
Unde omnibus ſociis annuum ſuum convivium,
Et ſuum denique (quot menſes) conviviolum Cenſoribus [parari,
Juſſit.
Ipſe etiam pleno theatro geſtiens ſe hæreditate exuere,
In manus Præſidis Syngrapham tradidit.
Interfuitque Orationi veterum Benefactorum, novo-[rumque Illicio,
Et Philotefio Epulo.
Illius auſpicium, & pars maxima;
Hujus Conviva ſimul, & Convivator.
Sic poſtquam ſatis ſibi, ſatis nobis, ſatis gloriæ,
Amicis ſolum non ſatis, nec ſatis patriæ, vixerat,
Cælicolûm Atria ſubiit ‡
Jun. IIIo. MDCLVII.
Quem pigebat ſuperis reddere, ſed pudebat negare:
Ne mireris igitur Lector,
Si, quem marmoreum illic ſtare vides,
Hic totam implevit tabulam.
Abi, & merere alteram.

* The orator's premium is ten pounds.

‡ It has been ſaid by the late Dr Mead and others, that upon the total loſs of his ſight he drank a draught of opium, and expired ſoon after it.

[N] *A practice of phyſic conformable to his theſis of circulation.*] This piece is particularly taken notice of by Dr Freind (38), who obſerving that the deſign was a noble one, recommends it to the Faculty, as highly deſerving to be finiſhed, and for an encouragement to the undertaking, has given a ſpecimen of ſuch a work. Here follow his words: From this doctrine of our great countryman, many improvements even in the cure of diſtempers might be made. He had thought of compoſing ſuch a work himſelf, to ſhew the advantage of his doctrine in relation to practice, but was prevented by ſickneſs and death. The deſign of the architect was very noble, and I wiſh ſome of his ſucceſſors might finiſh it. At preſent I will hit only at two or three particulars, which will convince us of what uſe a perfect notion of the circulation may be to us, if rightly applied in the practical part of our profeſſion. The Doctor produces four inſtances, of which the firſt is the practice now univerſally uſed of tying up the arteries in amputations, which he obſerves, though invented by Parey (39), before the diſcovery of the circulation; yet for want of it's proper eſtabliſhment from that diſcovery, was but little uſed even in France (40); leſs ſtill, if at all, in Germany (41); and in Holland utterly rejected (42); for a long ſeries of years: nay, was but of late revived, or rather introduced among ourſelves by a conviction of it's reaſonableneſs, from a right underſtanding of the circulation. The next inſtance likewiſe regards amputations; wherein, when the trunk of the artery is cut off, this doctrine explains how the courſe of the blood is univerſally preſerved, a problem which the Doctor obſerves, can never be ſolved upon any other principles than thoſe of the circulation, and is ſo far from being an objection, as ſome ignorant writers make it, againſt this doctrine, that it is one, and not the leaſt demonſtrative, proof of it. For a third inſtance he obſerves, that this doctrine at firſt ſight ſhews, the true method of treating an aneuriſm which ariſes upon a puncture, viz. not to uſe compreſſion, but after proper ligatures to divide the veſſel, and tie the artery both above and below the puncture; a practice which though followed by our ſurgeons, yet that of other nations is very defective in this point. The Doctor concludes with the inſtance of the doctrine of revulſion, upon which there was for almoſt two centuries, as warm a diſpute as ever was in phyſic, whether in a pleuriſy a vein ſhould be opened on the ſame or the oppoſite ſide; neither was this point underſtood by the Ancients, whatever ſome ignorant zealots for them would pretend; but the whole affair was entirely ſettled by the circulation; which alſo, as to bleeding in general, quite confounded and ſuperſeded all thoſe rules, which had been before with ſo much pains laid down, as to opening in particular caſes this or that vein: and though the ignorant part of the Faculty have loſt a good pretence of driving on this way a trade in phyſic, and of making a myſtery, where there is none: Thoſe ſurely who underſtand their profeſſion muſt acknowledge, that they have this advantage at leaſt from the circulation, of knowing exactly how indifferent it often is, which vein is made choice of, or if there be any preference, of judging without any heſitation, which vein to chuſe.

(38) In his Hiſtory of Phyſic, and alſo in his Harveian ſpeech, ubi ſupra.

(39) Opera, lib. x. c. 24. where he ſays, it came into him by inſpiration, as it were, upon reading Celſus.

(40) See an account of it's reception there in Viguerius's Surgery, p. 39.

(41) Hildanus, de Gangrena, ſpeaks ſlightly of it.

(42) Nuck's Experim. Chirurg. p. 49.

[O] *Of*

aliisque curationibus præter vulgi sententiam & methodum feliciter peractis. (11.) *De nutritionis modo.* (12.) *Historia multorum animalium, præsertim insectorum ab inconspicuis præ exiguitate principiis (p), & seminibus quasi atomis in aëre volitantibus, a ventis huc usque sparsis ac disseminatis, ortorum.* (13.) *Anatomia Medica ad Medicinæ usum maxime accomodata, ubi ex multis dissectionibus corporum ægrotorum gravissimis & miris affectionibus confectorum; quomodo & qualiter partes interiores in situ, magnitudine, constitutione, figura, substantia, & reliquis accedentibus sensibilibus a naturali forma & apparentia permutentur, & quam variis modis & miris afficiantur, enarrare susciperet.* As to our author's character, it is a little unaccountable, that in the elogium of him, under his picture at the College of Physicians, no notice is taken either of his piety in regard to religion, nor of his modesty and prudent caution in philosophizing; for both which he was eminently and most amiably distinguished. It has been observed, that he lived to see his doctrine of the circulation universally received, and was the only person that ever had that happiness (*q*). And nothing perhaps contributed so much to effect it as these two marks of his character. We have seen (*r*) the first applied to that purpose by an eminent Italian author not a great many years after his death [*O*], and of the latter an instance has been already produced *. But it would not be doing him justice to omit another most remarkable one, wherein both these excellent qualities are seen together, and by that means each reflect a lustre upon the other. We shall therefore insert it below [*P*].

(*p*) We have already related how the materials for this piece were lost, in remark [*I*].

(*q*) Hobbs, in præfat. ad Element. Philos. sect. 1. de corpore.

(*r*) In remark [*F*].

* In remark [*E*].

[*O*] *Of the first we have already given an instance.*] Besides that of the *anastomoses*, there is another equally remarkable in the same Exercitation iii. referring to his treatise *De motu Cordis*. It respects the existence and action of the *calidum innatum*, which he makes to be the principle and cause of the *diastole* of the heart and arteries, moved thereto, as he professes, by the authority and reasoning of Aristotle, which is produced by him: yet notwithstanding the profound veneration he constantly pays to that master, not being sufficiently convinced of this principle by experimental proofs, he concludes in these terms. 'After this manner do I believe that the native heat, or the *calidum innatum*, as being the common instrument of all operations, is also the first efficient cause of the pulse. This however I do not confidently and assuredly aver, but propound it as a thesis, and should be glad to hear what may be objected to it by men of learning and probity, without scurrilous language, calumnies, or reproaches; and I should be exceedingly pleased if any such persons would undertake the matter. '*Atque hoc modo autumo calorem* '*nativum sive calidum innatum, ut omnium operationum* '*commune instrumentum, sic pulsus quoque efficiens primum esse. Hoc non adhuc constanter assevero, sed tantum pro thesi propono. Quid in contrarium objiciatur a* '*viris doctis & probis, sine verborum scurrilitate, con-*'*vitiis, vel contumeliis, scire libenter velim, & si quis* '*hanc rem susceperit, pergratum mihi fecerit* (43).'

(43) Exercitat. iii. *de circulatione sanguinis, ad Riolanum*, p. 277. Rotterd. an. 1661. 12mo.

[*P*] *We shall insert it below.*] It is in his book *de generatione animalium*, where speaking of the efficient cause of animals, he maintains against Sennertus, that whether the generation of the *pullus* be effected wholly by the male, or that the female has also her share in it; whether it be produced by the virtue of the seed or of the egg; yet none of these are any thing more than the instrumental and not the primary efficient cause of the animal, as is evident from the art, intellect, and providence, which shews itself conspicuously in every part and state of the production. In proceeding, he examines that opinion which ascribes this business to the sun as the principal cause, and having shewn in what sense it may be allowed, that *Sol & homo generent hominem*, he expresses himself thus. '*Ideoque vere vigent vernantque* '*omnia; appropinquante sc. sole, (qui communis pater* '*est & genitor; vel saltem summi creatoris in genera-*'*tione immediatum & universale instrumentum) non solum* '*plantæ sed etiam animalia, nec minus illa quæ sponte* '*proveniunt, quam quæ maris fœminæque mutua opera* '*progenerantur. Tanquam adveniente nobili hoc astro,* '*de cœlo delaberetur* Alma Venus, Cupidinis chari-'*tumque choro stipata, cunctaque viventia blando amo-*'*ris æstro ad perennitatem sui exstimularet. Vel (ut* '*est in fabulis) quasi eo tempore,* Saturni *genitalia in* '*mare projecta spumam excitarent, undeque nasceretur* 'Aphrodite. Nempe in generatione, animalium, su-'perat (ut poëta ait) *tener omnibus humor*, spumant 'turgentque semine genitalia.' In the next place he refutes the opinion, that the vegetative soul is the primary efficient cause of the animal, wherein observing that this doctrine, when applied to the generation of man, makes the vegetative faculty to be more excellent, and a more express image of the Deity than the rational soul, he describes the difference between instinct and intellect, and shews that man's part in generation is merely the effect of an instinctive impulse, and not the work of his intellect, the utmost power of which is excelled by the skill and providential contrivance seen in the animal produced by generation, as much as the art of nature exceeds the nature of art. '*Ideoque, pergit* '*ille, ad artificialia qui respiciunt, haud æqui rerum* '*naturalium æstimatores habendi sunt. Siquidem* '*potius vice versa sumpto a natura exemplari de rebus* '*artefactis judicandum est. Artes enim omnes imita-*'*tione quadam naturæ comparatæ sunt, nostraque ratio* '*sive intellectus, ab intellectu divino in operibus suis* '*agente profluxit. Qui cum habitu perfecto in nobis* '*exiftit, quasi altera anima adventitia & acquisita,* '*summi ac divinissimi agentis imaginem suscipiens, ope-*'*rationes sive effectus similes produxit.*' He then concludes the whole remark with the following most pious strain. '*Quapropter rem recte pieque (mea quidem sen-*'*tentia) reputaverit; qui rerum omnium generationes* '*ab eodem illo æterno atque omnipotente numine deduxerit,* '*a cujus nutu rerum ipsarum universitas dependet. Nec* '*magnopere litigandum censeo, quo nomine primum hoc* '*agens compellandum aut venerandum veniat (cui nomen* '*omne venerabile debetur), sive* Deus, *sive* Natura natu-'rans, *sive* Anima mundi *appellatur, id enim omnes in-*'*telligunt, quod cunctarum rerum principium sit, & finis,* '*quod æternum & omnipotens existat, omniumque autor &* '*creator, per varias generationum vicissitudines, cadu-*'*cas res mortalium conservet, ac perpetuet; quod ubi-*'*que præsens singulis rerum naturalium operibus non* '*minus adsit quam toti universo; quod numine suo, sive* '*providentia, arte, ac mente divina, cuncta animalia* '*procreet.*' Whence taking occasion to run over all the various ways of generation in different creatures, rational, animal, or vegetable, he closes all in the following words. '*Omnia vero corpora naturalia summi* '*ejus numinis & opera sunt, & instrumenta; suntque* '*hæc vel naturalia solum, ut calor, spiritus, aëris,* '*putredinisve tepor, &c. vel simul etiam animata:* '*quippe animalium quoque vel motu, vel facultate, vel* '*anima, aliquo modo utitur ad perfectionem Universi, &* '*animalium procreationem* (44).

(44) *De Generatione Animalium*, Exercit. L.

HAWKINS [Sir JOHN], an able ſeaman, an excellent officer, and one of the moſt celebrated commanders of the Engliſh fleet in the glorious reign of Queen Elizabeth, the mother of her ſubjects, the terror of their enemies, and the foundreſs of our navy. He deſcended from a good family in Devonſhire, diſtinguiſhed both by merit and fortune. His grandfather was John Hawkins, Eſq; of Taviſtock, who married Joan, the daughter of William Amidas in the county of Cornwall, Eſq; His father was William Hawkins, Eſq; a gentleman of a good eſtate; ſome part of which he had acquired by his great induſtry, admired prudence, and ſingular good fortune at ſea; which raiſed him a very high and juſt reputation in the reign of Henry the Eighth, with whom he ſtood in much perſonal favour, for bringing over a Brazilian Prince (*a*) to viſit him, which, with ſome other curious particulars relating to this worthy perſon, the reader will find farther explained in the notes (*b*) [*A*]. His mother was Joan Trelawney, daughter of William Trelawney of the county of Cornwall, Eſq; This worthy perſon was their ſecond ſon, born at Plymouth (*c*), but in what year cannot with certainty be known; however, from circumſtances we may gather it could not be well later than 1520. He was from his youth addicted to Navigation, and the ſtudy of the Mathematics, as indeed were all his family, and began very early to put his ſkill in practice, by making ſeveral voyages to Spain, Portugal, and the Canaries, which were in thoſe days extraordinary undertakings, and muſt have given him much more experience than almoſt any of his contemporaries (*d*). Of theſe voyages we have no particular account; but being undertaken with the conſent and the lights he drew from them, aſſiſted by his father's obſervations, he came early into the world with a great reputation, and was employed by Queen Elizabeth as an officer of conſideration at ſea, when ſome of thoſe, who were afterwards chief commanders in her reign, were but boys, who joyfully ſerved under, and learned the ſkill by which they roſe from him [*B*]. In the ſpring of the year 1562, he formed the deſign of the firſt famous

(*a*) From the Grant of a Creſt to Sir John Hawkins, by W. Harvey, Clarencieux, A. D. 1565.

(*b*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 700.

(*c*) Stowe's Annals, p. 807. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 989.

(*d*) Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

[*A*] *Will find farther explained in the notes.*] The dawn of our Engliſh commerce was, in the preceding reign, when with the commiſſion, and at the expence of Henry the Seventh, Sir John Cabot endeavoured to outdo Columbus, and to reach the Eaſt-Indies by a north-weſt courſe: this bold attempt, though it did not prove ſucceſsful, yet excited that ſpirit of diſcovery, which has produced ſo many and ſo great effects (1). Amongſt thoſe who entered early into this glorious career, Captain William Hawkins gained no ſmall reputation; he had already a competent fortune, when he formed the deſign of viſiting the coaſt of Braſil, and of trading with the natives, notwithſtanding the ſtrange accounts publiſhed of them by the Portugueſe (2). He was owner and commander of a veſſel, called the Paul of Plymouth, of the burthen of two hundred and fifty tons, which was in thoſe days ſtiled a tall and goodly ſhip; as indeed it well might, ſince there were very few merchantmen in England of ſo large a ſize at that juncture (3). In the year 1530, he carried his ſcheme into execution, whether on his own bottom, or with the aſſiſtance of his neighbours, does not appear. He ſailed firſt to the port of Seſtos, on the coaſt of Guinea; where, for a cargo of ſmall price that he carried out, he purchaſed from the negroes elephants teeth, and other commodities, which he judged might be acceptable in the country to which he was next bound. He proceeded accordingly with this cargo to the coaſt of Brazil, where he dealt only with thoſe whom the Portugueſe reputed ſavages, and whom he regarded in the light of a free people. He dealt with them in a manner ſo full of juſtice, candour, and beneficence, as to gain their confidence entirely; and yet the profits of his voyage were very conſiderable, more ſo, perhaps, than if he had ſhewn a rapacious appetite for gain (4). He liked their manner of dealing ſo well, that he made a ſecond voyage thither in 1532, and was received with the ſame cordial kindneſs as at firſt. The gentleneſs of his behaviour, and the charms of his converſation, had ſuch an effect upon the mind of a Brazilian Prince, that he offered to go over with him to England, in caſe he would leave one of his men as a hoſtage for his ſafety with the Brazilians (5). The propoſal was readily accepted, and one Martin Cockeram of Plymouth, by his own conſent, ſtayed behind. On the arrival of this Weſt-Indian Prince, he was carried up to London to ſalute the King, at that time Henry VIII. who received him very kindly, and examined him very attentively at Whitehall, where the ſtrangeneſs of his figure invited a great concourſe of all ranks to behold him. He was a tall, well limbed man, but in his cheeks there were many little holes, in which ſmall bones were placed, that ſtuck out about an inch from the ſkin; and in the hollow of his under-lip, there was a larger hole, in which was placed a precious ſtone as big as a pea. Theſe, it ſeems, were ornaments ſuited to his high dignity in his own country; but which, in the eyes of King Harry's courtiers, looked not a little odd (6). However, that monarch treated him with much condeſcention; and, after he had remained here near a year, Captain Hawkins, in order punctually to fulfil his promiſe, embarked with him again at Plymouth; but in his paſſage home, he was ſeized with a diſtemper of which he died. This troubled Captain Hawkins extremely, from an apprehenſion of what might befal the man he had left behind. But he was ſoon eaſed of theſe fears, for the ſavages relied entirely upon his word; and not only traded with him as before, but ſet Martin Cockeram at full liberty, who, on his return home, obtained a little office in the town of Plymouth, probably by the interpoſition of Captain Hawkins, where he lived and died (7). This commerce between the Brazils and England ſubſiſted many years afterwards at Southampton, and in proceſs of time ſome Engliſhmen went thither and ſettled (8). Amongſt theſe was Mr John Whitehall, who in a letter to a friend of his, dated June 26, 1578, acquainted him that there were many rich mines of gold in that country (9); and theſe, as we learn from ſubſequent accounts, the Spaniards, who by this time were become maſters of Portugal, and of the colonies belonging to that crown, prevented from being wrought; which is a fact we thought very proper to mention here, becauſe it is far from being commonly known, notwithſtanding we now ſhare ſo largely in their produce.

(1) Evelyn's Origin and Progreſs of Navigation and Commerce, p. 57, 73.

(2) Maffæus in Hiſt. Indic. lib. ii. Boter. Pars I. lib. vi.

(3) Sir Joſiah Child's Treatiſe of Trade, p. 73.

(4) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 700.

(5) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1179.

(6) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 700. Americ. Veſpuc. ap. Ramuſio.

(7) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 700.

(8) See the Accounts in Hakluyt and in Purchas.

(9) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 701, 702.

[*B*] *By which they roſe from him.*] The reaſon of our giving this note, is to mention a cuſtom that Captain Hawkins, and very probably other commanders in thoſe times, had of carrying young gentlemen with them, in quality of volunteers, in order to inſtruct and give them proper notions of the ſea ſervice. We have a clear and diſtinct proof of this, in a liſt at the end of Captain Hawkins's ſecond voyage to the Weſt-Indies, bearing this title, *The Names of certain Gentlemen that were in this Voyage*, viz Mr John Cheſter, Sir William Cheſter's ſon, who was afterwards a Captain in the royal navy; Mr Anthony Parkhurſt, who was afterwards an eminent man at Briſtol, and a great adventurer in different parts of the world; Mr Fitzwilliam, Mr Thomas Woorley, Mr Edward Lacy, Mr John Sparke, jun. who wrote the narrative of that voyage, with ſeveral others (10). We might, if we had the like liſts of thoſe he carried out in his other voyages, render this account very curious and compleat; but ſince theſe are wanting, it ſhall ſuffice to ſay, that under him were bred the famous Sir Francis Drake, and his brethren, Captain William Hawkins, our Hero's own brother, and Sir Richard Hawkins, his ſon, than whom

(10) Purchas's Pilgrim, Vol. IV. p. 1179. Relation of General Hawkins's Second Voyage, &c. by J. Sparke.

famous voyage he made, which was highly advantageous to himſelf and moſt of his proprietors, but much more ſo in conſequences of it to his country (e). In ſeveral trips to the Canaries, where, by his tenderneſs and humanity, he had made himſelf very much beloved, he acquired a knowledge of the ſlave trade, and of the mighty profit, which, even in thoſe days, reſulted from the ſale of negroes in the Weſt Indies. After the moſt mature conſideration, therefore, he reſolved to attempt ſomewhat in this way, and to raiſe a ſubſcription for this purpoſe amongſt his friends, the greateſt traders at that time in the city of London, in hopes of opening a new trade, firſt to Guinea, for ſlaves, and then to Hiſpaniola, St John de Porto rico, and other Spaniſh iſlands, for ſugars, hides, ſilver, &c. Upon his ample and clear repreſentation of this important ſcheme, Sir Lionel Ducket, Sir Thomas Lodge, Sir William Winter, Mr Bromfield, and Mr Gunſon, whoſe daughter Mr Hawkins had married, readily accepted his propoſal, and joined together in the undertaking (f). At their expence a little ſquadron was prepared, compoſed of the following ſhips. The Solomon, of the burthen of one hundred and twenty tons, in which Mr Hawkins himſelf ſailed; the Swallow, of one hundred tons, commanded by Captain Thomas Hampton; and a bark of forty tons, called the Jonas; on board of all which there were about one hundred men. With theſe veſſels he ſailed from the coaſt of England, in the month of October, 1562; and, in his courſe, firſt touched at Teneriffe; thence he proceeded to the coaſt of Guinea, where, having by money, and, where that failed, by the ſword, acquired three hundred negro ſlaves, he ſailed directly to Hiſpaniola; and making there a large profit of his European and African cargoes, at three different ports in that iſland, he returned ſafe into England in the month of September, 1563 (g) [C]. The next year, with the like views, he made another voyage, but with a greater force, himſelf in the Jeſus of Lubeck, a ſhip of ſeven hundred tons, accompanied by the Solomon, and two barks, the Tyger and the Swallow. He ſailed from Plymouth the eighteenth of October, 1564, proceeded to the coaſt of Guinea, and thence to the Spaniſh Weſt Indies; where, in ſeveral different places, he forced a trade much to his profit; and after viſiting the coaſts of Jamaica and Cuba, where for want of right inſtruction he miſſed the port of the Havanna, came home through the Gulph of Florida, arriving at Padſtowe in Cornwall on the twentieth of September, 1565; having loſt, notwithſtanding many untoward accidents and frequent ſkirmiſhes, no more than twenty perſons in the whole voyage, and bringing with him a large cargo of very rich commodities (b) [D]. His

(e) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 500.

(f) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1179.

(g) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 500.

(b) Stowe's Annals, p. 807. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 389. Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 501.

whom there were never braver men, nor better officers, in the ſervice of the Engliſh Crown (11). The worthy pupils of perſons diſtinguiſhed in any profeſſion, are a kind of political offspring, which they bring forth to the public, and is the utmoſt effort of that benevolent virtue which prompts them to purſue the welfare of ſociety, not only beyond their own, but to the utmoſt limits of time.

(11) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1179. Riſdon's Deſcription of Devonſhire, p. 262, 263. Stowe's Survey.

[C] *In the month of September* 1563.] At this juncture there was an appearance of perfect amity between the Crowns of England and Spain, notwithſtanding which, the latter was ſo exceedingly tender of her poſſeſſions in the New World, as it was then commonly called, that they conſidered the appearance of any ſtrange veſſel in thoſe ſeas as an act of hoſtility, and treated whoever commanded ſuch a ſhip, not as an interloper, but as a pirate (12). Yet with all theſe precautions, we muſt not imagine that the Spaniards, even in theſe early times, could preſerve the monopoly of this lucrative commerce unimpeached; for it appears, that ſome years before this, that is, almoſt as ſoon as the Spaniards were eſtabliſhed there, Engliſh merchants found means to trade there under the names of their Spaniſh correſpondents; and for the better carrying on of this clandeſtine commerce, had their ſecret agents in Spain, which was the more practicable, ſince for many years there was a cloſe conjunction of intereſts, and a very great intercourſe between the two nations (13). All this, without doubt, was well known to Captain John Hawkins, but as he was already a very expert ſeaman, and had frequently viſited the Canaries, he thought this method of trading injurious to his profeſſion as well as detrimental to the nation; and therefore having gained the beſt information poſſible, of the proper method of carrying on ſuch a traffick as he deſired from England to the Weſt-Indies directly, and being alſo well aſſured that this attempt would not be diſagreeable to the ſubjects, how diſtaſteful ſoever it might be to the Crown of Spain; he ſettled his project with great ſagacity, and executed it afterwards with equal prudence. We ſhall apprehend this more clearly, if we reflect that his attempt was very ſingular, his return very ſpeedy, and his voyage in all reſpects perfectly ſucceſsful (14). In reſpect to the ſingularity of his attempt, it was not only without precedent, ſo that he had no rule by which to ſquare his conduct but his own judgment; it was alſo perilous in every ſtep, for he went without commiſſion, expoſed to the reſentment of the moſt vindictive power in Europe; and though the chief part of his cargo was to be provided, and all the tranſactions in this commerce to be ſupported by arms, yet his force was very inconſiderable, his three veſſels making in the whole but two hundred and ſixty tons, and the number of his men ſcarce one hundred (15). He ſailed firſt to the coaſt of Guinea, where though it is darkly expreſſed in the ſhort relation we have of this voyage, yet it is very certain that if he purchaſed ſome, he took by force the beſt part of the three hundred negroes which he carried to the Weſt-Indies, where he viſited three ſeveral ports, opened a trade by terror as well as perſuaſion at each of them, and yet anchored again at Plymouth within the year (16). But ſtill he made no more haſte than good ſpeed. He brought home his own three ſhips fully laden with hides, ginger, ſugar, and other Weſt-India commodities, beſides a good quantity of pearl, which then ſold at a high price; yet this was not all, for having got more in America than he could tranſport to Europe, he freighted two veſſels that he met with in thoſe parts with the coarſeſt of his goods for Spain, where they came likewiſe to a good market (17); ſo that viewing it in every light, this voyage of his was amazingly proſperous.

(12) Thorne's Memorials concerning the Spaniſh Commerce in America.

(13) See Robert Thomſon's Account of his Voyage to New Spain, in Hakluyt's Collection, Vol. II. p. 447.

(14) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1179.

(15) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 500.

(16) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 390.

(17) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 500.

[D] *Of very rich commodities.*] We have a very copious relation of this voyage, from whence it is but reaſonable that we ſhould extract a few paſſages relative to the perſonal hiſtory of this great man; becauſe, as we ſhall plainly prove hereafter, *he left his* great actions to be celebrated by others, and how brave ſoever in his perſon, was not only modeſt, but even baſhful with his pen. On the twentieth of November, the day after they left the iſland of Teneriffe, the pinnace of his own ſhip the Jeſus, overſet by her ſide, by the careleſſneſs of two men that were in her. As they had a briſk gale before this accident was diſcerned, and the ſhip could put about, ſhe was driven half a league to the leeward, ſo that being out of ſight, the pinnace and the men were given for loſt, as they muſt have been, but for the Providence of God, and the ſkill and tenderneſs of their captain, who being upon deck, and having well marked which way the pinnace drove by the ſun, he ordered out his great boat with four and twenty ſtout

His ſkill and ſucceſs had now moſt deſervedly raiſed him to ſuch a reputation, that Mr Harvey, then Clarencieux King at Arms, granted him by patent for his creſt, a demi Moor in his proper colour, bound with a cord (*i*). In the beginning of the year 1567, he ſailed to the relief of the French Proteſtants; and returning home in the ſummer, began immediately to make the neceſſary preparations for his third voyage to the Weſt Indies; which with vaſt expectations, grounded on his former ſucceſs, he ſome time afterwards performed. At his return from France, while he waited the Queen's orders with his ſquadron at Catwater, there happened an event, which, though it has ſlipped the obſervation of moſt of our hiſtorians, is yet worthy of being recorded with all it's circumſtances. The Spaniſh fleet of near fifty ſail paſſing between the iſland and the main, bound to Flanders, without lowering their topſails or taking in their flags, Captain Hawkins ordered a ſhot to be made at the Admiral's flag; but that not having the deſired effect, he directed a ſecond, which pierced it through and through; and upon this the Spaniards took in both topſails and flags, and came to an anchor. The General then ſent one of his principal officers in a boat to expoſtulate the matter, and to know the reaſon of ſuch proceeding. Captain Hawkins would not let *him* come aboard, or ſo much as receive his meſſage in perſon; but upon it's being reported to him by an officer, he ſent him word by the ſame perſon to tell his General, that as he had entered the Queen's port, and neglected to pay that reverence which was due to her Majeſty, more eſpecially as her ſhips were there, and having ſo numerous a fleet, it could not but create ſuſpicion of ſome ill deſign; for which cauſe he required him to depart the port in twelve hours, upon pain of being conſidered and treated as an enemy. The Spaniſh General having received this meſſage, came in the ſame boat, and deſired to ſpeak with the Engliſh commander, which at firſt was refuſed; but, upon his preſſing it a ſecond time, was admitted. When they met, the Spaniard aſked Captain Hawkins if there was war between Spain and England? he anſwered, no, but that it was not impoſſible this proceeding might be thought ſufficient cauſe for a war; that he meant to diſpatch an expreſs immediately to the Queen and Council, with an account of what had paſſed, and that in the mean time he might depart. The Spaniſh General pretended that he could not comprehend wherein he had given offence, deſiring to be made ſenſible of his fault. Captain Hawkins aſked him, if an Engliſh fleet came into a Spaniſh port, where any of his Catholic Majeſty's ſhips were, and pretended to keep their topſails up and their flags flying, whether they would not immediately fire upon and drive them out? The Spaniard owned they would, confeſſed his fault, offered to pay any penalty, and deſired that no diſpute between them might injure that harmony which ſubſiſted between their princes. As this was preciſely what Captain Hawkins deſired, he after a little difficulty agreed to paſs things over, and then, as good friends, they feaſted each other both on board and aſhore (*k*). The Spaniſh fleet proceeded, as ſoon as the wind was fair, for the coaſt of Flanders, and Captain Hawkins went on with his preparations for his intended undertaking. Our gallant ſeaman made this, as he did his former voyage, in the great ſhip, called the Jeſus of Lubeck, accompanied by the *Minion* and four other ſhips (*l*). He ſailed with theſe from Plymouth, October the ſecond, 1567. At firſt they met with ſuch ſtorms, that they had thoughts of returning home; but the weather growing better, and the wind becoming fair, he continued his courſe to the Canaries, thence to the coaſt of Guinea; and having there, by purchaſe and force, procured about five hundred ſlaves, proceeded to the coaſts of Spaniſh America to ſell his negroes. The Governor of Rio de la Hacha refuſing to trade, Hawkins landed and took the town, in which there ſeems to have been ſome colluſion; for after this they traded together in a friendly manner, 'till moſt of the negroes were ſold or exchanged. Thence he ſailed to Carthagena, where he diſpoſed of the reſt; but in returning home, being ſurprized by moſt violent ſtorms on the coaſt of Florida, he was forced to ſteer for the haven of St John de Ulloa in the bottom of the bay of Mexico. He entered this port on Tueſday the fifteenth of September, 1568, when the Spaniards came on board, ſuppoſing his ſquadron to have come from Spain, and were exceedingly intimidated when they diſcovered their miſtake. Captain Hawkins treated them very civilly, aſſuring them that all he came for was proviſions; neither did he attack twelve merchant ſhips that were in the port, the cargoes of which were worth upwards of two hundred thouſand pounds, but contented himſelf with ſeizing two perſons of diſtinction, whom

(*i*) Prince, in the page before cited, tells us, he took this from the original patent.

(*k*) Sir Richard Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage into the South-Seas, p. 21, 22.

(*l*) See an Authentic Account of this Voyage, written and ſubſcribed by Sir John Hawkins, in Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 521.

ſtout fellows, directing them on which point to row to windward, and contrary to all expectations they recovered the two poor fellows, who were ſitting upon the keel of their veſſel driving at the mercy of the wind and waves (18). On the coaſt of Africa, things went not always as he would have them, once in particular, the taking of ten negro ſlaves coſt him the captain of one of his ſhips and ſix of the ſtouteſt of his crew, beſides twenty-ſeven more that were wounded; yet his countenance remained unclouded, and though he was naturally a man of compaſſion, he made very light of his loſs, that others might not take it to heart (19). In his return, upon the coaſt of Newfoundland, being in great want of proviſion, he took from two French fiſhing veſſels as much as might ſerve him home, which being done with civility, the Frenchmen did not grudge; but when the captain paid them for it in ready money, contrary to the practice of thoſe times, when at ſea, the ſtrongeſt of every nation made no ſcruple of ſupplying themſelves at free coſt, they were exceedingly ſurprized (20). This voyage, though not without it's croſſes and ſome loſs too, was upon the whole very profitable, and he who dealt juſtly even with ſtrangers, being no leſs punctual to his proprietors, they were with good reaſon highly ſatisfied with his ſecond expedition, in which it is doubtful whether he had the concurrence of the Crown or not, but more probable that he had, ſince the Jeſus of Lubeck was the Queen's ſhip (21).

(18) John Sparke's Account of the Voyage of John Hawkins, Eſq; to the Weſt-Indies, A. D. 1564.

(19) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 506.

(20) This is John Sparke's obſervation, who was preſent.

(21) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1179.

[E] *Solemnly*

whom he kept as hoſtages until the return of an expreſs, which was ſent to Mexico with an account of his demands (*m*). The next day the Spaniſh fleet appeared in ſight, which unlooked for event gave Captain Hawkins great uneaſineſs; for if he kept them out, he was ſenſible they muſt be inevitably loſt, with all they had on board, amounting to near two millions ſterling (*n*); an act, which, conſidering there was no war declared againſt Spain, he was afraid Queen Elizabeth his Sovereign would never pardon. On the other hand, he could not but ſuſpect, the port being narrow, and the town populous, the Spaniards would not fail, if once they were ſuffered to come in, to attempt ſome treachery. At length, however, endeavouring out of two evils to chooſe the leaſt, he determined to admit the fleet, provided the new Viceroy of Mexico, who was on board it, would undertake that the Engliſh ſhould have victuals for their money, that hoſtages ſhould be given on both ſides, and that the iſland, with eleven pieces of braſs cannon therein, ſhould be put into the hands of his people while they ſtaid. Upon his making theſe demands, the Viceroy ſeemed at firſt diſpleaſed; yet in a ſhort time after he conſented to them, and, at a perſonal but public conference with Captain Hawkins, ſolemnly promiſed to perform them (*o*) [*E*]. Theſe negotiations over, which took up three days, all things being concluded, the fleet entered the port on Monday the nineteenth day of September, with the uſual ſalutations, and two days more were employed to range the ſhips of each nation by themſelves, the officers and ſailors on both ſides proſſing towards each other a great deal of friendſhip. But the Spaniards intended nothing leſs; for they had by this time muſtered a thouſand men on ſhore, and deſigned, on Thurſday the twenty-third at dinner time, to make a general attack on the Engliſh on every ſide. On the day appointed, in the morning, the Engliſh perceived the Spaniards ſhifting their ammunition from ſhip to ſhip, and pointing their ordnance towards them; they likewiſe obſerved much greater numbers of men paſſing to the ſhips from land, in boats of all ſizes, than the buſineſs on board the ſhips required; which, with other circumſtances, giving very ſtrong grounds of ſuſpicion, Captain Hawkins ſent to the Viceroy to know the meaning of all theſe preparations; upon which, the Viceroy ſent orders that every thing ſhould be removed which might give the Engliſh umbrage, with a promiſe, on the faith of a Viceroy, to be their defence againſt any clandeſtine or inſidious attempts of the Spaniards (*p*). However, the Captain not being ſatisfied with this anſwer, becauſe he ſuſpected that a great number of men were hidden in a ſhip of nine hundred tons, which was moored next the Minion, ſent Robert Barret, the Maſter of the Jeſus, who perfectly underſtood Spaniſh, to know peremptorily from the Viceroy whether it was ſo or not, and whether any provocation had been given. The Viceroy, finding he could conceal his mean and treacherous deſign no longer, detained the Maſter, ordered him into irons, and directed the trumpet to ſound a charge; on which the Spaniards, who waited only for that ſignal, ſet upon the Engliſh on all ſides [*F*]. Thoſe who were upon the iſland being ſtruck with fear

(*m*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 158. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 389.

(*n*) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1177. Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 489, 490.

(*o*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 158. Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 522, 523. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 389.

(*p*) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1177. Sir Walter Raleigh's Works, Vol. II p. 271, 272. See alſo Philips's and Hortop's Account.

[*E*] *Solemnly promiſed to perform them.*] We have beſides that relation of this voyage which was written by Captain Hawkins himſelf, two other accounts, one by Miles Philips a private ſailor (22), and the other by Job Hortop who was a gunner on board the Admiral's ſhip (23); from theſe we learn many particulars worthy of notice, which Captain Hawkins did not think it became him to commit to paper, or at leaſt to make publick, from whence we may be able to illuſtrate many paſſages to the reader's ſatisfaction. It appears that of the ſquadron he commanded, two were the Queen's ſhip, the Jeſus of Lubeck, and the Minion, commanded by Captain John Hampton; but for the other four, which were the William and John, Captain Bolton; the Judith, Captain Francis Drake, the Angel, and the Swallow, the names of thoſe captains are not remembred, were fitted out by Capt Hawkins at his own expence (24). The William and John, was loſt in a ſtorm upon the coaſt of Guinea. In their paſſage from Carthagena, they took a ſmall ſhip, on board which were ſome friars, and one Don Auguſtin de Villa Nueva, a man of parts, and who had formerly made a figure, but was fallen into general odium of his own nation for betraying ſome Indian lords, who by his means loſt their lives. This man, as he was very capable, gave Captain Hawkins many informations, who treated him therefore with great kindneſs and reſpect (25). Upon his arrival in the port of St John de Ulloa, Captain Hawkins ſet all his priſoners at liberty, without taking or ſuffering any thing to be taken from them; and though he might have ſeized ſome perſons of the firſt diſtinction, who, as is ſaid in the text, came on board his veſſel by miſtake, yet he detained only two, viz. Don Lorenzo de Alva, and Don Pedro de Revera, by way of hoſtages, ſending at the ſame time a meſſage to the Viceroy of Mexico, ſignifying that he was driven into that port by ſtreſs of weather, that he meant not any injury to the ſubjects of the Crown of Spain, and that as ſoon as his veſſels were refitted, and he had a reaſonable ſupply of proviſions, towards which he deſired his Excellency's aſſiſtance, he would immediately put to ſea again (26). Before he received any anſwer to this meſſage, the Spaniſh fleet conſiſting of thirteen ſail of large ſhips, with Don Martin Henriquez the new Viceroy, arrived; as ſoon as that Lord had intelligence that the Engliſh were in the haven, he ſent in a pinnace with a flag of truce and an officer on board, to know whoſe ſhips they were General Hawkins, for ſo he was ſtiled during the expedition, told the officer, *They were the Queen of* England's *ſhips which came in for victuals for their money; adding, if your General will come in, I will go on one ſide of the port, and he may ſail in on the other.* To this the Spaniard replied, *That his maſter was a Viceroy, and had a thouſand men,* to which Hawkins replied, *I repreſent my* Queen's *perſon, and am a* Viceroy *as well as he, and that if he had a thouſand men, his powder and ſhot would take the better place* (27) This meſſage, together with his propoſitions being carried to the Viceroy, after ſome diſpute, produced a civil anſwer, importing that he had heard a good character of his proceedings towards his Catholic Majeſty's ſubjects, and the conditions of the agreement being reduced to writing, was on both ſides ſigned and ſealed, and ſix hoſtages given, but with this difference, that Hawkins ſent gentlemen, and the Viceroy ſix mean perſons finely dreſſed, which was quickly diſcovered, and gave the Engliſh General the firſt ſuſpicion of what afterwards followed (28), in direct breach of the Spaniſh Viceroy's promiſe and faith

[*F*] *Set upon the Engliſh on all ſides.*] Theſe facts are confirmed by the other two relations, but with many additional circumſtances. It ſeems that General Hawkins was at dinner when the trumpet ſounded, and his falſe friend Don Auguſtine de Villa Nueva with him, who on that ſignal had undertaken to diſpatch him, and had for that purpoſe a dagger in his ſleeve, which was perceived before he could lay his hand upon it by one John Chamberlaine, at the very inſtant the trumpet ſounded; upon which the General ordered him to be carried

(22) The title of this treatiſe at large is, 'A Diſcourſe written by one Miles Philips, Engliſhman, one of the company put on ſhore northward of Panuco in the Weſt-Indies, by M. John Hawkins, 1568. containing many ſpecial things of that country, and of the Spaniſh Government, but eſpecially of their cruelty as uſed to our Engliſhmen, and, amongſt the reſt, to himſelf, for the ſpace of fifteen or ſixteen years together, until, by good and happy meanes, he was delivered from their bloody hands, and returned into his own country, anno 1582.'

(23) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 437.

(24) The Relation of this famous though unfortunate Voyage was alſo written by Sir John Hawkins himſelf.

(25) Job Hortop's Relation, p. 489.

(26) Hawkins's own Account, p. 523.

(27) Job Hortop's Relation, p. 489.

(28) Miles Philips's Diſcourſe, ch. ii. Hawkins's own Account, p. 523.

fear at this ſudden alarm, fled, thinking to recover their ſhips; but the Spaniards entering in great numbers on the iſland in ſeveral places at once, which they might do without boats, the ſhips lying cloſe to the ſhore; ſlew them all without mercy, except a very few, who eſcaped on board the Jeſus with much difficulty, and under the greateſt terror poſſible (*q*). The great ſhip, wherein three hundred men were concealed, immediately fell on board the Minion; but the officers in her ſetting all hands to work the moment their ſuſpicions commenced, had in that ſhort ſpace, which was but half an hour, weighed all her anchors. Having thus gotten clear, and avoided the firſt brunt of the great ſhip, the latter clapped the Jeſus aboard, which was at the ſame time attacked by two other ſhips. However, thoſe on board her, with much ado, and the loſs of many men, drove them off 'till ſhe cut her cable, and got clear alſo (*r*). As ſoon as the Jeſus and the Minion were got two ſhips length from the Spaniſh fleet, they began the fight with them in a manner that teſtified the ardour of their reſentment, which was ſo furious, that, in the ſpace of a ſingle hour, the Admiral of the Spaniſh fleet and another ſhip were ſuppoſed to be ſunk, and their Vice-Admiral burned, ſo that now they had little to fear from the enemy's ſhips; yet they ſuffered exceedingly from the ordnance on the iſland, which ſunk their ſmall ſhips, and tore all the maſts and rigging of the Jeſus in ſuch a manner, that there was no longer the leaſt hopes of bringing her off (*s*). This being the caſe, they determined to place her as a defence to the Minion 'till night, and then taking out of her what victuals and other neceſſaries they could, to leave her behind. But preſently after, perceiving two large ſhips, fired by the Spaniards, bearing down directly upon them, the men aboard the Minion, in great conſternation, without conſent of either the Captain or Maſter, ſet ſail, and made ſail from the Jeſus in ſuch haſte, that Captain Hawkins had ſcarce time to get from on board her. As for the men, moſt of them followed in a ſmall boat; the reſt were left to the mercy of the Spaniards, *Which*, ſays the Captain in his Narrative, *I doubt was very little* (*t*). Out of the whole ſquadron, the Minion and the Judith were the only two Engliſh ſhips that eſcaped; and in the night, the Judith, which was a bark of no more than fifty tons, ſeparated herſelf from the Minion, on board which was Captain Hawkins (*u*) and the beſt part of his men. In this diſtreſs, having little to eat, leſs water, in unknown ſeas, and many of his people wounded, he continued 'till the eighth of October, and then entered a creek in the Bay of Mexico, in order to obtain, either from Spaniards or ſavages, and on any terms whatever, ſo low had hunger reduced them, ſome refreſhment. This was about the mouth of the river Tampico, in the latitude of twenty three degrees thirty minutes north; where his company dividing on their own motion, and the better to prevent immediate ſtarving, one hundred deſired to be ſet on ſhore (*w*) [G]; and the reſt, who were about the ſame number,

(*q*) Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 524. Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 158. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1178.

(*r*) The Travels of Job Hortop, &c. Fuller's Holy State, p. 104.

(*s*) The Travels and Diſcoveries of Miles Philips, cap. 12. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1177.

(*t*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 524. See alſo the Relations of Philips and Hortop.

(*u*) Travels of Job Hortop, &c. Fuller's Holy State, p. 224.

(*w*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 525. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1177. Relations of Philips and Hortop.

carried priſoner into the ſteward's room, and then mounting upon deck, he ſaw the Spaniards iſſue out of their hulk and board the Minion which lay cloſe to them (29) At this he cried with a loud voice, 'God and St George fall upon thoſe traitors and reſcue 'the Minion, I truſt in God the day ſhall be ours '(30).' His men immediately leaped out of the Jeſus of Lubeck into the Minion, drove out the Spaniards, and by a ſhot which went through the Spaniſh Vice-Admiral, and is thought to have taken it's paſſage through the powder room, blew three hundred men who were in that ſhip into the air. They alſo ſet the Spaniſh Admiral on fire, which continued burning half an hour. On the other hand, all the Engliſh in the iſland were cut off except three, of whom Job Hortop was one, and they eſcaped by ſwimming. They likewiſe ſunk the Angel and took the Swallow; as for the Jeſus of Lubeck, her foremaſt was cut aſunder by a chain ſhot; there were five ſhot through her mainmaſt, and her hull was ſo pierced in different places that it was not poſſible to bring her away, yet they did not deſert her till the Spaniards in deſpair ſet fire to two of their own ſhips, and ſent them down upon her and upon the Minion, when the crew of the laſt mentioned ſhip, without the conſent of their Captain or Maſter, cut their cables and put out to ſea in ſuch haſte, that General Hawkins had ſcarce time to get on board, nor could have done it, if with all their haſte they had not ſtood in again to receive him (31). There happened about this time a paſſage which does General Hawkins great honour, and which as it is preſerved by Hortop ſhall appear in that honeſt man's own plain language. 'The Minion was forced to ſet ſail and ſtand off from 'us, and come to an anchor without ſhot of the iſland. 'Our General couragiouſly cheered up his ſoldiers 'and gunners, and called to Samuel his page for 'a cup of beer, who brought it him in a ſilver cup, 'and he drinking to all men, willed the gunners to 'ſtand by their ordnance luſtily like men. He had 'no ſooner ſet the cup out of his hand, but a demy 'culverin ſhot ſtroke away the cup and a cooper's plane 'that ſtood by the main maſt, and ran out on the other 'ſide of the ſhip which nothing diſmayed our General, for he ceaſed not to encourage us, ſaying, Fear 'nothing, for God who hath preſerved me from this 'ſhot, will alſo deliver us from theſe traitors and villains Then Captain Bland meaning to have turned 'out of the port, had his main maſt ſtruck over board 'with a chain ſhot that came from the ſhore, wherefore he anchored, fired his ſhip, took his pinnace 'with all his men and came aboard the Jeſus of Lubeck to our General, who ſaid unto him, that he 'thought he would not have run away from him; he 'anſwered, That he was not minded to have run 'away from him, but his intent was to have turned up 'and to have laid the weathermoſt ſhip of the Spaniſh 'fleet aboard, and fired his ſhip, in hope therewith to 'have ſet on fire the Spaniſh fleet; he ſaid, if he had 'done ſo, he had done well With this night came 'on. Our General commanded the Minion for ſafeguard of her maſts, to be brought under the Jeſus of 'Lubeck's lee: he willed Mr Francis Drake to come 'in with the Judith, and to lay the Minion aboard to 'take in men and other things needful, and to go out, 'and ſo he did (32).' Upon the whole, this action continued from noon till night, in which ſpace the Spaniards, beſides their Admiral and Vice-Admiral both diſabled, loſt four ſhips that were ſunk or burnt, and five-hundred and forty men out of fifteen hundred, as the Engliſh priſoners were afterwards informed by an authentic account that was tranſmitted to Mexico (33).

[G] *Deſired to be put on ſhore.*] In the relation given by Captain Hawkins, he ſays in very expreſs terms, that after they had been a fortnight at ſea and were reduced to the utmoſt extremity, when they landed once more in the bay of Mexico, in hopes of finding or taking ſome ſubſiſtance from either Indians or Spaniards; the people perceiving this alſo to be vain, and that there was no inhabited country near them, were deſirous of travelling as well as they could in ſearch of relief, upon which at their own requeſt he divided them, ſuffering thoſe to take that method who thought

(29) Job Hortop's Relation, p. 490.

(30) The fact, though not the words, in Sir John Hawkins's own Relation.

(31) Hortop, in Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 489.

(32) See the article of DRAKE [Sir FRANCIS].

(33) Miles Philips's Diſcourſe, ch. iv.

ber, reſolving at all events to endeavour at leaſt to get home. Accordingly, on the ſixteenth of the ſame month, they weighed and ſtood through the Gulph of Florida, making all the ſail they were able for Europe. In their paſſage, after enduring innumerable and incredible hardſhips, when they drew near home, they were forced to put into Ponte Vedra, near the famous town of Vigo in Spain; where the people of the country coming to know their weakneſs, thought by treachery to ſeize them a ſecond time; but they ſailed inſtantly to Vigo, which, as we obſerved, is not far off. They there met with ſome Engliſh ſhips, the Maſters of which chearfully ſent them twelve freſh men; ſo that, departing on the twentieth of January, 1568, they arrived in Mount's Bay in Cornwall the twenty fifth of the ſame month (x) [H]. In honour of his famous action at Rio de

(x) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 525. Camden. Annal. Eliz p. 158. Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

thought it the leaſt evil of the two, and uſing all the means in his power to encourage the reſt (34). Yet thoſe who envied his reputation, gave out reports of another kind, which could never have been ſo effectually refuted, if Job Hortop, who was one of thoſe left behind, had not given us a large account of the matter, which certainly puts it beyond all doubt, his words are theſe (35). 'When the wind came off 'ſhore, we ſet ſail and went out in deſpite of the 'Spaniards and their ſhot, where we anchored with 'two anchors under the iſland, the wind being norther-'ly, which was wonderful dangerous, and we feared 'every hour to be driven with the lee ſhore. In the 'end, when the wind came larger we weighed anchor 'and ſet ſail ſeeking the river Panuco for water, where-'of we had very little, and victuals were ſo ſcarce that 'we were driven to eat hides, cats, rats, parrots, 'monkeys, and dogs; wherefore our General was 'forced to divide his company into two parts, for 'there was a mutiny among them for want of victuals, 'and ſome ſaid that they had rather be on the ſhore 'to ſhift for themſelves amongſt the enemies, than to 'ſtarve on ſhip-board. He aſked them who would go 'on ſhore and who would tarry on ſhip board, thoſe 'that would go on ſhore he willed to go on foremaſt, 'and thoſe that would tarry, on baſtmaſt. Fourſcore 'and ſixteen of us were willing to depart. Our Gene-'ral gave unto every one of us ſix yards of Rouen 'cloth, and money to them that demanded it. When 'we were landed he came unto us very friendly, imbrac-'ing every one of us; he was greatly grieved that he 'was forced to leave us behind him; he counſelled us 'to ſerve God and to love one another, and thus cour-'teouſly he gave us a ſorrowful farewel, and promiſed, 'if God ſent him ſafe home, he would do what he 'could that ſo many of us as lived, ſhould by ſome 'means be brought into England, and ſo he did. 'Since my return into England, I have heard that 'many miſliked that he left us ſo behind him and 'brought away negroes, but the reaſon is this, for 'them he might have had victuals or any other thing 'needful, if by foul weather he had been driven upon 'the iſlands, which for gold or ſilver he could not have 'had.' This fact is ſomewhat differently related by Philips (36), who was alſo one of thoſe who went on ſhore, he tells us (which indeed is natural enough) that the General firſt ſet aſide ſuch perſons as it was neceſſary ſhould remain with him for the ſafety of the ſhip, and then made the diviſion; but he adds, that when it was made, ſome who deſired to be left on ſhore repented, and would willingly have ſtaid, but then it was too late. He alſo complains that they were hardly uſed at the time they were put on ſhore, but aſcribes this entirely to Captain Hampton of the Minion, and two other perſons whom he names; and agrees with Hortop, as to the great ſorrow and kind expreſſions of the General at parting. After all, Captain Hawkins was very near ſharing the ſame fate himſelf, for landing the next day with fifty men, that they might make the more diſpatch in filling their water, the weather became of a ſudden ſo tempeſtuous, that for the ſpace of three whole days it was impoſſible for them to get on board, while the other moiety of the crew who were in the ſhip, expected every moment to be driven on ſhore or to founder at ſea.

(34) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 525.

(35) Job Hortop's Relation, p 491.

(36) Miles Philips's Diſcourſe, cap. iii.

[H] *Arrived in Mount's bay in Cornwall the twenty fifth of the ſame month.*] As to the hardſhips endured in this unfortunate expedition, they cannot be more ſtrongly or exactly pictured than in the following lines with which Captain Hawkins concludes his own relation. 'If all the miſeries and troubleſome affairs, 'ſays he, of this ſorrowful voyage, ſhould be perfectly 'and thoroughly written, there ſhould need a painful 'man with his pen, and as great a time as he had, 'that wrote the lives and deaths of the *Martyrs* (37).' *His* ſon obſerves, that the great loſs incurred by this unfortunate expedition, fell very heavy upon his father and reduced his fortune very much (38). The reader may probably deſire to know what became of the poor men who were ſet on ſhore in the bay of Mexico, and of this therefore we will give him a ſuccinct relation. The Indians they firſt met with fell upon and killed eight without the leaſt provocation; however on their ſubmiſſion, and finding they were not Spaniards, they did them no farther miſchief, but directed them to the port of Tampico. The Engliſh then divided, part of them marched northward, and part of them weſtward; David Ingram, who was with the former, with two of his companions, Richard Brown and Richard Twide, after marching quite croſs the continent of North America, arrived in that country which is now called Nova Scotia, and returned to Europe in a French ſhip in 1569 (39). As for thoſe who marched weſtward, they fell into the hands of the Spaniards who ſent them priſoners to *Mexico*, and after ſome time, were put out to live with the inhabitants as ſervants. Upon the eſtabliſhment of the Inquiſition in the Indies, they were again ſeized, deprived of all they had acquired by their labour, put into dungeons, and in the year 1575, ſixty-five of them were ſentenced to ſeveral cruel puniſhments, beſides three that were burnt. Miles Philips, after enduring intolerable hardſhips both there and in Spain, found means to get home into England in 1582 (40). Job Hortop ſuffered likewiſe many years wretchedneſs in America, and was then ſent to Europe with ſeveral of his countrymen on board the Spaniſh fleet; where notwithſtanding they ſaved that whole fleet from deſtruction, they were very cruelly treated. Upon their arrival in Spain, they fell again into the hands of the Inquiſition, who ordered Robert Barret and John Gilbert to be burnt, as they were; Job Hortop and John Bone were ſentenced to impriſonment for ten years, the former however continued in that confinement no leſs than twelve, when with much difficulty he was ſet at liberty, and at length found means to eſcape and to return to England in 1590, after having endured inexpreſſible miſery for twenty-three years (41). It is obſerved by Mr Camden, that the report of the ill uſage of Captain Hawkins and thoſe who ſerved under him, without any provocation on his ſide, occaſioned a great clamour upon his return, and that many warm people would have puſhed things to a rupture, if the Queen's prudence, and the ſituation of things at that time in Scotland had not prevented it (42). The ſame author obſerves, that whatever the Spaniards might apprehend, the treaties of peace between the Crown of England and the Emperor Charles the Fifth, gave the ſubjects of the former a right to trade in all parts of the dominions of the latter, without any exception or reſtriction whatever. It ſeems that this voyage, notwithſtanding, had a farther ſanction, of which none of our Hiſtorians have taken the leaſt notice. For when the Spaniſh ambaſſador charged Sir Walter Ralegh, after his return, with intending to act againſt the Crown of Spain, and mentioned the great force with which he went out as a proof of it, becauſe if planting or working his mine had been his ſole buſineſs, he might have done either without any moleſtation, and conſequently needed no ſuch military ſtrength. Sir Walter replied in theſe words (43): 'If ſir John Hawkins in his former journey to St John 'de Luz, notwithſtanding he had leave of the Spaniſh 'King to trade in all parts of the Indies, having the 'plate fleet in his power, did not take out of it one 'ounce of ſilver, but kept his faith and promiſe in all 'places, yet was ſet upon by Don Henrico de Martinez, whom he ſuffered to ſave himſelf from periſhing 'to enter the port upon Martinez's faith, and inter-

'changeably

(37) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 525.

(38) Sir Richard Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea.

(39) In the old edition of Hakluyt, Vol. II. p. 561. But is omitted in the laſt edition, printed A. D. 1600.

(40) Miles Philips's Diſcourſe, chap. vii.

(41) Job Hortop's Relation, p. 495.

(42) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 158.

(43) Apology for his Voyage to Guyana.

de la Hacha, and to preſerve the memory of his other noble atchievements in America, Mr Cook, then Clarencieux, added to his arms, on an eſcutcheon of pretence, Or, an Eſcallop between two Palmers, Sable; and this patent for his augmentation is ſtill extant (*y*) [*I*]. As our hero was now inclined to remain ſome time at home, to ſee what turn affairs would take, and when a favourable opportunity would offer, to make the Spaniards ſenſible of their injuſtice, it gave the Queen and her Miniſtry an opportunity, and ſuch they never let ſlip, of turning his great ſkill and experience more immediately to the public ſervice. With this view, as well as to make known her Majeſty's approbation of his paſt ſervices, he was appointed Treaſurer of the Navy in 1573 (*z*). A poſt, in thoſe days, not only of conſiderable honour and profit, but of great truſt likewiſe; the Treaſurer or Comptroller of the Navy having uſually the command of any ſquadron fitted out for ſcouring the narrow ſeas; and, in a great meaſure, the direction of what might be ſtiled the œconomy of the Navy, with regard to building, repairing, equipping, victualling, and manning, the veſſels in the Queen's ſervice (*a*). An office, therefore, not only fit for, but in truth only fit, for a ſeaman; and, in the diſcharge of which, Captain Hawkins gave the higheſt proofs of his capacity and integrity, as is univerſally confeſſed by thoſe who have touched upon this curious point, and acquainted poſterity with the gradual progreſs of our naval power, the ſource and the ſupport of our dominion at ſea, the boundleſs ſeat, while that remains ſuperior, of BRITISH EMPIRE [*K*]. The very

(*y*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 389. Catalogue of the Names and Arms of the Gentry of Devonſhire.

(*z*) Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

(*a*) Sir W. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 322, 323, 370.

'changeably pledges delivered, and had the Jeſus of 'Lubeck, a ſhip of her Majeſty of a thouſand tons 'burnt, his men ſlain which he left on land, loſt his 'ordnance and all his treaſure which he had gotten by 'trading What reaſon had I to go unarmed upon the 'ambaſſador's promiſe?' The reader will obſerve, that Sir Walter calls this *the former*, in contradiſtinction to his laſt hoſtile expedition in 1593, and inſtead of Martin de Henriques, calls the Viceroy Don Henrico de Martinez, which was his true name.

[*I*] *And his patent for this augmentation is ſtill extant.*] The Greeks and Romans had various ways of exciting men to virtue by perſonal marks of honour. The northern nations went farther, and by eſtabliſhing coat armour, gave a ſtronger impulſe to noble actions, by tranſmitting the honour of them to the poſterity of him by whom they were atchieved. On the ſame principle was built their additions of honour, which have been long in uſe and practiſed in other nations as well as ours. Thus the Catholick King Ferdinand, honoured Sir Henry Guilford with a canton of Granada, for his ſervice in that war againſt the Moors (44). In like manner Sir Henry St George, Norroy King of Arms, had a canton of the arms of Sweden beſtowed upon him by the monarch of that kingdom, when he went thither in embaſſy (45). In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, this, as all other honours, was but ſparingly conferred, and only upon perſons that were highly worthy As for inſtance, when Dr Matthew Parker was elected Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Sir Gilbert Dethick, Garter Principal King of Arms, added to his paternal coat *on a cheveron* Argent, *three Eſtoiles* Gules, the patent for which bears date November 28, 1559 (46). We have in another place mentioned an honour of the like ſort afforded to Sir Francis Drake (47), and with reſpect to Sir John Hawkins, who ſurely was not his inferior in any thing, ſave ſucceſs, we find his arms blazoned at large in a catalogue of the gentry of Devonſhire, from the patents mentioned in the text, in theſe times. *He bears* Sable *on a point wavee, a Lion paſſant*, Or; *in chief three Beſants*; *On a Canton*, Or; *a Scallop between two Palmers Staves*, Sable. Creſt. *Upon his Helm a Wreath*, Argent *and* Azure, *a Demy Moor in his proper colour, bound and captive, with amulets on his arms and ears*, Or; *mantelled* Gules, *doubled* Argent (48). Theſe rewards, though highly honourable and extremely grateful to the ſubject, were however very cheap to the Crown, which perhaps may be the reaſon that they have gradually grown into leſs eſteem, in conſequence of real and profitable being confounded, and our entertaining a notion that theſe are a kind of airy diſtinctions which few underſtand and fewer affect; but is this reaſoning ſolid or ſuperficial? to ſpeak with propriety, that reward only is real which is laſting; now pecuniary gratifications are ſeldom ſo, penſions ceaſe in time, and even eſtates moulder away; but ſo long as a man's poſterity remains, theſe rewards remain annexed thereto. But it will be ſaid, that they loſe their value, and being founded only in opinion, are ſubject to alter therewith. It may be ſo, it would be bearing too hard on the preſent age to ſay it is ſo; but what if it was, this would prove nothing, becauſe it proves too much; for the rewards of virtue, can never be ſo contrived as to ſubſiſt in times when all ſentiments of virtue are worn out. With our anceſtors theſe honours laſted long, and who knows, whatever we may think of them now, that the ſame regard then paid to them, may revive in the minds of our poſterity, which is the rather to be wiſhed; ſince without principles of honour and public ſpirit, there is no hopes of ſeeing ſuch men as theſe. The deſire of other rewards may tempt men to ſell, but it is the ambition of honeſt fame only, that can inſpire the human heart, with a contempt of all danger and difficulties, to ſerve, preſerve, or to enrich their country.

(44) Peacham's Complete Gentleman, Lond. 1622. 4to. p. 151. Anſtis's Order of the Garter, Vol. I. p. 288.

(45) Carter's Analyſis of Armoury, p. 20.

(46) Copied from an authentic tranſcript of the Patent.

(47) See the article of DRAKE [Sir FRANCIS].

(48) Riſdon's Catalogue of the Names and Arms of the Principal Gentry in Devonſhire.

[*K*] *Of Britiſh Empire*] We have in the valuable and judicious writings of Sir William Monſon, a very clear and diſtinct account of what was eſteemed the duty of the Treaſurer of the Navy (49) in thoſe days, which is too long to be inſerted here, and this is the leſs neceſſary, ſince the ſubſtance of it is expreſſed in the text. Sir William thought this office might be well diſcharged either by a merchant or a mariner, but ſurely much better by one who was both, which was really the caſe of Captain Hawkins, who was a very conſiderable trader, as well as a very experienced officer. He kept therefore the accounts of the navy in exact order, took care that the men ſhould be punctually paid, and that the Queen ſhould be ſerved in her docks and yards, her magazines and ſtorehouſes, and in whatever elſe fell under his direction or his inſpection, as well, and upon as moderate terms, as the nature of the ſervice would allow. We are aſſured that he invented falſe nettings in the very beginning of the Queen's reign, which he cauſed to be introduced into the fleet, and was highly approved and commended. He was alſo the author of chain-pumps which were of excellent uſe; and beſides theſe, he brought in many other of his inventions from time to time, and was moſt indefatigable in labouring to bring all things as near as might be to perfection (50). It was he, in conjunction with Sir Francis Drake, that contrived and eſtabliſhed that uſeful and honourable fund, which is called the Cheſt at Chatham (51), a convincing proof, if there had been none beſides, that he had a clear head and an upright heart; the former no leſs qualified to ſupply the means, than the latter was ready to contrive how to do good to the ſeamen, and defend them from thoſe inconveniences by which before his days they had been grievouſly diſtreſſed. Sir William Monſon obſerves, that it was neceſſary for a Treaſurer of the Navy to reſide ſometimes at London, that he might ſollicit upon the ſpot, the neceſſary iſſues from the Exchequer, and ſometimes at Deptford, that he might have an eye to the manner in which they were laid out, and truſt as little as poſſible to the reports of others (52). Whether Sir William drew this remark from the practice of Captain Hawkins we cannot determine, but it is certain that this was his practice; and amongſt the papers of the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, there were many papers and memorials, which ſhewed with how great exactneſs he executed every branch of his office. But that we may add a fuller, and at the ſame time a more inſtructive evidence of

(49) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 322.

(50) Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

(51) Camden's Britan. in Kent.

(52) Sir W. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 323.

very next year after he had obtained this preferment, he was very near being murdered as he went to Court, to pay his duty to the Queen, by an hair-brained Enthuſiaſt, who was ſo far from having received any injury or provocation from him, that in reality he knew not his perſon, but took him for Mr Vice-Chamberlain Hatton, to whom his party had an implacable reſentment. However, Captain Hawkins's danger was not at all the leſs, ſince, without any injury, this furious bigot attacked him; nor was it without ſome difficulty that he defended himſelf, after receiving one dangerous wound, and ſeized this incenſed aſſaſſin (*b*). When Queen Elizabeth heard of the fact, and the danger both Hatton and Hawkins were in, ſhe was on the point of cauſing the delinquent to be put to death without delay (*c*) [*L*]. We muſt not ſuppoſe that this great man, who had acquired ſo high reputation at ſea, was by one unlucky voyage diſguſted with his profeſſion; for this was ſo far from being the caſe, that he continued to hazard a conſiderable part of that fortune, which he ſtill poſſeſſed, on that element, where a great part of it was acquired. Neither did he miſs any occaſion of expreſſing his zeal to ſerve his country againſt the Spaniard, offering, as ſoon as aſked, his aſſiſtance towards fitting out a fleet for the ſervice of Don Antonio, who was driven from the throne of Portugal by Philip the Second, and was fled for refuge into England; but at that time the ſcheme was laid aſide by the advice of the Lord Treaſurer (*d*). Some years after, anno Domini 1583, this deſign was revived; when

(*b*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 284. Stowe's Annals, p. 677, 678. Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Parker, p. 449, 450. Holinſhed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1259.

(*c*) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 288. Life of Archbiſhop Parker, p. 450. Stowe's Annals, p. 678.

(*d*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 221.

of his punctuality and œconomy, let us from the collections of another great officer in the Navy (53); exhibit the ſtate and expence thereof in the days of the one, and of the other, that is within the ſpace of a century or thereabouts.

(53) From the valuable Collections of Samuel Pepys, Eſq; Secretary to the Admiralty.

The different ſtates of the ROYAL NAVY.	In the reign of Queen Elizabeth.	In the year 1695.
I. The number of ſhips and veſſels of the burthen of fifty tuns and upwards	But 40 ſhips.	Above 200 ſhips.
II. The general tunnage of the whole	Beneath 23,600 tons.	Above 112,400 tons.
III. The number of men required for manning the ſame	Below 7,800 men.	Above 45,900 men.
IV. The medium of the annual charge during five years of Peace	Beneath 15,500 pounds.	Above 400,000 pounds.
five years of War	Beneath 96,400 pounds.	Above 1,620,000 pounds.

[*L*] *To be put to death without delay.*] This fact, as it made a great noiſe at the time, is very ſingular in itſelf, and cauſed a great reſentment in the Queen againſt the Puritans, deſerves to be particularly related, becauſe we find it confuſedly ſet forth by ſome, and totally omitted by other, Church Hiſtorians. The perſon who attempted this bloody fact was Mr Peter Birchet, or Burchet, of the Middle Temple; and the cauſe and manner of his attempting it was this (54). On the morning of Wedneſday October 11, 1573, he called upon another gentleman to go with him to Mr Samſon's lecture at Whittington-college, after his return from which he was heard to ſay, ſtanding by himſelf, ſhall I do it? What, ſhall I do it? Why then I will do it; upon which he went to his chambers, as it is ſuppoſed, to fetch his dagger. While he was in this tranſport of mind, he moſt unfortunately ſaw Captain Hawkins and Captain Winter coming up Middle-Temple lane, in order to go into Fleet-ſtreet. He followed them as faſt as he could, overtook them in the Strand, and ſuddenly ſtabbed Captain Hawkins with his dagger; who preſently ſeized him, and, not without much reſiſtance, diſarmed him. Birchet expreſſed no kind of ſorrow for what he had done, 'till he heard it was Captain Hawkins, and not Hatton, whom he had wounded; and then all his concern was about his miſtake. The Queen, when ſhe heard it, was exceedingly provoked; and being informed by the Earl of Leiceſter, that her ſiſter, in the time of Wiat's inſurrection, had cauſed ſome perſons to be executed by martial law; ſhe reſolved to follow that precedent, and ordered a commiſſion for that purpoſe to be drawn up (55). At the perſwaſion, however, of ſome of her Council, and of the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh particularly, ſhe was induced to alter her intention, and to leave this man to a tryal in the ordinary method of the law. However, on the twenty-ſeventh of October, according to my author, this queſtion was propounded to Mr Birchet, and his anſwer demanded to it in writing (56).

(54) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 284.

(55) Life of Archbiſhop Parker, b. iv. p. 450.

(56) Inter MSS. Borghleian.

'Whether a private man, being perſwaded in his own conceit that one is a wilful Papiſt, and hinders the glory of God ſo much as in him lies, may of his own authority, in the fervency of his zeal, kill the ſame perſon? And whether the ſame act is to be warranted by the Word of God or no? Item, Whether if you had killed Mr Hatton, being perſwaded of your own opinion that your conceit had been true, you thought the ſame act to be lawful, and that you would not repent the ſame deed.'

To this Caſe Birchet gave this anſwer.

'In my ſimple judgment, being no Divine, a private man being perſwaded in his own conceit, by ſuch preſumptions and proofs as I have had of Hatton, that (ſuch) one as he (as I have thought) is a wilful Papiſt, and hindreth the glory of God ſo much as in him lieth. Though he may not of his own authority, in the fervency of his zeal, kill the ſame; yet being ſo perſwaded in conſcience by ſuch preſumptions and aſſured perſwaſions, as he may be and I was, that thereby he ſhould be ſuch an inſtrument as Joab was, to take away ſuch a Saba, as Reg. cap. xx. or an Ahad to Eglon or Phineas, for the preſervation of David his royal prince, the wealth of his country, eſpecially for the glory of God, as I was, I think, at this time, he may do it, and to be warranted by the word of God. I being perſwaded, as before, if I had killed him, the act had been lawful by God's law, if not by man's law, and I would not have repented me of the ſame deed?

'Subſcribed by me, Pet. Byrchet, 27 Oct. 1573.'

As this opinion of his was plainly heretical, he had ſeveral of the learned clergy ſent to him, by whoſe arguments he ſeemed to be convinced, and pretended that he would abjure his hereſy; but when preſſed thereto, put it off from time to time, remaining ſtill a priſoner in the Tower, where at length he beat out his keeper's brains with a billet, for which fact he was condemned, and executed on the twelfth of November following (57). The Queen deſired that he might be very cloſely examined the night before, and the very morning of his execution, Whether he had any accomplices? Whether he had been taught theſe principles by others, or took them up himſelf? And whether he had made any body privy to his deſign of killing Mr Hatton? To all which it is probable he gave little or no anſwer, ſince Camden informs us that he died ſurlily and ſilently (58). One thing is remarkable, that his right hand was cut off before his execution, and nailed to the gallows; the reaſon of which muſt have been, that the Tower being a royal palace, this was added to his ſentence for ſhedding blood therein (59).

(57) Strype's Annals of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 287, 288. Holinſhed's Chronicle, p. 1259. Stowe's Annals, p. 677, 678.

(58) Annal. Eliz. p. 284.

(59) Coke's Inſtitutes.

when it was plain the war with Spain, which had hitherto been covertly carried on; would quickly break out, and be attended with hoſtile attempts upon the Queen's dominions. Captain Hawkins not only diſcovered the ſame readineſs as before, but gave his advice how the intended expedition might be beſt undertaken (e) [M]. The next great action of this worthy ſeaman was, his ſervice under the Lord High-Admiral, in 1588, againſt the Spaniſh Armada, wherein he acted as Rear-Admiral on board her Majeſty's ſhip the Victory, and had as large a ſhare in the danger and of the honour of that day as any man in the fleet, for which he deſervedly received, from the hands of the Lord High-Admiral, the honour of knighthood (f); and in the purſuit of the flying Spaniards he did extraordinary ſervice, inſomuch, that on his return from the fleet he was particularly commended by the Queen (g) [N]. In 1590, he was ſent, in conjunction with Sir Martin Forbiſher, each

(e) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 570. Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 212. Bp Carleton's Remembrances.

(f) Stowe's Annals, p. 807. Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 575, 576.

(g) Overthrow of the Spaniards Invincible Armada, p. 13.

[M] *Might be beſt undertaken.*] This propoſition was firſt made in the year 1581, and the matter propoſed was, that Queen Elizabeth ſhould aſſiſt Don Antonio, who had been once King of Portugal, and ſtill pretended a right to that kingdom, in his war againſt the King of Spain, and it was ſurmiſed that this might be done without affording any pretence for his Catholic Majeſty to break with Queen Elizabeth; becauſe, in the month of Auguſt preceding, King Antonio was in poſſeſſion of Tercera, and therefore the Queen might well preſume him to be King of Portugal, and allow any of her ſubjects to aſſiſt him in maintaining his poſſeſſion; as alſo becauſe there was no league between the Crown of England and the Crown of Spain, reſpecting the dominions of Portugal, as belonging to the latter. Thoſe who principally encouraged this undertaking, where Secretary Walſingham, Sir Francis Drake, Captain Hawkins, and others; and Don Antonio had put a jewel of great value into the Queen's hands, who was to lend him five thouſand pounds towards this expedition. But the Treaſurer's objection was, that however ſatisfactory theſe reaſons might ſeem to be in England, there was good cauſe to doubt whether they would be reliſhed by the King of Spain; who, if he judged it, as he well might, a mark of enmity towards him in the Queen, he might revenge it in the ſame way, by aſſiſting the rebels in Ireland, or ſtir up the King of Scots to be an ill neighbour; for which he judged this expedition, at that juncture, to be inexpedient; but added, that if it was not undertaken, Don Antonio ought to have his jewel again, or money advanced thereon, to purchaſe ſhips and ammunition, with which he might do what he would (60). About three years after, the Treaſurer, of his own accord, conſulted Captain Hawkins, as to the propereſt method for annoying the Crown of Spain with the leaſt expence; for, it ſeems, he had then loſt thoſe ſcruples with which his mind was troubled before, finding his Catholic Majeſty, out of innate malice to the Queen, had done all that he apprehended he might have been provoked to do, by giving any aſſiſtance to Don Antonio. Upon this the Treaſurer of the Navy ſent him a new ſcheme for the execution of the old project, which is too long to be inſerted here; and with it a letter, ſome paragraphs of which we will tranſcribe, for this gentleman's honour, and the reader's ſatisfaction. In this letter he ſays (61), 'Surely, 'my very good Lord, if I ſhould only conſider and look 'for mine own life, my quietneſs and commodity, 'then truly mine own nature and diſpoſition doth pre'fer peace before all things. But when I conſider 'whereunto we are born: not for ourſelves, but for 'the defence of the Church of God, our Prince, and 'our Country, I do then think how this moſt happy 'government might, with good Providence, prevent 'the conſpiracies of our enemies. That he nothing 'at all doubted of our ability in wealth; for that he 'was perſuaded that *the ſubſtance* of this realm was 'trebled: adding, God be glorified for it. Neither 'did he think there wanted proviſions, carefully pro'vided, of ſhipping, ordnance, powder, armour, and 'munition: ſo as the people were exerciſed, by ſome 'means, in the courſe of war. For he read, that 'when Mahomet, the Turk, took the famous city 'Conſtantinople, digging up in the foundations and 'bottoms of the houſes, he found ſuch infinite trea'ſure, as the ſaid Mahomet, condemning their 'wretchedneſs, wondered how that city could have 'been overcome, or taken, if they had in time pro'vided men of war and furniture for their defence, 'as they were very able. So, ſaid he, there wanted 'no ability in us, if we were not taken unprovided, 'and upon a ſudden. And that this was the only 'cauſe that had moved him to ſay his mind frankly in 'this matter, and to ſet down thoſe notes incloſed, 'praying the Almighty God, who directeth the hearts 'of all governors, either to the good and benefit of 'the people, for their relief and deliverance, or elſe 'doth alter and hinder their underſtanding, to the 'puniſhment and ruin of the people, for their ſins and 'offences. Humbly beſeeching his good Lordſhip to 'bear with his preſumption, in dealing with matters ſo 'high, and to judge of them by his great wiſdom and 'experience, how they might, in his Lordſhip's judg'ment, be worthy the conſideration, and ſo humbly 'taking his leave from Deptford, the 20th of July, '1584.' The principal points in his great project were theſe (62), That Don Antonio of Portugal ſhould grant his commiſſions to ſuch as were willing to cruize upon the Spaniards at their own expence, and ſhould receive an allowance from them of between five and ten per cent. on all prizes, which concern of his ſhould be managed by an agent; that her Majeſty ſhould likewiſe appoint a perſon to take cognizance of thoſe who entered into his Portugueſe Majeſty's ſervice, and ſhould allow them ſome port in the Weſt of England, where they might equip, victual, refit, and vend their prizes, upon which her Majeſty ſhould likewiſe receive between five and ten per cent; that no veſſels ſhould go to ſea with the King's commiſſion, 'till they had given ſecurity to the Queen to make none but lawful prizes; and that commiſſioners ſhould be appointed to examine all ſhips taken, and to condemn them before expoſed to ſale; and that any convicted of piracy ſhould be left to martial law. Theſe conditions granted, he thought that the beſt merchants in London would be ready to adventure, that the merchants and owners in the Weſt would enter deeply into this ſcheme, that the Dutch would contribute to it, that the French Proteſtants would be eager to come in for a ſhare, that the Portugueſe at Brazil and Guinea would be continually revolting, that her Majeſty, without any expence, would by this means have a number of able ſeamen, ready upon any emergency; that his Catholic Majeſty would have no pretence to aſcribe this ſolely to the Engliſh, ſince there would be Scots, Flemings, French, Germans, and other nations, on board theſe ſhips; and that, in a ſmall ſpace of time, he would find his coaſts ſo watched, the trade and fiſhing of his ſubjects ſo diſturbed, and the intercourſe between different parts of his dominions ſo interrupted, that he would be glad to treat more ſincerely with her Majeſty than he had done, and to ſubmit to reaſonable terms, in order to engage her Majeſty to remove this ſcourge from him. Captain Hawkins was an adventurer likewiſe in the famous expedition on his behalf ſome years after, by which he was no gainer.

(60) Amongſt the Burghleian MSS. there are many curious memorials on this ſubject.

(61) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 211, 212.

(62) Inter MSS. Burghl.

[N] *He was particularly commended by the Queen.*] The Spaniſh invaſion obliged the Queen to call moſt of her ſea officers to ſervice; and amongſt them, it appears from Sir William Monſon's liſt of the Queen's fleet, that Captain Hawkins, in her Majeſty's ſhip the Victory, was Rear-Admiral in this expedition. When the fleet came to be divided into ſquadrons, he was intruſted with the command of the third, the High-Admiral of England and Sir Francis Drake having the two firſt, and Sir Martin Forbiſher the fourth (63). He did his duty punctually, as his manner was, without exceeding his orders, for which he had the Lord-Admiral's and the Queen's thanks. It was owing to him that the fleet was kept at ſea long enough to meet with that of Spain; for even the ſagacious Secretary Walſingham was perſwaded, that the Spaniards had put off their deſign, and wrote expreſsly ſo to the Admiral, with orders to lay up the large ſhips to prevent expence. Sir William Monſon obſerves very juſtly, that

(63) Stowe's Annals, p. 744.

each having a ſquadron of five men of war, to infeſt the coaſts of Spain, and to intercept, if poſſible, the Plate Fleet. At firſt his Catholic Majeſty thought of oppoſing theſe famous commanders, with a ſuperior fleet of twenty ſail, under the command of Don Alonzo de Baſſan; but, upon more mature deliberation, he abandoned this deſign, directed his ſhips to keep cloſe in port, and ſent inſtructions into the Indies, that the fleet, inſtead of returning, ſhould winter there (*b*). Sir John Hawkins and his colleagues ſpent ſeven months in this ſtation, without performing any thing of note, or ſo much as taking of a ſingle ſhip. They afterwards attempted the iſland of Fayal, which had ſubmitted the year before to the Earl of Cumberland; but the citadel being refortified, and the inhabitants well furniſhed with artillery and ammunition, Sir John and his colleague, after due deliberation, and ſome tryal made, thought fit to retreat (*i*). It muſt be owned, in the eye of the world, or voice of the common people, that ſmall reputation was gained by the Admirals in this expedition, and yet they loſt no credit at Court, that is, with the Queen their ſovereign and her wiſe Miniſters, by whom the iſſue of the buſineſs was better underſtood (*k*). By compelling the Spaniſh navy to fly into fortified ports, they deſtroyed their reputation throughout all Europe as a maritime power; and the wintering of their Plate ſhips in the Indies, proved ſo great a detriment to the merchants of Spain, that many broke in Seville and other places; beſides, the worm, as is uſual, and indeed unavoidable, in thoſe ſeas, entering their ſhips, it was ſo great a weakening to their veſſels, that the damage could not be repaired in many years (*l*). Thus, though no immediate profit to the nation, or even apparent victory over their enemy, accrued, the end of this expedition was fully anſwered, and the State gained a very conſiderable though not ſignal or ſtrik ingadvantage, by leſſening their fame in Europe, and in the Indies grievouſly diſtreſſing the Spaniards [O]. The war ſtill continuing, and it being evident that nothing galled the enemy ſo much as the loſſes they met with in America, a propoſition was made to the Queen by Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake, who at home and abroad were very juſtly eſteemed the moſt fortunate and the moſt experienced ſeamen in her kingdom, for undertaking a more effectual expedition into thoſe parts for diſturbing and weakning

(*b*) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 177, 178. Sir Richard Hawkins's Obſervations in a Voyage to the South Seas, p. 9, 10. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1676.

(*i*) Sir W. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 178.

(*k*) Sir Richard Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South Sea, p. 21.

(*l*) Linſchotten's Voyages, chap. xix.

that if the Engliſh could have attacked again, or purſued them farther, they muſt either have been deſtroyed or ſurrendered; that this was hindered for want of proviſions is no leſs true; but that this proceeded from any fault in the Queen's officers, as he ſuggeſts, may very well be doubted (64), ſince it is very clear, that the fleet had been out beyond the appointed time, and that when they put to ſea from Plymouth to follow the Spaniards, it was in ſuch haſte, that they could not ſtay for any proviſions; and for the ſame reaſon no ſquadron was ſent to the coaſt of Ireland, which had been otherwiſe a very right meaſure. Theſe remarks are neceſſary, to prevent the reader's concluding, from what is let fall by ſome haſty writers, that this ſignal victory was not improved to ſuch a degree as it might have been; for though Sir William Monſon points out theſe omiſſions, yet he freely acknowledges that they did not proceed from want of judgment or want of foreſight, but from a want of ability. But if we were deficient in ſome reſpects, more eſpecially, as has been before obſerved, in point of intelligence, the Spaniards were guilty of far greater and more fatal errors; and this, not from neceſſity, but from preſumption; and this in direct breach of the Catholic King's orders, which, if they had been obeyed, though we cannot pretend to ſay what would have happened, yet this is evident and certain, that they muſt have happened otherwiſe than they did. The King's orders were, that they ſhould keep on the French coaſt as far as Calais (65); with which, if their commanders had complied, they had ſuffered no interruption from the Engliſh fleet, but might have landed their army by that time the Admiral could have had intelligence of what they were doing, and had been able to get out of Plymouth. It is one thing not to do all that might be done, becauſe means are wanting; and quite another, from a ſelf ſufficient deſire of doing more than is expected, to break through orders, and, by ſo doing, run into the way of danger, that might have been eſcaped; if theſe obſervations took riſe only from conjecture or obſcure authorities, they had been better omitted; but being founded in facts, the truth of which cannot be controverted, they ought to be recorded for the uſe of thoſe who may hereafter find themſelves in like circumſtances.

(64) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 171.

(65) Strype's Annals, Sir W. Monſon's Naval Tracts, Diſcourſe on the Defeat of the Armada, &c.

[O] *Grievouſly diſtreſſing the Spaniards.*] There is not the leaſt notice taken of this expedition by Camden, which very probably aroſe from it's producing no ſignal advantages; and yet to ſuch as look cloſely into the ſtate of things, it will appear an event of as great conſequence, as any mentioned in his Annals during the compaſs of that year. It ſhews how much things were changed in a very ſmall ſpace of time, that is, in eighteen months at the moſt; within which ſhort period, the Crown of Spain, from being the moſt formidable maritime power in Europe, was ſunk ſo low, as to be obliged to act entirely on the defenſive, and to rely rather upon fortifying it's coaſts than upon it's fleets, which is the moſt apparent ſign of weakneſs that a maritime ſtate can diſcover (66). We may farther diſcern to how great a degree the ſpirit of Philip the Second was humbled, when he thought it imprudent to truſt a fleet of twenty ſail, under the command of an experienced officer, againſt an Engliſh ſquadron of ten ſhips, of not half the ſtrength of his own. The reaſon was, that he knew the conſequence of their being beaten, and was ſenſible that it bore no proportion to the advantage that might have ariſen, from their giving a check to this ſmall force of the Queen's. Yet after all, it was owing to an accident that this expedition was not attended with more auſpicious ſucceſs, as the ſon of this great man has ſhewn, who was himſelf a captain in his father's ſquadron (67). 'In the fleet 'of her Majeſty, ſays he, under the charge of my fa'ther Sir John Hawkins, anno 1590, upon the coaſt 'of Spain, the Vice-Admiral being a head one morn'ing where his place was to be a ſtern, loſt us the 'taking of eight men of war, loaden with munition, 'victuals, and proviſions, for the ſupply of the ſoldiers 'in Britain; and although they were ſeven or eight 'leagues from the ſhore when our Vice-Admiral began 'to fight with them, yet for all that, the reſt of our 'fleet were ſome four, ſome five, and ſome more di'ſtant from them, when we began to give chaſe, the 'Spaniards recovered into the harbour of Monge, be'fore our Admiral could come up to give directions; 'yet well beaten, with loſs of above two hundred men, 'as they themſelves confeſſed to me after. And 'doubtleſs if the wind had not overblown, and that to 'follow them I was forced to ſhut all my lower ports, 'the ſhip I undertook had never endured to come 'to the port; but being double fly-boats, and 'all good ſailors, they bare for their lives, and we 'what we could to follow and fetch them up.' This would have been a moſt acceptable ſervice at that juncture if it could have been performed; and the diſappointment therefore was the greater, which happening from ſuch an accident, confirms the obſervation made in the foregoing note, viz. that breach of orders or diſcipline, is of all errors the leaſt excuſable in it's nature, and the moſt fatal in it's effects.

(66) Sir Walter Raleigh's Diſcourſe of a War with Spain.

(67) Sir Richard Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South Sea, p. 19.

weakning the Crown of Spain, than had been hitherto made through the whole courſe of the war; and, at the ſame time, they offered to be at a great part of the expence of this extraordinary undertaking themſelves, and to engage their friends to bear a conſiderable proportion of the reſt (*m*). There were, excluſive of the love of glory and zeal for the public ſervice, ſeveral ſecret motives which induced our Admiral, though then far advanced in years, to hazard his fortune, his reputation, and his perſon, in this dangerous ſervice; amongſt which this was not the laſt or the leaſt, that his ſon Richard, who was afterwards Sir Richard Hawkins, was at this very time a priſoner in the hands of the Spaniards; and ſome hope there was, that, in the courſe of ſuch an enterprize, an opportunity might offer for procuring his freedom either by ranſom or exchange (*n*). The Queen readily gave ear to this motion, and furniſhed on her part a ſtout ſquadron of men of war, on board one of which, the Garland, Sir John Hawkins embarked (*o*). Their whole force conſiſted of twenty-ſeven ſhips and barks, and in theſe there were about two thouſand five hundred men. Of all the enterprizes throughout the whole Spaniſh war, in which every year produced an expedition, there was none of which ſo great hope was conceived as of this, and yet none met with leſs ſucceſs (*p*) [*P*]. The fleet was detained for ſome time after it was ready on the Engliſh coaſt by the arts of the Spaniards; who, having intelligence of it's ſtrength, and of the ends for which it was intended, conceived that the only means by which it might moſt probably be diſappointed, was by procuring ſome delay; in order to which, they gave out that they were ready themſelves to invade England, and to render this the more probable, they actually ſent four gallies to make a deſcent on Cornwall (*q*). By theſe ſteps they carried their point; for the Queen and the nation being exceedingly, and not without reaſon, alarmed, it was by no means held proper to ſend ſo great a number of ſtout ſhips on ſo long a voyage at ſo critical a juncture. At laſt this ſtorm blowing over, the fleet ſailed from Plymouth on the twenty-eighth of Auguſt, in order to execute their grand deſign of burning Nombre de Dios; marching thence by land to Panama, and there ſeizing the treaſure which they knew was arrived in that ſmall town, as the manner then was and ſtill is, from Peru (*r*). A few days before their departure, the Queen ſent them advice that the Plate fleet was ſafely arrived in Spain, excepting only one galleon, which, having loſt a maſt, had been obliged to return to Porto Rico; the taking of this veſſel ſhe recommended to them as a thing very practicable, and which could prove no great hindrance to their other affair. When they were at ſea, the Generals in a very ſhort time differed, as is uſual in conjunct expeditions. Sir John Hawkins was for executing immediately what the Queen had commanded, and to think of no new ſervice; whereas Sir Francis Drake, perſwaded by Sir Thomas Baſkervile, inclined to go firſt to the Canaries, in which he prevailed (*s*) [*Q*]. But the attempt

(*m*) Camden, Monſon, Hakluyt.

(*n*) Sir W. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 183.

(*o*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 699. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1179.

(*p*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 390.

(*q*) Carew's Survey of Cornwall, fol. 115.

(*r*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 699. Sir W. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 183.

(*s*) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1184.

[*P*] *And yet none met with leſs ſucceſs*] If we yield an implicit credit to Camden, we ſhould conceive this expedition to have proceeded purely from the Queen's commands, and to be intended only to fetch the rich ſhip which the Spaniards had been obliged to leave at Porto Rico (68); but a little reflection will ſhew us, that to fit out ſuch a fleet under ſuch officers, for no more important purpoſe, was not at all agreeable to the wiſe proceedings of that reign. But take it in it's true light, and this enterprize will appear equally ſuitable to the prudence of that victorious Princeſs, and correſponding with the high reputation which all theſe officers had gained. It was an undertaking, which if it had been attended with ſucceſs, of which alſo there was the higheſt probability, it had given a mortal blow to the Spaniards in the Indies, and put into our power that important iſthmus that had rendered us as formidable to our enemies as they were to the Indians. It was the glory of this exploit that invited Drake, the hopes of obtaining his ſon's releaſe engaged Sir John Hawkins, to quit an honourable eaſe at home for difficulties and dangers abroad, when his years might well have excuſed him; and Sir Thomas Baſkerville had an ambition of being the firſt Engliſh Governor in the Weſt Indies; for whatever place they had taken had been left to his charge (69). The beſt part of the expences of this ſquadron was borne by the Generals themſelves, their friends, and ſuch as put a confidence in them; and the Queen had likewiſe a part: but it is eaſy to diſcern that the profit could not be equally divided; for though private perſons received no benefit from the miſchiefs done to others, yet theſe are a real profit to the Crown; ſo that whatever became of the reſt of the proprietors, the Queen was morally certain of gaining, as ſhe really did; and we need not therefore wonder that great pains were taken to magnify this project while it was in preparation, that the number and ſpirit of adventurers might be increaſed (70).

(68) Annal. Eliz. p. 699.

(69) Sir W. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 177. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1184. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 390.

(70) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1184.

[*Q*] *In which he prevailed.*] We have all the reaſon in the world to believe, that in the contrivance of the plan, and in the proviſions made for executing it, Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake agreed perfectly well, otherwiſe one of them had very probably relinquiſhed the voyage, but as ſoon as they were at ſea diſtruſts and diſputes began. Sir Francis Drake and Sir Thomas Baſkerville being much of a temper, both warm, both aſpiring, and both haſty in their language, agreed pretty well; and treated Sir John Hawkins, who was ſlower in reſolving, and leſs ſanguine in his expectations, in ſuch a manner, that his chagrin, that began ſoon after they weighed anchor, ended only with his life It is unanimouſly agreed, that the project of attacking the Grand Canary was formed by Sir Thomas Baſkerville, conſented to by Sir Francis Drake, and oppoſed by Sir John Hawkins. In favour of this attempt it was urged, that being maſters of the iſland, they might have excellent refreſhment; that the inhabitants were rich, and would pay largely to preſerve their city from burning; and that it would give them reputation, aſtoniſh the Spaniards, and occaſion great joy at home. Sir John Hawkins ſaid, that, conſidering the ſmall time they had been out, there was no ſuch need of refreſhments; that, to ſucceed in this incidental enterprize, they muſt hazard their whole fleet and army; and that, at all events, it would be loſing time which could never be recovered. When Sir Francis and Sir Thomas found this, they were for putting it to the vote; and not being ſure to ſucceed therein, Sir Francis Drake declared he would undertake the exploit with ſuch as would follow him, and the reſt might go with Sir John Hawkins; yet, finding himſelf too weak upon this diviſion, he ſpoke of it with ſuch tenderneſs and paſſion, that Sir John Hawkins yielded againſt his own ſentiment, that he might not ſeem to deſert him. What followed juſtified all that Sir John had ſaid; for though they found the Spaniards ſo well fortified that the army could not land, yet of thoſe who ventured aſhore in ſeveral places for refreſhment, there were many killed, and Captain Grimſtone among the reſt (71).

(71) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 700. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1184.

attempt they made of reducing the largeſt of thoſe iſlands proved as diſhonourable as it was unſucceſsful. And then they ſailed for Dominica, where, in ſpite of all Sir John Hawkins could ſuggeſt to quicken them, they ſpent too much time in refreſhing and ſetting up their pinnaces (*t*). In the mean time the Spaniards had ſent five ſtout frigates to bring away the galleon from Porto Rico, having exact intelligence of the departure, as well as force, of our ſquadron, and alſo of the intention of the Engliſh Admirals to attempt that place (*u*). On the thirtieth of October Sir John Hawkins weighed from Dominica, and, in the evening of the ſame day, the Francis, a bark of about thirty-five tons, and the ſternmoſt of Sir John's ſhips, fell in with the five ſail of Spaniſh frigates beforementioned, and was taken; the conſequences of which being foreſeen by Sir John, it threw him into a grievous fit of ſickneſs, of which, or rather of a broken heart, he died on the twenty-firſt of November, 1595 (*w*) [*R*], when they were in ſight of the iſland of Porto Rico; and not, as Sir William Monſon ſuggeſts, of chagrin, on the miſcarriage in attempting the capital city of that iſland (*x*), which, in truth, was an event he never lived to ſee. His death made a great impreſſion upon thoſe whom he commanded, as well for the affection they bore him, as from a perſwaſion that the miſcarriages which he foreſaw and foretold would be juſtified by the event, as in truth they were; the grief for which conquered ſome time after the great mind of Sir Francis Drake, which had been 'till then invincible (*y*). At home the loſs of theſe two great officers was exceedingly regretted; neither did this concern eaſily blow over, but was mentioned many years after as a public calamity. As to his perſon, Sir John Hawkins was eſteemed graceful in his youth, and of a very grave and reverend aſpect when advanced in years. He was well verſed in mathematical learning for thoſe times, and underſtood every branch of maritime affairs thoroughly and to the bottom. He was a man of as much perſonal courage as that age produced, and had a preſence of mind that ſet him above fear, and which enabled him frequently to deliver himſelf and others out of the reach even of the moſt imminent dangers (*z*). He had a wonderful ſagacity, which, as it enabled him to make a right judgment of events long before they happened, ſo it taught him to be very cautious in his expreſſions, and hindered him from diſcloſing himſelf fully, that he might not diſcourage ſuch as confided entirely in his ſenſe of things. He formed his plans very judiciouſly, and executed them and the orders he received with the utmoſt punctuality, as far as lay in his power. He was ſubmiſſive to his ſuperiors, and courteous to his inferiors; extremely affable to his ſeamen, and remarkably beloved by them (*a*). With all theſe great qualities he had an intermixture of failings; and theſe, after his deceaſe, were ſet in a pretty ſtrong light, by ſuch as found it eaſy to cenſure men, whom it would have been very difficult to imitate [*S*]. As to

(*t*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 699. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1184.

(*u*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 584. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1184.

(*w*) Camden. Annal Eliz. p. 700. Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 584. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1184. Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

(*x*) Naval Tracts, p. 184.

(*y*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 700. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1184. Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

(*z*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 390.

(*a*) Camden, Hakluyt, Purchas.

[*R*] *He died on the twenty-firſt of November*, 1595.] Sir Francis Drake came to an anchor between Dominica and Guadalupe, with part of the fleet, before Sir John Hawkins, with the reſt, arrived, which was the thirtieth of October, 1595 (72). The ſame day the Francis was taken, and the Delight brought Sir John the news, who, from that moment, never held up his head; not for the loſs of his bark, which was far from being conſiderable, but becauſe he underſtood that five Spaniſh frigates were gone to Porto Rico, which he foreſaw would add ſo much ſtrength to the Spaniards, as might enable them to preſerve their treaſure, and diſappoint their attempt upon that iſland; in the ſame manner they had been already forced to leave the Canaries, and all this in conſequence of their ſlighting his advice, and loſing time, which, if they had not done, they muſt have ſucceeded. All this gave him ſuch a proſpect of the remaining part of the voyage, as fairly broke his heart, to the great ſorrow, as one who had a command in the voyage affirms, of many in the fleet; and, as ſoon as the breath was out of his body, Sir Thomas Baſkerville came to take the command on board the Garland (73). Mr Camden makes his death to have happened the ſame day that Sir Nicholas Clifford and Mr Brown were killed (74); but in that he is miſled by the ſea journals, in which the day is reckoned from noon to noon; but the truth is, that Sir John Hawkins died on the twelfth of November about midnight, and the gentlemen beforementioned received the wounds, of which they died, by a cannon ſhot, which went through Sir Francis Drake's cabin while he and they were at ſupper, on the thirteenth of November (75). But Sir William Monſon is much more miſtaken, and yet he repeats it twice, when he places the death of this great man after the attempt upon Porto Rico. On that occaſion, however, he informs us, that, tho' Sir Francis Drake and Sir Thomas Baſkerville miſcarried in 1595 (76), yet the place was without difficulty taken by the Earl of Cumberland, with a ſquadron fitted out at his own expence in 1598; and he ſhews the reaſon of this, which was, that the crew of the five Spaniſh veſſels gave the garriſon a ſuperior ſtrength at that time; whence it is evident, that, if the Engliſh fleet had ſailed directly to Porto Rico, as Sir John Hawkins adviſed, they had done their buſineſs before the Spaniards arrived. Several of theſe circumſtances may perhaps appear trivial to ſome, or at leaſt too minute; but if truth be of any conſequence, or if we would ever know how things really happened, and what the ſources were of ſucceſs or ill fortune, in great enterprizes, this is the only method.

(72) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 584.

(73) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1184.

(74) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 700.

(75) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 584.

(76) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 209.

[*S*] *Whom it would have been very difficult to imitate.*] We have, in the Reverend Mr Hakluyt's Collection, a clear and conciſe narrative of the facts, which happened in this expedition (77); but, in Mr Sam. Purchas's larger work, there is a very curious paper of Remarks written by ſome perſon who had a command in the expedition, which contains abundance of particulars, not to be met with any where elſe. In the ſame place we have the following letter (78), whether written by the ſame, or another hand, we cannot, at this diſtance of time, determine; and to which we give a place here, rather to gratify the reader's curioſity than to inform his judgment, for certainly many things are ſaid therein with more acrimony than accuracy; but take it as it is.

(77) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 583.

(78) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1185.

'SIR,

'I have, according to your requeſt and my own 'plainneſs, ſent you here the compariſon between 'thoſe two commanders, Sir Francis Drake and Sir 'John Hawkins. They were both much given to 'travel in their youth and age, attempting many ho'nourable voyages alike; as that of Sir John Hawkins 'to Guinea, to the iſles of America, to St John de 'Ulloa. So likewiſe Sir Francis Drake, after many 'diſcoveries of the Weſt-Indies and other parts, was 'the firſt Engliſhman that did ever compaſs the world; 'wherein, as alſo in his deep judgment in ſea cauſes, 'he did far exceed, not Sir John Hawkins alone, but 'all others whomſoever. In their own natures and 'diſpoſition they did as much differ as in the managing 'matters of the wars. Sir Francis being of a lively 'ſpirit, reſolute, quick, and ſufficiently valiant. The 'other, ſlow, jealous, and hardly brought to reſolu'tion. In Council, Sir John Hawkins did often differ

to his family affairs we know but very little of them, except that he had two wives; and by the firſt a ſon, of whom the reader will have a further account. To conclude, in ſpite of all the objections that have been made, and which are deduced chiefly from his misfortunes, we have made it evident from facts, that he was one of the principal ſupports of the Engliſh navy, in a reign when it's glory was very conſpicuous, in conſequence of which he received as many teſtimonies of honour, favour, and reward, as any man of his rank (*b*). His merit was not only underſtood at Court by the Queen and her Miniſters, but by the country alſo; for Sir John Hawkins was ſo popular a man, that he was twice elected Burgeſs for Plymouth, the firſt time with Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and the ſecond with Edmund Tremaine, Eſq; he was likewiſe a third time in Parliament for ſome other borough (*c*). We may add that he was a pious man likewiſe, as appears by his erecting an hoſpital at Chatham for the relief of poor and diſeaſed ſailors. We will end this account with the remark of one who knew him well, and was an unexceptionable judge of the character he deſerved, the celebrated Sir Walter Ralegh (*d*), who ſays, 'That, notwithſtanding the 'diſappointments and diſtreſſes they met with in their laſt voyage, Sir FRANCIS DRAKE, 'Sir JOHN HAWKINS, and Sir THOMAS BASKERVILLE, were men for their expe'rience and valour as eminent as England ever had [*T*].

(*b*) Stowe, Holinſhed, Monſon.

(*c*) Willis's Notitia Parliament. Vol. II. p. 295.

(*d*) Apology for his Voyage to Guaiana, p. 2.

'from the judgment of others, ſeeming thereby to 'know more in doubtful things than he would utter. 'Sir Francis was a willing hearer of every man's opi'nion, but commonly a follower of his own; he never 'attempted any action wherein he was an abſolute 'commander, but he performed the ſame with great 'reputation, and did eaſily diſpatch great matters. 'Contrariwiſe, Sir John Hawkins did only give the 'bare attempt of things, for the moſt part without any 'fortune or good ſucceſs therein. Sir John Hawkins 'did naturally hate the land-ſoldier, and though he 'were very popular, yet he affected more the common 'ſort than his equals. Sir Francis, contrarily, did 'much love the land ſoldier, and greatly advanced 'good parts whereſoever he found them. He was alſo 'affable to all men, and of eaſy acceſs. They were 'both of many virtues, and agreeing in ſome. As 'patience in enduring labours and hardneſs, obſerva'tion and memory of things paſt, and great diſcretion 'in ſudden dangers, in which neither of them was 'much diſtempered; and in ſome other virtues they 'differed. Sir John Hawkins had in him mercy and 'aptneſs to forgive, and true of word. Sir Francis, 'hard in reconciliation, and conſtancy in friendſhip; 'he was, withal, ſevere and courteous, magnanimous 'and liberal. They were both faulty in ambition, 'but more the one than the other. For in Sir Francis 'was an inſatiable deſire of honour, indeed beyond 'reaſon. He was infinite in promiſes, and more tem'perate in adverſity than in better fortune. He had 'alſo other imperfections; as aptneſs to anger, and 'bitterneſs in diſgracing, and too much pleaſed with 'open flattery. Sir John Hawkins had in him malice 'with diſſimulation, rudeneſs in behaviour, and was 'paſſing ſparing, indeed miſerable. They were both 'happy alike in being great commanders, but not of 'equal ſucceſs; and grew great and famous by one 'means, riſing through their own virtues and the for'tune of the ſea. There was no compariſon to be 'made between their well-deſerving and good parts, 'for therein Sir Francis Drake did far exceed. This 'is all I have obſerved in the voyages wherein I have 'ſerved with them.

'R. M.'

[*T*] *As eminent as England ever had.*] This commendation from ſo knowing a man, might well juſtify the pains and vindicate the praiſes we have beſtowed upon this great ſeaman; but perhaps it may contribute to the reader's ſatisfaction, if we inform him briefly of the ſentiments which the moſt competent judges have entertained of his ſuperior merit. It is not only in this place, but in many other parts of his writings, that Sir Walter Ralegh mentions him with admiration, as one of the greateſt men, in an age more fruitful of great men than almoſt any that our hiſtory can boaſt, and this too without any qualifications or exceptions, which is not the caſe in reſpect to another great commander, whom, though on the whole he admired, yet in many things he diſapproved (79). The judicious Lord Bacon ſpeaks of him with reverence, and aſcribes the miſcarriage of his laſt voyage entirely to the miſunderſtanding that happened between him and Sir Francis Drake (80); for otherwiſe he concludes, that their valour and abilities muſt have been fatal to the Spaniards. Sir William Monſon, another of his contemporaries, acknowledges Drake, Hawkins, and Frobiſher, for the three greateſt ſeamen in England (81); and, which perhaps does him no leſs honour, in deſcribing the abuſes that had crept into the navy in the reign of King James, he hints, that they were too many to enumerate, and then proceeds thus (82). 'I will now 'apply myſelf to redreſs theſe encroaching dangers 'and corrupt dealings, and bring it to the ſtate of 'Hawkins's and Burroughs's time, who were perfect 'and honeſt men in their places; the one Treaſurer, 'the other Compſroller.' The ingenious Dr Fuller laments the manner of his death, which he ſuppoſes to proceed from the grief of ſeeing his advice contemned (83). If we deſcend again to later times, let us hear what that impartial and incomparable judge of merit, Mr Evelyn, delivers upon this head (84). 'I go on to 'enquire (but without much ſatisfaction I confeſs) what 'medals were ſtamped from the reign and revolutions 'of our Seventh and Eighth Henries time to almoſt 'this age of ours? Had ſuch actions and events hap'pened among the reſt of the poliſhed world, we 'ſhould not be now to ſeek for the heads of Sir Fran'cis Drake, Cavendiſh, Hawkins, Frobiſher, Green'vil, Fenton, Willougby, and the reſt of the Argo'nauts; and ſurely they that firſt circled this globe of 'earth and ſea (in whoſe entrails ſo much gold and ſil'ver, and all other metals are contained) might at 'leaſt be thought worthy the honour of a copper me'dal, which yet I no where find.' After this citation, the judicious peruſer will certainly hold us right, in ſupplying the want of a medal, by tranſmitting to poſterity theſe ample memoirs of Sir John Hawkins.

(79) Sir Walter Ralegh's Works, Vol. II. p. 258.

(80) Diſcourſe on a War with Spain, p. 13.

(81) Naval Tracts, p. 232.

(82) Ibid. p. 375.

(83) Holy State, p. 129.

(84) Diſcourſe of Medals, cap. iv. p. 158.

E

HAWKINS [Sir RICHARD], the ſon of Sir John Hawkins, and himſelf a very experienced and gallant officer in the Royal Navy (*a*). He was born at Plymouth, but in what year it is impoſſible, at this diſtance of time, to ſpeak with any degree of certainty. We may collect, from his own writings, that he was by the firſt venter, though he ſpeaks of his mother-in-law, not only in terms of the greateſt decency, but alſo with great commendation (*b*). We are as much in the dark as to the place and manner of his education; but there can be no doubt, his father's character and his own merit conſidered, that he had all proper care employed in bringing him up, and that a ſufficient time was allowed for his acquiring a due tincture of letters. It is, however, no leſs probable, that he betook himſelf very early to the ſea ſervice; and, having ſo many ſhining examples in his own family, followed it with equal vigilance and ſpirit (*c*). He was alſo of a remarkably grave

(*a*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 391.

(*b*) Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 2.

(*c*) Prince's Worthies of Devon p. 391.

grave turn, and very much given to reflect on the principal events that happened in his own life-time at ſea, to ſift out their cauſes the beſt he could, and to connect theſe with their conſequences, that by ſuch lights he might regulate his own conduct, and to ſupply, by this method, the want of experience, which is the greateſt impediment, generally ſpeaking, to the advancement of youth. He ſucceeded perfectly well in his plan; for we find, that in the year 1582, when, as himſelf aſſures us, he was but a very young man, he had the command of a veſſel, which was Vice-Admiral of a ſmall ſquadron, commanded by his uncle, William Hawkins, Eſq; of Plymouth, which ſeems to have been employed in a private expedition to the Weſt-Indies, upon much the ſame ſcheme in which Captain John Hawkins went thither, when he was ſo treacherouſly uſed by the Spaniards. Upon this occaſion our young ſeaman gave a very extraordinary inſtance of integrity and intrepidity, which without doubt raiſed his character highly, and contributed not a little to his preferment when he came home (*d*) [*A*]. In the ever memorable year 1588, he was a Captain of one of the Queen's ſhips, called the Swallow (*e*), which ſuffered the moſt of any in the defeat of the Spaniſh Armada, and that by a fire-arrow, which being hid in the ſail, burnt a hole in her beak head, which was not diſcovered 'till the arrow fell out, and, floating by the ſhip's ſide, gave them the firſt ſuſpicion of what had happened (*f*). He remarked many things in this glorious action, of which we have little or no account any where elſe; but it is very remarkable, that in relating them, he takes occaſion to do juſtice to the characters of others, without ſaying any thing of what he performed himſelf; though it is highly probable, that, as his ſhip ſuffered moſt, he was not the leaſt active in procuring and purſuing that important victory, his obſervations upon which give us an equal idea of his modeſty and penetration [*B*]. When his father went with Sir Martin Frobiſher to the coaſts of Spain in 1590, he commanded her Majeſty's ſhip the Crane, of the burthen of two hundred tons, was very active in purſuing the Spaniſh ſquadron (*g*), that was employed in carrying relief to their forces in Britanny, and in cruizing near the Azores; where,

(*d*) Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 86.

(*e*) Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 172.

(*f*) Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 51.

(*g*) Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 177.

[*A*] *And contributed not a little to his preferment when he came home.*] Amongſt the veſſels that compoſed this private ſquadron, there was one called the bark Bonner, which, while they were cruizing off the weſt end of the iſland of Porto Rico, became ſomewhat leaky; upon which the Captain complained, alledging that his ſhip was in ſuch a condition, as made it impoſſible for him to proceed in her to England (1). This, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, being brought before their Council, was decided according to the Captain's deſire, and a reſolution taken, that her ſtores and proviſions being removed, and the men diſpoſed of in the other ſhips, the hull ſhould be either ſunk or burned. Our young Captain, who had been ſilent 'till judgment was given, interpoſed to prevent execution. He had a notion that the Captain was deſirous of getting into a ſhip that ſailed better; and that being under the power of this prejudice, he repreſented the ſtate of his ſhip to be worſe than it really was. He therefore expoſtulated the matter with his uncle, ſuggeſting to him, that as they had gained nothing hitherto for the proprietors, it was ſo much the more requiſite to be careful of the principal; and added farther, that if he was ſo pleaſed, he would collect out of his own and the reſt of the ſhips a ſufficient number of men to go home with him in that bark, which ſhould be ſtiled the Vice Admiral inſtead of his own veſſel, upon condition, however, that if they navigated the bark ſafely home, the crew ſhould have one fourth part of the clear value of the bark Bonner by way of ſalvage. His uncle propoſed, that the principal officers ſhould with him go on board the ſhip in queſtion, and that there the point ſhould be determined. But the Captain of the bark no ſooner heard this propoſal, than he gave for anſwer, that if any man could carry her to England, he could with the crew that was in her; which he accordingly did, without any riſk at all in his paſſage. The ſhip, after this, was continually employed for nine years together, and might have been ſo longer; but that being laid up in a careleſs manner, ſhe grew rotten. His uncle, upon this occaſion, thanked him heartily for his good will; and the proprietors, no doubt, were very well pleaſed with this headineſs and conduct in a young man, by which ſo much money as this bark was worth was ſaved in their pockets. He adds, in relating this ſtory, that this was an artifice often practiſed, and by which many a ſhip was condemned and deſtroyed, though in a very ſerviceable condition.

(1) Hawkins's Obſervations on his Voyage into the South-Seas, p. 86, 87. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1389.

[*B*] *Which give us an equal idea of his modeſty and penetration.*] It appears from an authentic liſt of the Royal Navy in that reign, that the Swallow was a ſhip of three hundred and thirty tons, and that carried one hundred and ſixty men. The juſtice he does to the noble perſon who commanded the Engliſh fleet, can never be ſo well repreſented as in his own words (2). 'Fabius Maximus, the famous Roman, ſays he, 'endured the attribute of Coward, with many other 'infamies, rather than he would hazard the ſafety of 'of his country by raſh and incertain provocations. 'In which reſpect, no leſs worthy of perpetual memo'ry, was the prudent policy and government of our 'Engliſh navy in anno 1588, by the worthy Earl 'of Nottingham, Lord High-Admiral of England, 'who in like caſe, with mature and experimented 'knowledge, patiently withſtood the inſtigations of 'many couragious and noble Captains, who would 'have perſwaded him to have laid them aboard; but 'well he foreſaw that the enemy had an army aboard, 'he none; that they exceeded him in number of ſhip'ping, and thoſe greater in bulk, ſtronger built, and 'higher moulded; ſo that they, who with ſuch ad'vantage fought from above, might eaſily diſtreſs all 'oppoſition below, the ſlaughter, peradventure, pro'ving more fatal than the victory profitable; by being 'overthrown he might have hazarded the kingdom, 'whereas, by the conqueſt (at moſt) he could have 'boaſted of nothing but glory and an enemy defeated. 'But by ſufferance, he always advantaged himſelf of 'wind and tide, which was the freedom of our coun'try and ſecurity of our navy, with the deſtruction of 'theirs, which in the eye of the ignorant (who judge 'all things by the external appearance) ſeemed invin'cible, but truly conſidered, was much inferior to 'others in all things of ſubſtance, as the event proved; 'for we ſunk, ſpoiled, and took of them, many, and 'they diminiſhed of ours but one ſmall pinnace, nor 'any man of name, ſave only Captain Cocke, who 'died with honour amidſt his company.' It appears from hence, that Camden was right as to the name of the only Engliſh officer who loſt his life in this engagement; and though an eminent writer expreſſes much concern that his Chriſtian name is not recoverable (3), yet we can direct the reader to a little piece, in which it is ſaid that his name was Captain William Cockes (4). It is a remark of our author's, and therein he is ſingular, that fire-ſhips were not invented by the Engliſh, but copied from the Spaniards, who firſt employed them againſt his father, Sir John Hawkins, in the bay of Mexico; and the ſame practice was repeated upon their armada; for which purpoſe ſix or ſeven veſſels were prepared, and of theſe, two belonged to Captain Richard Hawkins himſelf (5), upon whoſe authority, therefore, in this matter we may the more ſafely depend. Indeed the thing ſpeaks for itſelf, ſince the account of his father's voyage, and therein of this attempt of the Spaniards to burn his veſſels, was actually made public before this invaſion in 1588.

(2) Hawkins's Obſervations on his Voyage into the South-Seas, p. 93.

(3) Fuller's Worthies in Devon, p. 261.

(4) Diſcourſe concerning the Spaniſh Fleet inviding England in the year 1588, and overthrown by her Majeſty's Navy under the conduct of Lord Charles Howard, High-Admiral of England, written in Italian, and tranſlated into Engliſh. Lond. 1590. In this piece we are told that he commanded the Violette, a little pinnace belonging to Sir William Winter.

(5) Obſervations of Sir Richard Hawkins on his Voyage into the South-Seas, p. 51.

[C] *And*

where, though they were not ſo happy as to take a ſingle ſhip, yet we are aſſured by a foreign writer of great veracity, who was at that time in the iſland, that they gave ſo much interruption to the trade, and occaſioned ſuch diſtraction to the Spaniſh ſettlements, that the people openly curſed the miniſters who had embarked the Crown of Spain in a war with England (*n*). In this voyage, which was of ſome continuance, though of no great action, Captain Richard Hawkins had an opportunity of adding largely to that ſtock of uſeful knowledge, which he took every occaſion to collect, and which he methodized and digeſted at his leiſure (*i*) [C]. At his return, he began to think in earneſt of a voyage which he had meditated ſome time before, and for which he had cauſed a new ſhip to be built, of the burthen of between three and four hundred tons; to which his mother-in-law, lady Hawkins, having given, for what reaſon he could never learn, the name of the Repentance, it diſtaſted him ſo much, that he ſold her to his father. But the ſhip having been employed in the Queen's ſervice with great good fortune, and Queen Elizabeth, as ſhe lay at Deptford, rowing round her in her barge, and having new named her the Dainty, our young hero was reconciled to his ſhip, repurchaſed her from his father, and reſumed his firſt intention of making in her a grand voyage for diſcovery (*k*). The ſcheme of this expedition, which was digeſted by the advice of Sir John Hawkins, and had the approbation of the Queen and her Privy Council, was of great extent; for he propoſed no leſs than viſiting the iſlands of Japan, as well as the Moluccas and Phillippines, taking in his courſe through the Streights of Magellân, and intending probably to return by the Cape of Good Hope (*l*). The univerſal eſteem which his father had acquired, and the great reſpect borne to himſelf, induced all who were in power to give him whatever aſſiſtance he could either deſire or expect; and the Lord High-Admiral, Sir Robert Cecil, and Sir Walter Ralegh, and many other perſons of rank, promiſed to pay him a viſit on board his ſhip in the river; which, however, was prevented by the foulneſs of the ſeaſon; and the wind coming fair, he judged it improper to loſe opportunity for the ſake of ceremony, and therefore directed the Dainty to fall down to Graveſend, April 8, 1593 (*m*). In her paſſage ſhe narrowly eſcaped ſhipwreck, through the negligence of leaving her ports open. This miſchief eſcaped, they proſecuted their voyage to Plymouth, where his ſmall ſquadron was to be formed, and entered that harbour on the twenty-ſixth of the ſame month. The other two veſſels were likewiſe his own, and but ſmall; the one called the Hawk, and the other a pinnace, which he named the Fancy (*n*). It was towards the cloſe of the mouth of May, before he could, with the aſſiſtance of his friends, and eſpecially of his wife's father, get every thing in order to put to ſea; and, at the very time he was ready to weigh the anchor, he was very near ſeeing an end of all his hopes. His three ſhips riding in the Sound, were ſurprized by a ſudden ſtorm; the Dainty ſprung her main-maſt, and the Fancy, driving on the rocks, went to the bottom before his eyes, who was on ſhore, a ſad ſpectator of this new misfortune (*o*). But, notwithſtanding this ſecond diſcouraging accident, he, with infinite induſtry and no ſmall expence, put all things to rights again in the ſpace of ten days; and, though the tender intreaties of his wife had once brought him to heſitate, yet, as he ſays very emphatically himſelf, conſidering how many eyes there were upon his ball, and having himſelf opened it, he reſolved to dance on, though he ſhould only hop at laſt (*p*). Accordingly, June the twelfth, 1593, about three in the afternoon, he left Plymouth Sound, and before the end of the month arrived at the Madeiras; on the third of July he paſſed the Canaries, and ſoon after the iſlands of Cape de Verde, without any remarkable accidents; but, upon approaching the coaſts of Brazil, the ſcurvy began to prevail amongſt the ſhip's crew, and gave Sir Richard Hawkins an opportunity of examining into, and making as juſt reflections upon, that terrible diſeaſe, as are perhaps any where extant [D]. This obliged him to think of putting into a port of Brazil

(*b*) Lindſchoten's Voyages, p. 331.

(*i*) Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 36. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 177.

(*k*) Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 2.

(*l*) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1367. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 401. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 391.

(*m*) Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 5. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1367. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 391.

(*n*) Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 12. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1367.

(*o*) Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 13. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 391.

(*p*) Baker's Chronicle, p. 383. Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 13.

[C] *And which he methodized and digeſted at his leiſure.*] According to his account, they were becalmed a great part of the time, when he took notice, that the ſea, for want of motion, became full of ſeveral ſorts of jellies (6), reſembling ſerpents, adders, and ſnakes, ſome green, ſome black, ſome yellow, and ſome ſpeckled, of a yard and a half and two yards long; which, ſays he, if I had not ſeen I could have hardly believed, appealing for the truth of what he related to the companies of thoſe ſhips which compoſed that ſquadron; adding, that they found it difficult to draw up ſo much as a bucket, without having ſome of this corruption mixed with the water; and to this malignancy of the air and ſeaſon he attributes that ſickneſs which invaded all their ſhips except his own, and proved fatal to many. A circumſtance indeed very wonderful, and which, if it had not been related of his own knowledge, would ſcarce have been credible. As it ſtands, it is an evident proof, that if the Providence of God did not prevent it, the waters of the ſea would very ſoon become naturally as loathſome, as thoſe of the river Nile were once rendered by miracle.

(6) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1373.

[D] *As are perhaps any where extant.*] In the ſentiment of our author, the ſea ſcurvy is a kind of dropſy, which he remarks, is apt enough to invade ſeamen in all places when they have been a long time on board, but has a kind of peculiar malignancy a little to the ſouth of the Equator, as appeared by infecting the whole crew in a few days (7). The chief ſymptoms he obſerved, were want of appetite, with a great drought, ſwelling in all parts of the body, but more eſpecially in the gums and legs. But above all, what he ſtiles a loathſome lazineſs, and a perpetual inclination to reſt and ſleep, though the patient was convinced that nothing could do him more hurt. The cauſes he aſſigns are various, firſt, the alteration of the climate, which conſequently produces no ſmall change in the conſtitution; next, bad nouriſhment, there being a certain degree of corruption in all ſalt meats, which is rather kept from proceeding than altogether prevented by the pickle; and laſtly, a bad diſpoſition in the air, ariſing from the calms that are common in thoſe parts, whence come a ſtagnation and a putridneſs in all fluids; upon theſe principles he accounts for the prevalence of this diſeaſe amongſt Engliſh ſeamen, more than thoſe of any other nation; becauſe, coming out of a temperate climate, being uſed to eat plentifully of wholeſome proviſions and enjoying a pure air, they are attacked at once by thoſe contrarieties that are moſt likely to debilitate the ſtomach, and to diſturb the whole

(7) Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, ſect. xvi.

Brazil for refreſhment; and having written a letter in Latin to the governor, informing him that his was an Engliſh ſhip bound to the Eaſt-Indies, and driven thither by contrary winds, deſired leave to purchaſe refreſhments for money, ſending a piece of crimſon velvet, ſome fine holland, and other curioſities as a preſent (*q*). The governor was ſlow in ſending an anſwer, ſevere in it's ſenſe, but civil in it's expreſſion. He told Captain Hawkins, that there being at that time a war between the two crowns, the ſtrictneſs of his inſtructions put it out of his power to grant his requeſt; but in regard to the polite manner in which he made it, he granted him three days time to depart; and before the anſwer came, having had a ſupply of oranges and other fruits, he reſolved to weigh with the firſt fair wind, as he did, and proceeded to the iſlands of St Anne, in the latitude of twenty degrees thirty minutes ſouth, where his whole ſquadron arrived ſafe on the fifth of November (*r*). There he cauſed all the proviſions to be taken out of the Hawk, and burnt her; and on the tenth of December ſailed for Cape Frio, with only ſix men ſick; and having taken in water and refreſhments there, and in the adjacent iſlands, ſailed again on the eighteenth of December for the Streights of Magellan; and, in his paſſage thither, made prize of a Portugueſe ſhip, but as it belonged to an old knight, who was going Governor to Angola, and who, after many years ſervice, had veſted his all in that ſhip and cargo, he contented himſelf with diſarming fifty ſoldiers that were on board, and ſuffered him to depart without any loſs (*s*). In the height of the river of Plate, and at the diſtance of about fifty leagues from land, they had a little blowing weather, which, though it expoſed them to no great danger, yet afforded an opportunity to Robert Tharlton, who commanded the Fancy, to perſwade thoſe who were on board that pinnace to deſert their General in the Dainty, and to return home; which baſe action was the ruin of this expedition (*t*) [*E*]. Sailing along the coaſt of Pentagonia, in the latitude of forty-eight degrees, he gave names to ſeveral places, and beſtowed on that whole country, which appeared to him very fair and promiſing, and ſituated in a very temperate climate, the title of *Hawkins's Maiden-Land*; becauſe, as he ſays, it was diſcovered at his expence, and in the reign of a maiden Queen. On the tenth of February they had the Streights of Magellan open, in the latitude of fifty-two degrees fifteen minutes; and paſſing through them, came into the South-Sea, March 29, 1594 (*u*). His deſcription of his paſſage is one of the beſt and plaineſt that is any where extant, and, like the reſt of his work, full of ingenious

(*q*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 682. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1369. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 392.

(*r*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 682. Baker's Chronicle, p. 383. Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South Sea, p. 54, 55.

(*s*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 392. Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 54, &c. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1382.

(*t*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 682. Baker's Chronicle, p. 383. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1383.

(*u*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 682. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 392. Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 72, 72.

whole frame of the body. He thinks that boiling meat in ſea water, being often wet with it, and eating mouldy bread, increaſe all the ſymptoms and heighten the infection. He therefore preſcribes as the beſt remedies, keeping the ſhip as clean as poſſible, ſprinkling it with vinegar, ſmoaking it with tar (8), feeding as little as poſſible upon ſalt meats, and more eſpecially upon ſalt fiſh, and being very cleanly, waſhing and ſhifting as often as poſſible. He mentions it as a great ſecret, and which himſelf had practiſed with much ſucceſs, to keep the men in action as much as poſſible, by making them exerciſe their arms, move things from place to place, and when they have any leiſure, to ſpend it in feats of agility, or in diverſions that keep their limbs in motion. At the changing of every watch, he recommends the giving of every man a bit of bread and a draught of wine and water mixed. He likewiſe praiſes Dr Stephens's water, and a few drops of oil of vitriol diſſolved in a convenient quantity of water. But beyond all other helps, the ſuffering the men to land as often as poſſible, and to procure for them oranges, lemons, and other acid fruits (9). After having given us theſe remarks and many more, he concludes with wiſhing, that ſome able phyſician would make this diſeaſe his ſtudy, that the true cauſes of it might be better known, and ſtill more effectual remedies found out, which, ſays he, would be a work meritorious in the ſight of God and man, and moſt beneficial to the people of this country, ſince in the ſpace that he had uſed the ſea, which might be about twenty years, he had known above ten thouſand men die of this diſeaſe.

(8) See Sir John Narborough's Remarks in his Voyage to the South-Seas.

(9) See a large account given of this diſtemper in Lord Anſon's Voyage round the World.

[*E*] *Which baſe action was the ruin of this expedition.*] The Captain of this veſſel, Robert Tharlton, had in a former voyage, and in the ſelf-ſame place, deſerted the famous Captain Thomas Cavendiſh, by which he ruined his voyage and broke his heart. Our author aſſures us, that all the miſfortunes and diſtreſs he afterwards ſuffered was owing to this accident, for if the Fancy had continued with him, he need not have ſhewn himſelf at all upon the coaſt of Peru, he might have availed himſelf of the proviſions, medicines, and refreſhments, that were on board that pinnace; and though he acknowledges that the men on board were but few, yet he inſiſts upon it, that even with thoſe few men, if they had been with him, he could have taken the Spaniſh Vice-Admiral, and have cleared himſelf in that engagement where he was made priſoner (10). He then proceeds to facts, that ought to appear in his own words (11). 'Theſe deſertions and eſcapes, 'ſays he, are, generally ſpeaking, only to pilfer and 'ſteal, as well by taking of ſome prize when they are 'alone and without command to hinder or order their 'bad proceedings, as to appropriate that which is in their 'intruſted ſhip, caſting the fault, if they be called to ac'count, upon ſome poor and unknown mariners, whom 'they ſuffer with a little pillage to abſent themſelves, 'the more cunningly to colour their greateſt diſorders 'and robberies. For doubtleſs, Robert Tharlton in 'the Fancy, if he would, might have come unto us 'with great facility, becauſe within ſixteen hours the 'ſtorm ceaſed and the wind came fair, which brought 'us to the Straits, and endured many days after with 'us at north-eaſt. This was good for them, though 'naught for us: if he had periſhed, any maſt or yard 'ſprung, any leak, wanted victuals or inſtruments for 'finding us, or had had any other impediment of im'portance, he might have had ſome colour to cloak 'his lewdneſs: but his maſts and yards being ſound, his 'ſhip ſtaunch, and loaden with victuals for two years 'at the leaſt, and having order from place to place 'where to find us, his intention is eaſily ſeen to be bad, 'and his fault ſuch as worthily deſerved to be made 'exemplary unto others. Which he manifeſted at his 'return by his manner of proceeding, making a ſpoil of 'the prize he took in the way homewards, as alſo of 'that which was in the ſhip, putting it into a port fit 'for his purpoſe, where he might have time and com'modity to do what he would.' He looks upon this breach of duty and honour, to be the peculiar ſcandal of the Engliſh nation; becauſe, ſays he, thoſe who are injured, either dying through grief, or falling into extreme poverty, are ſeldom able to proſecute ſuch offences, which procured impunity tempts others to follow a bad example; whereas in Spain, the King's Attorney-General takes notice of all ſuch offences of courſe, and upon his ſuit they are ſo ſeverely puniſhed, that diſcipline is no where ſo well obſerved as among the Spaniards, and to this, and this only, he attributes all their ſucceſs; in all other things, ſays he, we are at leaſt their equals, in many, much their ſuperiors, but much inferior to them in this; not that the Spaniards are more docible or leſs inclined to mutiny, but becauſe juſtice halts with us, and walked with ſo quick a pace amongſt them, as ever to overtake the offender, which in a very ſhort time took away the offence.

(10) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1383.

(11) Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 68.

nious and inſtructive reflections. He obſerves, that notwithſtanding the received opinion at that time, the Streights are certainly navigable through the whole year; but he adds, that the true ſeaſon for paſſing is in the months of November, December, and January, when the wind is ſteady and favourable; whereas it is very inconſtant, as in all narrow ſeas, during the other months of the year (*w*). On the 19th of April, which that year was Eaſter-Eve, they anchored under the iſland of Mocha, where they ran a very great riſk of ſuffering by the Arawcans, a nation of Indians, equally famous for the ſubtlety of their heads, and for their proweſs of their hands, notwithſtanding all the precautions that could be taken to guard againſt them. Proceeding from thence along the coaſts of Chili, they were welcomed into that which is ſtiled the Pacific Ocean, by a ſtorm that laſted ten days. This was ſucceeded by very warm diſputes amongſt themſelves (*x*). Captain Hawkins was for continuing his voyage quietly, and without making any prizes, 'till they were above Callao, which is the port of Lima; becauſe then they might be ſure of keeping what they got, as the Spaniards could hardly fit out a ſquadron ſtrong enough to take them in thoſe ſeas, and would never judge it either reaſonable or practicable to purſue them in their great run to the Philippines. On the other hand, the mariners, who knew they had a right to make prizes, and who believed, in that country, every ſhip that went to ſea was laden with gold, were againſt loſing any time, and for taking every thing that they could take. The Captain finding that it was in vain to reaſon, and that ſelf-intereſt, though miſunderſtood, governed, to a man, every one on board his ſhip but himſelf, was forced, contrary to his own ſentiments, to comply with this notion (*y*). In conſequence of this, they took a few days after four ſhips, in the harbour of Valparifo, and very ſoon after a fifth, out of which they were extremely well ſupplied with proviſions, but with very little gold; and even the ranſoms that they obtained were not very conſiderable. But, as ſmall as this treaſure proved, it was more than enough to raiſe diſputes; for the ſeamen immediately demanded their third, which was due to them by contract. The Captain by no means diſputed this, but took great pains to ſhew them the folly of their demand, and the bad effects with which it muſt be attended in regard to themſelves, ſince it could only ſerve them to game with, and to create quarrels; to which, though at firſt both angry and obſtinate, they at length yielded their aſſent, and were willing, that whatever gold or ſilver they took ſhould be put into a cheſt with three locks, of which the Captain was to have one key, the Maſter a ſecond, and a perſon choſen by the ſhip's crew a third, and that no diviſion ſhould be made 'till they came to England (*z*). Arriving in the height of Ariquipa, they found that intelligence had been given to Don Garcias Hurtado de Mendoça, Viceroy of Peru, of their entrance into the South-Seas; who thereupon fitted out a ſquadron of ſix armed veſſels to fight and take them. At this time Captain Hawkins had with him in the Dainty, and a little Indian prize which they had fitted up as a pinnace, ſeventy-five men and boys; with which inconſiderable force, ſuch was the ſpirit of thoſe times, he braved the whole Spaniſh ſtrength in the South-Seas. About the middle of May, the Spaniſh ſquadron, under the command of Don Beltrian de Caſtro, came in ſight of them near Cavite; the Engliſh being then to windward, and the breeze ſpringing up about nine in the morning, they ſtood out to ſea, and the Spaniards with them (*a*). As the wind ſtrengthened and the ſea began to ſwell, the Spaniſh Admiral ſnapped his main-maſt, the Vice-Admiral ſplit her main-ſail, and the Rear-Admiral cracked her main-yard, which threw them into great confuſion, and gave the Engliſh an opportunity to eſcape as they did; the ſailors being by this time convinced that Captain Hawkins was in the right, and willing enough, when they had wooded and watered, to proceed to the Eaſt-Indies with what little they had got, though they did take ſome trifling prizes afterwards (*b*). As for the Spaniſh ſquadron, upon it's return to Lima all on board it were ſo laughed at and contemned, for not being able to deal with a ſingle ſhip, much inferior in force to any one of theirs, that the Admiral petitioned to put to ſea again, with ſuch a force as could be ſooneſt got together; and this being no more than two ſhips and a pinnace, he put the ſtouteſt of his men into them, and ſailed, without loſing time, to find thoſe who had before eſcaped him (*c*). If Captain Hawkins could have perſwaded his men to have been ſteady even to their own reſolution, this might have been rendered impracticable; but they were ſtill ſo bent upon chaſing every thing they ſaw, that on the tenth of June they came to an anchor in the bay of Atacames; from whence they were on the point of ſailing again on the twentieth in the morning, when they deſcried the Spaniſh ſquadron, whom Captain Hawkins preſently knew for what they really were; but his men, miſtaken and obſtinate as uſual, would have it to be the Peru fleet bound for Panama, laden with treaſure, which they already ſhared in imagination (*d*). It was not long, however, before they were convinced by facts, and ſo a very unequal diſpute began between a veſſel that had been many months at ſea, with a very poor defenceleſs pinnace, againſt three clean well armed ſhips, two of them of ſuperior force, and, in all three, thirteen hundred men, eſteemed the beſt in that country. In ſpite of all theſe diſadvantages, the Engliſh defended themſelves gallantly for two whole days and a great part of a third; nor did they ſurrender at laſt, 'till Captain Hawkins was diſabled, and forced to quit the deck, when, beſides thoſe killed in the action, they had forty wounded men, and their ſhip in a ſinking condition (*e*) [*F*]. As ſoon as the ſhip

(*w*) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1392. Baker's Chronicle, p. 383. Sir W. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 177.

(*x*) Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 87.

(*y*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 391. Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 101. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1393.

(*z*) Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 108, 109. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol IV. p. 1396.

(*a*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 682. Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 117.

(*b*) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1398.

(*c*) Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 119.

(*d*) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1399.

(*e*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 682. Baker's Chronicle, p. 383.

[*F*] *And their ſhip in a ſinking condition.*] The ſhips were no ſooner engaged, than Captain Hawkins perceived how much he had been miſtaken in his gunner, who promiſed what great things he would do againſt an enemy,

ſhip was in the hands of the Spaniards, the General ſent for Captain Hawkins on board his own veſſel, where he received him courteouſly, and with tears in his eyes; treated him with the utmoſt tenderneſs, and aſſured him, that the terms which had been granted at the time his veſſel ſtruck ſhould be punctually performed (*f*). As this gentleman was brother to the Conde de Lemos, had ſerved many years in Flanders, and appeared in all his actions a man of ſtrict honour as well as great magnificence, Captain Hawkins, who began now to recover (as by a wonderful Providence all the wounded men did) reſumed his ſpirits, and, as occaſion offered, entered into a free converſation with that noble perſon and his officers; by which he informed his own judgment and theirs, exploded many pernicious prejudices which they had taken up, and by this means not only did himſelf great ſervice, but diſpoſed them likewiſe to treat other Engliſhmen better (*g*) [G]. On the ninth

(*f*) Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 155.

(*g*) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1413.

enemy, and now loſt all ſenſe and ſpirit (12) By his careleſſneſs or treachery, two hundred fire-balls, which were all they had, took wet and were ſpoiled; cartridges were wanting within an hour, and his behaviour was ſo very bad that Captain Hawkins and the Maſter of the ſhip were forced to ſupply his place. On the other ſide, the gunner in the Spaniſh Admiral was an Engliſhman, who alſo promiſed to do mighty things, either from a ſpirit of rancour or of flattery, but his arrogance was ſoon humbled by a ſhot, which in the beginning of the action took off his head. In the evening they were boarded by the Vice-Admiral, from whom they cleared themſelves, killing a great number of the enemy, and might have taken the veſſel if they could have ſpared men to have boarded her. This compelled the Spaniards to alter their manner of fighting, and to rely upon their artillery. In theſe boardings the Engliſh ſuffered ſome loſs, and their commander much more, ſince the Maſter of the ſhip had one of his eyes, his noſe, and half his face ſhot away, and one Mr Henry Courton was killed, who were the two principal perſons he relied on. Captain Hawkins himſelf alſo had ſix wounds, of which two were very dangerous, one in the neck, the other through the arm a little beneath the ſhoulder. He was therefore obliged to appoint a Captain under him, to whom the Spaniards having propoſed good quarters, it occaſioned a debate, in which Captain Hawkins, by a warm and eloquent ſpeech, prevailed upon the crew to reject them. They endured a great cannonading all the night and the next day, in which they were very near diſabling the Vice-Admiral, and if they had proſecuted their advantage, they might poſſibly have diſengaged themſelves, but by ſhewing too great earneſtneſs to eſcape, they loſt the opportunity of eſcaping. The third day in the afternoon, which was June the twenty-ſecond (13), 1594, more of their ſails being torn, their maſts ſpoiled, their pumps rent, with eight foot water in their hold, very few men without wounds, and thoſe ſo much fatigued they could ſcarce ſtand; the laſt propoſal was made, to which the Captain aſſented, though without Captain Hawkins's full concurrence. When he knew how things ſtood, he ſent Juan Gomez de Pineda, a Spaniſh pilot then his priſoner, to the General, to demand his word of honour for their fair uſage, and a pledge for it's being punctually kept (14). 'In the midſt of this 'treaty, ſays he, the Vice-Admiral not knowing of 'what had paſt, diſcharged her two chace pieces at us, 'and hurt our Captain very ſore in the thigh, and 'maimed one of our Maſter's mates called Hugh 'Maires in one of his arms, but after knowing us to 'be rendered, he ſuccoured us: and we ſatisfying 'them that we could not hoiſt out our boat nor ſtrike 'our ſails; the Admiral laid us aboard, but before 'any man entered, John Gomez went unto the Gene'ral, who received him with great courteſy, and aſked 'him what he required; to which he made anſwer, 'my demand was, that in the King's name he ſhould 'give us his faith and promiſe to give us our lives, to 'keep the laws of fair war and quarter, and to ſend 'us preſently into our country, and in confirmation 'hereof that I required ſome pledge; whereunto the 'General made anſwer, that in the King's Majeſty's 'name his maſter, he received us a buena querra, and 'ſwore by God Almighty, and by the habit of Alcan'tara (whereof he had received knighthood, and in 'token whereof he wore on his breaſt a green croſs, 'which is the enſign of that order) that he would give 'us our lives with good entreaty, and ſend us as ſpeedi'ly as he could into our own country, in confirmation 'whereof he took off his glove and ſent it to me as a 'pledge. With this meſſage John Gomez returned, 'and the Spaniards entered and took poſſeſſion of our 'ſhip.'

(12) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1402, 1403.

(13) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 682. Baker's Chronicle, p. 383. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 391.

(14) Obſervations on his Voyage into the South-Seas, p. 155, 156.

[G] *To treat other Engliſhmen better.*] The Spaniſh officers made a practice of diſputing roundly and freely in Captain Hawkins's preſence the nature of his caſe; ſome ſaid they were Lutherans, and therefore no faith was to be kept with them; others, that they were brave fellows, and deſerved to be well treated; ſome, that they were corſairs, and ſo not entituled to the rights of war; and others again, that this muſt depend upon the good pleaſure of the Viceroy of Peru, from whom the General had his commiſſion. Captain Hawkins, without meddling with the main point, took the liberty of touching now and then upon acceſſaries. He obſerved, that as to their being hereticks, they knew it before their promiſe was made, ſo that the true queſtion was, whether a Spaniſh General ſhould give his word when he meant not to keep it; as to their being corſairs or pirates, he proved to them, that this was a vulgar miſtake, for that pirates were ſuch as took veſſels by force in a time of full peace, or that acted without a commiſſion from the government of that ſtate to which they belonged, whereas the facts were notorious to them, both as to the war between Spain and England, and as to their acting under Queen Elizabeth's commiſſion, the laſt error indeed he allowed to be more excuſable, becauſe the Crown of Spain never licenſed private ſhips of war (15). In conſequence of ſeveral diſcourſes of this kind, the Spaniſh General one day at his table, demanded what his ſentiments were upon the main queſtion, or in other words, what he apprehended himſelf entituled to from the general promiſe of fair quarter; this as far as he was able, he laboured to decline, but when he found this would not be admitted, and that moſt of thoſe who were preſent, joined with their General in deſiring him to ſpeak freely, he delivered himſelf thus (16). 'Sir, under 'the capitulation of Buena Querra (or fair wars) I have 'ever underſtood, and ſo it hath ever been obſerved 'in theſe, as alſo in former times, that preſervation of 'life and good entreaty of the priſoner have been com'prehended; and further, by no means to be urged 'to any thing contrary to his conſcience as touching his 'religion, nor to be ſeduced or menaced for the alle'giance due to his Prince and Country, but rather to 'ranſom him for his months pay. And this is that 'which I have known practiſed in our times in gene'ral amongſt all civil and noble nations But the En'gliſh have enlarged it one point more towards the 'Spaniards, rendered a Buena Querra in theſe wars, 'have ever delivered them which have been taken, 'upon ſuch compoſitions without ranſom; but the co'vetouſneſs of our age hath brought in many abuſes, 'and excluded the principal officers from partaking of 'the benefit of this privilege, in leaving them to the 'diſcretion of the victor, being many times poorer than 'the common ſoldiers, their qualities conſidered, 'whereby they are commonly put to more than the 'ordinary ranſom, and not being able of themſelves to 'accompliſh it, are forgotten of their Princes, and 'ſometimes ſuffer long impriſonment, which they ſhould 'not. With this Don Beltran ſaid. This ambiguity 'you have well reſolved; and like a worthy gentle'man, and with great courteſy and liberality, added, let 'not the laſt point trouble you: but be of good com'fort, for I here give you my word anew, that your 'ranſom (if any ſhall be thought due) ſhall be but a 'couple of greyhounds for me, and other two for my 'brother the Conde de Lemos; and this I ſwear to 'you by the habit of Alcantara. Provided always that 'the King my maſter leave you to my diſpoſe, as of 'right you belong unto me.'

(15) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1412, 1413.

(16) Obſervations on his Voyage into the South-Seas, p. 162, 163.

[H] *He*

ninth of July they arrived in the haven of Panama, where the night following they ſaw the whole town as if it had been in a light fire, the houſes, galleries, and churches, being filled with candles, and the Spaniſh ſhips correſponded with their friends on ſhore, in public teſtimonies of joy for this ſignal victory; for ſo it appeared to them, ſince, from the time that Magellan firſt opened the Streights which bear his name, Captain Hawkins was, in their account, the ſixth man that had paſſed them, and of theſe he was the third Engliſhman (*b*). While they remained here, the Spaniſh General diſpatched expreſſes, as well to the Viceroy of New Spain, who had likewiſe fitted out a fleet againſt this potent enemy, as to the Viceroy of Peru, under whom he acted; and by theſe expreſſes Captain Hawkins alſo was permitted to ſend letters to his father and ſome other friends, as alſo to the Queen, which the General aſſured him ſhould be forwarded to Europe (*i*). Upon this occaſion, whether from openneſs of heart or any concealed view is uncertain, Don Beltran ſhewed him a letter from the King to the Viceroy, in which there was a diſtinct account of his own little ſquadron, and the names of the veſſels, their burthen, pieces of artillery, and number of men, as exact as it was poſſible; *You may judge from hence*, added the General, when he ſhewed it him, *what friends the King my maſter has in England, and what ſpeedy and uſeful intelligence they give him* (*k*). Before they returned to Lima, it was found neceſſary to ground and trim the Engliſh ſhip which they had taken; and this being performed, the General, his Captains, and ſome religious men, went on board, and with great ſolemnity beſtowed a third name upon this veſſel, which was now called the Viſitation, becauſe ſhe was ſurrendered to them on that feaſt which they ſtile the Viſitation of the Bleſſed Virgin. He ſpent upwards of two years in Peru and the adjacent provinces, after which he was ſent to Panama, and from thence on board a galleon, of the burthen of five hundred tons, with the reſt of a fleet that was then returning into Europe (*l*). In his paſſage, he was once very near being killed or ſet at liberty; for this fleet came to the Tercera iſlands in the month of September, 1597, preciſely at the time that the Engliſh fleet was there; and in entering the harbour, the galleon, on board of which Captain Hawkins was, had twelve perſons grievouſly hurt by ſplinters, occaſioned by a ſhot from the Engliſh Admiral, though the ſhot itſelf did no execution at all (*m*). When he had remained there ſome time, he was at laſt ſent to Seville [*H*], in which famous city he was alſo ſome time confined, and then tranſferred to Madrid; where his cauſe, which was before litigated in the Indies, was again brought into debate. The point was, whether Don Beltran de Caſtro, who had promiſed him life and liberty in the name of the King of Spain his maſter, had any authority to make that promiſe, ſince he did not derive his power from the King, but from the Viceroy of Peru. In the whole courſe of this debate, the Spaniſh General ſaid and did every thing that could make for his priſoner's advantage, avowed his promiſe in the cleareſt terms, and employed all his friends in ſolliciting that it might be made good to Captain Hawkins (*n*). The true reaſon that this affair was drawn into ſuch a length, was to deter others, by his example, from making expeditions into the South-Seas. When in the end it came before the Privy-Council, the Count de Miranda, who was then Preſident, gave it as his opinion, that the promiſe of a Spaniſh General in the King's name ought to be punctually kept; for otherwiſe no veſſel would ever ſurrender, ſince in ſuch junctures it was impoſſible for them to know whoſe authority the General had (*o*). The deciſion of the Council being thus in his favour, he was ſet at liberty and returned to England. We know nothing farther of the fortunes of Sir Richard Hawkins, excepting that he died in a very ſingular manner; for, as he attended the Privy-Council on ſome particular occaſion, he was ſeized with an apoplectic fit, of which he expired in 1622 (*p*). His book was at that time in the preſs, and probably finiſhed; ſince the Dedication to Charles Prince of Wales, afterwards King Charles the Firſt, was prefixed thereto by himſelf; from which it appears, that the unhappy iſſue of his voyage to the South-Seas, his long confinement, and the diſaſters which naturally attended it, brought him into great diſtreſs (*q*). This work of his was ſoon after publiſhed by a friend, and was received with that approbation which it ſo well deſerved [*I*].

(*b*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 682. Baker's Chronicle, p. 383. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 391.

(*i*) Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 168.

(*k*) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1415.

(*l*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 682. Baker's Chronicle, p. 383. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 392.

(*m*) Hawkins's Obſervations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 151.

(*n*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 682. Baker's Chronicle, p. 383.

(*o*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 682.

(*p*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 392.

(*q*) His own words are, *Having brought on me nothing but loſs and miſery.*

[*H*] *He was at laſt ſent to Seville.*] Whatever conceit Sir Richard Hawkins might have of the unluckineſs of his ſhip, he ſeems to have been not at all more fortunate in any other; for, as he very narrowly eſcaped being killed at the Tercera's by an Engliſh cannon ſhot; ſo in the river of Seville, he was in very great danger, from a diſpute between two Spaniſh officers about a point of honour (17). His Catholic Majeſty had ſent eight new ſhips under a General, who was a man of great quality, to fetch the galleons from thoſe iſlands; and having paſſed the bar of St Lucar, the ſhips laden with treaſure were moored in the midſt of the river, and their eſcorte, on the ſide near the ſhore, in ſuch a manner, that one of the Admiral's cables overlaid the only one the galleon, in which Captain Hawkins came home, had left; by reaſon of which, the great current of ebb and a freſh wind cauſed the Admiral's anchors to give way, which likewiſe brought up that of the galleon; ſo that both ſhips began to drive, and were in the utmoſt peril of running foul one of the other. In this untoward ſituation, the General ſtanding in his gallery, gave no orders at all, becauſe he judged it beneath him to veer out a cable firſt; but the Captain of the galleon, who was a man of leſs ceremony, crying out, that upon his honour he had not another cable, that there were two millions of ſilver on board his veſſel, and that he proteſted againſt the General for any damage that might happen either to his Catholic Majeſty or to the trade, that great man was pleaſed to iſſue the neceſſary orders, by which both ſhips, though not without ſome difficulty, were preſerved; whereas, by weighing his anchor at firſt, all peril might have been prevented. What is ſtill more ſurprizing than this accident, our author aſſures us, the General was a very experienced officer, to which he attributes his condeſcending ſo far as he did; for if he had been a freſh-water Admiral, it is more than probable, the deciding this point of honour had coſt the King of Spain two millions in ſilver, and two ſhips into the bargain.

(17) Ibid. p. 140, 141.

[*I*] *Which it ſo well deſerved.*] The modeſt title of this treatiſe runs in theſe words:

The

The Obſervations of Sir Richard Hawkins, Knight, in his Voyage into the South-Sea, *Anno Dom.* 1593. Lond. 1622. *folio.*

The various particulars, which we have extracted from this venerable work, will give the reader ſome notion of the numerous matters of fact, that, from a laudable zeal for the honour of his country, and out of a generous benevolence to mankind, he preſerved from oblivion in that treatiſe (18). Theſe citations will likewiſe ſhew his manner of writing and his ſtile, which for thoſe times were elegant and perſpicuous; in ours, probably, they will be thought to have contracted the ruſt of antiquity; which if, as the critics allow, rather heightens the value of medals, as it is an evidence of their being genuine; it is not eaſy to diſcern why it ſhould leſſen the value of hiſtory. But be that as it will, we thought it our duty to erect the beſt monument we could for a man of ſo much probity and public ſpirit, of whom, and of his father, a learned Antiquary of their own country (19) has given a juſt encomium in this obſervation; *That had* fortune *been as propitious to them both, as their* virtue, valour, *and* knowledge, *were* eminent, *they might have equalled the choiceſt* worthies *of any age.* We might have had ſtill farther and better evidence of this from his own pen, if he had been ſpared by Providence life and leiſure to have written, as he intended, the ſecond part of his Obſervations; in which he propoſed to have ſhewn, what happened to him and his companions during their ſtay in Peru and in the Terra Firma, which muſt have been very entertaining and inſtructive, as he was not only a very curious enquirer, but a perſon alſo of great ſagacity and much general knowledge. He meant alſo to have related his adventures in the iſland of Tercera, and in the cities of Seville and Madrid; ſo that we have good reaſon to believe the ſecond part would not have been in any degree inferior to the firſt; and like that, no doubt, would have ſupplied us with a multitude of intereſting particulars, which are not to be met with elſewhere, and which, through the ſudden death of Sir Richard Hawkins, muſt remain in perpetual oblivion. This is a circumſtance ſo diſagreeable to all lovers of true hiſtory and authentic information, that there is reaſon to hope it will inſpire them with a generous inclination to prevent, as far as in them lies, every misfortune of that kind, by encouraging ſuch as have reaped no other profit, either from the troubles of an active life or a laborious purſuit of learning, than a ſuperior ſtock of practical knowledge, to give it in time to the world, and not ſuffer a private ſhipwreck to become, as in this and in many other caſes has often fallen out, an irreparable loſs to the Public. E

(18) See the particulars extracted from him, in our Naval Hiſtories, Voyages, &c.

(19) Weſtcot's View of Devon, in Plymouth, MS.

HEARNE [THOMAS], an indefatigable collector and editor of books and manuſcripts, was the ſon of George Hearne, Pariſh-Clerk of White-Waltham in Berkſhire, by Edith, daughter of Thomas Wiſe of Shotteſbrooke in the ſaid county. He was born at Littlefield-green, in the above Pariſh, 1680. His father, beſide the employment of his clerkſhip, kept a writing-ſchool in the vicarage-houſe, being permitted by the miniſter ſo to do, and to live there, on condition of his teaching ten boys annually, without any other reward. Here he retained his ſon Thomas under his own tuition until he was thirteen years of age: when Francis Cherry of Shotteſbrooke, Eſq; took him from thence under his patronage, and put him to the free ſchool of Bray in Berks, in order to his attaining the Greek and Latin tongues. In this place he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ſobriety and extraordinary application, and made an anſwerable proficiency in letters; which was ſo agreeable to his generous benefactor, that he thereupon reſolved, in conformity with the advice of his deareſt friend, the famous Mr Dodwell, to adopt the youth into his family, and provide for him as his own. This he accordingly did, about Eaſter 1695. Mr Cherry having thus taken him home, regarded him in the character of his child, and every day nurtured him in religion as well as claſſic learning; when at home hearing him read, and engaging Mr Dodwell, when he himſelf was abſent, to officiate as Preceptor: both, in their turns, explaining to him the difficulties that occurred in his exerciſes, and illuſtrating the ſubjects of them with uſeful and entertaining reflections. The pains of theſe benevolent inſtructors were not thrown away on their diſciple; he grew apace in literature, and ſoon became acquainted with the Greek and Roman Hiſtorians. Mr Cherry was pleaſed with cultivating a genius ſo ſuſceptible of improvement, and determined to beſtow on him an academical education. To this end he had him entered a Batler of Edmund-hall in Oxford, December the 4th, 1695, where he was matriculated the day following. Immediately after he returned to Mr Cherry's, from whence he went daily again to Bray ſchool, 'till Eaſter term, 1696, when this good man, in perſon, carried him to Oxford, and fully ſettled him at the aboveſaid Hall, with a proviſion of every thing requiſite to his maintenance. That foundation was governed by Dr Mill, who had under him, as Vice-Preſident, White Kennet, afterwards Biſhop of Peterborough, then one of the moſt eſteemed tutors in the univerſity, and at the ſame time Vicar of Shotteſbrooke, to which cure he had been preſented by Mr Cherry. To the ſpecial overſight and tutelage of this gentleman was our Thomas committed, and for Mr Cherry's ſake, their common patron, and for the lad's own, was he treated with all poſſible care, and with a parental tenderneſs. Happily for him, both the head of his college and the deputy were votaries of Antiquity, and young Hearne had a natural and even violent propenſity that way. Somewhat of the kind was conſpicuous in him whilſt a very boy: when he was obſerved to be continually plodding over the old tumuli of his own pariſh church-yard, almoſt as ſoon as he was maſter of the Engliſh alphabet (*a*). This diſpoſition, joined with his unwearied induſtry, rendered him a favourite with theſe his ſuperiors. Dr Mill was then about an Appendix to his Greek Teſtament, and finding him to be well verſed in manuſcripts, he got him to examine ſeveral he had occaſion to make uſe of in that work. When he was of three years ſtanding, he went to Eaton, at this learned gentleman's requeſt, to collate a manuſcript of Tatian and Athenagoras belonging to that college. The copy of the variations he had noted, written by his own hand, is in the Bodleian library, and was uſed by Mr Worth in his edition of Tatian, and by Mr De Chaire in that of Athenagoras, though neither of theſe editors had candour enough to acknowledge the obligation. He was likewiſe very aſſiſtant to the celebrated Dr Grabe, then reſident in Edmund-hall, for whom he compared many manuſcripts, and made conſiderable collections. In Act term, 1699, he took the degree of

(*a*) A Vindication of thoſe who take the oath of allegiance. Printed in the year 1721. Preface, p. 5.

of Bachelor of Arts, and determined in the ſchools the Lent following. Being now qualified to enter on the ſacred function, his friends turned their thoughts towards a proviſion for him in that way. Dr Bray was then intruſted by the Biſhop of London with the care of providing Miſſionaries for our weſtern colonies in America; he was deſirous of engaging Mr Hearne to enter upon that apoſtolical office; and, through the mediation of White Kennet, made him very advantageous propoſals, if he would croſs the Atlantic Ocean. But the converting a miſerable crew of ſavages was not the moſt eligible employment in the opinion of Mr Hearne. He was ſo pleaſed with Oxford, on account of the many valuable acquaintance he had contracted there; ſo addicted to the ſtudy of Engliſh Antiquities, for which hardly any place afforded equal opportunities; and ſo enamoured of that eneſtimable treaſure of literature which he enjoyed in it's Public Library, that he was deaf to their ſollicitations. That noble repoſitory of erudition might be deemed his habitation, for he almoſt dwelt therein. It had the richeſt furniture in his eye, and what he could appropriate to his own uſe, without depriving or offending others. He was ſo noted for the length and frequency of his viſits, that Dr Hudſon, ſoon after he was choſen Keeper thereof, took him for a Coadjutor; having firſt aſked and obtained the conſent of the Curators. In this ſtation he behaved, not only unexceptionably, but very much to the benefit of his truſt. In 1703, on the third of July, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*b*). Upon the death of Mr Emanuel Pritchard, Janitor of the Public Library, that place was conferred on him. About this time, alſo, he was offered two chaplainſhips, ſucceſſively, of Corpus-Chriſti and All-Souls colleges, by the reſpective heads of thoſe houſes; but, as he could not hold either of them with the office of Janitor, which he was unwilling to relinquiſh, he declined thoſe intended favours. In 1712, he became ſecond Library-Keeper of the Bodleian library, on the deceaſe of Mr Crabb. On the 19th of January, 1714-15, he was elected Archetypographus of the Univerſity, and Eſquire-Beadle of the Civil-Law (*c*). This we find him acknowledging to be an honour, which he took the firſt 'opportunity of mentioning to the world, on purpoſe that his gratitude might be made known 'to poſterity. And notwithſtanding he was conſcious to himſelf, that the univerſity favours were conferred on one who every way undeſerved them, in reſpect of learning and 'other requiſite qualifications; yet ſtill he had very good reaſon for accepting them, upon 'this account amongſt others, as they ſeaſonably aſſiſted and relieved one of their mem'bers, that had for many years led an obſcure and retired life, and was at that time 'reduced to a neceſſitous condition, through the great expence he had been at in carrying 'on many public deſigns (*d*).' This poſt he held, together with that of Under-Librarian, 'till the 8th of November following; but then finding they were not tenable together, he reſigned the beadleſhip, and, very ſoon after, the other place alſo, by reaſon of the oaths, which he could not conſcientiouſly comply with: though he had formerly endeavoured to perſwade others to a ſubmiſſion [*A*]. He continued a nonjuror to the laſt, much at the expence

(*b*) Ibid. p. 12.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 13.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 14. Leland. Collect. Vol. I. p. 56.

[*A*] *Endeavoured to perſuade others to a ſubmiſſion.*] There is imputed to him, *A Vindication of the Oath of Allegiance*, &c. ſaid to be written in the twenty-ſecond year of his age (1); whether merely for the declaring his ſentiments at that time in relation thereunto, or for the reconciling his patron, Mr Cherry, to the taking of it, cannot be reſolved. In 1731 this was printed, by an anonymous editor, who prefixed to it a preface, containing a ſatirical account of the author. The piece itſelf is ſo wretched a compoſition, in all reſpects, as to be a real curioſity. It did not prevail on the gentleman to whom it was addreſſed: he perſiſted a ſteady Nonjuror to the end of his life. It is plain, however, that when Mr Hearne compiled it, he was of opinion, 'a King might forfeit 'the allegiance of his ſubjects, when he broke his oath 'by tyrannizing upon, and depriving them of their 'Liberties; and that, in ſuch a caſe, the common 'good of the nation required either his depoſition, or, 'at leaſt, that a reſtraint ſhould be put on him ſome 'other way: thoſe who had ſworn to him being now 'diſcharged from their obligation.' This, he tells Mr Cherry, he had ſhewn, in a former letter, by a detail of the occurrences between King Henry the VIth and Edward the IVth (2). But underſtanding, what he then offered had not the expected effect, he preſumed, in this, to proſecute the ſame thing farther, by giving an hiſtorical account of what paſſed in relation to Maud the Empreſs, and Stephen Earl of Blois, as to the fitting on the throne; and ſhewing, 'That thoſe 'who took an oath to Stephen, as to their ſovereign 'Lord, notwithſtanding they had before ſworne allegiance to her the Empreſſe, thought themſelves, yea 'even were, looſed from their obligation to her, be'cauſe the common good of the nation ſo required it (3). '——That the *common good* did require a ſubmiſſion to 'Stephen, none can deny, if they conſider, Firſt, That 'Maud was then in France, when Stephen was in 'England, and that thereby opportunity was offered 'to Stephen of doing an extraordinary miſchief to the 'land, provided he were not received; and that more 'eſpecially, becauſe his brother was (as ſaid) Biſhop of 'Wincheſter. Secondly, If they conſider that the 'priviledges of the Clergy had been infringed; and 'therefore that they required ſuch a Sovereign as would 'maintain them to the utmoſt of his abilities; as Ste'phen promiſed, and did in a great meaſure perform '(4).' To inforce theſe weighty reaſons (as he undoubted thought them) Mr Hearne adds, 'Not one of 'our Nonjurors can be ſo bold as to affirm, that the 'whole nation was ſo wicked in thoſe days as to perjure 'themſelves, without any reſpect to the reaſonableneſs of 'what they did. For certain it is, that they knew very 'well that the *prime* end of an oath is to be preferred to 'one which is *inferior*. The *prime* end of an oath is *'The good of the perſons concerned in it*; and the *inferior* one, *The aſcertaining ſomething to him to whom 'performed. Therefore whatſoever the intention of the 'perſons was, how ſtrict ſoever the expreſſions may be, 'if the keeping the oath be really inconſiſtent with the 'welfare of a people, in ſubverting the fundamental 'laws which ſupport it, I do not ſee how ſuch an oath 'continues to oblige: For, there is no relation of man'kind one to another, but there is ſome good, antecedent, 'which is the juſt meaſure of that obligation they ſtand 'in to each other.* So that, ſince the *common good* of 'the nation, namely, the preſervation of it's rights and 'priviledges, &c. required a ſubmiſſion to Stephen, the 'nobles, &c. might really think themſelves, yea and 'even were, ſolved from their antecedent oaths to the 'Empreſs (5). But farther yet, The *common good* of 'the nation was ſo much reſpected in this ſubmiſſion to 'Stephen, that his wearing the Crown during his life, 'and then the reverſion of it to Henry the Second, 'was confirmed by Parliament: *which will in ſome 'meaſure confute thoſe, who affirm the Parliament hath 'nothing to do in matters of this nature* (6). I will not tire the reader with any more quotations, but there

(1) Preface to the Vindication, &c. p. 2.

(2) Vindication of the Oath of Allegiance, p. 2.

(3) Ibid. p. 2.

(4) Ibid. p. 23.

(5) Idem, p. 24.

(6) Idem, p. 25.

expence of his worldly intereſt; for, on that ſcore, he rejected ſome preferments, that would have been of conſiderable emolument, and very agreeable to his inclinations (*e*). He died on the tenth of June, 1735, aged fifty-five years, and was buried in the yard of St Peter's in the Eaſt at Oxford; where there is a tomb erected over his remains, with an inſcription thereon of his own compoſing, wherein he ſtiles himſelf Maſter of Arts, who ſtudied and preſerved antiquities; to which character he has ſubjoined two paſſages of the Old Teſtament, viz. Deut. xxxii. 7. and Job viii. 8, 9, 10. He had with great parſimony ſaved about thirteen hundred pounds in caſh, which his relations, who were poor, found among the books and papers in his chamber, after his death. A liſt of the books he *publiſhed* (for he was rather an editor than an author) may be acceptable to the curious. We ſhall enumerate them as briefly as poſſible [*B*].

(*e*) Theſe circumſtances are warranted by a Memoir of Mr Hearne penned by himſelf, and which, together with his other manuſcripts, he bequeathed to the late Rev. Dr William Bedford.

there are in the book, from which the foregoing are taken, ſome other paſſages, that evidently prove Mr Hearne to have been, at the time he wrote it, firmly of opinion, that it was the duty of the people of England to ſwear and bear true allegiance to thoſe who were placed on the Britiſh throne after the expulſion of James the Second.

[*B*] *We ſhall enumerate them as briefly as poſſible.*] They are I. Reliquiæ Bodleianæ: *or ſome genuine Remains of Sir Thomas Bodley, &c.* London, 1703, in 8vo. II. *Plinii Epiſtolæ & Panegyricus, &c.* Oxford, 1703, in 8vo. III. *Eutropii Breviarium Hiſtoriæ Romanæ. &c.* Oxford, 1703, in 8vo. IV. Doctor Hiſtoricus: *A ſhort Syſtem of, or an Introduction to, the Study of Univerſal Hiſtory*, 2 vols 8vo. They did not come out together; a ſecond edition of the firſt was publiſhed at London, 1705. It was printed again in 1714 and 1724, without the author's knowledge. The ſecond volume came out at Oxford, 1704, and was printed three times afterwards at London. Mr Hearne was not ſolely concerned in this work. Some of the parts of it (viz. the two firſt books in the 2d, 3d, and 4th editions) were written by another hand; ſo was the preface. V. *M. Juniani Juſtini Hiſtoriarum ex Trogo Pompeio Libri* XLIV. Oxford, 1705, in 8vo. VI. *Titi Livii Patavini Hiſtoriarum ab urbe condita Libri qui ſuperſunt, &c.* Oxford, 1708, in ſix volumes, 8vo. VII. *A Letter, containing an Account of ſome Antiquities between Windſor and Oxford, &c.* Printed in 1708, in the Monthly Miſcellany, or Memoirs for the Curious; and re-printed at the end of the fifth volume of Leland's Itinerary. VIII. *The Life of Ælfred the Great by Sir John Spelman Publiſhed from the original MS. in the Bodleian Library, &c.* Oxford, 1710, in 8vo. IX. *The Itinerary of John Leland the Antiquary, intermixed with divers curious diſcourſes, written by the editor and others. In IX Volumes, 8vo.* Oxford, 1710, 1711, 1712. As there were but 108 copies of this edition printed off on ordinary paper, and 12 on a finer, it ſoon became very ſcarce; and ſold, at length, for a guinea a volume, though ſmall ones. A new edition was printed at Oxford in 1744 and 1745. X. *Henrici Dodwelli de Parmâ Equeſtri Woodwardiana Diſſertatio, &c.* Oxford, 1713, in 8vo XI. *Johannis Lelandi Antiquarii de Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, Oxford, 1715, in ſix volumes, 8vo. XII. *Acta Apoſtolorum Græco-Latine, literis majuſculis. E codice Laudiano in Bibliothecâ Bodleianâ aſſervato, &c.* Oxford, 1715, in 8vo. XIII. *Joannis Roſſi Antiquarii Warwicenſis Hiſtoria Regum Angliæ. E codice MS. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana, &c.* Oxford, 1716, in 8vo. It was printed again at the ſame place, with the ſecond edition of Leland's Itinerary, and now goes along with that work. XIV. *Titi Livii Foro-Julienſis Vita Henrici quinti, Regis Angliæ. Accedit Sylloge Epiſtolarum a variis Angliæ Principibus Scriptarum.* Oxford, 1716, in 8vo. XV. *Aluredi Beverlacenſis Annales, ſive hiſtoria de geſtis Regum Britanniæ, Libris IX, &c.* Oxford, 1716, in 8vo. XVI. *Gulielmi Roperi vita D. Thomæ Mori Equitis auratî, lingua Anglicanâ contexta, &c.* Oxford, 1716, in 8vo. XVII. *Gulielmi Camdeni Annales Regum Angliarum & Hibernicarum regnante Elizabetha Tribus Voluminibus comprehenſi, &c.* Oxford, 1717, in 8vo. XVIII. *Gulielmi Neubrigenſis Hiſtoria ſive chronica rerum Anglicarum, libris quinque, &c.* Oxford, 1719, in 8vo. XIX. *Thomæ Sprotti Chronica, &c.* Oxford, 1719, in 8vo. XX. *A Collection of curious Diſcourſes, written by eminent Antiquaries upon ſeveral Heads in our Engliſh Antiquities,* Oxford, 1720, in 8vo. XXI. *Textus Roffenſis, &c.* Oxford, 1720, in 8vo. XXII. *Roberti de Aveſbury Hiſtoria de mirabilibus geſtis Edwardi tertii, &c.* Oxford, 1720, in 8vo. XXIII. *Johannes de Fordun Scotichronicon genuinum, una cum ejuſdem ſupplemento ac continuatione.* Oxford, 1722, in 8vo. XXIV. *The Hiſtory and Antiquities of Glaſtonbury, &c.* Oxford, 1722, in 8vo. XXV. *Hemingi Chartularium Eccleſiæ Wigornienſis, &c.* Oxford, 1723, in 8vo. XXVI. *Robert of Glouceſter's Chronicle, &c.* two volumes. Oxford, 1724, in 8vo. XXVII. *Peter Langtoft's Chronicle (as illuſtrated and improved by Robert of Brune) from the Death of Cadwalader to the End of K. Edward the Firſt's Reign, &c.* Two volumes, 8vo. Oxford, 1725. XXVIII. *Johannes, Confratris & Monachi Glaſtonienſis, Chronica, ſive Hiſtoria de Rebus Glaſtonienſibus, &c.* Oxford, 1726, in 8vo. XXIX. *Adami de Domerham Hiſtoriæ de Rebus geſtis Glaſtonienſibus, &c.* Two volumes in 8vo. Oxford, 1727. XXX *Thomæ de Elmham Vita & Geſta Henrici quinti, Anglorum Regis, &c.* Oxford, 1727, in 8vo. XXXI. *Liber niger Scaccarii, &c.* Two volumes, in 8vo. Oxford, 1728. XXXII. *Hiſtoria Vitæ & Regni Richardi II. Angliæ Regis, a Monacho quodam de Eveſham conſignata, &c.* Oxford, 1729, in 8vo. XXXIII. *Joannis de Trokelowe Annales Edwardi II.* &c. Oxford, 1729, in 8vo. XXXIV. *Thomæ Caii (Collegii Univerſitatis regnante Elizabethâ magiſtri) Vindiciæ Antiquitatis Academiæ Oxonienſis, &c.* Two volumes, in 8vo Oxford, 1730 XXXV. *Walteri Hemingforde, Canonici de Giſſeburne, Hiſtoria de rebus geſtis Edwardi I. Edwardi II. & Edwardi III,* &c. Two volumes in 8vo Oxford, 1731. XXXVI. *Duo Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores veteres, viz Thomas Otterbourne & Johannes Wethamſtede, ab origine gentis Britannicæ uſque ad Edwardum IV,* &c. Two volumes, in 8vo. Oxford 1733. XXXVII. *Chronicon ſive Annales Prioratus de Dunſtable, una cum excerptis e chartulario ejuſdem Prioratus,* &c. Oxford, 1733, in 8vo. XXXVIII. *Benedictus, Abbas Petroburgenſis, de Vita & geſtis Henrici II. Ricardi I,* &c. Two volumes, in 8vo. Oxford, 1735. Beſides the foregoing, we may aſcribe to Mr Hearne that letter, whereof ſomewhat is ſaid in note [*A*], the title of which is, *A Vindication of thoſe who take the Oath of Allegiance to his preſent Majeſty from prejudice, injuſtice, and diſloyalty, charged upon them by ſuch as are againſt it. Wherein is evidently ſhewed, that the common Good of a Nation is what is primarily and principally reſpected in an Oath, and therefore when the Oath is inconſiſtent with that, the perſons who have taken it are abſolved from it.* This epiſtle is addreſſed to Mr Cherry; from whom it came (with many other MSS.) expreſsly by will to the Bodleian Library. It is dated from Edmund Hall in Oxford, June 11, 1700, though not publiſhed till 1731, when it was ſurreptitiouſly printed. Mr Hearne made the index to Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange's Tranſlation of Joſephus into Engliſh*, London, 1702, in folio: three indexes to *Cyrilli Hieroſolymitani Opera*, Oxford, 1703, in folio: an index to the four parts of Dr *Edwards's Preſervative againſt Socinianiſm*, Oxford, 1704, in 4to: and that to the *Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, Oxford, 1704, in folio. He deſigned to have alſo printed, from an ancient MS. in the Harleyan Library, *Joannis Beveri, Monachi Weſtmonaſterienſis, Chronicon a Bruti primi Regis introitu in hanc Inſulam uſque ad annum Domini* 1306. To which was to be added from an old MS. in the ſame library, *Joannis Merylinch, Monachi Glaſtonienſis, Rerum (in Anglia ſpeciatim ac Hibernia) ſub novem primis annis Joannis XXII Pontificis Romani, geſtarum. Deſcriptio.* In two volumes, 8vo. But death defeated this intention. Mr Hearne was an editor of a very peculiar caſt. He ſcarcely ever publiſhed an old writer, without intermixing with, or adding to, him, a parcel of papers, which had little relation, or perhaps none at all, to the principal ſubject. Theſe odd farragoes are generally introduced by long and elaborate prefaces, ſome in Latin, others in Engliſh, as miſcellaneous as their following collections: an

an account is therein uſually given of the author ſet forth; where he was found, or how Mr Hearne came by him: with a variety of incidental matters, ſuch as came into his head while his pen was a-going. The capriciouſneſs of the man's genius, and the oddity of his taſte, are in all this ſufficiently conſpicuous; however, though his compoſitions are ſo irregular, there is a kind of readers, to whom they will, notwithſtanding, afford an agreeable entertainment. I

HERBERT [ARTHUR], afterwards created Baron of Torbay, and Earl of Torrington; a very gallant ſeaman, and for ſome time in the direction of the Admiralty in the reign of King William. He was very nobly deſcended, as may be perceived from the following ſuccinct account of his genealogy. Sir Richard Herbert, brother to William Earl of Pembroke, remarkable for his ſtature and ſtrength, in which he excelled moſt men of that age, being taken priſoner at the battle of Danet-Moor, with the Earl his brother, by the adherents of the Duke of Clarence and Earl of Warwick, then in rebellion againſt Edward the Fourth, was, with his ſaid brother, beheaded in the eighth year of that monarch's reign (a). This noble perſon, by Margaret, daughter to Thomas ap Griffith ap Nicholas, had iſſue three ſons; Sir William Herbert of Colebrooke, Knight; Richard Herbert of the Caſtle of Montgomery, Eſq; and Thomas Herbert of St Pere (b). Sir Richard Herbert, the ſecond ſon, had iſſue, by Anne his wife, daughter to Sir David ap Ennion ap Leuelling Vaughan, Edward Herbert Eſq; who eſpouſed Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Price of Newton, Eſq; by whom he had three ſons and five daughters (c). His eldeſt ſon, Richard, was the father of Edward, the firſt Baron of Chirbury (d). Matthew, the ſecond ſon, was the anceſtor of the preſent Earl of Powis (e); and Charles Herbert of Aſton, in the county of Montgomery, Eſq; was the father of Edward, afterwards Sir Edward Herbert of London, Knight; firſt Sollicitor, then Attorney General, to King Charles the Firſt, and afterwards intruſted with the Great Seal of England, by the title of Lord-Keeper at Paris, by King Charles the Second, when in exile; and held the title, though not the Seals, to the time of his demiſe in 1657 (f) [A]. This Sir Edward Herbert, by Margaret his wife, left iſſue three ſons. Arthur, of whom we are to treat; Edward and Charles (g). Arthur the eldeſt, though he had a ſmall eſtate, entered

(a) Hall's Chronicle, p. 203. Stowe's Annals, p. 421.

(b) Viſitat. de Com. Salop. 1623. per Robert. Trefwell & Auguſt Vincent, in Offic. Armor. p. 270.

(c) Ibid.

(d) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 261.

(e) Inſcript. Tumuli apud Welſhpoole.

(f) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 514.

(g) E Collectione Thom. Meller, penes Arthur Collins, Arm.

[A] *To the time of his deceaſe in* 1657.] There has been hitherto ſo little notice taken of this gentleman, though he made ſo great a figure in his life, and had the honour to bear at his death the title of Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal, that we have choſen to preſerve ſome circumſtances relating to him in a note, to avoid the imputation of having treated him with like neglect. He was very eminent in his profeſſion, as a Lawyer, when King Charles the Firſt aſcended the throne; and being choſen a Member of the Houſe of Commons, ſhewed himſelf a great advocate for the liberty of the people, as well as againſt the enormous power of the Duke of Buckingham; who, by monopolizing the royal favour, ingroſſing many great offices in his own hands, and making all who refuſed to concur in ſupporting his power, feel the weight of his diſpleaſure, rendered government diſtaſteful to the ſubject, and made thoſe, who with reaſon had no kindneſs for him, inadvertently enemies to their Prince. On theſe principles, in the year 1626, he managed the three firſt articles of the impeachment (1) againſt the ſaid Duke, on the behalf of the Houſe of Commons, and continued in the ſame courſe during the two next years (2), 'till the deceaſe of Buckingham; but then believing that matters were carried too far, he altered his conduct, and in proceſs of time became Sollicitor General, and had a good intereſt at Court (3). In the Parliament that aſſembled April 13, 1640, he ſat for the borough of Old Sarum in the county of Wilts; and, as the Noble Hiſtorian obſerves, vindicated his maſter's meaſures with great force of reaſoning and much eloquence of ſpeech; for, as he obſerves, no man ſpoke with greater addreſs (4). But it ſeems he was impoſed upon by Sir Henry Vane, then Secretary of State and Treaſurer of the Houſhold, who demanded twelve ſubſidies in the name of the Crown, as an equivalent for ſhip-money; and at the ſame time declared, that the King would not permit any alteration in the matter or in the manner of the grant, which occaſioned the diſſolution of that Parliament on the 5th of May (5). This is commonly aſcribed to malice in Sir Henry Vane, but it is fit that point ſhould be explained. Several members knowing that this Parliament was called by the advice and interpoſition of the Earl of Strafford, had mentioned him with great reſpect; ſo that the Secretary ſaw if any good came of this aſſembly, it would be aſcribed to the Earl; which, being that Earl's enemy, he was inclined to prevent (6). On the meeting of the Long-Parliament, the Sollicitor grew weary of his employment, from an apprehenſion of the ſtorms with which he muſt have been continually ſurrounded in the Houſe of Commons, and therefore very willingly accepted of the poſt of Attorney-General, on the promotion of Sir John Banks to the ſeat of Chief-Juſtice of the Common Pleas. In order to underſtand this, we muſt remember, that in thoſe days, though the Sollicitor was permitted to ſit in the Houſe of Commons, yet the Attorney-General was not, as having a writ to aſſiſt, and a ſeat aſſigned him, in the Houſe of Lords (7). However right his policy might be, Sir Edward Herbert quickly found, that, in times of general confuſion, there is no ſuch thing as a place of ſafety. The King commanded him, in virtue of his office, to accuſe the Lord Kimbolton (8), and five other members of the Houſe of Commons, in the Houſe of Lords of high-treaſon; which he did: and though the King by letter took the whole of this upon himſelf, and declared that his Attorney only obeyed his orders, and did not either adviſe the accuſation, or frame the articles on which it was founded, yet the Houſe of Commons impeached him; and though he defended (9) himſelf ſo ably, as to eſcape all the votes of *cenſure* that were propoſed by the popular party againſt him, and ſo ſeemed upon the whole to be acquitted (10), yet the Houſe thought fit afterwards ſo far to gratify the reſentment of the Commons, as to paſs a kind of ſentence upon him, that diſabled him from holding any other office than that which he poſſeſſed, and likewiſe committed him to the Fleet (11). He continued to adhere ſteadily to his maſter under all his misfortunes, for which the Parliament put him into the liſt of thoſe who were to expect no mercy, in the very laſt treaty they had with the King (12). After his Majeſty's deceaſe he retired abroad, and attached himſelf particularly to the Duke of York, who had a very high value and eſteem for him, which naturally induced him to have a great regard and a ſincere affection for his family. On the demiſe of Sir Richard Lane, King Charles the Second delivered the Great Seal to him at Paris, with the title of Lord-Keeper (13). But his Lordſhip having the misfortune to differ with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who ſtood very high in the King's favour, his Majeſty reſumed the Seal into his own keeping, though Sir Edward Herbert retained the title to the time of his death (14), as we have ſaid in the text; in which we have been the more particular, becauſe, though we draw theſe facts from the work of the Noble Hiſtorian himſelf, yet it ſo fell out, that after the Reſtoration, his name is entirely omitted in the liſts of Chancellors and Keepers, for which it is not very eaſy to aſſign a reaſon.

(1) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 308.

(2) Lloyd's Loyal Martyrs, p. 645. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 6.

(3) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 1144. Lloyd's Loyal Martyrs, p. 645.

(4) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 1212. Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 133.

(5) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 34.

(6) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 139. Whitlock's Memorials, p. 34.

(7) Dugdale's Chron. Series, p. 111. Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 210.

(8) Kennet's Hiſtory of England. Vol. III. p. 122.

(9) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. Part iii. p. 490.

(10) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 484.

(11) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. I. Part iii. p. 493.

(12) Walker's Hiſtory of the Treaty in the Iſle of Wight, p. 28.

(13) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 514.

(14) Sir Richard Greenvile's Defence againſt all aſperſions of malignant perſons, p. 11. Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 517, 518.

[B] To

entered into the ſea-ſervice; in which he quickly diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much, that in the firſt Dutch war after the Reſtoration, he was, though a very young man, promoted to the command of a ſhip by his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York; and, among other inſtances of remarkable bravery, there is ſtill remaining a diſtinct account of his fighting a Dutch ſhip in the bay of Cadiz, which did equal honour to himſelf and the Engliſh navy (*b*) [*B*]. He continued, from this time, in the Streights for about ſix weeks, 'till he had advice that Rear-Admiral Kempthorne was ſailed with his ſquadron for the Streights mouth, where he took care to join him with a ſmall fleet of ſixteen or ſeventeen merchantmen under his convoy, in order to proceed with the Rear-Admiral to England. They met with nothing extraordinary in their paſſage 'till about the middle of the month of May, when being off the iſland of Portland, the Pembroke ran foul of the Fairfax in the night, and ſunk at once; but Captain Herbert and moſt of his crew were happily ſaved, there being none loſt in the veſſel but a few ſick men, who were not able to help themſelves, and whom the ſuddenneſs of the accident, and the confuſion every body was in, hinderèd being aſſiſted by others (*i*). After this narrow eſcape, Captain Herbert went on board one of the ſhips of the ſame ſquadron, and arrived ſafely at Portſmouth. It was not long before he had another ſhip given him; and, both in that and in the ſecond Dutch war, he behaved upon all occaſions with great ſpirit and reſolution, receiving ſeveral wounds, and, as we ſhall ſee in due time, loſing the ſight of one of his eyes in his country's ſervice; all which conſidered, it muſt ſeem very ſtrange, that when he fell afterwards under misfortunes, his courage ſhould be diſputed (*k*). In one of the laſt ſea fights in the ſecond Dutch war, he had the command of the Cambridge, a third rate, in which Sir Fretchville Hollis had been killed in the battle of Solebay; and as Captain Herbert ſucceeded in his command, he was very near ſucceeding alſo to the ſame diſaſter; being deſperately wounded in the action, and his ſhip ſo diſabled, that together with the Reſolution, which was in as bad a condition, ſhe was by Prince Rupert ſent home to refit (*l*). In the year 1674, Captain Herbert having then alſo the command of the Cambridge, came up with ſix ſail of French ſhips near the Neſs; two of theſe were of fifty guns, one a frigate of twenty-ſix guns, and three fire-ſhips. As they did not lower their topſails, our gallant officer fired at them; on which the French, being to windward, came nearer. The Captain called from the Cambridge, to know why they did not ſtrike; to which he received for anſwer, that they would ſtrike to nobody. Captain Herbert, thereupon, fired a ſingle gun, and then a broadſide; which they anſwered with another; and, having the wind, bore away. At his return, Captain Herbert informed King Charles the Second of this inſult offered to his Flag; for which his Majeſty demanded ſatisfaction from Lewis XIV. who immediately ſent over the Commodore, Captain Pannetier, to aſk the King's pardon (*m*) in very ſubmiſſive terms; which he did, and ſo the matter ended. In 1678 he ſerved in the Mediterranean, having the command of the Rupert, a third rate; having with him the Mary, a third rate alſo, commanded by Sir Roger Strickland; and on the third of April came up with an Algerine ſhip, pierced for fifty-four, but actually carrying forty guns and five hundred men. The Rupert, being a prime ſailor, reached her firſt and engaged her; but being commanded by an old Turk, he behaved very gallantly, and did not ſurrender 'till Sir Roger Strickland came up, having loſt three hundred men, and, before he ſtruck, threw all his arms overboard. In the Rupert, all the officers, to the Boatſwain's mate, with nineteen private men, were killed; Captain Herbert and forty more wounded, the Captain, more eſpecially, by the blowing up of ſome cartridges in his face; and here, perhaps, it was that he loſt his eye; however, the prize was carried into Cadiz (*n*). On his return home, he was very graciouſly received by the King his maſter; and as a reward for his ſervices, was appointed Rear-Admiral of the Blue (*o*); being at this time conſidered as a perſon as likely to riſe as any in the royal navy. An occaſion ſoon after offered, which fully juſtified this opinion; for it being found neceſſary to ſend a ſupply of troops and military ſtores to Tangier, then in our hands, as alſo a ſquadron to curb the inſolence of the Algerines,

(*b*) See the original letter in note [*B*].

(*i*) Monthly Intelligence, foreign and domeſtic, May, 1667.

(*k*) Annals of the Univerſe, p. 377.

(*l*) Account of the Proceedings of his Majeſty's Fleet, under the command of Prince Rupert, p. 4. An Impartial Account of ſome remarkable paſſages in the Life of Arthur Earl of Torrington, &c. 1691. 4to.

(*m*) Annals of the Univerſe, p. 334.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 377.

(*o*) From a Liſt extracted from Secretary Pepys's Papers.

[*B*] *To himſelf and the Engliſh nation.*] The reader will find a very plain and artleſs account of this matter, in the following letter, dated from Cadiz, in March 1667 (15). 'Captain Herbert in the Pembroke is now in this port, being newly returned from a freſh diſpute with a Zealand man of war, of thirty-four guns, and one hundred and eighty men, with whom he fought ſome days before in ſight of that bay, from two in the afternoon, 'till the night put an end to that day's work. All that night the Pembroke frigate carrying out a light for the Zealander, and the next morning being to the windward, fired a gun, and bore up to re-engage her; but the Zealander being the nimbler ſailor, bore away once or twice before the wind, declining any farther diſpute, which the frigate perceiving, and fearing to be put to leeward of the port, by a fruitleſs purſuit, the wind then blowing a ſtrong Levant, came again for the bay, which the Zealander wanted not the confidence to boaſt of as a mark of his victory. Since this, the frigate being put a-ſhore to waſh and tallow, the Zealander made ſeveral challenges, but went out again to ſea before the frigate could get ready. Yeſterday morning the Zealander coming in, the frigate being ready went out to meet him, and paſſed five times upon him within piſtol-ſhot, until the Zealander, finding the ſervice too hot, bore in for the bay, purſued for a long time by the frigate, which being unable to overtake him, fired her chaſe-gun and ſtood out again to ſea, the Zealander anſwering her challenge with a friendly ſalute of three guns to leeward, but yet thought it convenient to put into the bay, where he triumphantly fired all his guns, leaving the Pembroke at ſea in vain attending him 'till the next morning. The captain of the Zealander afterwards came a-ſhore, endeavouring to perſuade the people that his main-maſt was diſabled, and that he wanted ſhot for his guns. In this diſpute the frigate had ſeven men killed, and five hurt, but none mortally, and her fore-maſt ſomewhat diſabled, but will ſpeedily be refitted and made ſerviceable.'

(15) Remarkable paſſages in the Life of Lord Torrington.

Algerines, who, notwithſtanding the treaties that had been concluded but a few years before, began again to diſturb our commerce (*p*), it was reſolved that the command of this armament ſhould be given to Admiral Herbert, who was accordingly inſtructed to contribute as much as poſſible to the raiſing the ſiege of Tangier; and when that was done, to uſe his beſt endeavours to bring the Algerines to a ſubmiſſion, and to a new treaty, upon better and more explicit terms, than thoſe contained in that they had lately broken, which they pretended to explain in ſuch a manner as to juſtify their piracies. In 1682, Rear-Admiral Herbert ſailed into the Mediterranean, with a ſtrong ſquadron, and a conſiderable number of tenders and ſtore-ſhips, which arrived very ſafe under his convoy at Tangier. He found that fortreſs not a little ſtraitened by the Moors, by whom it was ſo cloſely blocked up, that nothing could enter it by land. Admiral Herbert not only relieved the garriſon, by the ſeaſonable ſupply that he brought of proviſions and military ſtores, but reſolved alſo to reſtore his countrymen to liberty as well as plenty, by compelling the enemy to raiſe the blockade. He landed, with this view, as many ſeamen out of the fleet as he could poſſibly ſpare; formed them into a battalion; and, by attacking the Moors on one ſide, while the garriſon made a briſk ſally, and drove them from moſt of their poſts on the other, obliged them to leave the neighbourhood of the place, and to retire further within land. He executed the other part of his charge, with reſpect to the Algerines, with equal ſpirit and ſucceſs; deſtroyed ſome of their ſhips, and diſpoſed things in ſuch a manner, to diſturb and diſtreſs that ſtate by ſea, as obliged the Dey to ſummon a divan, in which it was reſolved to enter into an immediate negotiation with the Engliſh Admiral (*q*). The terms were very ſpeedily ſettled, without any of thoſe ambiguities, which left them pretences for breaking their treaties when they pleaſed; and the buſineſs of his expedition being happily over, he returned home ſafe, with the ſquadron under his command, towards the latter end of the ſame year, and had the pleaſure to find his conduct as an officer and negotiator equally approved [*C*]. As a reward of theſe ſervices, he was promoted to the rank of Vice-Admiral (*r*); and, as a ſtill ſtronger proof of the confidence repoſed in him by his royal maſter, we find his name inſerted in the commiſſion, granted April 17, 1684 (*s*), for executing the office of Lord High-Admiral; viz. Daniel Earl of Nottingham; Sir Humphry Winch, Baronet; Sir Thomas Meeres, Knight; Sir Edward Hales, Baronet; Henry Saville, Eſq; Sir John Chicheley, Knight; Arthur Herbert, Eſq; John Lord Vaughan. On the King's demiſe, when great changes were expected, and many of the firſt people at Court and of the nation were diffident as to their condition, and apprehenſive of what might follow, he was not diſturbed with theſe fears. The favours he had received from the Duke of York, gave him room to expect farther preferments, upon the acceſſion of that prince to the throne; nor was he deceived in his expectations, ſince, in the beginning of the new reign, he was made Vice-Admiral of England and Maſter of the Robes (*t*), there being at that time no man of his rank, who was more heartily attached either to the government or to the perſon of that prince. But when the ſcheme for repealing the teſt-act came under conſideration, and King James thought fit to cloſet ſuch of his officers in the army and fleet as had ſeats in the Houſe of Commons, it quickly appeared that Vice-Admiral Herbert was none of thoſe complying ſpirits, who, for the ſake of private profit, would ſacrifice the intereſt of the public (*u*). His brother, the Lord Chief-Juſtice Herbert, had expoſed himſelf to public odium, by giving judgment in his court in favour of the King's diſpenſing power, upon an action brought againſt Sir Edward Hales, who had accepted an employment without qualifying himſelf for it, by taking the oaths the law required; and, though this ſeemed in ſome meaſure to have done all that the King wanted, he ſtill perſiſted in his deſign of having the teſt-act repealed; which, amongſt other extraordinary conſequences, produced the diſgrace of Vice-Admiral Herbert (*w*), who to that hour had never done any thing to diſoblige the King, or had perceived the leaſt coldneſs in his Majeſty towards him. We may from hence conclude, that the part he acted aroſe from a principle of conſcience, though his private life was none

(*p*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, P. 404, 405.

(*q*) An Impartial Account of ſome remarkable paſſages in the Life of Arthur Earl of Torrington, &c. Colliber's Columna Roſtrata, p. 252.

(*r*) From Secretary Pepys's Papers.

(*s*) The Laws, Ordinances, and Inſtitutions, of the Admiralty of Great-Britain, Vol. II. p. 367.

(*t*) Sir John Reresby's Memoirs, p. 241. Sandford's Hiſtory of the Coronation of King James II. and Queen Mary, p. 21, 79.

(*u*) Sir John Reresby's Memoirs, p. 241.

(*w*) An Impartial Account of ſome remarkable paſſages, &c. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 671. Sir John Reresby's Memoirs, p. 241.

[*C*] *Equally approved.*] This treaty of peace was concluded on the 10th of April 1682 (*16*), according to the Chriſtian æra, and on the 11th of the moon of April, in the year of the Hegira 1093, on the behalf of Charles the Second, King of Great-Britain, by Arthur Herbert, Eſq; who is therein ſtiled Admiral of his Majeſty's fleet in the Mediterranean, and the Baſhaw Dey, Aga, and Governors of the famous city of Algier in Barbary. It contains in the whole twenty-one articles, and is ſo full, ſo clear, and ſo circumſtantial in every one of them, that it is very eaſy to perceive the humble frame of mind in which thoſe corſairs were at the time they concluded it. For in this treaty there is no one conceſſion made to theſe people, except that of ſending on board to ſee the paſſport; and with reſpect to this, it is ſtipulated that no more than two perſons ſhall have right to go on board any Engliſh veſſel; and upon producing a paſſport from the Engliſh Admiralty, they are to be permitted to continue their voyage without any moleſtation or viſitation whatever; and all paſſengers, money, commodities, merchandizes, and moveables, let them belong to whom they will, are to remain ſafe and untouched. There is a farther proviſion, that for fifteen months after ſigning the treaty, if any veſſel ſhould not be furniſhed with a paſſport from the Admiralty, yet if the major part of the crew appear to be Engliſh, they were to have the benefit of this treaty as much as if they had a paſſport. There is beſides the treaty a ſeparate article, dated the 5th of March, in the year of our Lord 1682, but in the Hegira 1094, which plainly ſhews that the former date was according to our ſtile, and that it was 1683 with other nations, and by this ſeparate article the form of the paſſport is regulated. This treaty continued in force, and was very punctually executed, during the remainder of the reign of Charles the ſecond, and alſo during that of James the ſecond; for there is likewiſe a form of that Monarch's paſſports, who took the Admiralty into his own hands, and therefore it concludes, Given under our ſeal manual, and under the ſeal of our Admiraly, and is ſubſcribed James R. and lower, By the command of his Majeſty, Samuel Pepys, who was Secretary of the Admiralty, and the ſole Miniſter in that department during King James's reign.

(16) Corps Diplomatique, Vol. VII. Part ii. p. 20, 21, 22.

[*D*] *From*

none of the moſt regular; for it will be found upon a ſtrict examination, that, as the advantages of a moral conduct, even in this life, will influence ſome men, who have very unſettled notions in reſpect to religion; ſo there are others, who, though in many inſtances miſled by their paſſions, yet retain ſuch a ſenſe of religion, as never to queſtion the truth of it: and that this was Vice-Admiral Herbert's caſe, the reader will learn, from a Right Reverend Hiſtorian, in the notes [*D*]. The ſmall appearance there was of his being able to live with honour, or even with ſafety, at home, and his inclination to follow many perſons of great reputation, who at that juncture choſe to retire abroad, induced him to withdraw to Holland (*x*), whither he was either accompanied, or quickly followed, by his brother Colonel Charles Herbert, and by his couſin Henry Herbert, Eſq; whom King William afterwards created Lord Herbert of Chirbury. Upon his arrival at the Hague, the Vice-Admiral was exceedingly well received, and not long after taken into the ſervice of the States, which was a very prudent, and, in it's conſequences, beneficial ſtep; numbers of Engliſh ſeamen following, and entering, for his ſake, into the Dutch ſervice (*y*); which convinced the States, that things were come to a criſis in England, and that the King had loſt the affections of his ſubjects to a ſtrange degree, when the ſeamen, who of all others had ſhewed themſelves moſt hearty in his cauſe, began to forſake him. At the Prince of Orange's court, Vice-Admiral Herbert was very ſincerely welcomed; he was known to be a man of great weight and experience, one that perfectly underſtood the ſtate of the Engliſh fleet, and the temper and characters of the officers who commanded it (*z*). His firm and ſteady diſpoſition, and the ſtate that he kept up in the midſt of his misfortunes, made an impreſſion upon the Dutch ſtateſmen, and even upon the Prince of Orange himſelf; though a celebrated Hiſtorian informs us, this was ſuch an impreſſion, as in the main did not turn much to his advantage [*E*]. It ſeems to put it beyond all queſtion,

(*x*) Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 518.

(*y*) Sir John Reresby's Memoirs, p. 266.

(*z*) Impartial Account of ſome remarkable paſſages, &c.

[*D*] *From a Right Reverend Hiſtorian in the notes.*] It is generally believed, that when a perſon of diſtinguiſhed underſtanding acts in any point of importance in direct oppoſition to his intereſt, he muſt be influenced by paſſion, prejudice, or principle. It is pretty clear that Admiral Herbert's intereſt, to ſay nothing of duty and gratitude, bound him to the King his maſter. Paſſion or prejudice would have lain the ſame way, for his ruling paſſion was ambition; his education and his practice had given him a habit of loyalty, if, therefore, upon his maſter's propoſing to him, which was a ſpontaneous act in him, and which Herbert could not either foreſee or avoid, as the title of his favour, a meaſure repugnant to the dictates of his conſcience, to what in candour and juſtice can we aſcribe his rejecting that propoſal, but to principle? Biſhop Burnet having cenſured the Admiral's brother, Sir Edward, for promoting the King's deſigns in Weſtminſter-Hall, proceeds to give us an account of the Admiral's conduct in the following words. 'So 'little regard had the Chief-Juſtice's neareſt friends to 'his opinion in this particular, that his brother, Ad'miral Herbert, being preſſed by the King to promiſe 'that he would vote the repeal of the Teſt, anſwered 'the King very plainly, that he could not do it either 'in honour or conſcience. The King ſaid, he knew 'he was a man of honour, but the reſt of his life did 'not look like a man that had great regard to con'ſcience. He anſwered boldly, he had his faults, but 'they were ſuch, that other people, who talked more 'of conſcience, were guilty of the like. He was, 'indeed, a man abandoned to luxury and vice; but 'though he was poor and had much to loſe, having 'places to the value of four thouſand pounds a year, 'he choſe to loſe them all rather than comply. This 'made much noiſe; for, as he had great reputation 'for his conduct in ſea affairs, ſo he had been moſt 'paſſionately zealous in the King's ſervice from his 'firſt ſetting out to that day. It appeared by this, 'that no paſt ſervice would be conſidered, if men were 'not reſolved to comply in every thing (17). The reader will obſerve that our remarks, previous to this citation, are ſupported by the citation itſelf, which very clearly prove on which ſide Admiral Herbert's intereſt lay, that to this time he had been always warm in the King's ſervice, and that the general ſentiment of the court and the world at this time was, if Herbert's ſervices could not ſave him, there was no man who could place any dependance on his merit. On the whole, perhaps, it will appear, that this gentleman was one of thoſe who thought he had a right to judge for himſelf; and if he did, he muſt naturally think that he ought eſpecially to exert this right in matters of importance. When therefore he had laid things together in his own mind, and had from thence formed an opinion, he purſued it with that warmth, or, as our prelate ſtiles it, zeal, which was the effect of his temper; and this reflection, candidly purſued, will afford us the true key of his whole conduct.

(17) Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 671.

[*E*] *Turn much to his advantage.*] Here again we muſt have recourſe to the Biſhop of Sarum's Hiſtory, where we ſhall find Vice-Admiral Herbert placed in a very different point of light, from that in which we have already ſeen him in the ſame Hiſtory. 'Admiral 'Herbert, ſays his Lordſhip (18), came over to Hol'land, and was received with a particular regard to 'his pride and ill humour; for he was, upon every oc'caſion, ſo ſullen and peeviſh, that it was plain he ſet 'a high value on himſelf, and expected the ſame of 'all others. He had got his accounts paſſed, in which 'he complained that the King had uſed him not only 'hardly, but unjuſtly. He was a man delivered up to 'pride and luxury, yet he had a good underſtanding, 'and he had gained ſo great a reputation by his ſteady 'behaviour in England, that the Prince underſtood, 'that it was expected he ſhould uſe him as he himſelf 'ſhould deſire, in which it was not very eaſy to him 'to conſtrain himſelf ſo far as that required. The 'managing him was in a great meaſure put on me; 'and it was no eaſy thing. It made me often reflect 'on the Providence of God, that makes ſome men inſtruments in great things, to which they themſelves 'have no ſort of affection or diſpoſition; for his private quarrel with the Lord Dartmouth, who he 'thought had more of the King's confidence than he 'himſelf had, was believed the root of all the ſullen'neſs he fell under towards the King, and of all the 'firmneſs that grew out of that.' It muſt appear more wonderful than any thing obſerved by our Hiſtorian, if this was the real character of the man, that the States-General and the Prince of Orange ſhould give him the title of Lieutenant-General-Admiral, and intruſt him with the (19) ſupreme command of their fleet; it is true, our author ſays, that this was not very eaſy to the States, or to the Prince himſelf, who thought it an abſurd thing. But why did they do it then? Nothing leſs, ſays he, would content Herbert (20). If this was ſo, we have ſome reaſon to believe that the States and the Prince of Orange had a very high opinion of his talents or of his intereſt, in taking ſo extraordinary a ſtep, merely becauſe he would not be content without it. But it is more probable that he was put at the head of the fleet, becauſe there were many reaſons that made him the propereſt man for that command; ſuch as the nature of the deſign itſelf; his intereſt among the officers of the Engliſh Navy, his perfect acquaintance with our coaſts, his being moſt likely to engage the Governors of Sea-Port towns to come into the Prince; and, above all, the neceſſity they were under of having ſome Engliſhman in a high poſt, to prevent the people from conſidering this as a hoſtile invaſion. Now if we view this matter in theſe lights, it

(18) Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 762.

(19) Le Clerc Hiſtoire des Provinces Unies, Tom. III. p. 409. Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, Tom. V. p. 1236.

(20) Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 764.

queſtion, that it was the great capacity, known ſkill, and long experience, of this gentleman, that placed him in the committee appointed to prepare every thing requiſite for the embarkation of the Dutch forces; that is, to take up ſeven hundred tranſports, and to diſpoſe on board them the requiſite military and naval ſtores, as well as proviſion for a great army, and this in a ſhort ſpace of time, and with vaſt ſecrecy; theſe commiſſioners were, Bentinck Dykvelt Van Hulſt and Herbert (*a*). In the ſpace of two months, theſe commiſſioners actually executed this arduous commiſſion; which ſeems to demonſtrate, not only their great vigilance and dexterity, but alſo the moſt perfect harmony; for if there had been any diſputes amongſt them, the ſervice could not either have been effected or concealed. After ſuch an inſtance of his capacity and indefatigable care, they might well expect that the reſt of his conduct would be of a piece. But what ſeems farther to explain the real intention of the States and the Prince of Orange in truſting Vice-Admiral Herbert, though a ſtranger, with ſo high a command, was, the publiſhing his letter to the commanders of the Engliſh fleet (*b*), at the very ſame time with the Prince of Orange's Declaration; for if they had not placed very ſtrong hopes in that, without queſtion it had never been publiſhed at all; and, if they had ſuch hopes, this alone will ſufficiently account for the giving him the chief command under the Prince of Orange, to whom, by the nature of his commiſſion, he was Lieutenant-General by ſea. Neither were theſe hopes of influencing the Engliſh ſeamen ſlightly grounded, ſince the pamphlets wrote in thoſe times univerſally agree, that the ſeamen had a very general and warm averſion to Popery, diſliked and deſpiſed ſuch of their officers as had embraced that religion, and were very prone in their cups to drink Admiral Herbert's health; ſo that theſe were very ſtrong indications of their ill will on one ſide, and their good will on the other [*F*]. In conſequence of private intelligence received, and in compliance with the preſſing inſtances of ſome about the Prince, he ſtood over towards the Engliſh coaſt with the Dutch fleet, in order to try whether any advantage could be taken of that of the King's, which was not yet formed, and to give an opportunity to the Engliſh captains to come over, in caſe any amongſt them were ſo inclined; but the weather proving very bad, he was obliged to return without ſucceſs (*c*) in either reſpect; after which, all his endeavours were bent to finiſh the preparations for the great expedition. When every thing was ready, the troops were embarked with ſo much ſpeed and ſecrecy, that no advices could be given in England that could be of any uſe; but notwithſtanding this care, the fleet was obliged to return. They ſailed on the 19th of October, 1688, and they put back into port on the 22d (*d*). This was a great diſappointment; and, without doubt, had things been managed by a prince of leſs firmneſs, or by an admiral of leſs experience, their expedition had been loſt. It is reported, that Admiral Herbert adviſed putting off the buſineſs to that late ſeaſon of the year, becauſe he judged that the winds would be more favourable, that the King's fleet would be leſs able to act, and that, when the enterprize was ſo long delayed, it would be concluded in England to be given over. His Serene Highneſs came into this propoſition

(*a*) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 781.

(*b*) Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 525. Impartial Account of ſome remarkable paſſages, &c.

(*c*) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 779.

(*d*) Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 526. Life of King William III. p. 130. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 782, 783.

it is no difficult thing to ſee, that of all the Engliſh who were about his Royal Highneſs, Vice-Admiral Herbert was in every reſpect the fitteſt man to be intruſted with that command, and therefore, if nothing elſe would content him, it might not proceed from pride, from ambition, or ill humour, but from his making a right judgment of things, and knowing that nothing could contribute ſo much to the ſucceſs of the enterprize; yet of the two, it is infinitely more probable that he did not inſiſt upon this himſelf, but that the States and the Prince of Orange conferred the command upon him, as a thing which they ſaw to be very expedient, or rather abſolutely neceſſary (21).

(21) Hiſtory of the Revolution, p. 135.

[*F*] *And their good will on the other.*] It is however true, that this letter had not the effect that was expected from it, or rather had not ſuch an effect ſo ſoon as it was expected; but as the letter itſelf is curious, and as it is not commonly to be met with, unleſs in a French tranſlation, it may not be diſagreeable to the reader here; and there is the more reaſon to inſert it, becauſe nothing can have a cloſer relation to this noble perſon's memoirs, ſince it muſt be allowed to have been the moſt remarkable, and moſt important paper, that ever fell from his pen, and was conceived in the following words.

To all Commanders of Ships and Seamen in his Majeſty's Fleet.

GENTLEMEN,

'I have little to add to what his Highneſs has expreſſed in general terms, beſides laying before you 'the dangerous way you are at preſent in, where ruin 'or infamy muſt inevitably attend you, if you do not 'join with the Prince in the common cauſe for the 'defence of your religion and liberties; for ſhould it 'pleaſe God, for the ſins of the Engliſh nation, to ſuffer your arms to prevail, to what end can your victory ſerve you, but to enſlave you deeper, and 'overthrow the true religion, in which you have lived 'and your fathers died, of which I beg you, as a friend, 'to conſider the conſequences, and to reflect on the 'blot and infamy it will bring on you, not only now, 'but in all after ages, that by your means the Proteſtant Religion was deſtroyed, and your country deprived of it's ancient liberties; and if it pleaſes God 'to bleſs the Prince's endeavours with ſucceſs, as I do 'not doubt but he will, conſider then what their condition will be that oppoſe him in this ſo good a deſign, where the greateſt favour they can hope for, is 'their being ſuffered to end their days in miſery and 'want, deteſted and deſpiſed by all good men. It is 'therefore for theſe, and for many other reaſons too 'long to inſert here, that I, as a true Engliſhman and 'your friend, exhort you to join your arms to the 'Prince for the defence of the common cauſe, the 'Proteſtant Religion, and the liberties of your country. 'It is what I am well aſſured the major and beſt part 'of the army, as well as the nation, will do, ſo ſoon 'as convenience is offered. Prevent them in ſo good 'an action while it is in your power, and make it appear, that as the kingdom has always depended on 'the navy for it's defence, ſo you will yet go further, 'by making it, as much as in you lies, the protection 'of her religion and liberties, and then you may aſſure 'yourſelves of all marks of favour and honour ſuitable 'to the merits of ſo glorious an action. After this I 'ought not to add ſo inconſiderable a thing, as that it 'will for ever engage me to be, in a moſt particular 'manner,

Your faithful friend and humble ſervant,

Aboard the Leyden in the Goree. AR. HERBERT.

[*G*] *At*

propoſition for the reaſons before aſſigned, and for one as weighty as any of them, which was more immediately known to, and more fully comprehended by, himſelf; and this was, that the ſeaſon of the year for a campaign being over, the French were not like to make any attempts, and conſequently the States-General ran little or no hazard, by their troops being thus employed at this juncture (*e*). It is on all ſides acknowledged, that it was owing to reaſons ſuggeſted by Admiral Herbert (*f*), that the Prince of Orange laid aſide his intention of ſailing northward to the Humber, which muſt have been attended with great inconveniences, as no fleet could lie long with ſafety on that coaſt; but it is not certain whether he gave the advice, which, however, was followed, of publiſhing in all the Dutch Gazettes, that the fleet had been very roughly handled by the ſtorm, that abundance of horſes had been thrown overboard, that many perſons of diſtinction, and particularly Dr Burnet, were caſt away and drowned; which had the effect that was expected from it (*g*), of perſwading ſuch as were not in the ſecret, that the expedition was totally overthrown, or that it muſt be poſtponed for ſome months at leaſt. It is very certain, that this unexpected check made many people mighty uneaſy, and occaſioned ſome very extraordinary propoſals to the Prince. Amongſt the reſt, one was, that Admiral Herbert (*h*), with a ſtout ſquadron, ſhould proceed to the Engliſh coaſt, and fight the King's fleet, to which he was not at all averſe; but the weather rendered it impracticable. The Prince of Orange, however, never altered his intention in the leaſt; but having given the neceſſary orders for repairing the ſhips and refreſhing the troops, which was ſoon done, the fleet ſailed again upon the firſt of November, and arrived ſpeedily and ſafely on the Engliſh coaſt; where, by the ſkill and care of Admiral Herbert, the troops were very ſoon landed (*i*), and by his intelligence with ſeveral perſons of diſtinction in the neighbourhood, amply ſupplied with proviſions and other neceſſaries. In a very few days after, the good effects of the Admiral's letter appeared, by the coming in of ſeveral ſhips; the firſt of which was the Newcaſtle, lying at Plymouth, under the command of Captain Churchill (*k*); and the way being once broke, the ſeamen declared in general for the Prince; from all which it fully appeared, how much the ſucceſs of this great affair was owing to the valour, vigilance, and prudence, of this noble perſon. When King James was obliged to retire into France, the Admiral's brother, Sir Edward Herbert (*l*), went with, or very ſoon followed him, and adhered, with great ſteadineſs, to what he took to be his duty as long as he lived [*G*]. As for the Admiral, and his younger brother Charles,

(*e*) Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, Tom. V.

(*f*) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 778.

(*g*) Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 526. Life of King William III. p. 131. Hiſtory of the Deſertion, in the 1ſt volume of State Tracts, p. 59.

(*h*) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 786.

(*i*) Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 527. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 787, 788. Life of King William III. p. 133, 134.

(*k*) Remarkable Paſſages in the Life of Arthur Earl of Torrington.

(*l*) Hiſtory of King James's Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, p. 74.

[*G*] *As long as he lived.*] This gentleman, the younger brother of the Earl of Torrington, was born in the year 1646, and received the firſt principles of a learned education in Wincheſter-School, from whence he was elected to New College in Oxford, in 1667 (22). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, April 21, 1669 (23). He was then removed to the Middle-Temple, became a Barriſter at Law, and very eminent in his Profeſſion; and having the countenance of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York, was appointed Attorney General in Ireland (24). In February 1683, he was knighted. In 1685, when Sir George Jefferys was made Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, he ſucceeded him as Chief Juſtice of Cheſter (25), and ſoon after became Attorney-General to the Duke of York. Upon the 16th of October, in the ſame year, he ſucceeded the ſame perſon, Lord Jefferys, as Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench, and was ſworn of the King's moſt Honourable Privy Council (26). In this high office he gave great offence in the deciſion of the famous cauſe between the King and Sir Edward Hales, which was an information brought on purpoſe to eſtabliſh the Diſpenſing Power by Law, and this Sir Edward did, by the judgment he pronounced. In this however it is to be preſumed he acted according to his conſcience, and the ſenſe he had of the law as it then ſtood; for, like his brother, he was very ſteady in his ſentiments, and would not either diſſemble himſelf, or ſuffer others to diſſemble for him, as appeared by his diſavowing opinions given in his name by Sir Francis Withins in open court. But it appeared ſtill more clearly, when the Court attempted, from the letter of an old ſtatute in the reign of Edward the ſixth, to keep the army in awe by the help of the civil power; for whereas that law enacts, That it ſhall be felony without benefit of Clergy, for any ſoldier taking pay in the King's ſervice, in his wars beyond the ſeas, upon the ſea, or in Scotland, to deſert; it was propoſed, to extend this law to the ſtanding army in England by conſtruction. The not ſeeing this in the light deſired, proved equally fatal to two great men in the law, Sir John Holt, then Recorder of London, afterwards Chief Juſtice of the King's-Bench, and Sir Edward Herbert, who was then ſo, and who was removed, April 22, 1687, to the Common Pleas (27). He was ſucceeded in the King's Bench by Sir Robert Wright, who hanged a poor ſoldier upon that old law, and thereby kept the army from deſerting, 'till they were able to do it with impunity. As for Sir Edward Herbert, he continued Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas as long as his maſter did upon the Throne; and when he thought fit to retire into France, Sir Edward followed his fortunes, returned with him into Ireland, was excepted in King William's pardon, and was always conſidered as a perſon zealouſly attached to that Prince, though at the ſame time no man was a firmer Proteſtant (28). The tempers and the conduct of the two brothers were much alike, and ſeem to have been very innocently fatal to each other; for the enemies of the Earl of Torrington inſinuated that he was a very unfit man to be truſted by King William, whoſe brother had King James's broad ſeal in his keeping; and the like objections were made at St Germains to Sir Edward Herbert, as far as we can judge from circumſtances, and in ſuch caſes circumſtances are far from being the worſt evidence, without the leaſt foundation on either ſide. By degrees both loſt their credit with their reſpective maſters, and there are ſome who affirm, that Sir Edward Herbert loſt his liberty alſo. He was certainly a very free ſpeaker, which gave his enemies great advantages. Mr Skelton, who was Comptroller of King James's Houſhold, and Sir William Sharpe, charged him with ſpeaking diſreſpectful words of King James, and in particular with ſaying, That his violent temper would ruin himſelf and all who followed him. Sir Edward acknowledged the words, and ſaid they were ſpoken in Ireland, in reference to the act of ſettlement; explained his meaning ſo clearly, and vindicated his intention ſo fully, that his maſter diſmiſſed it as a frivolous complaint (29). But being afterwards charged with carrying on a correſpondence in England, he was put under confinement, which broke his ſpirit extremely. All the correſpondence he held, was with his brother, who relieved him frequently and generouſly; though ſome ſay, that declining it at laſt, poverty, and the ſenſe of ill uſage, finiſhed his days, in the ſame place and in the ſame manner with his father, by breaking his heart (30). He deceaſed in November 1698, bearing the title of Lord Chancellor (31); but it does not appear that he left any iſſue by Mrs Fox, a lady of great merit, and who, like a dutiful wife, ſhared alike in his proſperity and in his misfortunes.

(22) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 992.

(23) Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 173.

(24) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 440. Wood, ubi ſupra.

(25) Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 173.

(26) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 440. Pointer's Chronological Hiſtory of England, Vol. I. p. 330. See Sir John Hawles's Remarks on Wilmer's Caſe, in the fourth volume of the State Tryals.

(27) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 449. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 992.

(28) Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 538. Hiſtory of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, p. 74. Orange Gazette, No. 3.

(29) Complete Hiſtory of England (in the notes), p. 721.

(30) Collins's Peerage, Vol. V. col. 256.

(31) Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, Tom. XXV. p. 537.

Charles, they were equally zealous for the Revolution; and ſo was their couſin Herbert, afterwards created Lord Chirbury (*m*), who is ſaid to have determined the controverted point, as to the Princeſs of Orange's being aſſociated with her huſband in the government; ſo that it ſeems theſe Herberts, though they took different political roads, were equally warm and zealous, whatever road they took. As ſoon as the new government was ſettled, King William, by a commiſſion dated March 8, 1688, appointed the following commiſſioners for executing the office of Lord High-Admiral; viz. Arthur Herbert, Eſq; John Earl of Carbery; Sir Michael Wharton; Sir Thomas Lee, Baronet; Sir John Chicheley, Knight; Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven, Baronet; and William Sacheverell, Eſq; but the laſt declinined accepting that poſt, declaring, that, as he underſtood nothing of maritime affairs, he could not accept the ſalary with a ſafe conſcience (*n*). As for the command of the fleet, that was intruſted with Admiral Herbert (*o*) from the beginning; and he had likewiſe, though ſome time before, the honour of bringing over the new Queen, who arrived on the twelfth of February, and accepted the regal dignity, with her conſort, the thirteenth (*p*). He was named alſo, with the Earls of Nottingham and Carbery, one of the Plenipotentiaries (*q*) for concluding a new treaty with the States; but it does not appear that he acted under this commiſſion. At the entrance of the month of April, 1689, he ſailed for Cork, with a ſquadron of twelve men of war; but, upon information that King James was ſome time before landed at Kingſale, he ſailed directly for Breſt, in hopes of intercepting the ſquadron that had eſcorted him thither. Being diſappointed in this, and having gradually reinforced his fleet, he proceeded again to the coaſt of Ireland, and, in the latter end of the month of April, diſcovered forty-four ſail of French ſhips, ſteering, as he apprehended, for Kingſale. The next day he heard they were gone into Baltimore; but, upon his arrival before that place, finding it falſe, he ſtood for Cape Clear; and getting ſight of the enemy, chaſed them into Bantry Bay, at the mouth of which they anchored that night. The Engliſh fleet conſiſted of twenty-one ſail in all, of which eight were third rates, ten fourth rates, one fifth rate, and two tenders. On the other hand, the French had twenty-four ſail of large ſhips; that is, fifteen third and nine fourth rates, with ſix fire-ſhips, and four merchant-men laden with ſtores, with a conſiderable ſum of money on board the men of war; which, as ſoon as they ſaw the Engliſh colours, they put on board the fire ſhips, and, for greater ſecurity, ſent them with the merchant-men up the bay. The Engliſh had certainly the wind, and might therefore have avoided fighting if they had ſo pleaſed; but this was by no means agreeable to Admiral Herbert's temper; he therefore endeavoured all he could to get into the bay, that he might come to a cloſe engagement; but the French ſaved him the labour, by bearing down upon him in three diviſions, about ten in the morning, on the firſt of May. The firſt diviſion conſiſted of eight ſhips, under the command of Mr Gaberet; the ſecond, of the like force, was commanded by Admiral Chateau-Renault; the third, which was alſo of eight ſhips, had for it's commander Mr Forant. The fight was pretty warm for about two hours, but then ſlackened, becauſe a great part of the Engliſh fleet could not come up. Yet they continued firing on both ſides 'till about five in the afternoon, Admiral Herbert keeping out all the time to ſea, becauſe he found the diſpute very unequal, and that there was no other way by which he could poſſibly gain the wind, and thereby an opportunity of bringing his whole fleet to engage. But about the hour beforementioned, the French fleet ſtood into the bay, which put an end to the fight (*r*). The Engliſh writers aſcribe this, either to want of courage, or to the Admiral's being reſtrained by his orders. But the French inform us, that he retired, in order to take care of the ſhips under his convoy; and that, after they had entirely debarked the ſupply they had brought, he diſpoſed every thing, in order to put to ſea the next morning, which he did. In this action, the French had one ſhip, the Diamond, ſet on fire, and two others ſo much damaged, that they were forced to draw out of the line. The Engliſh loſt Captain Aylmer (*s*), who commanded the Portland, on whoſe widow the King ſettled a penſion of one hundred pounds per annum; ninety-four ſeamen killed, and two hundred wounded; ſo that the French had but little reaſon to paint, in ſuch ſtrong colours as they did, the ſmall advantage they had in this action. As to the perſonal behaviour of Admiral Herbert in this action, it was altogether unexceptionable. He was in the hotteſt of the ſervice himſelf, had ſeveral of the largeſt of the enemy's ſhips upon him at a time, notwithſtanding which, he continued to expoſe himſelf, to encourage the ſeamen ſword in hand upon the quarter-deck, and to do all that lay in his power to continue the engagement; inſomuch, that many thought that if the reſt of the officers had done their duty as well

(*m*) Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 518.

(*o*) Hiſtory of the Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, Vol. I. p. 343.

(*o*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 415.

(*p*) Remarkable Paſſages in the Life of Lord Torrington. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. p. 825. Life of King William III. p. 184.

(*q*) Corps Univerſel Diplomatique du droit des Gens, Tom. VII. P. ii. p. 222.

(*r*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 416. Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 564. Life of King William III. p. 231. Colliber's Columna Roſtrata, p. 254, 255.

(*s*) Life of William III. p. 232. Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 417. Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, Tom. VI. p. 517.

Sir Edward Herbert publiſhed a very ſuccinct apology for his own conduct in that point, which was moſt liable to objection; and this produced two anſwers, one from William Atwood, Eſq; Barriſter at Law, the other from Sir Robert Atkins, Knt. of the Bath, who had been one of the Juſtices of the Court of Common Pleas; the title of our author's performance was,

I. A ſhort Account of the Authorities in Law, upon which Judgement was given in Sir Edward Hales his Caſe. London, 1689. 4to.

Mr Atwood's piece was intitled,

II. The Lord Chief Juſtice Herbert's Account examined, wherein it is ſhewn, that thoſe Authorities in Law, whereby he would excuſe his Judgment in Sir Edward Hales his Caſe, are very unfairly cited, and as ill applied. London, 1689. 4to.

Sir Robert Atkins called his,

III. An Enquiry into the Power of diſpenſing with penal Statutes, together with ſome Animadverſions upon a Book written by Sir Edward Herbert, &c. intitled, A ſhort Account, &c.

well as he, they had given a better account of the French than they did. For which ſome officers were called to a Court-Martial, and broke; ſo much was the Admiral a lover of diſcipline (*t*). On the 15th of May, when the King dined on board his ſhip, he was pleaſed to expreſs great ſatisfaction in *his* conduct, and declared *his intention of creating* him a peer, as he afterwards did, viz. by letters patent, bearing date on the 29th of the ſame month, by the title of Baron Herbert of Torbay, and Earl of Torrington (*u*). The Houſe of Commons (*w*) alſo were pleaſed to give him thanks, for the ſervice he had done the nation, in taking the firſt opportunity to fight *the French in Bantry-Bay* [*H*]. At this time one would have imagined, that no man could well have ſtood in a fairer point of light, after an action in which he had no ſucceſs to boaſt. But it ſpeedily appeared, that either his conduct at the Admiralty-Board was diſliked, or his new honours envied; this he quickly perceived, which induced him to retire from that board (*x*); and the King thereupon, January 20, 1689, appointed a new Board of Admiralty, conſiſting of Thomas Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery; John Earl of Carbery; Sir Thomas Lee, Baronet; Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven, Baronet; and Sir John Chicheley, Knt (*y*). It was reported at this time, and perhaps not without foundation, that the Earl of Torrington was inclined to quit the ſervice alſo; but if he had any ſuch intentions, he was prevailed upon to lay them aſide, and to take the command of the combined fleets the next ſummer. Lewis the Fourteenth was then in the zenith of his power; and the great point he had in view was, to eſtabliſh the reputation of his naval force; in order to which, he propoſed to have a fleet at ſea, ſufficient, not only to reſiſt, but to attack that of the maritime powers; and in order to effect this, his miniſters exerted themſelves to the utmoſt. On the other hand, our affairs were far from being in the beſt poſture; party ſpirit ran high in the nation, and the adminiſtration was not thoroughly united. Admiral Ruſſel was ſent into the Mediterranean, to eſcort the young Queen of Spain (*z*); and had orders to block up the Toulon ſquadron, which was not in his power. Another ſquadron

(*t*) Remarkable Paſſages in the Life of the Earl of Torrington.

(*u*) Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 564. Pat. I. Will. and Mary.

(*w*) See note [*H*].

(*x*) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. II. p. 5.

(*y*) Hiſtory of the Admiralty of Great-Britain, Vol. II. p. 367.

(*z*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 422.

[*H*] *To fight the French in Bantry-Bay.*] The reader will without doubt be pleaſed to ſee this matter ſet in the moſt authentic light, from the journal of the Houſe, in which it appears, that Arthur Herbert, Eſq; then Burgeſs for the town of Plymouth, in the county of Devon, being in his place, had their thanks, in conſequence of an order made the Saturday before, which are thus entered.

Martis 21°. die Maii primo Willielmo & Mariæ.

Mr Speaker gave Admiral Herbert the thanks of the Houſe, according to their order of Saturday laſt, to the effect as followeth, viz (32)

(32) Hiſtory of the Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, Vol. II. p. 313, 314.

'Admiral HERBERT,

'This Houſe hath taken notice of the great ſervice 'you have performed in engaging the French fleet; 'they do look upon it as one of the braveſt actions 'done in this laſt age, and expect it will raiſe the re-'putation of the Engliſh valour to it's ancient glory. 'I do therefore, by the command of this Houſe, re-'turn you their hearty thanks for this ſervice, and 'deſire you that you will communicate the like 'thanks, in their name, to the officers and ſeamen 'that ſerved under your command; and to let them know 'that this Houſe will have a particular regard of their 'merits, and take care, as much as in them lies, to 'give them all due encouragement.'

Whereupon Admiral Herbert ſpake to the effect as followeth.

SIR,

'I am in ſome confuſion at this great and unexpected 'honour, and the more, becauſe I want words to ex-'preſs my ſenſe of it. The beſt return that I think 'myſelf capable of making, is, to aſſure this Honoura-'ble Houſe, that with my utmoſt hazard I will en-'deavour, by my future actions, to deſerve it; and 'will not fail to obey their commands, in acquainting 'the officers and ſeamen who were with me of the 'favourable acceptation by this Houſe of their ſervice. 'And ſince the Houſe have ſo favourable an opinion 'of their actions, I would beg their leave to make an 'humble motion, and I think it is a thing becoming 'the greatneſs of this nation, and indeed has been the 'care of almoſt all nations that have any commerce at 'ſea, that it is to aſſign ſome place and revenue for the 'ſupport of ſuch as are maimed in the ſervice and 'defence of their country. There is no ſufficient pro-'viſion made at preſent in this kingdom, and indeed it 'is too great a charge for the Crown. I therefore 'humbly move it may be ordered by this Houſe, that 'an act may paſs, that they may have a ſupport and 'ſubſiſtence after they have, by wounds, been made 'uncapable of farther ſervice.

'Reſolved, That the Houſe will take care to make 'a proviſion for ſuch ſeamen as are or ſhall be 'wounded in their Majeſties ſervice; and for the 'wives and children of ſuch as are, or ſhall be ſlain 'therein: and that a committee be appointed to con-'ſider how the ſame may be done.

'And it is referred to Admiral Herbert, Mr Hales, 'Mr Boſcawen, Mr Aſhburnham, Sir William Wil-'liams, Mr Garway, Mr Elwel, Lord Cooke, Mr 'Holles, Mr Papillon, Mr Gwyn, Lord Falkland, 'Lord Sherrard, Mr Bickerſtaff, Mr Henry Herbert, 'Mr Edward Ruſſel Mr Bromley, Mr Thomas Foley, 'Sir Duncan Colcheſter, Mr Leveſon Gower, Mr P. 'Foley, Sir Henry Capel, Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, 'Mr Sacheverell, Mr Cooke, and Sir Thomas 'Littleton.'

We have an account with ſome remarks upon *this* buſineſs of Bantry-Bay, by the Biſhop of Sarum, which we will add in his own words 'Our operations 'on the ſea were not very proſperous. Herbert was 'ſent with a fleet to cut off the communication be-'tween France and Ireland. The French had ſent 'over a fleet with a great tranſport of ſtores and am-'munition. They had landed their loading, and were 'returning back. As they came out of Bantry-Bay, 'Herbert engaged them. The wind was againſt him, 'ſo that it was not poſſible for the greateſt part of the 'fleet to come up and enter into action, and ſo thoſe 'who engaged were forced to retire with ſome diſ-'advantage. But the French did not purſue him. 'He came back to Portſmouth, in order to refit ſome 'of his ſhips, and went out again, and lay before Breſt 'till the end of the ſummer. But the French fleet 'did not come out any more all that ſummer; ſo that 'ours lay ſome months at ſea to no purpoſe. But if 'we loſt few of our ſeamen in the engagement, we 'loſt a great many by reaſon of the bad victualling '(33).' There is all the reaſon in the world to believe, that the Reverend Prelate is miſtaken in his account, ſince it agrees with none of thoſe that were publiſhed at the time; for whereas theſe all (34) ſay, that Admiral Herbert followed the French, and engaged them as they went into the bay; the Biſhop ſays juſt the reverſe, that he engaged them as they came out. As to what regarded the victualling, Lord Torrington gave up thoſe who were guilty to the juſtice of the Houſe of Commons; and finding *this* created ill blood, he thought fit to quit his ſeat at the Admiralty-Board, in which he did not perhaps act quite ſo prudently, as he ſtill choſe to continue in the ſervice.

(33) Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. II. p. 20, 21.

(34) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 416.

ſquadron was employed, under Sir Cloudeſly Shovell, in eſcorting King William to Ireland. In this ſituation, the Earl of Torrington proceeded to the Downs, in order to take upon him the command of the ſhips that were left. The Dutch alſo were exceeding ſlow in their motions, ſo that the enemy had all the advantage they could well deſire, and were out at ſea by the middle of June, with three ſquadrons, each conſiſting of three diviſions, and compoſing, in the whole, ſeventy-eight men of war, and twenty-two fire-ſhips. With this force they arrived, on the twentieth of that month (*a*), off the Lizard. The next day they took ſome Engliſh fiſhing-boats, whom they ſoon after let go; and it was from the men on board theſe fiſhing-boats, that it was firſt known the French fleet was upon our coaſts. The Earl of Torrington was at St Helens (*b*), waiting for Admiral Ruſſell's ſquadron, and the reſt of the ſhips that were to join him, when from Weymouth he received this news, the certainty of which he could not doubt; which intelligence muſt have greatly ſurprized him, ſince we are aſſured he ſo little expected it, that he had ſent no cruizers to the weſtward. He put to ſea, however, with ſuch ſhips as he had, and ſtood to the ſouth-eaſt on Midſummer-day, leaving his orders, that all the Engliſh and Dutch ſhips which could have notice ſhould follow him. This ſhews how much he was confuſed, and how little expectation he had of a ſpeedy engagement; and indeed it was impoſſible that he ſhould have framed any proper ſcheme of action, when he had no certain account of the ſtrength of the French. In the evening, he was joined by ſeveral ſhips, and the next morning he found himſelf within ſight of the enemy. The French landed, and made ſome priſoners on ſhore, and by them ſent a letter from Sir William Jennings, an officer in the navy, who had followed the fortunes of King James, and ſerved as third Captain on board the Admiral, promiſing pardon to all ſuch captains as would now join them and adhere to that prince (*c*). The next day, our Admiral received another reinforcement of ſeven Dutch men of war, under the command of Admiral Evertzen; however, the fleets continued looking upon each other for ſeveral days. It is certain, that the Earl of Torrington did not think himſelf ſtrong enough to venture an engagement (*d*), and, in all probability, the reſt of the Admirals, viz. Sir John Aſhby, Vice-Admiral of the Red; Edward Ruſſell, Eſq; Admiral of the Blue; Ralph Delaval, Eſq; Vice-Admiral of the ſame ſquadron; and George Rooke, Eſq; Rear-Admiral of the Red, were of the like opinion. Beſides, he waited for Sir Cloudeſly Shovell, Rear-Admiral of the Blue, who was to have joined him with the Plymouth ſquadron, and ſome other ſhips. His whole ſtrength conſiſted of about thirty-four men of war of ſeveral ſizes, and the three Dutch Admirals had under their command twenty-two large ſhips. We need not wonder, therefore, that ſeeing himſelf out numbered by above twenty ſail, he was not willing to riſk his own honour and the nation's ſafety upon ſuch unequal terms. But the Queen, who was then Regent, having been informed that her father's adherents intended a general inſurrection; and that, if the French fleet continued longer on the coaſt, this would certainly take effect, by advice of the Privy-Council, ſent him orders to fight at all events (*e*), in order to force the French fleet to withdraw. In obedience to this order, as ſoon as it was light, on the 30th of June, the Admiral gave a ſignal for drawing into a line, and bore down upon the enemy, while they were under ſail, by a wind, with their heads to the northward. The ſignal for battle was made about eight, when the French braced their headſails to their maſts, in order to lay by. The engagement began about nine, when the Dutch ſquadron, which made the van of the united fleets, fell in with the van of the French, and put them into ſome diſorder. About half an hour after, our blue ſquadron engaged their rear very warmly; but the red, commanded by the Earl of Torrington in perſon, which made the center of our fleet, could not come up 'till about ten; and this occaſioned a great opening between them and the Dutch. The French, making uſe of this advantage, ſurrounded the latter; who defended themſelves very gallantly, though they ſuffered extremely from ſo unequal a diſpute. The Admiral, ſeeing their diſtreſs, endeavoured to relieve them; and, while they dropped their anchors, the only method they had left to preſerve themſelves, he drove, with his own ſhip and ſeveral others, between them and the enemy; and, in that ſituation, anchored about five in the afternoon, when it grew calm; but, perceiving how much the Dutch had ſuffered, and how little probability there was of regaining any thing by renewing the fight, he weighed about nine at night, and retired eaſtward with the tide of flood (*f*). The next day it was reſolved in a Council of War, held in the afternoon, to endeavour to preſerve the fleet by retreating, and rather to deſtroy the diſabled ſhips, if they ſhould be preſſed by the enemy, than to hazard another engagement, by endeavouring to protect them. This reſolution was executed with as much ſucceſs as could be expected, which, however, was chiefly owing to want of experience in the French Admirals; for, by not anchoring when the Engliſh did, they were driven to a great diſtance; and, by purſuing in a line of battle, inſtead of leaving every ſhip at liberty to do her utmoſt, they could never recover what they loſt by their firſt miſtake. But notwithſtanding all this, they continued their purſuit as far as Rye-Bay, and forced one of our men of war of ſeventy guns, called the Anne, which had loſt all her maſts on ſhore near Winchelſea, they ſent in two ſhips to burn her, which the Captain prevented, by ſetting fire to her himſelf. The body of the French fleet ſtood in and out of the bays of Bourne and Pemſey in Suſſex, while about fourteen of their ſhips anchored near the ſhore. Some of theſe attempted to burn a Dutch ſhip of ſixty-four guns, which at low water lay dry; but her commander

defended

(*a*) Kennet's Hiſtory of England, p. 602.

(*b*) Life of King William III. p. 274.

(*c*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 426. Collier's Columna Roſtrata, p. 256.

(*d*) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. II. p. 52. Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 426. Life of King William III. p. 274.

(*e*) Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 602.

(*f*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 426. Life of King William III. p. 275. Columna Roſtrata, p. 257. Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, Tom. IX. p. 80—85.

defended her ſo briſkly every high water, that they were at length forced to deſiſt, and the Captain carried her ſafe into Holland (*g*). Our loſs in this unlucky affair, if we except reputation, was not ſo great as might have been expected; not above two ſhips, two ſea captains, two captains of marines; and three hundred and fifty private men. The Dutch were much more unfortunate, becauſe more thoroughly engaged. Beſides three ſhips ſunk in the fight, they were obliged to ſet fire to three more, that were ſtranded on the coaſt of Suſſex; in all, ſix ſhips of the line. They loſt likewiſe abundance of gallant officers, particularly their Rear-Admirals, Dick and Brakel, and Captain Nordel, with a great number of inferior officers and ſeamen (*b*). Our fleet retreated towards the river of Thames; and the Earl of Torrington, going on ſhore, left the command to Sir John Aſhby; but firſt gave orders to Captain Monck of the Phœnix, together with four other fifth rates and four fireſhips, to anchor above the narrow of the middle grounds, and to appoint two of the frigates to ride, one at the buoy of the ſpits, the other at the lower end of the middle, and to take away the buoys (*i*), and immediately retreat if the enemy approached; or, if they preſſed yet farther on him, he was ordered, in like manner, to take away the buoys near him, and to do what ſervice he could againſt them with the fireſhips; but ſtill to retire, and make the proper ſignals in ſuch caſes [*l*]. As ſoon as the Earl

(*g*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 427.

(*b*) Life of King William III. p. 275. Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 602.

(*i*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 427.

[*l*] *And make the proper ſignals in ſuch caſes.*] In order to ſee this affair in every light of which it is capable, we ſhall produce in this note, thoſe accounts that bear hardeſt upon the Earl of Torrington; and in the firſt place, that of Biſhop Burnet, who relates the thing thus (35). 'On the day before the battle 'of the Boyne, the two fleets came to a great engage-'ment at ſea. The ſquadron that lay at Plymouth 'could not come up to join the great fleet, the wind 'being contrary; ſo that it was under debate what 'was fitteſt to be done. The Earl of Torrington 'thought he was not ſtrong enough, and adviſed his 'coming in, 'till ſome more ſhips that were fitting out 'ſhould be ready. Some began to call his courage in 'queſtion, and imputed this to fear. They thought 'this would too much exalt our enemies and diſcourage 'our allies, if we left the French to triumph at ſea, 'and to be the maſters of our coaſt and trade; for our 'merchants richeſt ſhips were coming home, ſo that 'the leaving them in ſuch a ſuperiority, would be both 'very unbecoming and very miſchievous to us. The 'Queen ordered Ruſſel to adviſe both with the Navy 'Board, and with all that underſtood ſea affairs; and 'upon a view of the ſtrength of both fleets, they were 'of opinion, that though the French were ſuperior in 'number, yet our fleet was ſo equal in ſtrength to 'them, that it was reaſonable to ſend orders to our 'Admiral to venture on an engagement: yet the or-'ders were not ſo poſitive, but that a great deal was 'left to a Council. The two fleets engaged near 'Beachy in Suſſex. The Dutch led the van, and to 'ſhew their courage they advanced too far out of the 'line, and fought in the beginning with ſome advan-'tage, the French plying before them; and our blue 'ſquadron engaged bravely: but the Earl of Tor-'rington kept in his line, and continued to fight at a 'diſtance. The French ſeeing the Dutch came out ſo 'far before the line, fell on them furiouſly both in 'front and flank, which the Earl of Torrington neg-'lected for ſome time, and when he endeavoured to 'come a little nearer, the calm was ſuch, that he could 'not come up. The Dutch ſuffered much, and their 'whole fleet had periſhed, if their Admiral Calem-'bourg had not ordered them to drop their anchors 'while their ſails were all up. This was not obſerved 'by the French, ſo they were carried by the tide, 'while the others lay ſtill; and thus, in a few mi-'nutes, the Dutch were out of danger. They loſt 'many men, and ſunk ſome of their ſhips which had 'ſuffered the moſt, that they might not fall into the 'enemies hands. It was now neceſſary to order the 'fleet to come in with all poſſible haſte. Both the 'Dutch and the blue ſquadron complained much of 'the Earl of Torrington, and it was a general opi-'nion, that if the whole fleet had come up to a cloſe 'fight, we muſt have beat the French; and, conſider-'ing how far they were from Breſt, and that our ſqua-'dron at Plymouth lay between them and home, a 'victory might have had great conſequences. Our 'fleet was now in a bad condition, and broken into 'factions; and if the French had not loſt the night's 'tide, but had followed us cloſe, they might have de-'ſtroyed many of our ſhips. Both the Admirals were 'almoſt equally blamed, ours for not fighting, and the 'French for not purſuing his victory.' We will next give the extract of Rear-Admiral Evertzen's letter to the States (36). 'The 4th of this month we joined 'the Engliſh and Dutch fleets, riding near the Iſle of 'Wight with three men of war; there he underſtood 'that the French fleet had been deſcried riding in ſe-'veral places, to the number of eighty two men of 'war, great and ſmall; thereupon it was reſolved 'that they ſhould weigh anchor, with a reſolution to 'find them out and obſerve their motions. Before 'the arrival of Admiral Evertzen, it was agreed be-'tween the two nations, that the Hollanders ſhould 'have the vanguard, which was in appearance to do 'them honour, but at the bottom to conceal Tor-'rington's deſigns. After they had been under ſail 'about two or three hours, they were obliged by fogs 'and bad weather to come to an anchor, but ſoon after 'they perceived the French fleet to bear up towards 'them with the wind at eaſt. Immediately they 'weighed anchor, and endeavoured to gain the wea-'ther-gage, which they did with ſuch ſucceſs, that 'Torrington gave the ſignal for the firſt ſquadron to 'engage, but the French thought fit to retire. The '6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th, the two fleets were always in 'view of each other; but in regard the French fleet 'was much the ſtronger, both for number and bigneſs 'of ſhips, it was judged moſt proper not to fight in 'the open ſea; and Torrington did his part ſo well, 'that he avoided engaging 'till he was come off 'Beachy-Head, which was favourable for his purpoſe, 'and there it was that he received the Queen's orders 'not to delay engaging, if the wind and the weather 'would permit, which was the reaſon that upon the '10th by day-break we went to ſeek the enemy, who 'expected us in order of battle: and ſo by nine 'o'clock the engagement began, between the blue 'ſquadron of the French and the vanguard of the 'Dutch, and both ſides fired deſperately for three 'hours together, 'till the French ſquadron, not liking 'their entertainment, bore away with all the tack they 'could make; but about one there happened a calm, 'which not only prevented the Hollanders purſuit, 'but put them into a little diſorder; upon which the 'French, whom the ſame calm hindered from getting 'away, were conſtrained to begin the fight again, 'which laſted 'till five o'clock in the evening with an 'incredible fury. As for what concerns the Engliſh 'moſt certainly, unleſs it were ſome few veſſels that 'fought againſt Torrington's order, the reſt did no-'thing at all; ſo that the main body of the French 'fell into the rear of the Dutch fleet: and having 'fought from morning 'till evening, and defended 'themſelves ſo long againſt ſuch a prodigious number 'of the enemy that aſſailed them on every ſide, they 'were ſo battered, that hardly three were capable of 'making any defence, which conſtrained them to 'make their way through the French fleet, and bear 'away for the coaſt of England, between Beachy and 'Ferley. Admirals Brakel, Jean Dick, and Captain 'Nordel were ſlain. The Friezland, having loſt all 'her maſts, and not to be towed off by reaſon of the 'calm, was taken towards the end of the fight. 'Admiral Evertzen gave this teſtimony of all the 'Dutch officers and ſoldiers, that there was not one 'that did not exactly perform his duty. In ſhort, it 'has not been heard, that ever twenty-two ſhips 'fought

(35) Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. II. p. 52, 53.

(36) Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, Tom. IX. p. 80.

Earl of Torrington came to town, he was examined before the Council, where he juſtified himſelf with great preſence of mind; he ſaid, there were two things to be principally conſidered, the loſs that had been ſuſtained in the fight, and the motives which had induced him to retreat. The firſt, he alledged, was owing to the ill grounded contempt the Engliſh and Dutch officers had of the behaviour of the French at ſea; and, as to the latter, he affirmed that he had acted according to the rules of prudence, by which he had ſaved the fleet; and that he had much rather his reputation ſhould ſuffer for a time, than his country undergo a loſs, which ſhe might never be able to repair. The Council, however, thought proper to commit his Lordſhip cloſe priſoner to the Tower (*k*); and, that they might ſtill the clamours of the crowd, and give ſome ſatisfaction to the Dutch, they directed a committee to repair to Sheerneſs, in order to make a thorough enquiry into the real cauſes of this diſaſter [*K*]. The King, upon his return from Ireland, expreſſed great concern about this affair; the honour of the nation was in ſome meaſure affected; the common cry was very ſtrong againſt the Earl; and the Queen had engaged her promiſe to the Dutch, that his conduct ſhould undergo a ſtrict examination (*l*). On the other hand, the Earl had been very inſtrumental in the Revolution, had great alliances among the nobility, and had found the means of perſwading many, that, inſtead of being called to an account for any real errors in his conduct, he was in danger of being ſacrificed to the reſentment of foreigners, merely for preſerving the Engliſh fleet. The great difficulty, as to the developing this perplexed buſineſs, lay in the manner of bringing him to a tryal. The King was reſolved it ſhould be by a Court-Martial; the friends of the Earl maintained, that he ought to be tried by his Peers. A doubt was likewiſe ſtarted as to the power of the Lords of the Admiralty; for though it was allowed that the Lord High-Admiral of England might have iſſued a commiſſion for trying him, yet it was queſtioned whether any ſuch authority was lodged in the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty or not; and,

(*k*) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. II. p. 53. Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 603. Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 428.

(*l*) Life of King William III. p. 276.

'fought ſo long againſt eighty-two, of which ſeven-'teen carried no leſs than from eighty to an hundred 'guns.' The reader may obſerve, that both theſe writers agree the Earl of Torrington was in his judgment againſt fighting; that in this, other great officers of the fleet concurred; that while he acted according to his and their notions, he did all that could be expected, and might probably have continued on the defenſive 'till properly reinforced; that the Secretary's letter, in the name of the Queen, determined, or rather obliged him to fight; the Prelate ſays, that it was conditional, but the Dutch Admiral that it was poſitive. Biſhop Burnet gives the honour of ſaving the fleet to the Dutch Admiral Calembourg, of which however Evertzen ſays not one word; and Burchet, upon good authority, aſcribes it to the Earl of Torrington; according to the Engliſh Biſhop, part of our fleet behaved well; according to the Dutch Admiral, nobody did any thing but themſelves; and the wonder was, how twenty-two ſhips could ſuſtain the fire of upwards of fourſcore, many of theſe carrying a prodigious weight of metal. If this had been the caſe, how came the officers of the blue ſquadron to complain ſo much; how came the Engliſh to loſe ſome ſhips, and to have ſeveral very ill treated? But, ſays the Engliſh Prelate, if the whole fleet had come to a cloſe fight, we ſhould have had a victory attended with ſuch circumſtances, as muſt have been followed by great conſequences. This is the judgment of a Clergyman at a diſtance; the Earl of Torrington, a great ſeaman upon the ſpot, thought otherwiſe; and that the French might have gained a greater victory than they did, which in it's conſequences might have been deciſive againſt the maritime powers; ſo that, in his judgment, the greateſt ſervice that could then be done, was to ſave the fleet, and wait a proper ſeaſon for repairing this diſaſter, which was effectually done at La Hogue. The impartial reader will decide, as to the probability of theſe relations, and as to the propriety of our reflections.

[*K*] *Of this diſaſter.*] At this diſtance of time, there can no reaſons ſubſiſt, which ought to prevent our examining an affair of this importance to the bottom. The commiſſioners (37) appointed to go from ſhip to ſhip, were the Duke of Devonſhire and the Earl of Pembroke, who were charged to make the ſtricteſt enquiries, and this certainly was very proper; but before the reſult of ſuch examinations could be known, there were ſome very ſtrong ſteps taken, for the Earl of Nottingham wrote a letter to Lord Durſley, then at the Hague, in expreſs terms; 'that the Dutch ſqua-'dron, had behaved with ſo much bravery, that if my 'Lord Torrington had done his duty, we ſhould in 'all appearance have obtained a compleat victory.' This letter was publiſhed in Dutch in the Courant, to gratify the populace of that nation, the paſſage beforementioned, inſerted in their French (38) Hiſtorical Memoirs, in order to circulate this as a fact through all Europe. It appears likewiſe, that our miniſters (39) at all foreign courts, had informations of the like kind given them. But what was ſtill more, the Queen ſent over Mr Harbord (40) to the States-General, to let them know how much ſhe was concerned at the misfortune which had befallen their ſquadron in the late engagement, and at their not having been ſeconded as they ought to have been, which matter her Majeſty had directed to be examined into, in order to recompenſe thoſe who had done their duty, and to puniſh ſuch as ſhould be found to have deſerved it. That her Majeſty had given orders for refitting the Dutch ſhips that were diſabled at her own charge, and commanded that all poſſible care ſhould be taken of the ſick and wounded ſeamen, and that rewards ſhould be given to the widows of thoſe that were killed, behaving themſelves bravely in the fight, to encourage others to do well for the future. The King in his ſpeech to the Parliament on the 2d of October, has this paſſage (41). 'I can-'not conclude, without taking notice alſo how much 'the honour of the Nation has been expoſed by the 'ill conduct of my fleet in the laſt ſummer's engage-'ment againſt the French; and I think myſelf ſo much 'concerned to ſee it vindicated, that I cannot reſt ſa-'tiſfied 'till an example has been made of ſuch as ſhall 'be found faulty upon their examination and trial, 'which was not practicable while the whole fleet was 'abroad, but is now put into the proper way of being 'done as ſoon as may be.' Thus it appears plainly, that the Court concluded the Earl of Torrington guilty of miſmanagement at leaſt, if not of ſome greater crime, and by publiſhing their ſentiments, had thrown him into a ſtrange ſituation, conſidering that he was ſtill to be brought to a trial; for if without proceeding to that, he had been deprived of his commiſſion and diſgraced; many plauſible things might have been ſaid, upon political principles, and all circumſtances conſidered, it might have been looked upon as a meaſure, which the then conjuncture of affairs rendered neceſſary. But a trial was a thing of another nature, in which as a ſubject and as a Peer of England, he was entitled to ſtrict juſtice, and was to be heard in his own defence, before he could be condemned. There were many who thought this ſhould be done by impeachment, in caſe he was charged with high-treaſon or treachery. But thoſe who proſecuted him, were inclined to a more general charge of miſmanagement and miſbehaviour, and were therefore for bringing this cauſe to another tribunal, which was that of a Court-Martial, notwithſtanding that to this likewiſe, there lay great exceptions, as it was a thing unprecedented, and for various other reaſons, which will appear more fully in the next note.

(37) Ralph's Hiſtory of England, Vol. II. p. 229.

(38) Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, Tom. IX. p. 86.

(39) Tindal's Continuation of Rapin's Hiſtory of England, Vol. I. p. 140, 141.

(40) Kennet's Compleat Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 603. Ralph's Hiſtory of England, Vol. II. p. 229.

(41) Life of King William III. p. 291.

and, though ſome great Lawyers gave their opinion in the affirmative, yet it was judged expedient, to ſettle ſo important a point by authority of Parliament. In order, therefore, to obviate this difficulty, a new law (*m*) was made, declarative of the power of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty; and, immediately after the paſſing of this, theſe Commiſſioners, who, in virtue of letters patent, dated June 5, 1690, were, Thomas Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery; John Earl of Carbery; Sir Thomas Lee, Baronet; Sir John Lowther, Baronet; Edward Ruſſell, Eſq; Sir Richard Onſlow, Baronet; and Henry Prieſtman (*n*), Eſq; iſſued a commiſſion for this purpoſe, though many of the nobility had declared their diſlike of that law, and expreſſed their reaſons with great force in a proteſt (*o*) [*L*]. At the time this Law paſſed, the Earl of Torrington was in the Tower, and much indiſpoſed, but was immediately removed into the cuſtody of the Marſhal of the Admiralty; where he had not continued long, before he brought his caſe into the Houſe of Commons, where he was extremely anxious that it ſhould be placed in a true light. This was done, by a Member's acquainting the Houſe, that this noble Peer was deſirous of being heard at their bar, in reſpect to the matter for which he was in cuſtody. Upon this, an order was made for his Lordſhip's being brought thither the next day; the Serjeant at Arms was directed to ſerve the Marſhal of the Admiralty with a copy of it, which he did accordingly; and November the twelfth, the Houſe being informed that his Lordſhip was in the lobby, directed him to be brought in by the Serjeant with the mace, to a chair ſet for him within the bar, on the left hand of the Houſe as he came in; and having ſat down thereon for ſome time covered, and the mace being laid upon the table, his Lordſhip roſe, and ſtood at the back of the chair uncovered (*p*), and was heard before the Houſe; after which his Lordſhip withdrew, the mace attending him. This is all we meet with in the Journal; but a writer of thoſe times aſſures us, that his Lordſhip found himſelf ſo much embarraſſed in the preſence of that aſſembly, as not to be able to expreſs himſelf as he intended; upon which he acquainted the Commons, that, being accuſtomed rather to act than to ſpeak, he found himſelf at a loſs for words, and therefore deſired to make uſe of his papers, which was allowed him. He then took notice how early he had entered into his country's ſervice, how many years he had ſpent therein, and of his having loſt much blood, as well as his having been deprived of his eye, in their quarrel. He proceeded next to the loſs he had ſuſtained, for ſupporting the Proteſtant religion, and the laws and liberties of England, under King James the Second. Laſt of all, he ſpoke of the engagement with the French fleet off Beachy Head; in reſpect to which, he excuſed his not fighting, from the want of intelligence, want of ammunition, ſhortneſs of wind, inequality of numbers, and, in ſupport of what he ſaid, produced ſome letters: but all this was of little or no uſe to his Lordſhip (*q*); the Houſe remitted him to that tryal, for which the late act had made way, and of which the higheſt expectations were raiſed at home and abroad. The King alſo gave directions for haſtening it, being reſolved not to embark for Holland 'till it was all over. Accordingly, Saturday the ſixth of December, 1690, his Lordſhip went down to Sheerneſs in his yatcht, the Court-Martial ſitting there on board the Kent. On Monday December 8, Sir Ralph Delaval being in the chair (*r*) as Preſident, the commiſſion was opened and read, and other preliminaries adjuſted; after which, the court adjourned to Wedneſday the tenth. The charge againſt the Earl was, that, in the late naval engagement off Beachy-Head, he had, through treachery or cowardice, miſbehaved in his office, drawn diſhonour on the Engliſh nation, and ſacrificed our good allies the Dutch. His Lordſhip defended himſelf with great clearneſs of reaſon, and with extraordinary compoſure of mind. He obſerved, that, in

(*m*) Stat. II. Will. and Mary, Seſſ. ii. cap. 2.

(*n*) Hiſtory of the Admiralty of Great-Britain, Vol. II. p. 367, 368.

(*o*) See note [*L*].

(*p*) Journal-book of the Houſe of Commons, die Martis, Nov. 11, & die Mercurii, Nov. 12, 1690.

(*q*) Remarkable Paſſages in the Life of Lord Torrington. Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, Tom. IX. p. 657, 658.

(*r*) Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 603. Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, Tom. X. p. 86. Remarkable Paſſages in the Life of Lord Torrington.

[*L*] *In a proteſt.*] The bill for veſting the ſame power in the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, as had been hitherto placed by law in the Lord-High-Admiral, was read in the Houſe of Peers for the third time, October 30, 1690, when, the leave of the Houſe being previouſly obtained, ſeventeen Peers entered their proteſt for the following reaſons (42).

(42) The Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, Vol. I. p. 405, 406.

First, Becauſe this bill gives a power to Commiſſioners of the Admiralty to execute a juriſdiction, which by the Act of 13 Car. II. entitled, An act for eſtabliſhing articles and orders for the regulating and better government of his Majeſty's navy, ſhips of war, and forces by ſea, we conceive they had not; whereby the Earl of Torrington may come to be tried for his life, for facts committed ſeveral months before this power was given or deſired. We think it reaſonable, that every man ſhould be tried by that law that was known to be in force when the crime was committed.

Secondly, It is by virtue of the ſaid act of 13 Car. II. that the Earl of Torrington was judged by this houſe, not to have the privilege of a Peer of this realm, for any offences committed againſt the ſaid act; and there is no other law as we conceive, by which the ſaid Earl could have been debarred from enjoying the privilege of a Peer of this realm; which act making no mention of Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, but of a Lord-High-Admiral only, by whoſe authority all the powers given by that act are to be exerciſed, and without whoſe conſent ſingly, no ſentence of death can be executed. We think it of dangerous conſequence to expound a law of this capital nature, otherwiſe than the literal words do import; and as we conceive it without precedent to paſs even explanatory laws, much leſs ſuch as have a retroſpect in them in caſes of life and death; ſo we think it not at all neceſſary to make ſuch a precedent at this time, there being an undoubted legal way already eſtabliſhed to bring this Earl to a trial by a Lord-High-Admiral.

Thirdly, The Judges having unanimouſly declared, that the law marine was no where particularized in their books, whereby the power or juriſdiction of the Lord-High-Admiral may be aſcertained; ſo that the practice is all that we know of it; we conceive it unprecedented and of dangerous conſequence, that the juriſdiction exerciſed by the Lord-High-Admiral, ſhould by a law be declared to be in the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, whereby an unknown and therefore unlimited power may be eſtabliſhed in them.

Rivers, Huntingdon, Rocheſter, Weymouth, Stamford, Dartmouth, Oxford, Macclesfield, Tho. Roſſen, Crewe, Bath, Granville, Herbert, Craven, J. Exon, Bolton, J. Bridgewater.

[*M*] *Upon*

in the ſeveral Councils of War held before the fight, not only himſelf, but all the Admirals in the fleet, were againſt engaging. He took notice of the Queen's order, which obliged them to fight againſt their own opinion, and without any probability of ſucceſs. He remarked the inequality of the confederate and French fleets, the former conſiſting but of fifty-ſix, and the latter having eighty-two, ſhips which were actually engaged. He aſſerted, that the Dutch were deſtroyed by their own raſhneſs, and that, if he had ſuſtained them in the manner they expected, the whole confederate fleet muſt have been ſurrounded, as they were; and, as ſome reflections had been thrown out, of his having a pique to the Dutch, to gratify which he had given them up, he not only juſtified himſelf very warmly on that point, but concluded his defence with ſaying, that his conduct had ſaved an Engliſh fleet, and that he hoped an Engliſh Court-Martial would not ſacrifice him to Dutch paſſion, prejudice, and reſentment. After a full hearing, and ſtrict examination of all that had been advanced on both ſides, his Lordſhip was unanimouſly acquitted (*s*); and though ſome writers of our own as well as of another nation, have taken great liberties with this judgment of the Court-Martial, yet, on the whole, there ſeems to be no juſt ground, either for cenſuring them, or fixing any imputation on the character of that noble perſon. It is true, the day after his acquittal, the King took away his commiſſion (*t*), and he was thence forward laid aſide, which might be a very right ſtep in politics, as it tended to ſatisfy our allies, and gave his Majeſty an opportunity of employing a more fortunate officer; but, when we allow this, in juſtification of the King and his miniſters, we muſt in juſtice to this nobleman declare, that there are no ſufficient grounds in any of the accounts that are ſtill extant, to leave a ſtain upon his memory to poſterity [*M*]. This will appear the more reaſonable, if we conſider the whole

(*s*) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory. p. 428. Remarkable Paſſages in the Life of Lord Torrington. Life of King William III. p. 276. Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 605. Columna Roſtrata, p. 258.

(*t*) Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, Tom. X. p. 86.

[*M*] *Upon his memory to poſterity.*] The object which thoſe have in view, who are actors in theſe great affairs, is to carry their point; the buſineſs of thoſe who record them, is to come at the truth, and to repreſent it fairly whenever they can come at it. The crimes firſt imputed to the Earl of Torrington, were clearly treaſon and treachery. If he had been guilty of theſe, he ought to have been and he might have been impeached. In a very little time however theſe charges were dropped, even by thoſe who brought them, and in their ſtead were ſubſtituted want of courage and pique to the Dutch (43). In reſpect to theſe however, his enemies felt themſelves early in ſuch want of proof, that they declared to all the world, that they ſhould hold themſelves obliged to Death, if he would rid them and his lordſhip of all perplexity, by removing him while he lay in the Tower (44). Theſe certainly were no very ſtrong preſumptions of his Lordſhip's guilt. The powers lodged in the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty were ſuch, that they might pick out of all the Captains in England, whom they pleaſed to be his judges; and ſurely nothing but the force of innocence could enable a man to defend himſelf before ſuch a Judicature. The Preſident Sir Ralph Delaval, had been himſelf in the action, and was Vice-Admiral of the blue ſquadron, which was ſuppoſed to have ſuffered almoſt as much as the Dutch (45); ſo that if any credit be due to appearances, one would think the unanimous acquittal of the Earl of Torrington, could proceed from nothing but a conviction, that he was proſecuted without any foundation (46). But the hiſtorian of his own times thought otherwiſe. After giving the hiſtory of the ſeſſions of Parliament of 1690, the reverend prelate proceeds thus (47). 'There 'were no important debates in the Houſe of Lords. 'The Earl of Torrington's buſineſs held them long. 'The form of his commitment was judged to be illegal, and the martial-law, to which by the ſtatute 'all who ſerved in the fleet were ſubject, being lodged 'in the Lord-High-Admiral, it was doubted whether 'the Admiralty being now in commiſſion that power 'was lodged with the Commiſſioners. The Judges 'were of opinion that it was: yet ſince the power of 'life and death was too ſacred a thing to paſs only by 'a conſtruction of law, it was thought the ſafeſt courſe 'to paſs an act, declaring, that the powers of a Lord-'High-Admiral did reſt in the Commiſſioners. The 'ſecret enemies of the Government who intended to 'embroil matters, moved that the Earl of Torrington 'ſhould be impeached in Parliament; proceedings in 'that way being always ſlow, incidents were alſo apt 'to fall in that might create diſputes between the two 'Houſes, which did ſometimes end in a rupture: but 'the King was apprehenſive of that, and though he 'was much incenſed againſt that Lord, and had rea-'ſon to believe that a council of war would treat him 'very favourably, yet he choſe rather to let it go ſo, 'than to diſorder his affairs. The Commiſſioners of 'the Admiralty named a court to try him, who did it 'with ſo groſs a partiality, that it reflected much on 'the juſtice of the nation; ſo that if it had not been 'for the great intereſt the King had in the States, it 'might have occaſioned a breach of the alliance be-'tween them and us. He came off ſafe as to his perſon and eſtate, but much loaded in his reputation; 'ſome charging him with want of courage, while 'others imputed his ill conduct to a haughty ſullenneſs 'of temper, that made him, ſince orders were ſent 'him contrary to the advice he had given, to reſolve indeed to obey them and fight, but in ſuch a 'manner as ſhould caſt the blame on all thoſe who had 'ſent him the orders, and give them cauſe to repent 'it.' Such were the ſentiments of B ſhop Burnet, let us compare them with thoſe of the Dutch news writer, who was known to be under the protection and influence of the States. His narrative runs thus (48). 'At length, 'the charge againſt the late Admiral the Earl of Tor-'rington was brought to a trial, on board the Kent 'frigate at Chatham, the 19th of the laſt month. 'There were high diſputes for ſome time, and ſome 'officers that accuſed him, reproached him loudly with 'cowardice and treachery. This however did not 'hinder his judges to declare him innocent, whether 'they thought him ſo indeed, or whether ſwayed by 'particular intereſt, is left for others to determine. 'The Earl, as ſoon as he was acquitted, gave orders 'to ſome of the Captains, as a mark of his retaining 'his authority, and then returned in triumph up the 'Thames, carrying the Admiral's flag on his yatch; 'the judges having declared, that his commiſſion was 'in force 'till the King took away his patent. Many 'people were much ſurprized at this judgment, and 'even his Majeſty himſelf ſeemed to be aſtoniſhed. 'The next day he ſent for this Earl's commiſſion, and at 'the ſame time diſmiſſed him from his command of 'one of the marine regiments. He deſired to have the 'honour to kiſs the King's hand, and to have laid his 'commiſſion at his royal feet, but that was refuſed 'him. However, upon the 26th, he went to the 'Houſe of Lords, and took his ſeat among the Peers, 'but the greateſt part of the members looked upon him 'but with an indifferent eye. He is therefore prepar-'ing to retire to his houſe in the country. A reſolution 'alſo has been taken, to give no employment to any of 'his judges, which confirms the opinion of thoſe who 'thought that they did not obſerve the ſtrictneſs of 'law. Upwards of forty ſea officers have been remov-'ed, ſome, becauſe they are ſuſpected not to have 'done their duty in the laſt engagement; ſome being 'thought too much devoted to the Lord Torrington's 'intereſts; and others for different reaſons. Mr Ruſ-'ſel is made Admiral of the Red ſquadron; Sir John 'Aſhby, Vice-Admiral, and Captain Rook, Rear-'Admiral; Captain Killigrew of the Blue; Sir Ralph 'Delaval,

(43) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. II. p. 67. Life of King William III. p. 275.

(44) Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, Tom. IX. p. 959.

(45) Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 428.

(46) Colliber's Columna Roſtrata, p. 257, 258.

(47) Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. II. p. 67, 68.

(48) Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, Tom. X. p. 85, 86, 87.

whole tenour of his Lordſhip's conduct after this heavy misfortune, and in which it does not appear that he was at all prejudiced or diverted from his former principles by reſentment. On the contrary, during the very next ſeſſion of Parliament, he acted preciſely in the ſame manner as when he was in power, though he never afterwards courted any adminiſtration. He had the misfortune to loſe his youngeſt brother, Colonel Charles Herbert, who was killed at the battle of Aghrim in Ireland, on Sunday July 12, 1691, after having paſſed a bog up to the middle, at the head of his regiment, and forcing the Iriſh to quit the hedges they had occupied beyond it. But puſhing them briſkly to their main body, he was unluckily taken priſoner; and the enemy perceiving that he was like to be reſcued, they, to prevent it, barbarouſly put him to death. The honours of this noble Peer were entailed on him and his heirs male, and his dying immaturely, and without being ever married, made this loſs ſo much the greater. In 1692, Admiral Ruſſell was charged with not making ſo much uſe as he might have done of the glorious victory at la Hogue, which he poſitively affirmed was owing to the looſe intelligence and ill judged orders that were ſent him by the Earl of Nottingham, then Secretary of State. The Houſe of Commons were ſo well ſatisfied with this, that they thanked him over and over. But the courtiers in the Houſe of Lords ſupported the Earl of Nottingham; and the King having

' Delaval Vice, and Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, Rear-Admiral of the ſame ſquadron.'

We have now reported this affair, as ſtated on all ſides, that the reader may be the better able to judge of it, and without attempting to biaſs his opinion, we ſhall likewiſe ſpeak our own. The courage of the Earl of Torrington had never been called in queſtion, theſe memoirs that we have collected, ſhew that it ought not. There is however ſomething farther that deſerves to be mentioned upon this occaſion, which was his behaviour the year before in attacking the French ſquadron, though ſuperior to himſelf, in Bantry-Bay. King William ſaw this in it's true light, and ſpoke of it like a great Prince and a wiſe Captain (49), ' That ' ſuch inſtances of courage were neceſſary at the begin- ' ning of a war, but might be fatal in the courſe of it.' This was a leſſon to the Earl of Torrington, who in this attack had a mind to ſee whether in action, the French ſhips were as formidable as in their appearance, and having found they were, he very probably reſolved not to fight again but upon equal terms. His abilities were never queſtioned, he knew the ſtate of the fleet he commanded this ſummer, he found it aſſembled ſlowly, he felt the want of intelligence, he underſtood better than any body the ſuperiority of the enemy, which did not diſpoſe him to fighting, more eſpecially as he expected to be joined by the Portſmouth ſquadron, and except a little confuſion, did not foreſee any great impreſſion the French could make upon our coaſts. The reſt of the Admirals, Dutch as well as Engliſh, who ſhould have been, and very probably were, the beſt judges of theſe matters, thought as he did, concurred in the expediency of declining an engagement in ſuch circumſtances, and in doing this, which was all that was fit to be done, Admiral Evertzen himſelf admits, that the Earl acted very ably. But the Earl of Nottingham, then Secretary of State (50), alarmed by the general conſternation which the appearance of the French fleet had occaſioned, ſent him the Queen's orders to fight, which he could not but obey; and yet, unleſs he could have commanded fortune and the winds, ſhould not be entirely anſwerable for the conſequences. The French Fleet was in all reſpects ſuperior, by at leaſt a fourth; the Dutch behaved gallantly, and are ſaid to have made ſome impreſſion, but it does not appear that any of the enemies ſhips were diſabled; ſo that after their misfortune, the Engliſh were ſtill left to conteſt with the whole French fleet. If the Earl did not come up time enough to ſupport the Dutch, he alledged that this was owing to their eagerneſs and the ſinking of the wind; and that this really was ſo, appeared by his expoſing himſelf extremely for their preſervation. It is on all hands allowed, that he acted with great prudence and preſence of mind in making the retreat, which by the way is incompatible with every article of the charge; and diſcharges him alike from treaſon, treachery, and cowardice (51) But after all it may be ſaid, the fault lay ſome where. No doubt it did. But might it not as well lie in an overbearing Secretary, who would undertake the direction of all things, whether he underſtood them or not? was it not this Secretary who ſupported the clamour againſt the Admiral, who wrote the letter to Lord Durſley, who dictated the meſſage to Mr Harbord, who prejudiced the King and Queen againſt Torrington, and who two years after did the ſame with regard to Admiral Ruſſel (52)? Things being conſidered in this light, the judgment of the Court Martial might be agreeable to truth and reaſon, though being contrary to their expectations it might be ill received at Court. But that the members of it were never employed afterwards is a glaring falſhood, ſince Sir Ralph Delaval, who was Preſident of the Court Martial, was one of the joint Admirals of the fleet the very next year (53); and as to the great intereſt of the Earl of Torrington in the Engliſh navy, the reader will be pleaſed to conſider how that is to be reconciled to the character that is given him, of being one of the haughtieſt and moſt intractable men living. However, impartial hiſtorians of all parties have done him juſtice, and it is particularly to the honour of Mr le Clerc, that he has treated this affair with all the candour imaginable (54), and without ſuffering himſelf to be carried away by the calumny of thoſe times, whether Du ch or Engliſh. It would have been as well, if Mr Bruzen de la Martiniere had obſerved the ſame moderation, more eſpecially as he ſeems to have been but very indifferently acquainted with facts. In order to ſupport ſo harſh a charge as this, we will produce his own account of the confederate fleet at the time of the engagement. ' The Dutch, ſays he, commanded by Admiral ' Hevertem, had the rear guard; the Engliſh, under ' the orders of Herbert, otherwiſe called the Earl of ' Torrington, were in the van, and the main body ' was compoſed of the ſhips of both nations (55).' In all this there is not one word of truth, any more than colour of decency, or propriety of diction; for it was Rear-Admiral Evertzen, who commanded the van; the Earl of Torrington was in the center, and the Engliſh blue ſquadron formed the rear, as the Engliſh French, and Dutch accounts agree (56). We need not wonder therefore that this writer ſhould ſay the Engliſh Admiral fought ill, almoſt always kept the wind, and ſeemed to engage from a point of complaiſance, and preciſely to ſuch a degree, as that it might not be ſaid that he fled. He cites (with what juſtice the reader knows) for theſe ſuggeſtions the authority of Biſhop Burnet. The French writers themſelves have treated this matter with more modeſty and juſtice, except in a ſingle inſtance, where they convert the burning a very inconſiderable village in Devonſhire with three fiſhing ſmacks, into an expedition of conſequence, in which Martiniere (57) has followed them very exactly, he ſays, that on the 5th of Auguſt, they landed under the fire of their galliſes, within half cannon ſhot of Tingmouth, that two hundred Engliſh militia abandoned an intrenchment which they were poſted to defend, upon the approach of the Count D'Eſtrees at the head of four hundred men, who made themſelves maſters of the town and port, in which they burnt four armed veſſels and eight merchantment. Before we put an end to this article it will not be amiſs to remark, that the French never had ſo great an advantage over us at ſea; that for ſix weeks they were maſters upon our coaſts, that we had hardly any regular troops in the kingdom; that the ſpirit of diviſion never reigned ſo ſtrong as at that juncture throughout the nation; and that notwithſtanding all this, and though oppoſed only by militia, the burning of Tingmouth was the ſole fruits of their victory.

(49) Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 564.

(50) Life of King William III. p. 274.

(51) Ralph's Hiſtory of England, Vol. II. p. 226.

(52) Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 648.

(53) Life of King William III. p. 303.

(54) Hiſtoire des Provinces Unies, Tom III. p. 419.

(55) Hiſtoire de Louis XV. Tom. IV. p. 488.

(56) See the notes [I] [K] [L].

(57) M. de Quincy. Hiſtoire Militaire, Tom. II. p. 330. P. Daniel, Hiſtoire de France, Tom. X. p. 155. Hiſtoire de la Milice Françoiſe, Tom. II. p. 491. Hiſtoire de Louis XIV. Tom. IV. p. 490.

having demanded the advice of both Houſes, upon the then ſtate of affairs, it was propoſed to appoint a joint commiſſion to conſider the condition of the kingdom, that, upon a ſtrict enquiry, they might concur in making a ſuitable return to the Crown. This propoſition, however, was rejected in the Houſe of Lords by a majority of twelve, againſt which the Earl of Torrington and ſeventeen other peers entered their proteſt. In this his Lordſhip may be preſumed to have acted with great impartiality, ſince Admiral Ruſſell was not looked upon as his Lordſhip's friend, and had formerly ſhewn a reluctance at leaſt, if not refuſed, to act under him. Yet the ſame influence that had prevailed againſt the Earl of Torrington, engaged the King to lay aſide Admiral Ruſſell alſo for the preſent; though the conduct of the Secretary appeared ſo exceptionable, that the King found it at laſt requiſite to remove him, and to give the Seals to the Earl of Shrewſbury the year following, when Admiral Ruſſell was alſo reſtored to the command of the fleet (*u*). As for the Earl of Torrington, it does not in the leaſt appear that he ever ſought to come again into employment, or to enter farther into the management of public buſineſs, than as the cognizance of it belonged to the Houſe of Peers, where he conſtantly attended for above twenty years after, without altering his conduct in the leaſt; which is a manifeſt proof, that he was not governed by caprice but by principle (*w*). He was always on the ſide of the Crown, and very rarely in an oppoſition to it's Miniſters; ſometimes, however, he was, and then he commonly proteſted, that the reaſons of his oppoſition might appear, and that the world might not aſcribe his diſagreement with men in power to ſpleen. In matters that related to the marine, he was generally moſt forward; and, in reſpect to them, the Houſe heard him with attention; and, upon ſuch occaſions, he ſhewed himſelf commonly a friend to ſtrict diſcipline, and a frugal management in the Navy. His Lordſhip was twice married, firſt to Anne, daughter of Mr Hadley, and the widow of Mr Pheaſant, who was near ſeventy years of age, and very rich, having eſtates in Yorkſhire, and other parts of the kingdom, to a great value. After her deceaſe, he eſpouſed Anne, daughter to Sir William Airmine, of Oſgoodby in the county of Lincoln, Baronet, who had been twice married before; firſt to Sir Thomas Woodhouſe of Kimberley, in the county of Norfolk, Baronet; and ſecondly, to Thomas, Lord Crew of Stene, in the county of Northampton; ſo that, excluſive of the moiety of her father's great eſtate, ſhe brought him two large jointures, which he enjoyed during his life (*x*). His Lordſhip deceaſed on the 13th of April, 1716, being then upwards of ſeventy (*y*). He left all his eſtate, which was very conſiderable, to the Right-Honourable Henry late Earl of Lincoln, on account of that noble perſon's ſteady adherence to his principles, and becauſe, as ſome ſay, he was diſſatisfied in his own mind, as to a vote he had given, in a matter of private property, againſt that noble peer; which is very conſiſtent with that nice ſenſe of honour, and diſintereſted ſpirit, which his Lordſhip had ſhewn upon other occaſions. Anne, Counteſs dowager of Torrington, his widow, deceaſed April 2, 1719 (*z*).

In reſpect to this title, which was often conferred and often extinct, and of which there were ſeveral dowagers of different families, which has occaſioned ſome confuſion, it may not be amiſs to ſhew, at the cloſe of this article, by whom it was borne, and how it has been beſtowed, ſince it became a title of honour, to this time. It firſt gave the title of an Earl to General George Monk, who, by letters patent, bearing date July the ſeventh, in the twelfth year of the reign of King Charles the Second, was created Baron Monk of Potheridge, Beauchamp, and Tyes, Earl of Torrington, and Duke of Albemarle In his life-time, his ſon Chriſtopher was ſtiled Earl of Torrington; and his conſort, Lady Elizabeth Cavendiſh, daughter to Henry Lord Ogle (ſucceſſively Ducheſs of Albemarle and Montague), was called Counteſs of Torrington. It was very ſoon after the deceaſe of Chriſtopher Duke of Albemarle and Earl of Torrington, that King William beſtowed the latter title upon Admiral Herbert. But this noble perſon had not been long dead, before his late Majeſty created the honourable Mr Thomas Newport, brother to the Earl of Bradford, by letters patent, bearing date the 25th of June, in the ſecond year of his reign, Baron of Torrington. He was alſo a Teller of the Exchequer, and one of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy-Council; but his Lordſhip died May the twenty-ſeventh, 1719, by which demiſe this title became extinct. However, his widow, who was the daughter of Francis Pierpoint of Nottingham, Eſq; and was his Lordſhip's third wife, ſurvived him, and bore the title of Lady Torrington to the year 1735, when ſhe deceaſed. After the ſignal Victory obtained over the Spaniards in the Streights of Meſſina, his ſaid late Majeſty created, by letters patent, dated September the nineteenth, in the ſeventh year of his reign, Sir George Byng, Knight and Baronet, Baron Byng of Southill in the county of Bedford, and Viſcount Torrington in the county of Devon. His Lordſhip died January 17, 1733, but his widow Margaret, daughter of James Maſter of Eaſt-Langden in the county of Kent, ſurvived to March 30, 1755. The title is now enjoyed by their grandſon by their ſecond ſon, George, Lord Viſcount Torrington, who deceaſed April 7, 1750. E

(*u*) Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 662. Life of King William III. p. 375.

(*w*) See the Debates in the Houſe of Lords, Vol. I.

(*x*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. V. p. 259.

(*y*) Hiſtorical Regiſter for the year 1716, p. 219. Collins's Peerage, Vol. V. p. 129.

(*z*) Hiſtorical Regiſter for the year 1719, p. 15.

HEYLIN [PETER], an eminent Engliſh divine and writer in the XVIIth century, was the ſecond ſon of Henry Heylin, Gentleman (*a*), by Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Clampard of Wrotham in Kent (*b*). He was born at Burford in Oxfordſhire, November 29, 1600 (*c*), and in the free-ſchool of that place he acquired the principles of grammatical learning. Here likewiſe he firſt diſplayed his growing abilities, by ſome compoſitions that were thought well of at that time, and from one of his tender years; particularly a tragi-comedy on the wars and fate of Troy, with ſome other hiſtorical exerciſes (*d*). In 1613, he was, by his father, entered of Hart-hall in Oxford (*e*). Here he ſtudied under two tutors ſucceſſively, one of which was a zealous Puritan In the year following, he ſet up for a Demy's place in Magdalen-college; but being thought rather too young, and the majority of the fellows having been previouſly engaged in the intereſt of another, he loſt the election: however, in the next year he was choſen, when he gave ſufficient evidence of his having made a conſiderable progreſs in academical literature (*f*). Shortly after this, he gave a farther proof of his talent for dramatic poetry, by compoſing a tragedy in Engliſh, entitled Spurius, which had the general approbation of the ſociety to which he belonged; inſomuch, that the Preſident, Dr Langton, ordered it to be acted in his apartments (*g*); but it was not printed (*h*). On the 17th of October, 1617, he was created Bachelor of Arts (*i*). After this, 'till his taking the degree of Maſter, he, every long vacation, read coſmographical lectures in the common refectory of the college (*k*). As this was an unuſual thing, and he was very converſant in the ſubject, he gave great ſatisfaction to the auditors. The very firſt of theſe diſcourſes, which he delivered towards the end of July, 1618, was ſo well approved, that he was elected Probationer-Fellow, and Moderator of the ſenior form in the Hall; and, on July 19, 1619, was admitted Perpetual Fellow (*l*). July 1, 1620, he was made Maſter of Arts (*m*). In the year enſuing he appeared in the character of a writer, when he ſet forth his *Microcoſmus*: or, *A Deſcription of the Great World*. The chief materials of this work were the abovementioned lectures. He began the compoſing of it on the 22d of February, 1619, and finiſhed it on the 29th of April following (*n*). It was firſt publiſhed in quarto, November 7, 1621 (*o*). It was dedicated and preſented to Prince Charles, who received it and the author very graciouſly. It was univerſally liked, and ſpeedily bought up; ſo that, in 1624, it was reprinted in the ſame ſize, but with conſiderable additions, and again preſented to it's royal patron. It was ſoon after put into the hands of King James, by Dr Young Dean of Wincheſter. His Majeſty, at firſt view, ſeem'd greatly pleaſed with it; 'till, meeting with a paſſage therein, where Heylin gave precedency to the French King, and ſtiled France the more famous kingdom, he was, forſooth, ſo exceedingly offended, forgetting how much more he had degraded both himſelf and the Britiſh nation, in the eyes of all Europe, that he ordered the Lord-Keeper to ſuppreſs the book. Heylin was then at Oxford, whither Dr Young ſent him notice of this untoward circumſtance, perſwading him to repair immediately to London, and endeavour the appeaſing of his angry ſovereign. But, by the advice of his friend Lord Danvers, who knew better how to eſtimate that King's wrath, he ſtayed where he was, and only wrote back to the Doctor an apology, wherein he declared, that the error, in one of the exceptionable paſſages (*p*), was entirely the Printer's, who had put *is* inſtead of *was*; and that when he himſelf mentioned the precedency of France before England, 'beſides, that he did not ſpeak of Eng'land as it then ſtood augmented by Scotland, he took what he did ſay from Camden in 'his Remains.' James was hereby ſatisfied, and Heylin took care, on the other hand, that the whole clauſe, which gave ſo much diſguſt, ſhould be left out of all future impreſſions (*q*). This work was ſucceſſively enlarged, 'till it became a great folio [*A*]. In 1623

(*a*) Theologo-Hiſtoricus: or, the true Life of Peter Heylin, D. D. by his ſon-in-law John Barnard, D. D. p. 75. edit. London, 1683.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 80.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 74.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 81, 82.

(*e*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 276. 2d edit.

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) Barnard, ubi ſupra, p. 86.

(*h*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 279.

(*i*) Idem, Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 203.

(*k*) Idem, Athen. Oxon. col. 276.

(*l*) Idem.

(*m*) Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 216.

(*n*) Wood, Athen Oxon. Vol. II. col. 276.

(*o*) Life of Heylin, by Dr Barnard, p. 89.

(*p*) Microcoſmus, p. 441, I. 2. edit. 1624.

(*q*) Barnard, ubi ſupra, p. 94—101.

[*A*] *'Till it became a great folio.*] Intitled, COSMOGRAPHY, *in four Books; containing the Geography and Hiſtory of the whole World, and all the principal Kingdoms, Provinces, Seas, and the Iſles thereof.* Several editions of it, in this ſize, were printed at London, 1652, 1664, 166-, 1682: the laſt was in the year 1703; ſaid to be improved beyond all the former, with an hiſtorical continuation to that time, by Edmund Bohun, Eſquire. It was towards the expiration of the year 1648, that Heylin ſet about the enlarging of this work, which has done him more honour than all his other writings, whereof he has given ſome account in his preliminary advertiſement to the reader. He there ſays, That being, by the unhappineſs of his deſtiny, or the infelicity of the times, deprived of his preferments, and diveſted of his miniſterial function, as to it's public exerciſe, he had leiſure enough, and opportunity of ſpending more idle hours than he ever expected or deſired. Under theſe circumſtances, being willing to do ſomewhat whereby enſuing times might know how he had paſſed away thoſe vacant ſeaſons; and conſidering of ſome particulars within his power, and anſwerable to that ſmall ſtock of books which he had recruited, (his own being taken from him, and diſpoſed of, contrary unto public order) he was requeſted by ſome friends of no common quality, to review his Geography, to make it more compleat, and ſo render it more uſeful to an Engliſh reader. This motion he at firſt neglected. His deſuetude from thoſe younger ſtudies, his great want of books, the ſad complexion of the times, and the unhandſome entertainment which his endeavours for the public had lately met with, ſeeming ſufficient to diſſuade him from the undertaking.——But, afterwards, being preſſed to it by ſome Members of Parliament, and by others of great rank, but ſuch different intereſts, that he wondred how they could all center on the ſame propoſal, he thought it, at the laſt, a more Chriſtian duty, to ſatisfy the honeſt deſires of ſo many men, than to ſacrifice any longer to his own privacy and retiredneſs, to which he had intended to devote himſelf; and accordingly reſolved to venture on it. An accident which happened in the month of January, 1640, had likewiſe an influence on him in this matter. It was then his ill fortune to ſuffer under ſome miſapprehenſions which had been entertained againſt him, and to be brought before the Committee for the Courts of Juſtice, on the complaint of Mr Prynne, then newly returned from his confinement, and in great credit with the vulgar. Heard by thoſe Commiſſioners he was, with a great deal of ingenuous patience, and diſmiſſed by them without any cenſure; but moſt deſpightfully reviled and perſecuted, with

(r) Wood, ubi ſupra.

1623 he took Orders, being ordained Deacon and Prieſt by Dr Howſon, Biſhop of Oxford, at St Aldate's-church in that city (r). In 1625, he paſſed over into France, and continued abroad about ſix weeks; in which time he alſo viſited ſome of the adjacent iſlands. However he might like that country as to the ſoil and climate, he certainly entertained but a mean opinion of the people, whether as individuals, or as a nation; and has expreſſed a great contempt of them, in the relation of his journey that he publiſhed thirty years after. April 24, 1627, he anſwered, *pro forma*, upon theſe two queſtions, 1. *An Eccleſia unquam fuerit inviſibilis?* i. e. 'Whether the Church was ever inviſible?' 2. *An Eccleſia poſſit errare?* i. e. 'Whether the Church can err?' Both of theſe he determined negatively. This raiſed a mighty clamour againſt him, as a Papiſt, or, at leaſt, a favourer of Popery. And, to ſay the truth, there are ſome doctrines very friendly to that religion, which we may ſuppoſe this diſputant was not over deſirous of undermining. With regard to the firſt of theſe queries, it may be obſerved, The rigid Calviniſts of that day were for unchurching the whole Romiſh Communion, alledging, they had utterly deſtroyed Chriſtianity by their idolatrous corruptions; while Mr Heylin, and his Arminian party, were for doing the ſame good turn for all of the Calviniſtical ſtamp, as having departed from Chriſt when they left the Biſhops. The Calviniſts (denying the Church of Rome to be a true Church) when preſſed with this queſtion, *Where the Church of Chriſt was for ſeveral ages preceding the Reformation*, were uſed to have recourſe to the Berengarians

with exceſſive noiſe and violence, by ſuch as thronged about the doors of that committee, to expect the iſſue, and even in the ſtreets.——Amongſt others, he was encountered, in his paſſage from Weſtminſter to Whitehall, by a tall big gentleman, who thruſting him rudely from the wall, and looking over his ſhoulder at him, in a ſcornful manner, ſaid, in a hoarſe voice, *Geography is better than Divinity*; and ſo paſſed along. Whether his meaning was, that the Doctor was a better Geographer than Divine; or that Geography had been a ſtudy of more credit and advantage to him in the eyes of men, than Divinity was like to prove, Heylin could not determine; but ſure it is, he afterwards very often thought of it; and the thought thereof had it's effect, in drawing him to look back on thoſe younger ſtudies, in which he was reſolved to have dealt no more: and thereto, in the preface of his Microcoſm, had obliged himſelf; where he had ſolemnly declared, that the reader 'ſhould not fear any further enlargements, 'which might make him repent his (then) preſent 'markets; that it had received his laſt hand; and 'that from thenceforth he would look upon it as a 'ſtranger only.' But it was meant withal, the Doctor ſays, and expreſſed accordingly, unleſs it were for the 'amending of ſuch errors, of which, by the 'ſtrength of his own judgment, or any ingenuous in-'formation, he ſhould be convicted.' And errors he found ſo many, on this laſt peruſal, and thoſe not only verbal but material, as did not only free him from that obligation, but did oblige him to a further review thereof. For being written in an age on which the pride of youth and ſelf-opinion might have ſome predominancies, he thought it freer from miſtakes, than he, on examination, found it. And thoſe miſtakes, by running through eight editions, ſix of them without his peruſal or ſuperviſing, ſo increaſed and multiplied, that he could no longer call it his, or look upon it with any tolerable degree of patience. So that if the importunity of friends had not enforced him, in a manner, on this employment, the neceſſity of conſulting his own fame, and leaving the work fair behind him, would have perſuaded him, in the end, to do ſomewhat in it. Now, as to what the world might expect from ſo great enlargements, the Doctor ſays, his deſign, originally, was only to look over the former book, to purge it of the errors it had contracted; and not ſo much to make a new book, as correct the old. But when he had more ſeriouſly conſidered of it, he found ſufficient reaſon to change that purpoſe, to make it new both in form and matter; and to preſent it to the world with all thoſe advantages which a new book might carry with it. In the purſuance of this work, as he has taken on himſelf the parts of an Hiſtorian and Geographer, ſo he has not forgotten that he is an Engliſhman, and, which is ſomewhat more, a Churchman. As an Engliſhman, he has been mindful on all occaſions, to commit to memory the noble actions of his country, exploited both by ſea and land, in moſt parts of the world.——Though the Hiſtory and Chorography of the world be his principal buſineſs, yet he has apprehended every modeſt occaſion of recording the heroic acts of his native ſoil, and filing on the regiſters of perpetual fame, the gallantry and brave atchievements of the people of England; exemplified in their many victories and ſignal ſervices in Italy, France, Spain, Scotland, Belgium; in Paleſtine, Cyprus, Africa, and America, and indeed, where not? nor has he pretermitted their great zeal and piety, in converting to the faith ſo many of the German and Northern nations, Franconians, Thuringians, Heſſians, Saxons, Danes, Friſons; as alſo amongſt the Scots and Picts; together with thoſe of Lithuania, and the people of Norway.——And as he has been zealous to record the actions, ſo he has been as careful to aſſert the rights of the Engliſh nation, inherent perſonally in their Kings, by way of public intereſt in the ſubject alſo. Of this kind are, the true ſtating of the title of the Kings of England to the Crown of France; demonſtrating the vaſſalage of the kingdom of Scotland to the Crown of England; vouching the legal intereſt of the Engliſh nation, in right of the firſt diſcovery or primier ſeizure, to Eſtotiland, Terra Corterialis, Newfoundland, Novum Belgium, Guaiana, the countries near the Cape of Good-Hope, ſeveral of the Indian iſlands, and ſome other places, againſt all pretenders: inſinuating the precedency of the Engliſh kings before thoſe of Spain, with their ſovereignty in the Britiſh ocean. Next, as a Church-man, he has taken eſpecial notice of the antient and preſent face of Chriſtianity, in all parts of the world; the planting and government of Churches, alſo the heterodoxies and opinions of thoſe ſeveral ſects into which it doth now ſtand diſmembred. As a Geographer, he has been exact in giving every province it's peculiar bounds, in laying out their ſeveral land-marks, tracing the courſe of moſt of the principal rivers, and ſetting forth the ſituation and eſtate of the chiefeſt towns.——And herein he has taken pains in ſearching out the firſt inhabitants of each ſeveral country, as far as he could ſee by the light of letters, or go by probable conjectures in finding out the place of ſuch ancient cities as are now decayed, not eaſily viſible in their ruins; and adding to ſuch cities as are now in being (if of any antiquity) their original names.——Laſtly, as an Hiſtorian, he has traced the affairs of each ſeveral country, from the firſt inhabitants thereof, 'till theſe later times. For the better doing of which, he has taken extraordinary care, to ſettle all the firſt adventurers (after the proud attempt at Babel) in their right plantations; and that in the way of an introduction, that he might the eaſier know where he was to find them, and that he might go on with their affairs undiſturbedly. The reſt of their occurrences he has ſummed up into ſo ſhort an abſtract, as may be uſeful to the learned in the way of a remembrancer; to the leſs knowing man in the way of a tutor.—Nor has he only kept himſelf to the ſtory of kingdoms, or the greater nations, which are, or have been, of the greateſt conſideration in the ſway of the world; but looked on the eſtates of ſuch Dukes, Earls, and inferior Princes, as in their times have had the government of thoſe parts which gave title to them; whoſe actions and ſucceſſions are diſtinctly ſpecified, and all ſuch alterations noted, as have happened either in the ruin of ſuch eſtates, or the tranſlating of them from one houſe to another: until the year 1648.

Berengarians in Italy, the Waldenſes in France, the Wicliffiſts in England, and the Huſſites in Bohemia. But this way of accounting was not approved by Mr Heylin. He would not be obliged to the ſcattered conventicles (as he calls them) of theſe ſculking ſchiſmatics, for any defence of the Proteſtant Church (and conſequently of the renowned Church of England), ſeeing they themſelves could hardly be deemed Churches. By recurring to theſe ſects, that ſucceſſion of the Hierarchy, which the Church of England claims from the very Apoſtles and their immediate ſucceſſors, he judged would be utterly diſcontinued: and therefore he choſe rather to find out a viſible Church in Aſia, Ethiopia, Greece, yea Rome itſelf, as alſo in the weſtern provinces, then ſubject to the Roman Biſhop, when he was chief Patriarch: and as there were Epiſcopal Churches at all times, conſpicuouſly, in thoſe places, there was a ſufficient ground, as he thought, for his deciſion concerning the Church's *perpetual viſibility*. However, Mr Heylin was not eaſy under the charge of being popiſhly affected; for which reaſon, to clear himſelf from that imputation, he took an opportunity, preaching before the King in November following, on John iv. 20. of declaring vehemently againſt ſome of the errors and corruptions of the Romiſh Church (*s*). In the beginning of the year 1628, the Earl of Danby recommended him to the favour of Biſhop Laud, then of Bath and Wells, as a man deſerving ſome good preferment in the Church: for the power and ſplendour of which he was a moſt hearty advocate (*t*). In the latter end of this ſame year he waited on that nobleman, in quality of Chaplain, to Guernſey, of which iſland his Lordſhip was Governor. He continued there about three weeks only; and after his return wrote an account of that voyage, which was printed and publiſhed along with the relation of his former journey, abovementioned. June 13, 1629, he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity (*u*); and, by the intereſt of his aforeſaid noble patron, was made one of the Chaplains in ordinary to his Majeſty (*x*). On Act-Sunday, 1630, he preached before the Univerſity of Oxford, at St Mary's, on Matth. xiii. 25. In his ſermon, he freely delivered his ſentiments in reſpect of an affair, which, at firſt ſight, had a ſpecious appearance of promoting the honour and emolument of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, but was, in reality, a moſt iniquitous ſcheme, to the prejudice of the laity, and of no ſervice where it was pretended to avail. This was a feoffment, that ſome deſigning perſons had obtained, for the buying in of impropriations. Mr Heylin ſaw through the diſguiſe, and laid bare the knavery. This made a noiſe, and greatly incenſed thoſe whoſe views were thereby in danger of being diſappointed. About this time he reſigned his fellowſhip, having been married almoſt two years before to Letitia, a daughter of Thomas Highgate of Heys, Eſq; According to the ſtatutes he ſhould have quitted his fellowſhip before he altered his condion, or immediately after; and his being ſuffered to retain it ſo long, illegally, was, becauſe thoſe who would otherwiſe have obliged him to relinquiſh, were ignorant of his nuptials. They were indeed celebrated in his own college-chapel, on St Simon and Jude's day, between ten and eleven in the morning, before witneſſes enough, of both ſexes, and the wedding-dinner given in his own chamber, to which even ſome of the Fellows were invited; and yet the thing was ſo managed, that theſe gentlemen knew not it was a marriage-feaſt, but ſuppoſed it merely a friendly entertainment; the reſt of the company keeping the hymenial rites, whereat they had been juſt before, a profound ſecret. Mr Heylin's behaviour in this caſe was not quite juſtifiable; for, undoubtedly, the circumſtances thereof were intentionally ſo ordered, as to evade the laws of the ſociety, and defeat the founder's inſtitution, which to be ſure he had engaged to obſerve and maintain: he hearkened to the voice of intereſt, and not to his conſcience, in the matter. The fact is not to be queſtioned; we have the teſtimony, for it, of Wood (*y*), Barnard (*z*), and Vernon (*a*) The laſt juſtifies our reflections; he ſays of the marriage, 'It was a 'marriage clancularly, a marriage in maſquerade, a marriage incognito to the college, 'becauſe the Preſident and Fellows neither knew nor believed there was a true ſolemniza-'tion of marriage in their chapel; and though ſome of them were invited to the wedding-'dinner, they took the invitation to a merriment and not to a marriage. In truth, it 'was not clandeſtine againſt the laws of the Church and Realm, becauſe the uſual ce-'remonies and formalities of both were performed in the ſolemnization betwixt the par-'ties; but ſuch marriage was expreſsly againſt the laws and ſtatutes of the college-foun-'der, and much more for a married Fellow to keep his fellowſhip after.' In 1631, Mr Heylin publiſhed his *Hiſtory of that moſt famous Saint or Soldier of Jeſus Chriſt, St George of Cappadocia, aſſerted from the fictions of the middle ages of the Church, and oppoſition of the preſent*. To this was ſubjoined, *The Inſtitution of the moſt noble Order of St George, named the Garter, and a Catalogue of all the Knights of the Garter from the firſt Inſtitution to this preſent; as alſo of the principal Officers thereto belonging*. There were two impreſſions of theſe pieces at London, quarto, in the years 1631 and 1633. At the end of the latter edition is a review of the whole performance, conſiſting of additions and emendations. Mr Wood intimates, as if the motive of Heylin's undertaking this work, ſoon after his being appointed Chaplain to the King, was a deſire of becoming known to the great ones at Court, and conciliating their favour in order to his advancement (*b*). Be that as it will, it is certain his Majeſty accepted the work very graciouſly, when he attended him with it at Whitehall, on the ſecond of February, 1630-31, being introduced to his preſence by Dr Laud, then raiſed to the ſee of London. Soon after this, he received ſeveral tokens of this Prince's benevolence; for, in October 1631, he was preſented by him to the rectory of Hemingford in Huntingdonſhire; to a prebend of Weſtminſter, on the firſt of

(*s*) Barnard, p. 3.

(*t*) Heylin's Life of Laud, lib. iii. ad annum 1627.

(*u*) Wood, Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col 247.

(*x*) Idem, Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 277. and Barnard, p. 120, 121.

(*y*) Athen, Vol. II. col. 277.

(*z*) In his Life of Heylin, p. 17.

(*a*) In his Life of Heylin, p. 13.

(*b*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 277.

November following; and ſhortly after to the rectory of Houghton, in the biſhoprick of Durham, worth nearly four hundred pounds a year (*c*). This laſt he afterwards exchanged with Dr Marſhall for the rectory of Alresford in Hampſhire; and this he did by deſire of his Majeſty, that he might be more in the neighbourhood of the Court (*d*). After waiting on the King with it, he carried his Hiſtory to all the Knights of the Garter and Perſons of Quality which happened to be then in London. He met with a genteel reception from all, but Archbiſhop Abbot and the Earl of Exeter. The former had a contemptuous opinion of the ſubject, and the latter of the author, whom he treated as a begging ſcholar; an indecence, of which that nobleman was afterwards aſhamed (*e*). The book was no ſooner publiſhed, than it was attacked by Dr Hakewill, in a diſcourſe (as Heylin ſays) *full of moſt baſe and malicious calumniations, both againſt the perſon and religion of the author* (*f*). The King being informed of this circumſtance by Laud, took part in the matter, ſo far as to command Heylin to conſider Hakewill's objections; and that he might be the better qualified for ſuch a taſk, he ſent him to ſearch the records of the Order of the Garter at Windſor. Having ſo done, he printed a ſecond edition of his Hiſtory, in 1633, wherein he endeavoured to invalidate the exceptions of his antagoniſt. This ſeems to have had ſome effect on Hakewill; for, in a ſecond edition of his *Apology or Declaration of the Power and Providence of God*, he retracted thoſe paſſages in the firſt which related to St George. However, it is plain that he was far from being entirely reconciled to Heylin's book: for though he made no formal reply to what concerned him in the ſecond impreſſion of it, he, about the ſame time, acquainted his friends what his ſentiments were thereof, in ſeveral letters; in one of which he writes thus (*g*). 'In the ſecond impreſſion of 'this book [the Hiſtory of St George], where he hath occaſion to ſpeak of the Roman 'writers, eſpecially the legendaries, he magnifies them more, and when he mentions our 'men, he vilifies them more, than he did in his firſt edition. But the matter is not 'much what he ſaith of the one or the other, the condition of the man being ſuch, that his 'word hardly paſſeth for commendation or ſlander, &c.' April 13, 1633, Mr Heylin was created Doctor of Divinity (*h*). In his Latin exerciſes for this degree he diſputed on the enſuing queſtions, I. *Whether the Church hath authority in determining controverſies of Faith?* II. *Whether the Church hath authority of interpreting the Sacred Scriptures?* III. *Whether the Church hath authority of appointing rites and ceremonies?* Of all which he maintained the affirmative. This gave freſh offence to Prideaux, and all the puritanical members of the univerſity. This orthodox divine accuſed him on the ſpot, of falſifying the doctrine of the Church, in charging the article with that ſentence, *Habet Eccleſia ritus ſive ceremonias, &c.* which was not found in the whole body of it. And, for proof thereof, he read the article out of a book there before him, beginning thus, *Non licet Eccleſiæ quicquam inſtituere quod verbo Dei ſcripto adverſetur*, &c. This book was the Harmony of Confeſſions, publiſhed at Geneva, 1612, which was indeed, in this particular, conformable to the articles, as they ſtood in the time of Edward the Sixth, 1552, wherein that ſentence was not found. Heylin, gueſſing the book by the ſize of the volume, anſwered, that however it might be there, it was otherwiſe, and as he had affirmed, in the articles agreed on by the Convocation in 1562, to which moſt of the clergy had ſubſcribed. This aſſertion of our new doctor did not ſtop the mouth of Prideaux, or quite ſatisfy others that were preſent, and of the ſame opinion with him. Whereupon, Heylin ſent immediately to a neighbouring bookſeller for a book of Articles; which being brought, he read out of it the diſputed one in Engliſh, thus, *The Church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controverſies of Faith*, &c. which done, he delivered the book to a by-ſtander, who deſired a ſight of the paſſage, and it was handed from one to another, 'till all were convinced by ocular demonſtration (*i*), and Prideaux, as well as his partizans, ſilenced [*B*]. This warm man, in the courſe of the diſpute, uttered ſome tenets, that gave no leſs diſguſt to Laud, Chancellor of Oxford, and to the King, whom that prelate informed of them, than Heylin's had to him. He aſſerted, *The Church was a mere chimera.—That it did not teach or determine any thing.—That controverſies had better be referred*

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Barnard, p. 142, 143.

(*e*) Wood, ut ſupra, col. 279, 280. Barnard, p. 124.

(*f*) Appendix to the Advertiſements in Sanderſon's Hiſtory.

(*g*) See Sanderſon's Poſt-haſte. A Reply to Peter's Appendix to his Treatiſe, intitled, *Reſpondet Petrus*, p. 13.

(*h*) Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 258.

(*i*) Appendix to the 2d part of Heylin's Examen Hiſtoricum.

[*B*] *And Prideaux, as well as his partizans, ſilenced.*] Anthony Collins remarks on this (1), that they were ſatisfied with very little reaſon; 'for the Engliſh edi-'tion produced, which was in all probability the late 'edition ſet forth with the King's Declaration, ſeems 'very improper to determine the controverſy, when 'the queſtion related to the Latin articles. If any 'Latin copy of the articles, printed by authority, had 'been brought into the ſchools, the aſſembly muſt 'have been ſatisfied of the contrary, if they had 'judged of the authority of the clauſe by a printed 'copy of the articles.' But, after all, what is there in the Latin article, as read by Prideaux, any more than in the Engliſh one, produced by Heylin, that contradicts the poſition of this latter which gave ſo much offence. Where is the difference, in ſenſe, between *Non licet eccleſiæ quicquam inſtituere quod verbo Dei ſcripto adverſetur*; and, *The Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controverſies of Faith: yet not ſo as to ordain any thing contrary to God's written word.* Here is no real, but a ſeeming diverſity only. For though the Latin is negatively, and the Engliſh affirmatively, expreſſed; yet the affirmation of the one is implied in the negation of the other: for, is it not an abſurdity to talk of limiting a power which does not exiſt? if the Church, then, had not, generally, a power of decreeing, it would be nonſenſe to ſay, ſhe might not decree contrary to God's word. The ſaying, ſhe may not ordain any thing contrary to the Scriptures, infers, ſhe may ordain any thing, relating to her province, that is conſiſtent with them.—Whether the Church always confines herſelf within due bounds, or may not ſometimes miſuſe her authority?—Whether ſhe has any authority in ſuch things at all?—Or, finally, whether there is ſuch a thing as a Church, according to Heylin's acceptation of that term? are other points: but, moſt certainly, the twentieth article of the Church of England, whether Latin or Engliſh, ſeems as favourable as need be wiſhed, to the cauſe Heylin defended.

(1) Hiſtorical and critical Eſſay on the 39 Articles, introduction, p. 28.

[*C*] *Of*

red to Univerſities than to the Church, and might be decided by the Literati there, even though Biſhops were laid aſide (*k*). Heylin afterwards found an opportunity of revenging himſelf on Prideaux [*C*], for the ill treatment he had from him, at the times of his taking the two aforeſaid degrees. In 1636 he publiſhed his *Hiſtory of the Sabbath* (*l*), which he wrote for reconciling the people to that order the King had lately iſſued, for permitting (if not enjoining) public games and diverſions on the evenings of the Lord's day. This treatiſe endeared him greatly to his Majeſty, and the leſs pious (whether lords or prelates) of the Court; but rendered him no leſs odious to thoſe of a more religious caſt throughout the kingdom. This book was twice printed in quarto, at London, in the ſpace of about a year. He now likewiſe publiſhed *A Coal from the Altar:* or, *An Anſwer to the Biſhop of Lincoln's Letter to the Vicar of Grantham, againſt placing the Communion-Table in the manner of an Altar.* The Biſhop, in 1637, replied in a piece intitled, *The Holy Table, name and thing.* In this laſt year he put out the following tracts, I. *A brief Diſcourſe, by way of Letter, touching the Form of Prayer appointed to be uſed by Preachers before their Sermons.* II. *A brief and moderate Anſwer to the ſeditious and ſcandalous Challenge of Henry Burton, in two Sermons preached by him on the fifth of November* 1636, *and in the Apology ſet before them.* III. *Antidotum Lincolnienſe:* or, *An Anſwer to a book, intitled, the Holy Table, name and thing.* Williams, Biſhop of Lincoln and Dean of Weſtminſter, having incurred the King and Laud's diſpleaſure, was now ſuſpended and impriſoned; whereupon Heylin was made Treaſurer of the Church of Weſtminſter, and was alſo preſented by the Prebendaries, his brethren, to the rectory of Iſlip near Oxford, in value about two hundred pounds a year: this he exchanged, in 1638, for that of South-Warnborough in Hampſhire; and, the ſame year, was made one of the Juſtices of the Peace for that county. In 1639 he was employed by Archbiſhop Laud to tranſlate the Scotch liturgy into Latin. On the tenth of April, 1640, he was choſen by the College of Weſtminſter their Clerk, to repreſent them in Convocation (*m*). About this time he was involved in new troubles by his old antagoniſt Biſhop Williams [*D*], and William Prynne (*n*). This was a ſeaſon when men of his principles might well be under apprehenſions. A cloud was gathered, which threatned to overwhelm all, who, like him, had diſtinguiſhed themſelves as champions for royal or eccleſiaſtical prerogative. To ſhelter him from the impending ſtorm, he retired from the metropolis, where he had long baſked in the ſhine of a Court, to his parſonage of Alreſford; but not thinking himſelf there ſufficiently ſecure, he retreated to Oxford, then garriſoned by the King, and the ſeat of his reſidence. On this the Parliament voted him a delinquent, and diſpatched an order to their committee at Portſmouth to

(*k*) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 278. Hiſt. & Antiq. Univerſ. Oxon. lib. i. p. 340.

(*l*) Athen. Oxon, ut ſupra.

(*m*) See, for theſe particulars, Barnard's Life of Heylin, p. 172, 173, 174, 177. and Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 278.

(*n*) Some Account of what he ſuffered, by means of this latter, may be ſeen in note [*A*].

[*C*] *Of revenging himſelf on Prideaux.*] This divine had delivered a lecture on the Sabbath, which was ſomewhat freer than ſuited the rigid orthodoxy of that time. However, it ſhould ſeem, the matter had then paſſed without much, if any, obſervation or cenſure But ſhortly after, when the King, by publiſhing the book of ſports on ſundays, had raiſed a violent out-cry throughout the nation againſt himſelf, his evil counſellor Laud, and all who were in the leaſt ſuſpected of doubting the divine inſtitution of that holy day, or that did not zealouſly urge even a Jew-like obſervation of it; Heylin tranſlated this lecture into Engliſh, to which he prefixed a preface, and publiſhed it in Hilary-Term, 1633 4 to the great vexation of Prideaux, who hereby ſuffered much in the eſteem and affection of the Puritans (*z*).

(*z*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 278. Hiſt. & Antiq. Univerſ. Oxon. lib. i. p. 340.

[*D*] *By his old antagoniſt Biſhop Williams.*] The Doctor preaching at Weſtminſter-Abbey, and (oddly enough, conſidering his own temper and behaviour) exhorting Chriſtians to moderation, love, and charity among themſelves, for the preſervation of the public peace, although they differed in ſome opinions; proceeded (not very conſiſtently) to juſtify the Church in impoſing doctrines and rites, and to cenſure any oppoſition thereto, in theſe words, 'Is it not that we are 'ſo affected with our own opinions, that we condemn 'whatſoever ſhall opine the contrary; and ſo far 'wedded to our own wills, that when we have eſpouſed a quarrel, neither the love of God, nor the God 'of Love ſhall divorce us from it? inſtead of hearkening to the voice of the Church, every man hearkens 'to himſelf, and cares not if the whole miſcarry, ſo 'that himſelf may bravely carry out his own devices. 'Upon which ſtubborn height of pride what quarrels 'have been raiſed? what ſchiſms in every corner of 'this our Church? to inquire no further, ſome rather 'putting all into open tumult, than that they would 'conform to the lawful government, derived from 'Chriſt and his Apoſtles to theſe very times.' At the ſpeaking of theſe words, the Biſhop of Lincoln, ſitting in the great pew, knocked aloud with his ſtaff upon the pulpit, ſaying, *No more of that point, no more of that point, Peter.* To whom the Doctor readily anſwered, *I have a little more to ſay, my Lord, and then I have done*; which was as follows: 'Others coming 'into cloſe and dangerous factions, becauſe ſome points 'of ſpeculative divinity are otherwiſe maintained by 'ſome than they would have them; alſo regardleſs of 'the common peace, that rather than be quiet, we 'will quarrel with our bleſſed peace-maker for ſeeking 'to compoſe the differences, though to the prejudice 'of neither party. Thus do we fooliſhly divide our Saviour, and rent his ſacred body on the leaſt occaſion, rarely conceiving that a difference in a point 'of judgment muſt needs draw after it a diſjoining of 'the affections alſo, and that conclude at laſt in an 'open Schiſm. Whereas diverſity of opinions, if 'wiſely managed, would rather tend to the diſcovery 'of the truth, than the diſturbance of the Church, and 'rather whet our induſtry than excite our paſſions. It 'was St Cyprian's reſolution, not to ſuſpend any man 'from the communion of the Church, although the 'matter then debated, was, as I take it, of more 'weight than any of the points now controverted: 'which moderation if the preſent age had attained 'unto, we had not then ſo often torn the Church in 'pieces, nor by our frequent broils offered that injury 'and inhumanity to our Saviour's body, which was 'not offered to his garments.' One would think there was nothing in theſe words that could diſpleaſe a biſhop; but they occaſioned an altercation between his Lordſhip and the Doctor, in which the latter acted with an unconquerable reſolution, and, at laſt, got the better of the prelate. For when Heylin was brought before the committee, a ſecond time, as may be ſeen in note [*A*], and this matter was there alledged againſt him, it was declared by the unanimous voice of all then preſent, that there was nothing in the aforeſaid paſſage which did not become an honeſt man to ſpeak, and a good chriſtian to hear; and not only ſo, but that the Biſhop was tranſported beyond his bounds, and failed in his accuſtomed prudence.——The troubles alſo into which he was brought by Mr Prynne, who ſummoned him before the committee for the Court of Juſtice, and there accuſed him of *being one of the chief agents and contrivers of all his ſufferings*, ſoon came to an end, without any grievous conſequence.

[*E*] *There*

to ſequeſter his whole eſtate, and ſeize upon his goods. In conſequence of this ſevere decree, he was deprived of his moſt curious and valuable library; it being carried, with other his houſhold furniture, to that town. As he was thus ſtripped of his ſubſtance, and the income of his livings with-held, his condition at Oxford would have been very diſtreſſed, if the King had not appointed him to write a periodical paper, that was publiſhed weekly in that city, intitled *Mercurius Aulicus*: Which, for ſome time before, had been penned by one John Birkenhead, who, as Wood tells us, pleaſed the generality of readers with his waggeries and buffooneries, far more than his ſucceſſor did. This political performance for a while afforded him a ſubſiſtance. But, in 1645, the King's affairs becoming almoſt deſperate, and the *Mercurius Aulicus* no longer ſupported, the forlorn author quitted Oxford, and wandered from place to place, himſelf and family reduced to the utmoſt ſtraits. At Wincheſter he ſtayed for a while with his wife, &c. 'till that city was delivered up to the Parliament, when he was forced again to remove. In 1648, he went to Minſter-Lovel in Oxfordſhire, the ſeat of his elder brother, which he farmed for the ſix or ſeven following years of his nephew, Colonel Heylin, where he ſpent much of his time in writing. He now in ſome meaſure recovered the enjoyment of his temporal eſtate, for which he compounded with the Commiſſioners at Goldſmith's-hall. On his quitting the aforeſaid farm, he went to Abingdon in Berkſhire, reſiding at a manſion called Lacy's-court. Here too he employed himſelf in the compoſing of ſeveral treatiſes, which he printed. In 1657, he ſuffered afreſh in his fortune by decimation. Upon the reſtoration of Charles the Second, he was likewiſe reſtored to all his ſpiritualities. But he undoubtedly expected from that prince ſome very eminent dignity in the Church, then reeſtabliſhed, as he had heroically exerted himſelf in the behalf of it, as well as of the Crown, and endured ſo much on that account, during their ſuffering condition. However, herein he was utterly diſappointed, being never raiſed above the ſub-deanery of Weſtminſter. This was matter of great vexation to him, and of wonder to many others, who did not ſufficiently conſider the diſpoſition, figure, and qualities of the man; which, though well enough for the tool of a party, were not the propereſt recommendations to preferment, or moſt ſuitable to a ſublime ſtation. He died on the 8th of May, 1662, and was interred before his own ſtall, within the choir of the abbey, where a monument was erected to his memory (*o*). Wood and Barnard have each of them left us a character of him, but there is nothing extraordinarily engaging in the features of either [*E*]. His works are numerous, but not very valuable; we ſhall eſpecially recite the titles of thoſe that have not been mentioned in the courſe of theſe memoirs [*F*].

(*o*) See, for the foregoing particulars, Barnard's Life of Heylin, p. 202, 203, 204, 205. Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 278, 279.

[*E*] *There is nothing extraordinarily engaging in the features of either.*] Wood tells us (3), that he was 'A perſon endowed with ſingular gifts, of a ſharp and 'pregnant wit, ſolid and clear judgment. In his 'younger years he was accounted an excellent poet, 'but very conceited and pragmatical; in his elder a 'better hiſtorian, a noted preacher, and a ready 'or extemporanean ſpeaker. He had a tenacious 'memory to a miracle. He was a bold and undaunted 'man among his friends and foes (though of very mean 'port and preſence) and therefore by ſome of them he 'was accounted too high and proud for his function — 'A conſtant aſſerter of the Church's right and the 'King's prerogative; a ſevere and vigorous oppoſer of 'rebels and ſchiſmatics, a deſpiſer of envy, and in 'mind not at all diſcouraged.—In ſome things too 'much a party to be an hiſtorian, and equally an ene'my to Popery and Puritaniſm.' Dr Barnard informs us (4), that, 'He was of a middle ſtature, his 'face oval, his complection florid, his hair ſhort 'and curling, his eyes quick and ſparkling, be'fore he loſt his ſight; that he had a prodigious me'mory; and that he was of great generoſity and 'charity.'

(3) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 279.

(4) Barnard, p. 258, 259.

[*F*] *That have not been mentioned in the courſe of theſe memoirs.*] I. *Theomachia*, a comedy, never printed. II. *Auguſtus*, an Eſſay, printed 1682, and ſince inſerted into his *Coſmography*. III. *An uniform Book of Articles to be uſed by all Biſhops or Archdeacons in their Viſitations*. London, 1640, quarto. IV. *De jure paritatis Epiſcoporum*, written, 1640, on occaſion of a queſtion in the Houſe of Lords, whether Biſhops ſhould be of the committee for the preparatory examinations in the cauſe of the Earl of Strafford. It is printed among his Hiſtorical and Miſcellaneous Tracts. V. *Reply to Dr Hakewill's Diſſertation touching the Sacrifice of the Euchariſt*, London, 1641, quarto. VI. *An help to Engliſh Hiſtory*, &c. London, 1641, octavo. VII. *Hiſtory of Epiſcopacy*, London, 1642, quarto. VIII. *Hiſtorical Narration of Liturgies*, &c. IX. *A Relation of Lord Hopton's Victory near Bodmin in Cornwall*, &c. X. *A brief Relation of two remarkable Occurrences in the Northern Parts, viz. The landing of the Queen in Burlington-Bay from Holland, and of the Repulſe of the Rebels at Newark*, Oxford, 1642, quarto. XI. *A View of the Proceedings in the Weſt for a Pacification*. XII. *A Letter to a Gentleman in Leiceſterſhire about the Treaty at Uxbridge, ſhewing that all the Overtures, which have been made for Peace and Accommodation, have proceeded from his Majeſty only*. XIII. *The Round-Head's Remembrances: Or a true and particular Relation of the great Defeat given to the Rebels by his Majeſty's Subjects of Cornwall*, &c. 1643. XIV. *A Relation of the Proceedings of Sir John Gell*, &c. printed 1643. XV. *The Black Croſs; ſhewing that the Londoners were the Cauſe of the preſent Rebellion*. XVI. *The Rebel's Catechiſm compoſed in an eaſy and familiar way, to let them ſee the heinouſneſs of their offence*, printed 1643, quarto. XVII. *Diſcourſe in Anſwer to the common, but groundleſs, clamour of the Papiſts, nick naming the Religion of the Church of England, by the Name of a Parliament Religion*. This piece was written in 1644, at the requeſt of a friend; but when printed next year, at Oxford, quarto, it was intitled, *Parliament Power in Laws for Religion: Or an Anſwer to that old and groundleſs Calumny*, &c. It went through other editions, with a different title from the two former. XVIII. *A brief Relation of the Death and Sufferings of the moſt reverend and renowned Prelate the Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, with a Copy of his Speech, and other Paſſages on the Scaffold*, &c. Oxford, 1644, quarto. XIX. *Bibliotheca Regia: Or the Royal Library*, Lond. 1649, 1650, 1659, 8vo. XX. *The Stumbling-block of Diſobedience and Rebellion, cunningly laid by Calvin in the Subject's Way, diſcovered, cenſured, and amended*, London, 1658, quarto. XXI. *The promiſed Seed*, in Engliſh verſe. XXII. *The undeceiving the People in Point of the Tythes*, &c. London, 1648, 1651. XXIII. Theologia Veterum: *The Sum of Chriſtian Theology contained in the Creed, according to the Greeks and Latins*, &c. London, 1654, 1673, Folio. XXIV. *Obſervations on the Hiſtory of the Reign of K. Charles, publiſhed by Hamon L'Eſtrange, Eſq; for the Illuſtration of the Story*, London, 1656, octavo. L'Eſtrange anſwered this, and Heylin replied in a piece intitled, XXV. Extraneus Vapulans; *Or the Obſervator reſcued from the violent but vain aſſaults of Hamon L'Eſtrange, Eſq; and the back Blows of Dr Barnard, an Iriſh Dean*, &c. XXVI. Eccleſia vindicata; *Or the Church of England juſtified*,

1. *In*

1. *In the Way and Manner of her Reformation, &c.* 2. *In officiating by a publick Liturgy.* 3. *In prescribing a set Form of Prayer to be used by Preachers before their Sermons.* 4. *In her Right and Patrimony of Tithes.* 5. *In retaining the episcopal Government, and therewithal the canonical Ordination of Priests and Deacons*, London, 1657, quarto. XXVII. Respondet Petrus; *Or the Answer of Peter Heylin, D. D to so much of Dr Barnard's Book entitled*, The Judgment of the late Primate of Ireland, &c. *as he is made a Party by the said Lord Primate in the Point of the Sabbath*, &c. London, 1658, quarto. XXVIII. *An Appendix in Answer to certain Passages in Mr* Sanderson's History of the Life and Reign of K. Charles, &c. XXIX. *Short View of the Life and Reign of K. Charles (the second Monarch of Great-Britain) from his Birth to his Burial*, London, 1658, octavo. XXX. Examen Historicum; *Or a Discovery and Examination of the Mistakes and Defects in some Modern Histories*, &c. These were, Fuller's Church History of Britain; and Sanderson's Historie of Mary Queen of Scots; and of her son K. James the VIth; of King James the First of Great-Britain; and of K. Charles the First, from his cradle to his grave. XXXI. *The Parable of the Tares, expounded and applied in ten Sermons, with three other Sermons by the same Author*, London, 1659, 1661, quarto. XXXII. Certamen Epistolare: *Or the Letter Combat, managed by Peter Heylin, D. D. with*, 1. *Mr Baxter of Kidderminster.* 2. *Dr Barnard of Gray's-Inn.* 3. *Mr Hickman of Magdalen-College, Oxon.* 4. *James Harrington, Esq*; &c. London, 1650, octavo. XXXIII. Historia Quinquarticularis: *Or a Declaration of the Judgment of the Western Churches, and more particularly of the Church of England, in the five controverted Points, reproached in these last Times by the Name of* Arminianism, &c. London, 1660, quarto. XXXIV. *A Sermon preached in the Collegiate Church of St Peter's in Westminster, on the 29th of May, 1661, on* Psalm xxvi. 21. London, 1661, quarto. XXXV. *History of the Reformation of the Church of England, from the first Preparations to it made by K. Henry VIIIth, until the legal settling and establishing of it under Q. Elizabeth*, &c. London, 1661, 1670, 1674, folio. XXXVI Cyprianus Anglicus: *Or the History of the Life and Death of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury*, &c. London, 1668, 1671, folio. XXXVII. Aerius Redivivus: *Or the History of the Presbyterians. Containing the Beginning, Progress, and Successes of that Sect; their oppositions to Monarchical and Episcopal Government; their Innovations in the Church; and their Imbroylments of the Kingdoms and Estates of Christendom in the Pursuit of their Designs, from the Year* 1536 *to* 1647, London, 1670, 1672, folio. XXXVIII. *Historical and Miscellaneous Tracts*, London, 1681, folio. Some of these tracts were separately published before this edition of them, and have been already mentioned in this note. Dr Heylin wrote also, *A Discourse of the African Schism*; and, in 1637, at Laud's desire, drew up, *The Judgment of Writers on those Texts of Scripture, in which the Jesuits found the Popedom and the Authority of the Roman Church*: both which pieces were intended by the Archbishop as materials towards his answer to Fisher, which was printed, 1639, in folio. I

HOBBES [THOMAS], a celebrated writer in the XVIIth century, was born at Malmesbury in Wiltshire, April 5, 1588. His father was a minister of that town, of the same name, not very remarkable for his learning, and who contented himself with reading to his congregation the Homilies set forth by authority, rather than adventure on composing discourses of his own (*a*). His mother was so frighted with the news of the Spanish fleet, then upon the English coast, that she was brought to bed of her son Thomas before her time, who, notwithstanding, was of a strong and healthy constitution. At four years of age he was taught to read, and, when he was about six years old, he began to apply himself to the learned languages (*b*). When he was in the eighth year of his age, he was put under the care of Mr Robert Latimer, then Master of the grammar-school at Malmesbury; who, having a great opinion of his parts, treated him with much kindness and indulgence, and gave him all possible assistance in his studies. In these he made so extraordinary a progress, that, before he was sent to the university, he translated the Medea of Euripides out of Greek into Latin verse (*c*). In 1603, he was entered of Mary-Magdalen-hall in Oxford, of which Dr Hussee was then Principal, who was afterwards knighted, and became Chancellor of the diocese of Salisbury, a learned man, and a true patron of letters. While at college, he was chiefly supported by an allowance from his uncle, who was Alderman of Malmesbury, the chief office in that corporation, and who at his death left him a small annuity, that he might not be obliged to desert his studies (*d*). In 1607, our author took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; the year following, by the recommendation of Mr John Wilkinson, Principal of Magdalen-hall, he was taken into the family of the Right-Honourable William Cavendish, Lord Hardwicke, soon after created Earl of Devonshire, in quality of tutor to his son William Lord Cavendish; with whom, being much of an age, he was admitted to an extraordinary degree of intimacy, so as not only to assist him in his studies, but to be his companion also in the sports of the field, to which that young lord was much inclined. By his prudent behaviour, Mr Hobbes recommended himself so effectually, both to this young nobleman and his father, that he was sent abroad with him on his travels in 1610, and made the Tour of France and Italy, which gave him an opportunity of making himself compleatly master of the languages of those countries, as well as of the politer parts of learning (*e*). Upon his return with the Lord Cavendish, finding that his stock of academical knowledge was somewhat decayed, he applied himself with such diligence to the study of the best authors of antiquity, that he arrived at a clear strong Latin stile, and acquired a perfect knowledge of the Greek tongue. These accomplishments, with a good address, made him known to persons of high rank, as well as men eminently distinguished for their parts and learning; such as the Lord-Chancellor Bacon, who admitted him to a great degree of familarity, and, it is said, made use of his pen for translating some of his excellent works into Latin. He was likewise much in the favour of that learned and accomplished nobleman, Edward, Lord Herbert of Chirbury. Another of his intimate friends was, Sir Robert Ayton, Secretary to Queen Anne consort to King James the First, one who had raised himself a high reputation, by the elegancy with which he wrote Latin verse (*f*). The celebrated Benjamin Johnson was likewise of his acquaintance, and had so great an esteem for him, that he revised the first of his works that our author made public, viz. an English translation of the History of Thucydides, undertaken from an honest and laudable desire of preventing those

(*a*) Thomæ Hobbes Malmesburiensis vita, carmine expressa. Authore seipso. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 23. Historia & Antiquitates Oxonienses, lib. ii. p. 376.

(*b*) Vita Thomæ Hobbes, p. 1. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 23. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 641.

(*c*) Thomæ Hobbes Malmesburiensis Vita. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 23. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. 641.

(*d*) Vitæ Thomæ Hobbes, p. 1. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 25, 26. Historia & Antiquitates Oxonienses, lib. ii. p. 376.

(*e*) Thomæ Hobbes Malmesburiensis Vita. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 27—30. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 641.

(*f*) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 34, 35.

disturbances he was apprehensive might arise in his own country, by shewing the fatal consequences of intestine troubles. But while he meditated this design, his noble patron, William Earl of Devonshire, departed this life in 1626; and, in 1628, the very same year that work was published, his son and successor, who was of the same Christian name, died likewise; in whose service Hobbes had lived twenty years, first in quality of his tutor, and afterwards of his secretary (g). These strokes affected him to such a degree, that he willingly accepted an offer made him of going abroad with the son of Sir Gervase Clifton, whom he accompanied into France, and stayed there some time. As he had never been any great admirer of the Logics, Physics, and Metaphysics of the schools, he thought his time might be better employed in the pursuit of the Mathematics. He began therefore with the works of Euclid, which he read with great application and extraordinary pleasure; not so much on account of the subject, for he thought the properties and relations of lines and angles, speculatively considered, was of very little consequence to the business of human life, though of very great use when reduced to practice; but his sagacity taught him to admire, in the writings of that Philosopher, the clearness of his reasoning, the connection of his arguments, and the wonderful perspicuity of his method, from whence truth appeared incontestible (b). While his hours were thus employed, he found himself sollicited to return to England, and resume his concern for the hopes of that family, to which he owed so many and so great obligations. The Countess-dowager of Devonshire, a lady more conspicuous from her virtues than her quality, desired to put the young Earl of Devonshire under his care, who was then about the age of thirteen (i). This was very suitable to Mr Hobbes's inclinations, who discharged this trust with great diligence and fidelity. He took occasion from this employment to republish his translation of Thucydides, to which he prefixed a dedication to that worthy young nobleman, in which he gives a large character of his father, and represents, in the strongest terms, the gratitude he owed to that illustrious family [A]. The same year he accompanied his pupil to

(g) Vita Thomæ Hobbes, p. 3. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 36—40. Historia & Antiquitates Oxonienſis, p. 377.

(b) Thomæ Hobbes Malmesburienſis Vita. Vita Thomæ Hobbes, p. 3. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 642.

(i) Thomæ Hobbes Malmesburienſis Vita. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 41. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 641.

[A] *The gratitude he owed to that illustrious family.*] In the life of himself, written by Mr Hobbes in Latin verse, we are told the motive of his translating the Peloponnesian War, the same, which we have mentioned in the text; but he says nothing there of the time of it's publication. However, we find it expressly mentioned in the Latin prose life, which has also been attributed to Mr Hobbes, that he published his English translation of Thucydides in 1628 (1). He must therefore have republished it in 1634, as appears from the date of the dedication, as well as that prefixed to such of the first edition as are commonly met with; for the same book being again printed in 1676, with the title only of a second edition, is a very plain proof that the fact really stood as we have stated it. This has been always esteemed one of the best translations that we have of any Greek writer, and the author himself took care of the maps and indexes. There is one thing which must not be passed by, the learned Dr Tennison, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, one of the ablest, as well as one of the fairest antagonists Mr Hobbes ever met with, is clearly of opinion, that he borrowed the fundamental maxims of his politics, from the oration of Euphemus the Athenian Ambassador, which is printed in the sixth book of that history (2). At the time it was published, Mr Hobbes was esteemed a very sagacious and public spirited man, one who had nothing so much at heart as promoting the peace and prosperity of his country, by exposing the bad designs of those, who under the specious pretence of zeal for religion, and a patriot concern for liberty, meant to overturn the constitution, and to erect each the edifice of his private fortune out of, as well as upon, the public ruins (3). As to his dedication, it has been ever esteemed a most masterly composition in point of matter, as well as form, and is an excellent specimen of our author's stile, which in those days was very highly applauded, and to this hour has many admirers. We for these reasons produce it, and the reader will (though somewhat long) find nothing tedious in this elegant performance.

(1) Vita Thomæ Hobbes, p. 3.

(2) The Creed of Mr Hobbes examined, p. 172.

(3) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 643.

To the Right Honourable Sir William Cavendish, Knight of the Bath, Baron of Hardwicke, and Earl of Devonshire.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

'I take confidence from your Lordship's goodness, in 'the very entrance of this epistle, to profess with simplicity, and according to the faith I owe my master 'now in Heaven, that it is not unto yourself, but to 'your Lordship's father, that I dedicate this my labour, such as it is. For neither am I at liberty to 'make choice of one, to whom I may present it as a 'voluntary oblation, being bound in duty to bring it 'in as an account to him, by whose indulgence I had 'both the time and ammunition to perform it: nor 'if such obligation were removed, know I any to 'whom I ought to dedicate it rather. For by the experience of many years I had the honour to serve 'him, I know this, there was not any who more really, and less for glory's sake, favoured those that 'studied the liberal arts, liberally, than my Lord your 'father did; nor in whose house a man should less 'need the University than in his. For his own study, 'it was bestowed for the most part, in that kind of 'learning which best deserveth the pains and hours of 'great persons, history and civil knowledge; and directed not to the ostentation of his reading, but to 'the government of his life and the public good. For 'he so read, that the learning he took in by study, by 'judgment he digested, and converted into wisdom and 'ability to benefit his country: to which also he applied himself with zeal, but such as took no fire, 'either from faction or ambition. And as he was a 'most able man for soundness of advice, and clear expression of himself in matters of difficulty and consequence, both in public and in private; so also was he 'one whom no man was able either to draw, or justle 'out of the straight path of justice. Of which virtue, 'I know not whether he deserved more by his severity 'in imposing it (as he did to his last breath) on himself, or by his magnanimity in not exacting it to him 'self from others. No man better discerned of [illegible] 'and therefore was he constant in his friendship 'cause he regarded not the fortune nor adherence, 'but the men, with whom also he conversed with an 'openness of heart, that had no other guard than his 'own integrity, and that Nil Conscire. To his equals 'he carried himself equally, and to his inferiors familiarly, but maintaining his respect fully and only with 'the native splendour of his worth. In sum, he was one 'in whom might plainly be perceived, that honour and 'honesty are but the same thing in the different degrees of persons. To him therefore, and to the memory of his worth, be consecrated this, though unworthy, offering. And now, imitating in this civil 'worship, the religious worship of the Gentiles, who, 'when they dedicated any thing to their Gods, brought 'and presented the same to their images; I bring and 'present, this gift of mine, The History of Thucydides, translated into English, with much more diligence than elegance, to your Lordship, who are the 'image of your father; for never was a man more exactly copied out than he in you, and who have in 'you the seeds of his virtues already springing up: 'Humbly intreating your Lordship to esteem it amongst the goods that descend upon you, and in your 'due

to Paris, where he applied his vacant hours to Natural Philoſophy, and more eſpecially to the underſtanding of mechaniſm, and the cauſes of animal motion. Upon theſe ſubjects he conferred with Father Marin Merſenne, a man of extenſive learning, and of unblemiſhed probity, who entertained a literary correſpondence through all Europe (*k*). From Paris Mr Hobbes attended his pupil into Italy, where, at Piſa, he became known to that great Aſtronomer Galileo Galilei, who communicated to him his notions very freely; and after having ſeen whatever was remarkable in that country, he, in 1637, returned with his patron into England (*l*). His attachment to that noble perſon retained him in the family, where he had already ſpent ſo great a part of his life; and his long reſidence in the noble palace at Chatſworth, had afforded him an opportunity of exerciſing his inclination to Latin poetry, in celebrating the wonders of the Peak [*B*]; which poem of

(*k*) Vita Thomæ Hobbes, p. 4. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 46, 47. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 641.

(*l*) Thomæ Hobbes Malmeſburienſis Vita. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 47.

'due time to read it. I could recommend the author 'unto you, not impertinently, for, that he had in his 'veins the blood of Kings; but I chooſe rather to re'commend him for his writings, as having in them 'profitable inſtructions for noblemen, and ſuch as may 'come to have the managing of great and weighty ac'tions. For I may confidently ſay, that notwithſtand'ing the excellent, both examples and precepts of 'heroic virtue you have at home, this book will con'fer not a little to your inſtitution; eſpecially when 'you come to the years to frame your life by your 'own obſervation. For in hiſtory, actions of honour 'and diſhonour do appear plainly and diſtinctly, which 'are which; but in the preſent age they are ſo di'guiſed, that few there be, and thoſe very careful, that 'be not groſsly miſtaken in them. But this (I doubt not) 'is ſuperfluouſly ſpoken by me to your Lordſhip: there'fore I end with this prayer, That it will pleaſe God 'to give you virtues ſuitable to the fair dwelling he 'hath prepared for them, and the happineſs that ſuch 'virtues lead unto, both in and after this world.

'Your Lordſhip's

'moſt humble ſervant,

Anno Dom. 1634.

THO. HOBBES.'

[*B*] *The wonders of the Peak.*] Our author in this poem, which is inſcribed to the Right Honourable William Earl of Devonſhire, in heroic verſe, deſcribes the wonders of the Peak in Derbyſhire, and as the firſt of theſe is the palace of Chatſworth, he takes occaſion from thence to celebrate the Cavendiſh family, and that famous Counteſs of Shrewſbury, to whoſe prudence and oeconomy ſo many noble families ſtood ſo much obliged, and from whom the three Earls of Devonſhire, Newcaſtle, and Kingſton were deſcended. Theſe of all Mr Hobbes's poetical performances have been eſteemed the beſt verſes, which however deſerve not any extraordinary commendation. We are ſomewhat at a loſs for a reaſon, but the fact is very certain, that their author himſelf undervalued them much in the latter part of his life, which was not a little contrary to his character, as he manifeſted upon every other occaſion a ſufficient eſteem for his own writings. It is not altogether improbable, that having delivered ſome things in them as a poet, which did not perfectly agree with the ſentiments he afterwards maintained as a philoſopher, he had a mind to let the world ſee he could deſpiſe even his own Performances, when convinced there was any thing in them erroneous, which notwithſtanding was an unneceſſary nicety, ſince no candid critic would ever object matters thus delivered, againſt the notions laid down by the author in another character; where, from the nature of his ſubject, he muſt be ſuppoſed to have a ſtrict regard to truth, whereas fiction is allowed to be not only requiſite, but eſſential to poetry. We will likewiſe give the reader a citation from theſe, as a ſpecimen of our author's talent in poetry, which in his own time was highly admired, the rather becauſe we have been favoured with a tranſlation, which though it be very cloſe, is far from being ſo literal or ſo bald as thoſe that have been hitherto publiſhed, and will of conſequence afford the Engliſh reader a better idea of our author's work, than he could hitherto any where acquire.

De Mirabilibus Pecci,
Carmen
Thomæ Hobbes, Malmeſburienſis.

Alpibus Angliacis, ubi Pecci nomine, ſurgit,
Derbenſis regio, montes ad ſidera tollens,
Fœcundaſque rigans, non uno flumine, valles,
Stat Chatſworth præclara domus, tum mole ſuperba,
Tum domino, magnis, celerem Deroentis ad undam.
Miranti ſimilis portam prætерfluit amnis;
Hic tacitus, ſaxis, infra ſupraque, ſonorus
At mons terga domus rapidis defendit ab *Euris*;
Oſtendens longe exertis juga conſita ſaxis,
Præſectoque die, producens tempora ſomni.
Summovet a tergo rupes gratiſſimus hortus,
Pinguis odoratis ubi *tellus floribus* halat;
Arbor ubi in mediis ſylvis ſibi *libera viſæ*,
Dat fructus injuſſa ſuos; ubi *frondea* tecta
Arboreis præbent invito *frigora* ſole
Porticibus, potiora tuæ (*Maro*) tegmine *fagi*;
Ars ubi (diſſimulans *artem*) ſimulavit (*ineptos*
Conſocians *ferro lapides, guttaque* pereſos)
Informes ſcopulos; & *frigida* fontibus antra.
Libera nativis veniens a rupibus unda
Accedit poſitis, patrio captiva metallo;
Et tellure latens, duplicem jaculatur in orbem
Juſſa, ſuum laticem, per mille foramina cœca,
Et ſcopulum complexa tenacibus undique venis,
Juſſa fugat miſſo ſubeuntes deſuper imbre.
Hinc avecta creat ſublimem marmore fontem,
Atque ingreſſa domum Promos conſerva Cocoſque
Adjuvat; in mediis ſurgitque penatibus, alto
Infudens nitidam manibus de marmore lympham.
Et quamvis tubulis tantum effluat illa quaternis,
Non tam Calliroë pulchre fluit Enneacrune.
Rejecto paulum fluvio, ſeſe ingerit horti
Angulus alterius, tecta alta a fronte videntis.
Diſpoſita hic gemino collucent ordine ſtagna,
Immerſum tremulis undis quatientia ſolem,
Queis magno numero ſalit, & laſcivus innerrat
Non intellecto concluſus carcere piſcis.
Quam juvat, hic, quoties piſcatrix candida prædam
Abjicit illectam, morem obſervare puellis
Innatum, captare viros, & ſpernere captos!
Quam libet in mediis mirari fluctibus, alto
Aggere ſuſpenſos hortos! quæ Cæſare moles
Digna Cavendiſiâ certe eſt in gente, puſillum
Fœmineumque opus. At quota pars ea laudis Elizæ
Salopicæ? quæ multa, & magna palatia ſtruxit;
Magnas divitias; magnamque bonamque paravit
Famam; quæ magnos ſibi conciliavit amicos,
Ornavitque humiles; multam, magnamque reliquit
Prolem, qua *regio* late nunc uſque beatur.
Quam dulce eſt, inter, circumque nitentia ſtagna
Inſternente vias, æſtivâ ſemper, arena,
Diſcipulum memet naturæ tradere rerum;
Aut Domino exiguum meditari carmine Munus,
Et multum Muſis, deſcribere rura, rogatis.
Commodiore loco non uſquam habitare, nec uſquam

Candidiore

of his, though written ſome years before, was not made public 'till about this time. The troubles in Scotland now grew high; and, as popular diſcontent is always contagious, began to ſpread ſouthward, and to threaten the utter ſubverſion of the peace of the whole iſland. As few foreſaw this earlier, and none apprehended it more than Mr Hobbes, he thought it might contribute to the public tranquillity, if he bent his thoughts to politics, and compoſed an antidote againſt thoſe peſtilential opinions which began to prevail. It was this that engaged him to commit to paper certain principles, out of which he firſt compoſed

Candidiore frui Muſæ cenſentur amico.
Hinc, ad tecta, ſolo ſurgente, aſcenditur, Extra,
Auguſta aſpectu, ſublimia, Regia; & intra,
Commoda, culta, capacia, ſplendida, ditia tecta.
At tu marmoreis quæ ſint deſcripta figuris
Ficta Poetarum, priſcorum aut facta virorum,
Ne cures duro nec certans marmore gypſum.
Ingenuos nec cupias numerare miniſtros;
Sed Dominum mea Muſa, colas, cui gente vetuſta
Orto, dat titulos Devonia, Derbia Curas.
Acrem judicio; conſtantem pectore; lautum;
Utentemque opibus, luxu ſine, & inter amicos.
Ille Chori veſtri ſummum decus; ille benigna
Otia dat Muſis; ſed & illi Muſa diſerto
Ore loqui atque animo ſecernere turpia honeſtis.
Tum Dominam ſpectes, altâ de gente Bruſorum
Magnanimo proavos ſpirantem pectore Reges.
Amborumque vide Sobolem, imprimiſque Puellam
Dignam, qua caleat Superi, binoſque Puellos
Angelicos, caſti communia pignora lecti.
Hos tu mireris, ſobolemque & utrumque parentem;
Cætera quæ referes miracula, ſunto minoris.
Alti cenſenter ſeptem miracula Pecci.

In Engliſh thus.

Where the fam'd PEAK, our Engliſh ALPS aſcend,
And DERBY's mountains to the ſkies extend;
Where ſilver ſtreams, enrich the fruitful ſoil,
Fair CHATSWORTH ſtands, inimitable pile!
Great of itſelf, and from it's maſter great,
Near DERWENT's rapid tide,—ſtruck with it's ſtate
Silent the waters ſlide;
Tho' from above, with reſtleſs rage they pour,
Impetuous down, and at a diſtance roar.
Behind, a mountain ſhades it from the Eaſt,
And day excluding, favours lengthen'd reſt.
Beyond the rocks, a beauteous garden lies,
Where fragrant flowers, in lovely order riſe;
And as in native woods, unprun'd appear,
Luxuriant trees, that fruit ſpontaneous bear,
Whoſe ſpreading boughs, no noon-tide rays invade,
But rival MARO even thy *Beechen* ſhade.
Art, but like nature dreſs'd, joins iron and ſtone,
So that for rugged rocks they here are ſhewn,
And there, if Phœbus hurts th' aching ſight,
A gelid grotto hides you from the light.
Free from the crag, the ſilver ſtream deſcends,
Which it's own country metal, quickly bends
Thro' double circles, o'er the ſtony maze,
The winding pipes, the fetter'd rill conveys,
'Till from on high, by this coercive power,
At will deſcends, in drops, the mimic ſhower.
From thence, a ſpacious marble fount receives
It's tide and to domeſtic uſes gives,
Falling in chryſtal ſtreams, for ev'ry rite,
That might of old, the houſhold gods delight,
From four fair ducts, it pours it's chryſtal tide,
Calliroe's ſtream, from nine ſcarce more ſupply'd,
Tho' by Athenian artiſts, taught to glide.
Such labours o'er theſe waters are convey'd,
Where from the palace, other front ſurvey'd,
Another garden lies.
Here thro' a double row of fiſh-ponds ſtrays,
And back reflects the ſun's inſulting rays;
The ſcaly ſhoals in wanton motions rove,
Unconſcious of reſtraint in which they move.
Pleas'd we behold, the female fiſher take,
The finny prey, and but for pleaſure's ſake,
Rejecting ſoon, their captives in the lake.
Innate in women's breaſts, ſuch paſſions riſe,
Fond to ſubdue, what fickly they deſpiſe.
How ſweet the ſight! how pleaſing is the theme
A penſile garden, riſing o'er the ſtream.
CESARIAN works! yet in the CAN'DISH line
A woman form'd and finiſh'd this deſign.
SALOP's ELIZA! by whoſe wond'rous thought,
More ſtately palaces, with ſkill were wrought,
Wealth ſhe attain'd, by prudence all approv'd,
The higheſt courting, whom the pooreſt lov'd;
Sprung from herſelf, a num'rous line expand,
Which then adorn'd, and ſtill adorn our land;
How pleaſant 'midſt theſe ſilver pools to ſtray,
Attentive nature's labours to ſurvey
In this ſweet place?—Or frame ſome trifling ſong
Like this, that may to it's great Lord belong;
For ſure to ſing, no ſcene could more invite,
No Lord than him more worthy to delight.
See how without, the dome affects the eye,
Auguſtly fair, firm, beautiful, and high!
Commodious, pleaſant, ſplendid, and, in fine,
Capacious, neat, and elegant within.
I mind not ancient tales in marble wrought,
The ſculptor imaging the poets thought,
Nor ſtop to number all the faithful band
Of ſervants, who in decent order ſtand,
Intent to ſing their Lord.
Of an illuſtrious line, the noble heir,
Him Devon title gives, and Derby care,
Of judgment piercing, firm, and conſtant mind,
Courteous to all, to thoſe about him kind;
Free, not profuſe, yet often he unbends,
And treats, tho' not luxuriouſly, his friends;
His favours oft the Muſes voice inſpire,
Himſelf no ſtranger in the Muſes choir;
Returning thus, their juſt reſpect he pays,
Who flattery well diſtinguiſhes from praiſe:
His conſort next with due regard produce,
Whoſe charms confeſs the royal blood of BRUCE.
Now view their progeny—a lovely maid,
Whoſe heavenly eyes might heavenly breaſts invade,
Two youths of form divine, to virtue bred,
The lovely pledges of their nuptial bed,
Theſe could my verſe in proper colours dreſs,
With eaſe my following ſubjects I'd expreſs;
And tho' the labours long, alert and gay,
The ſeven ſtrange wonders of the PEAK diſplay,
Wonders indeed! which of themſelves might pleaſe,
Yet hardly wonders—if compar'd with Theſe.

compoſed his book *De Cive*, and which at length grew up into that ſyſtem he ſtiled his *Leviathan*. The ſhort ſcope of his diſcourſe was no more than this, That ſecurity can be only enjoyed where there is peace, that peace cannot be maintained without dominion, that dominion cannot be ſupported without arms, that arms will prove but a weak defence, if not put into one hand, and even then, that they will ſcarce reſtrain ſuch as ſhall be prompted to diſcord, by the fear of an evil greater than death itſelf (*m*). Not long after the meeting of the Long-Parliament, November 3, 1640, when all things fell into confuſion here, he withdrew, for the ſake of living in quiet, to Paris, where he aſſociated with thoſe learned men, who, under the protection of the famous Cardinal de Richelieu, ſought to promote every kind of uſeful knowledge. He had not been long there, when, by the good offices of his friend Father Merſenne, he became known to the celebrated Renatus Des Cartes, and held a correſpondence with him upon ſeveral mathematical ſubjects, as appears from the letters of Mr Hobbes, which are publiſhed in that author's works (*n*). But when this great man printed afterwards his meditations, wherein he attempted to eſtabliſh points of the higheſt conſequence from innate ideas; Mr Hobbes, as well as ſome other judicious men, took the liberty of diſſenting from his opinion. Amongſt theſe was the celebrated Peter Gaſſendi, the King's Profeſſor in Mathematics, a man juſtly eſteemed for his extenſive knowledge, and for his communicative diſpoſition, as well as for his reviving the Philoſophy of Epicurus; with whom Mr Hobbes entered into a ſtrict friendſhip, which ſuffered no interruption 'till the death of the former (*o*). In 1642, our author printed a few copies of his famous book *De Cive*; which, in proportion as it became known, raiſed him many opponents, who charged him with inſtilling dangerous principles [C]. In 1645, he embarked in a mathematical controverſy about the quadrature (*p*).

(*m*) Conſiderations upon the Reputation, Loyalty, Manners, and Religion, of Thomas Hobbes of Malmeſbury, p. 5.

(*n*) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 53, 54, 55.

(*o*) Thomæ Hobbes Malmeſburienſis Vita.

(*p*) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 64. Hiſtoria & Antiquitates Oxonienſis, p. 377.

[C] *With inſtilling dangerous principles.*] The title of this extraordinary work, by which our author became conſpicuous abroad, ran in Latin thus, *Elementa Philoſophica* de Cive. *Auctore Thom. Hobbes, Malmeſburienſis.* In the Engliſh tranſlation, the title was more diffuſe, being conceived in the following terms, viz. 'Philoſophical Rudiments concerning Government and 'Society: or a Diſſertation concerning Man in his ſe-'veral Habitudes and Reſpects as the Member of a 'Society, firſt ſecular, and then ſacred: Containing 'the Elements of Civil Polity in the Agreement which 'it hath both with natural and divine Laws; in which 'is demonſtrated, both what the Origin of Juſtice is, 'and wherein the Chriſtian Religion doth conſiſt, to-'gether with the natural Limits and Qualifications both 'of Regimen and Subjection.' This work is alſo dedicated to William Earl of Devonſhire, and in the dedication, he apologizes both for the method and the deſign of his treatiſe, opening thereby a true and fair account of the manner in which he was led to theſe inquiries; which, as it will afford the reader an opportunity of entering into the character of the man, we will exhibit to his view. After ſhewing what vaſt advantages, have been derived to the world, from that ſkill and certainty with which mathematicians have handled their ſcience, and how much greater benefits might have reſulted from morality, if it had been as judiciouſly treated; he affirms, that the want of this ariſes from the writers on that ſubject taking various and improper methods; 'For, ſays he, we may not, as in a 'circle, begin the handling of a ſcience from what 'point we pleaſe. There is a certain clue of reaſon, 'whoſe beginning is in the dark, but by the benefit of 'whoſe conduct, we are led as it were by the hand 'into the cleareſt light; ſo that the principal of tracta-'tion is to be taken from that darkneſs, and then the 'light to be carried thither for the irradiating it's 'doubts. As often therefore as any writer doth either 'weakly forſake that clue, or wilfully cut it aſunder, 'he deſcribes the footſteps, not of his progreſs in 'ſcience, but of his wanderings from it. And upon 'this it was, that when I applied my thoughts to the 'inveſtigation of natural *juſtice*, I was preſently adver-'tiſed from the very word *juſtice*, which ſignifies a 'ſteady will of giving every one his own; that my firſt 'enquiry was to be, from whence it proceeded that 'any man ſhould call any thing rather his own than 'another man's. And when I found that this proceed-'ed not from nature, but conſent; for what nature at 'firſt laid forth in common, men did afterwards diſtri-'bute into ſeveral impropriations. I was conducted 'from thence to another enquiry, namely; to what 'end, and upon what impulſives, when all was equally 'every man's in common, men did rather think it 'fitting, that every man ſhould have his incloſure; and 'I found the reaſon was, that from a community of 'goods, there muſt needs ariſe contention whoſe en-'joyment ſhould be greater, and from that contention 'all kind of calamities muſt unavoidably enſue, which 'by the inſtinct of nature every man is taught to ſhun. 'Having therefore thus arrived at two maxims of hu-'man nature, the one ariſing from the concupiſcible 'part, which deſires to appropriate to itſelf the uſe of 'thoſe things in which all others have a joint intereſt; 'the other proceeding from the rational, which 'teaches every man to fly a contra-natural diſſolution, 'as the greateſt miſchief that can arrive to nature, 'which principles being laid down, I ſeem from 'them to have demonſtrated, by a moſt evident con-'nection in this little work of mine, firſt the abſolute 'neceſſity of leagues and contracts, and thence the ru-'diments both of moral and of civil prudence. That 'appendage, which is added, concerning the regimen 'of God, hath been done with this intent, that the 'dictates of God Almighty in the law of nature, might 'not ſeem repugnant to the written law revealed to us 'in his word. I have alſo been very wary in the 'whole tenor of my diſcourſe, not to meddle with the 'civil laws of any particular nation whatſoever; that is 'to ſay, I have avoided coming on a ſhore which the 'times have ſo infeſted both with ſhelves and tempeſts. 'At what expence of time and induſtry I have been in 'this ſcrutiny after truth I am not ignorant, but to 'what purpoſe I know not. For being partial judges 'of ourſelves we lay a partial eſtimate upon our own 'productions. I therefore offer up this book to your 'Lordſhip's not favour but cenſure; firſt, as having 'found by many experiments, that it is not the credit 'of the author, nor the newneſs of the work, nor yet 'the ornament of the ſtile, but only the weight of rea-'ſon which recommends any opinion to your Lordſhip's 'favour and approbation If it fortune to pleaſe, that 'is to ſay, if it be ſound, if it be uſeful, if it be not 'vulgar, I humbly offer it to your Lordſhip as both 'my glory and my protection. But if in any thing I 'have erred, your Lordſhip will yet accept it as a te-'ſtimony of my gratitude; for that the means of 'ſtudy, which I enjoyed by your Lordſhip's goodneſs, 'I have employed to the procurement of your Lord-'ſhip's favour. The God of Heaven crown your 'Lordſhip with length of days in this earthly ſtation, 'and in the heavenly Jeruſalem with a crown of glory.' Immediately after the appearance of this book, the famous Mr Des Cartes gave this judgment upon it in one of his letters (4). 'I am of opinion, that the au-'thor of the book De Cive, is the ſame perſon who 'wrote the third objections againſt my meditations. I 'think him a much greater maſter of Morality than of 'Metaphyſics or Natural Philoſophy, though I can by 'no means approve of his principles or maxims, which 'are very bad and extremely dangerous, becauſe they 'ſuppoſe all men to be wicked, or give them occaſion 'to be ſo. His whole deſign is to write in favour of 'monarchy, which might be done to more advantage 'than he has done, upon maxims more virtuous and 'ſolid. He has wrote likewiſe very much to the diſ-'advantage

(4) Epiſt. Ren. Cartes, Tom. III. p. 104.

ture of the circle; in which, though many of the greateſt men in Europe were likewiſe engaged, yet none of them gained higher reputation by their writings than our author (*q*). Amongſt many other worthy perſons, who upon the ſhipwreck of the royal cauſe retired for ſafety into France, was Sir Charles Cavendiſh, brother to the loyal Duke of Newcaſtle; and this gentleman, who was diſtinguiſhed by his perfect acquaintance with every branch of mathematical ſcience, proved a conſtant friend, and to the utmoſt of his power a kind patron, to our author; whoſe fame for that kind of learning was now ſo well eſtabliſhed, that, in 1647, he was recommended to inſtruct Charles Prince of Wales, afterwards King Charles the Second (*r*). His care in the diſcharge of this office gained him the eſteem of that prince in a very great degree (*s*); and though he afterwards withdrew his public favour towards Mr Hobbes, on account of thoſe writings which will be hereafter mentioned; yet he always retained a ſenſe of the ſervices he had rendered him, of which he afforded him various marks after he was reſtored to his dominions, and, it is reported, had his picture always hanging in his cloſet (*t*). This year alſo came out a ſecond and more compleat edition of his book *De Cive*, which was neatly printed in Holland by the care of Dr Sorbiere, who alſo made a tranſlation of it into French. To his edition of the original, there are prefixed two Latin letters to the editor in commendation of the book, one written by Mr Gaſſendi, and the other by Father Merſenne, which, however, could not reconcile the world in general to the notions contained in that piece (*u*). While his time was thus employed at Paris, Mr Hobbes was attacked by a violent fit of ſickneſs, which brought him very low, inſomuch, that many of his friends began to deſpair of his recovery. Amongſt thoſe who viſited him in ſo weak a condition, was his old acquaintance Father Merſenne beforementioned, who taking this for a favourable occaſion, began, after a few general complements of condolence, to mention the power of the Roman Church to forgive ſins. But Mr Hobbes immediately replied, Father, all theſe matters I have debated with myſelf long ago, ſuch kind of diſputes would be troubleſome to me now, you can entertain me on ſubjects more agreeable, When did you ſee Mr Gaſſendi? His viſitant, eaſily underſtanding his meaning, troubled him no farther, but ſuffered the converſation to turn, as Mr Hobbes deſired, upon general topics. Yet ſome days afterwards, when Dr John Coſins, afterwards Biſhop of Durham, came and propoſed to pray with him, he very readily accepted the propoſal, provided he uſed the offices appointed by the Church of England; and alſo received the Sacrament from his hands (*w*). By degrees, however, he recovered his health, and his former robuſt conſtitution. In 1650, he wrote an anſwer to a long letter, written to him by Sir William D'Avenant, who had ſubmitted his poem, called *Gondibert*, to his peruſal; which anſwer of his, together with Sir William's letter, was prefixed to that poem, when it was publiſhed, but did not anſwer the intention of defending this performance from the fury of the critics, who, notwithſtanding Mr Hobbes's approbation, cenſured it very ſeverely (*x*) [*D*]. The ſame year

(*q*) Vid. Controv. de verâ circuli menſurâ, 4to. Amſt. 1647.

(*r*) Vita Thomæ Hobbes, p. 6, 7.

(*s*) Conſiderations upon the Reputation, Loyalty, Manners, and Religion, of Thomas Hobbes of Malmeſbury, p. 7.

(*t*) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 93.

(*u*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 644.

(*w*) Vita Thomæ Hobbes, p. 9.

(*x*) See the article of D'AVENANT [Sir WILLIAM].

'advantage of the Church, and of the Roman Catho-
'lic religion; ſo that if he is not particularly ſupported
'by ſome powerful intereſt, I do not ſee how he can
'eſcape having his book cenſured.' Our author Hobbes foreſaw and obviated his firſt objection in his preface, in which he ſays, that to ſuppoſe all mankind wicked, is a falſe deduction from his principles, which only incline us to act towards mankind as if we actually ſuppoſed them wicked, becauſe it is impoſſible to diſtinguiſh who are, and who are not ſo. Whence he infers that his caution is well founded, and yet his premiſes do not afford room for any ſuch concluſion. The learned Herman Conringius (5) cenſures our author in pretty rough terms, for boaſting that though phyſics were a new ſcience, yet civil philoſophy was ſtill newer, ſince it could not be ſtiled older than his own book De Cive. Whereas, ſays that great man, there is nothing good in that work of his, which was not always known. But the celebrated Samuel Puffendorff, ſpeaks another language (6). 'Thomas Hobbes,
'ſays he, in thoſe parts of his works which regard civil
'ſcience, has many excellent things, and no-body
'who is well verſed in ſtudies of this nature, can deny
'that he has looked ſo cloſely into the principles of
'human and civil ſociety, that there are very *few who*
'wrote before him upon theſe ſubjects, to whom he
'does not deſerve to be preferred. Nay, even where
'he has gone out of the way, he ſuggeſts nevertheleſs
'things to our conſideration, which otherwiſe would
'very probably never have entered into any man's
'head.' The ſame *worthy* and judicious perſon, in his preface to another work, has theſe words (7): 'Neither are we a little indebted to Thomas Hobbes,
'whoſe hypotheſis, in his book De Cive, though it ſa-
'vours ſomewhat of prophaneneſs, yet in other reſpects
'is *certainly* ſenſible and ſound.' Thus we ſee, that even thoſe who were offended with ſome of his notions, which we are alſo very far from approving, were nevertheleſs perſwaded that he was a great man, and had entered more deeply into this ſubject than ſome of his harſheſt cenſurers could perhaps conceive.

(5) De Civil. Prudent. cap. xiv.

(6) De Jur. Nat. & Gent. Præf. ad Lector.

(7) Præfat. in Element. Juriſp. Univerſal.

[*D*] *Cenſured it very ſeverely.*] We have in another place given a large account of this poem, and of our author's judgment upon it, which had not that weight with the world that he expected; his client's poem being ſeverely and almoſt unanimouſly condemned by the critics, and even to this day that judgment remains unreverſed. But as we ſometimes admire the eloquence of an advocate who defends a cauſe that is none of the beſt, and applaud apologies that are well written in the defence of characters that remain nevertheleſs as odious as before; ſo in the preſent caſe, whatever becomes of the merit of the cauſe, what our author has offered upon the ſubject, will with all candid perſons, do him great honour. He read a long poem, and wrote his ſentiments upon it in a week (8); and yet, whoever peruſes them will find his labour not thrown away, but on the contrary, will be ſurprized to diſcover ſo much ſtrength of judgment, ſuch an acute penetration, ſo large a fund of ſolid and ſubſtantial learning ſo ſuddenly drawn together, and compreſſed into ſo narrow a compaſs. In order to juſtify this character of his performance, we will produce a ſingle paſſage as a ſample, by which the reader may ſafely judge of the whole ſingular piece, and at the ſame time conceive a notion of that perſpicuity, and of that ſtrong and correct ſtile, for which, even by the beſt judges, this writer was generally admired (9). 'Time and education, ſays he,
'begets experience; experience begets memory, me-
'mory begets judgment and fancy, judgment begets
'the ſtrength and ſtructure, and fancy begets the orna-
'ments of a poem. The Ancients therefore fabled not
'abſurdly in making Memory the mother of the Muſes.
'For memory is the world (though not really, yet ſo as
'in a looking-glaſs) in which the judgment, the ſeve-
'rer ſifter, buſieth herſelf in a grave and rigid examination of all the parts of nature, and in regiſtring by
'letters their order, cauſes, uſes, differences, and re-
'ſemblances,

(8) Compare the dates of the letters as they ſtand before the Gondibert in the firſt edition.

(9) From the author's anſwer to Sir William Davenant's preface prefixed to the Gondibert.

year was publiſhed at London, a ſmall treatiſe of our author's, entituled *Human Nature*; which was much eſteemed by ſome, who expreſſed afterwards a bad opinion of Mr Hobbes [*E*]. Another larger treatiſe of his, entitled *De Corpore Politico*: or, Of the Elements of the Law, made likewiſe it's appearance the ſame year. All this time he had been digeſting, with great care and pains, his religious, political, and moral principles, into a compleat ſyſtem, which he entitled *Leviathan*, and which was printed in Engliſh at London in that and the year following. He cauſed a copy of the *Leviathan*, very fairly written on vellum, to be preſented to King Charles the Second. But after that monarch was informed of the bad opinion entertained by the Engliſh Divines of this performance, who conſidered it in a very diſadvantageous light, and as abounding with doctrines equally irreconcilable to true religion, and the principles of civil government, he is ſaid to have withdrawn his countenance from the author, and to have reſtrained him by a meſſage, delivered by the Marquis of Ormond, from coming into his preſence, which was the higheſt puniſhment then in his power (*y*) [*F*]. It has been very confidently ſuggeſted, that his principal view in compoſing

(*y*) Mercur. Politic. No. 84.

'ſemblances, whereby the Fancy, when any work of 'art is to be performed, finds her materials at hand 'and prepared for uſe, and needs no more than a ſwift 'motion over them, that what ſhe wants and is there 'to be had, may not lie too long uneſpied. So that 'when ſhe ſeemeth to fly from one Indies to the other, 'and from heaven to earth, and to penetrate into the 'hardeſt matter and obſcureſt places, into the future, 'and into herſelf, and all this in a point of time; the 'voyage is not very great, herſelf being all ſhe ſeeks, 'and her wonderful celerity conſiſteth not ſo much in 'motion, as in copious imagery diſcreetly ordered, and 'perfectly regiſtred in the memory, which moſt men 'under the name of philoſophy have a glympſe of, and 'and is pretended to by many that groſsly miſtaking 'her embrace Contention in her place. But ſo far 'forth, as the fancy of man has traced the ways of true 'philoſophy, ſo far it hath produced very marvellous 'effects to the benefit of mankind. All that is beautiful or defenſible in building, or marvellous in en'gines, and inſtruments of motion, whatſoever com'modity men receive from the obſervations of the hea'vens, from the deſcription of the earth, from the ac'count of time, from walking on the ſeas, and what'ſoever diſtinguiſheth the civility of Europe from the 'barbarity of the American ſavages, is the workman'ſhip of fancy, but guided by the precepts of true 'philoſophy. But where theſe precepts fail, as they 'have hitherto failed in the doctrine of moral virtue, 'there the architect (fancy muſt take the philoſopher's 'part upon herſelf. He therefore that undertakes an 'heroic poem (which is to exhibit a venerable and 'amiable image of heroic virtue) muſt not only be the 'poet to place and correct, but alſo the philoſopher 'to furniſh and ſquare his matter; that is, to make both 'body and ſoul, colour and ſhadow of his poem, out 'of his own ſtore: which how well you have per'formed, I am now conſidering.'

[*E*] *A bad opinion of Mr Hobbes.*] This performance, which makes fewer than one hundred and ſeventy pages in a ſmall duodecimo, is dedicated to William Earl of Devonſhire, Governor to the Prince of Wales, and is ſaid to have been compoſed by his Lordſhip's commands, out of materials delivered and approved by the Earl, in many familiar and private converſations This dedication is dated May 9th, 1640. But beſides this dedication, there ſtands before the firſt and ſecond editions of this ſmall treatiſe (10), the following advertiſement, which is worthy of being well conſidered.

(10) This ſecond impreſſion is printed at London for Thomas Newcomb, and for Francis Beaumont at Oxford, anno Domini 1651.

'READER,

'It was thought good to let you know that Mr 'Hobbes hath written a body of philoſophy, upon 'ſuch principles, and in ſuch order, as are uſed by 'men converſant in demonſtration; this he hath di'ſtinguiſhed into three parts, De Corpore, De Ho'mine, De Cive, each of the conſequents beginning 'at the end of the antecedent, and inſiſting thereupon, 'as the latter books of Euclid upon the former. The 'laſt of theſe he hath already publiſhed in Latin be'yond the ſeas; the ſecond is this now preſented; and 'if theſe two receive juſtice in the world, there is 'hopes we may obtain the firſt. He whoſe care it is 'and labour to ſatisfy the judgment and reaſon of 'mankind, will condeſcend ſo far, we hope, to ſatisfy 'the deſire of thoſe learned men whom theſe ſhall 'either have found or made, which cannot be until 'they ſhall analytically have followed the grand phæ'nomena of ſtates and kingdoms, through the paſſions 'of particular men, into the elemental principles of 'natural and corporeal motions. The former work was 'publiſhed by the author, and ſo is out of danger, this 'by a friend with leave from him, and to ſecure this, you 'are intreated to conſider the relation wherein it ſtands, 'eſpecially to the book De Cive. It was thought a 'part of religion, not to make any change without the 'author's advice, which could not ſuddenly be ob'tained, and ſo it comes forth innocently, ſuppoſing 'nothing to have happened ſince the dedication of it, 'which if it ſeems a ſoleciſm to ſome, it may to others 'give a ſatisfaction, in calling to mind thoſe times and 'opportunities to which we are indebted for thoſe ad'mirable compoſitions.

'F. B.'

Theſe initial letters were intended to ſtand for Francis Beaumount, the bookſeller at Oxford, for whom the treatiſe was printed; but it may be preſumed, that few readers believed it was of his writing. A certain author tells us plainly (11), that it was written for him by Dr Seth Ward, afterwards Biſhop of Saliſbury, who became within the ſpace of a few years one of our author's bittereſt enemies; though it plainly appears from the foregoing advertiſement, that he had read and conſidered the whole ſcope of his philoſophy before that difference began. The only inference we draw from hence is, that at this time the clergy, who knew the aim of Mr Hobbes's ſyſtem as well as they ever could, did not apprehend any tendency therein to impiety, which the author always diſavowed, but freely acknowledged it was his judgment, that the eccleſiaſtical ſhould be dependent on the civil power, in point of order and diſcipline; and that religion ſhould diſpoſe men to love one another, and not be made the ſource of heart-burnings, ſeditions, and diſturbances, as it had been for ſo many years; and while the ſectaries continued triumphant and could be alone affected by it, this doctrine was thought innocent enough, and it's author a very wiſe man. A ſtronger proof of this cannot be deſired, than the moſt elegant copy of Latin verſes prefixed to it by the then reverend Ralph Bathurſt, Maſter of Arts, then of Trinity-college, afterwards the celebrated Dr Bathurſt, Dean of Bath, and one of the worthieſt men his time affords. With regard to the remaining tract which was to compleat the body of his philoſophy, his book De Corpore Politico, it came abroad without any dedication, having only an anonymous advertiſement to the reader, purporting this was the piece promiſed by the advertiſement prefixed to the tract on Human Nature. This was received no leſs favourably than the reſt both at home and abroad, inſomuch that we are aſſured, that being preſented to and read by the very learned Peter Gaſſendi (12), a very few months before his death, he firſt kiſſed it, and then delivered his opinion of it in theſe words. 'This 'treatiſe is indeed ſmall in bulk, but in my judgment 'it is the very marrow of ſcience.'

(11) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 643.

(12) Sam. Sorbier. Præf. in Oper. Gaſſend.

[*F*] *Then in his power.*] The title of this work which made ſo great a noiſe in the world was, LEVIATHAN: *or the Matter, Form, and Power of a Commonwealth, Eccleſiaſtical and Civil. Written by* Thomas Hobbes, *London* 1651, *folio*. In his introduction he obſerves, that nature is the art by which God made the world; which, ſays he, man has ſometimes imitated in making a kind of artificial animal. Such in his opinion, may a watch be eſteemed; for, ſays he, what is the heart, but the ſpring; the nerves, but ſo many ſtrings; and the joints, but as many wheels? The art of man, adds he, has gone yet further, and attempted no leſs, than

(x) Lord Clarendon's Brief View and Survey of Mr Hobbes's Leviathan, p. 7, 8.

compoſing this work, was to open a paſſage for his ſafe return into England, by exhibiting the only ſyſtem of policy that either could juſtify or ſupport the government of Oliver Cromwell (z); and in this he is ſaid ſo far to have ſucceeded, as to have had ſome overtures

(13) Introduction to the Leviathan, p. 1.

than making the reſemblance of the moſt perfect work of nature, which is man (13). 'For by art is created, 'that great *Leviathan* called a *Commonwealth* or *State* '(in Latin *Civitas*) which is but an artificial man, 'though of greater ſtature and ſtrength, than the na- 'tural, for whoſe protection and defence, it was in- 'tended, and in which the ſovereignty is an artificial 'ſoul, as giving life and motion to the whole body, 'the magiſtrates, and other officers of judicature and exe- 'cution, artificial joints; reward and puniſhment (*by* 'which, faſtened to the ſeat of the ſovereignty, every 'joint and member is moved to perform it's duty) 'are the nerves that do the ſame in the body natural; 'the wealth and riches of all the particular members, 'are the ſtrength (*Salus Populi*) the people's ſafety; 'it's buſineſs, counſellors; by whom all things needful 'for it to know, are ſuggeſted to it, are the memory; 'equity and laws, an artificial reaſon and will; 'concord, health; ſedition, ſickneſs; and civil war, 'death. Laſtly, the pacts and covenants, by which 'the parts of this body politic were at firſt made, ſet 'together, and united, reſembled that fiat, or the '*Let us make Man*, pronounced by GOD in the *Crea*- '*tion*.' Thus perhaps the true meaning and ſcope of his performance is as fully explained, and as clearly expreſſed as our own, or perhaps any other language would permit. One ſees plainly, that the ſame ſentiments inſpired our author in this, as in his former performances; he was ſcandalized at the vicious lives of many pretended Enthuſiaſts, and he was frighted at the miſchiefs which they brought upon mankind, by the great influence they had on their deluded followers. His great end therefore was to diveſt them of an ill-grounded power, of which *he* thought they made likewiſe a very bad uſe, and to put all authority into the *hands* of men, who were to act from clearer principles and more intelligible motives. That he carried his notions in this reſpect too far, no reaſonable man or true chriſtian can doubt, but that he meant any private advantage to himſelf, beyond what he deſired to procure for the reſt of mankind, ſeems very far from being ſo clear a caſe; and that he doubted himſelf of the reception that this work of his would meet with on either ſide of the water, is abundantly evident from his dedication to Mr Francis Godolphin, the brother of the celebrated Mr Sidney Godolphin, to whom the author was well known, and by whom he had been very much obliged. This dedication, which is very ſhort, it is for many reaſons neceſſary the candid reader ſhould peruſe, and therefore we place it here.

HONOURED SIR,

'Your moſt worthy brother, *Mr Sidney* Godolphin, 'when he lived, was pleaſed to think my ſtudies ſome- 'thing, and otherwiſe to oblige me, as you know, 'with real teſtimonies of his good opinion, great in 'themſelves, and the greater for the worthineſs of his 'perſon. For there is not any virtue that diſpoſeth a 'man either to the ſervice of GOD, or the ſervice of 'his country, to civil ſociety or private friendſhip, that 'did not manifeſtly appear in his converſation, not as 'acquired by neceſſity, or affected upon occaſion, but 'inherent and ſhining in a generous conſtitution of his 'nature. Therefore, in honour and gratitude to him, 'and with devotion to yourſelf, I humbly dedicate 'unto you, this my Diſcourſe of Commonwealth. I 'know not how the world will receive it, nor how it 'may reflect on thoſe that ſhall ſeem to favour it. For 'in a way beſet with thoſe that contend on one ſide for 'too great liberty, and on the other ſide for too much 'authority, 'tis hard to think between the points of 'both unwounded. But yet methinks, the endeavour 'to advance the civil power, ſhould not be by the 'civil power condemned, nor private men by repre- 'hending it, declare that power too great. Beſides, 'I ſpeak not of the men, but (in the abſtract) of the 'ſeat of power, like to thoſe ſimple and unpartial 'creatures *in the* Roman Capitol, that with their noiſe 'defended thoſe within it, not becauſe they were there 'offending none, I think, but thoſe without, or ſuch 'within (if there were any ſuch) as favour them. That 'which perhaps may moſt offend, are certain texts of 'Holy Scripture alledged by me to other purpoſe 'than ordinarily they uſe to be by others. But I have 'done it with due ſubmiſſion, and alſo in order to my 'ſubject neceſſarily, for they are the outworks of the 'enemy, from whence they impugn the civil power. 'If notwithſtanding this, you find my labour generally 'decryed, you may be pleaſed to excuſe yourſelf and 'ſay, I am a man that love my own opinion, and think 'all true I ſay; that I honoured your brother, 'and honour you, and have preſumed on *that* to aſ- 'ſume the title (without your knowledge) of being 'as *I am*,

'SIR,

'Your moſt humble, and moſt

Paris, April $\frac{14}{24}$, 1651. 'obedient ſervant,

'THO. HOBBES.'

It is very poſſible, and indeed it is highly probable, that our author in the framing this work might have his return to England in view, but that he had any notion of fortifying and ſecuring the government that then ſubſiſted in this country, much more that he had any malicious intentions againſt his royal pupil, will not appear very likely to thoſe who either examine ſtrictly into his conduct, or look very cloſely into his book (14). Such as ſuggeſt the contrary, begin with laying down a falſe fact, which is, that Oliver Cromwell was then at the head of the government, and if this had been ſo, what they ſay would have been plauſible at leaſt, though not certain. However, there was abundantly enough in the Leviathan to oblige, and conſequently to juſtify, King Charles in doing as he did, if we conſider where he was, how ſupported, and by whom attended. But that his majeſty was full as well inſtructed as to the real intentions of Mr Hobbes, as any other man could pretend to be, may fairly be preſumed from the preſent that the author made him of it upon vellum; which if it had been directly written to ſubvert his title, to fix the power that then prevailed at home, and prevent the return of that Prince, and the reſtitution of the ancient free government in theſe kingdoms, would not have been more extraordinary than impudent. It might therefore be with ſome other view, and what that view was, and with how much propriety at leaſt in his own judgment, may be perhaps collected from this concluſion of his ſecond part.

(14) Conſiderations on the Reputation, Loyalty, Manners, and Religion, of Thomas Hobbes, p. 25.

'Thus far concerning the conſtitution, nature, and 'right of ſovereigns, and concerning the duty of ſub- 'jects, derived from the principles of natural reaſon. 'And now conſidering how different this doctrine is 'from the practice of the greateſt part of the world, 'eſpecially of theſe weſtern parts, that have received 'their moral learning from Rome and Athens, and 'how much depth of moral philoſophy is required in 'them that have the adminiſtration of the ſovereign 'power, I am at the point of believing this my la- 'bour as uſeleſs as the Commonwealth of Plato; for he 'alſo is of opinion, that it is impoſſible for the diſor- 'ders of ſtate and change of government by civil war, 'ever to be taken away 'till ſovereigns be philoſophers. 'But when I conſider again, that the ſcience of natu- 'ral juſtice, is the only ſcience neceſſary for ſovereigns 'and their principal miniſters, and that they need not 'be charged with the ſciences mathematical (as by 'Plato they are) further than by good laws to encou- 'rage men to the ſtudy of them, and that neither 'Plato nor any other philoſopher hitherto hath put into 'order, and ſufficiently or probably proved all the 'theorems of moral doctrine, that men may learn 'thereby, both how to govern and how to obey. I re- 'cover ſome hope, that one time or other this writing 'of mine may fall into the hands of a ſovereign, who 'will conſider it himſelf (for it is ſhort, and I think 'clear) without the help of any intereſted or envious 'interpreter, and by the exerciſe of entire ſovereignty 'in protecting the public teaching of it, convert this 'truth of ſpeculation into the utility of practice.'

overtures made him, to enter into the ſervice of the Protector in quality of his Secretary (a). The great Earl of Clarendon, once his very particular friend, and never his perſonal enemy, has given the world an account of ſome circumſtances, which attended the writing and publication of this book, from his own knowledge, which are very curious [G]. Whatever

(a) Dowell's Leviathan Heretical, Oxon. 1683. 12mo. p. 137.

[G] *Which are very curious.*] This great man wrote, during his baniſhment in 1670, a book againſt Mr Hobbes, which was printed ſix years afterwards at Oxford, with this title, *A brief View of the dangerous and pernicious Errors to* Church *and* State, *in Mr* Hobbes's *Book entituled,* LEVIATHAN (15). In the introduction, the Earl obſerves, 'That Mr Hobbes's *Leviathan* contains in it good learning of all kinds, politely extracted, and very wittily and cunningly digeſted, in a very commendable and in a vigorous and pleaſant ſtile;' and that Mr Hobbes, 'was a man of excellent parts, of great wit, ſome reading, and ſomewhat more thinking. One who has ſpent many years in foreign parts and obſervations, underſtands the learned as well as modern languages, hath long had the reputation of a great philoſopher and mathematician, and in his age hath had converſation with very many worthy and extraordinary men; to which it may be, if he had been more indulgent in the more vigorous part of his life, it might have had greater influence upon the temper of his mind; whereas age ſeldom ſubmits to thoſe queſtions, enquiries, and contradictions, which the laws and liberty of converſation require. And it hath been always a lamentation among Mr Hobbes's friends, that he ſpent too much time in thinking, and too little in exerciſing thoſe thoughts, in the company of other men of the ſame, or of as good faculties; for want whereof, his natural conſtitution, with age, contracted ſuch a moroſity, that doubting and contradicting men were never grateful to him. In a word, Mr Hobbes is one of the moſt ancient acquaintance I have in the world, and of whom I have always had a great eſteem, as a man, who beſides his eminent parts of learning and knowledge, hath been always looked upon as a man of probity, and a life free from ſcandal.' The Earl informs us, that when Prince Charles, afterwards King Charles the Second, went firſt to Paris from the Iſle of Jerſey, and the Lords Capel and Hopton continued with him at Jerſey, he heard ſhortly after, that Mr Hobbes, who was then at Paris, had printed his book *De Cive* there. The Earl, then Sir Edward Hyde, wrote to Dr Earl, who was then the Prince's chaplain and tutor, to remember him kindly to Mr Hobbes, with whom he was well acquainted, and to deſire him to ſend him that book, by the ſame token that Mr Sidney Godolphin, who had been killed in the civil wars, had left him a legacy of two hundred pounds. The book was immediately ſent to Sir Edward by Mr Hobbes, with a deſire that he would tell him, whether he was ſure that there was ſuch a legacy, or how he might receive it. Sir Edward ſent Mr Hobbes word, that he might depend upon it, and believed that if he found a way ſecretly to demand it of Mr Francis Godolphin, brother of Mr Sidney Godolphin, *who had told* Sir Edward he would pay it. This information was the motive to the dedication of *the Leviathan* to Mr Francis Godolphin, whom Mr Hobbes had never ſeen. When Sir Edward went ſome few years after from Holland with King Charles II. to Paris, Mr Hobbes viſited him, and told him that Mr Godolphin had confeſſed the legacy, and had paid one hundred pounds, and promiſed to pay the other, for all which he thanked him, and ſaid he owed it to him, for he had otherwiſe never known of it. When Sir Edward returned from Spain, by Paris, Mr Hobbes frequently came to him, and told him that his book, which he would call *Leviathan*, was printing in England, and that he received every week a ſheet to correct, of which, he ſhewed him one or two ſheets, and thought it would be finiſhed in little more than a month; and alſo communicated to him, the epiſtle to Mr Godolphin which he intended to prefix to it, and concluded that he knew, when Sir Edward read his book he would not like it; and therefore mentioned ſome particulars, upon which Sir Edward aſked him, why he would publiſh ſuch doctrine, to which, after a diſcourſe between jeſt and earneſt, upon the ſubject, he ſaid (16); *The truth is, I have a mind to go home.* 'Within a ſhort time after, I came, ſays *the Earl*, 'into Flanders, which was not much more than a month, from the time that Mr Hobbes had conferred with me, *Leviathan* was ſent to me from London, which I read with much appetite and impatience. Yet I had ſcarce finiſhed it, when Sir Charles Cavendiſh (the noble brother of the Duke of Newcaſtle, who was then at Antwerp, a gentleman of all the accompliſhments of mind, that he wanted of body, being in all other reſpects a wonderful perſon) ſhewed me a letter he had then received from Mr Hobbes, in which he deſired he would let him know freely what my opinion was of his book; upon which I wiſhed he would tell him, that I could not enough wonder, that a man who had ſo great a reverence for civil government, that he reſolved all wiſdom and religion itſelf into a ſimple obedience and ſubmiſſion to it, ſhould publiſh a book, for which by the conſtitution of any government now eſtabliſhed in Europe, whether monarchical or democratical, the author muſt be puniſhed in the higheſt degree, and with the moſt ſevere penalties. With which anſwer, which Sir Charles ſent to him, he was not pleaſed, and found afterwards, when I returned to the King to Paris, that I very much cenſured his book, which he had preſented engroſſed in vellum, in a marvellous fair hand to the King, and likewiſe found my judgment ſo far confirmed, that a few days before I came thither, he was compelled ſecretly to flie out of Paris, the Juſtice having endeavoured to apprehend him, and ſoon after eſcaped into England, where he never received any diſturbance. After the King's return, he came frequently to the Court, where he had too many diſciples, and once viſited me. I received him very kindly, and invited him to ſee me often, but he heard from ſo many hands that I had no good opinion of his book, that he came to me only that one time, and methinks I am in a degree indebted to him, to let him know ſome reaſons, why I look with ſo much prejudice upon his book, which hath gotten him ſo much credit and eſtimation with ſome other men.' The Earl afterwards obſerves, 'That the review and concluſion of *the Leviathan*, is only an abridgment and contracting the moſt contagious poiſon that runs through the book into a leſs veſſel or volume, leſt they who ſhould not take the pains to read the book, or reading it, may by inadvertency and inconſiſtency not be hurt enough by it, may here in leſs room, and more nakedly, ſwallow his choiceſt doctrine at one morſel, and is in truth a fly addreſs to Cromwell, that being then out of the kingdom, and ſo being neither conquered nor his ſubject, he might by his return ſubmit to his government, and be bound to obey it: which being uncompelled by any neceſſity or want, but having as much to ſuſtain him abroad, as he had to live upon at home, could not but proceed from a ſincere heart, and uncorrupted. This review and concluſion he made ſhort enough, to hope that Cromwell himſelf might read it, where he ſhould not only receive the pawn of his new ſubjects allegiance, by declaring his own obligations and obedience, but by publiſhing ſuch doctrine, as being diligently infuſed, by ſuch a maſter, in the myſtery of government, might ſecure the people of the kingdom (over whom he had no right to command) to acquieſce and ſubmit to his brutal power (17).' The latter part of this charge, though very poſitively aſſerted by many others, as well as this noble Peer, cannot certainly be made out, unleſs Mr Hobbes was a prophet, as well as a politician; for Cromwell, was then no more than General of the forces, and if there had been any evident ſign of his becoming maſter of the government, it is more than probable, ſome of the eagle-eyed people of that age would have diſcerned it, as ſoon as Mr Hobbes (18). But it is eaſy to find the meaning of a paſſage, or rather to apply it, when events have pointed the preſumed occaſion. Yet at the juncture *the Leviathan* was publiſhed, no mortal could imagine that it was a complement to General Cromwell, though it is very poſſible that from the doctrine contained in it, the author had he been ſo inclined (which it does not appear he ever was) might have afterwards found his account, in paying his court

(15) Clarendon's Survey of the Leviathan, p. 2.

(16) Ibid. p. 7.

(17) Ibid. p. 317.

(18) Conſiderations on the Reputation, Loyalty, &c. of Th. Hobbes, p. 18, 19.

Whatever his motives might be to the writing his Leviathan, certain it is, that, not long after it's publication, he returned to England, partly, as he himſelf affirmed, from his apprehenſions of the conſequences that might follow, from the offence taken againſt him by the Popiſh clergy, and partly on account of an indiſpoſition in his ſtomach, from which, by the uſe of proper medicines, he perfectly recovered (*b*). But it does by no means appear, that he ſought for any favour from the hands of thoſe then in power, beyond that of living in quiet. And finding the Church of England ſubverted, and the churches filled with thoſe who made no uſe of any liturgy, and whoſe ſermons, in his opinion, were often blaſphemous, he omitted, for three months, communicating with any body of Chriſtians; but being afterwards carried to a congregation, where the ſervice of the Church of England was with great privacy uſed, he joined in communion with them, and continued to reſort thither (*c*). This, and his conduct in his ſickneſs, he afterwards urged as a proof that he was no Atheiſt; but, on the contrary, a Chriſtian, and ſincerely attached to that Church in which he was educated (*d*) [*H*]. After his coming over into his own country,

(*b*) Vita Thomæ Hobbes, p. 10. Hiſtoria & Antiq. Oxon. P. ii. p. 377. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 642.

(*c*) Thomæ Hobbes Vita, p. 9, 10. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 83, 84. Conſiderations on the Reputation, Loyalty, &c. of T. Hobbes, p. 11, 12.

(*d*) Vita Thomæ Hobbes, p. 11.

to the Protector. But notwithſtanding things of this ſort were no doubt carried to the King's ear, yet they did not make ſuch an impreſſion upon him, as upon his miniſters, in complaiſance to whom, though he forbid our author his preſence, yet he could not help declaring at the ſame time, *that he did not believe* Mr Hobbes *intended him any hurt* (19). We have ſhewn in the former note that he had good reaſon to be of this opinion, and yet it muſt be allowed, that *the Leviathan* was in two reſpects a noxious book, or rather an obnoxious book. *In the* firſt place, it ſet the impiety, ſuperſtition, and tyranny of the Papiſts, in the ſtrongeſt light poſſible; and in the next, it evidently diſpoſed men's minds (by furniſhing a plauſible apology for their conduct) to ſubmit and to live quietly, under the power whatever it was that prevailed in England. By this, the author provoked the Romiſh clergy, whom, tho' he had not been a timorous man, he might have good reaſon to fear, and diſguſted the high Royaliſts, that is ſuch as were proſcribed, and could not go home; ſo that he had the ſtrongeſt motive that could be to leave France, and, after the King's meſſage, ſcarce any means left to ſtay.

(19) Ibid. p. 28.

[*H*] *In which he was educated.*] At the time that our author ſent abroad his Leviathan, there was a kind of ſtate news paper circulated here, written by one Marchmont Needham, from which it plainly appears, that from the moment Hobbes's book was publiſhed, it was ill received at King Charles's Court, though at the ſame time not at all diſpleaſing on this ſide the water (20). 'The author, ſays this writer, ſent one of his books 'when he had publiſhed it, as a preſent to the King 'of Scots, which he accepted, *in* regard he had been 'his tutor in the mathematics; but being afterwards 'informed by ſome of his Prieſts, that that book did 'not only contain many principles of Atheiſm and 'groſs impiety (for ſo they call every thing that 'ſquares not with the clergy intereſt) but alſo ſuch 'that were prejudicial to the Church, and reflected 'dangerouſly upon the Majeſty of ſovereign Princes; 'therefore when Mr Hobbes came to make a tender of 'his ſervice to him in perſon, he was rejected, and 'word brought him by the Marquis of Ormond, that 'the King would not admit him, and withal told him 'the reaſon. By which means Mr Hobbes declines in 'credit with his friends there of the Royal ſtamp.' One of Mr Hobbes's antagoniſts aſſerted in his lifetime, as is ſaid in the text, that *the Leviathan* was ſo acceptable to Cromwell, that he made him an offer of being his Secretary (21). If this was true, it does indeed prove, that the Government then ſubſiſting in England were well ſatisfied with Mr Hobbes's notions; but it does at the ſame time alſo prove, that he was not ſatisfied with their authority, and that though he thought it conſiſtent with his principles, to live peaceably under their protection, yet he did not care, by accepting preferment, to acknowledge, that either the Parliament, or the Protector, had made a legal acquiſition of power. This ſhews his attachment to the State. He affirms himſelf, that he was not at all leſs ſteady in his principles as to the Church. He found upon his coming over, a public profeſſion of religion, and preaching and praying in abundance, yet for three months he declined going to any public place of worſhip; but being informed by a friend, that a clergyman of the eſtabliſhed Church, ventured to officiate every Sunday, and to read the ſervice preſcribed by the Common Prayer, he went, though it was a mile diſtant from the place of his reſidence, conſtantly to hear it ſo read by him, and received the Sacrament from his hands (22). In one of his works written by way of dialogue againſt Dr Bramhall, Biſhop of Derry, afterwards Primate of Ireland, he puts his Lordſhip's ſtate of the caſe from *the Leviathan*, and then his anſwer to it in theſe words (23).

(20) Mercurius Politicus, No. 84. from Jan. 8. to jan. 15. anno 1651-2.

(21) The Leviathan Heretical, p. 137.

(22) Vita Thomæ Hobbes, p. 10, 11.

(23) Hobbes's Anſwer to the catching of the Leviathan, p. 107, 108, 109.

JOHN DERRY,

'His fifth concluſion may be, that the ſharpeſt and 'moſt ſucceſsful ſword in any war whatſoever, doth 'give ſovereign power and authority to him that hath it, 'to approve or reject all ſorts of theological doctrines 'concerning the kingdom of God, not according to their 'truth or falſehood, but according to that influence 'which they have upon political affairs.' Hear him, *But becauſe this doctrine will appear to moſt men a* novelty, *I do but propound it, maintaining nothing in this or any other* paradox *of* religion, *but attending the end of that* diſpute *of the* ſword *concerning the authority (not yet amongſt my countrymen decided) by which all ſorts of* doctrine *are to be approved or rejected, &c. For the points of* doctrine *concerning the* kingdom *of* God, *have ſo great influence upon the* kingdom *of* man, *as not to be determined, but by them that under* God *have the ſovereign power,*

——— Careat ſucceſſibus opto
Quiſquis ab eventu, facta notanda putat.

'Let him evermore want ſucceſs, who thinketh actions are to be judged by their events. This doctrine 'may be plauſible to thoſe who deſire to fiſh *in* troubled waters. But it is juſtly hated by thoſe which 'are in authority, and all thoſe who are lovers of 'peace and tranquillity. The laſt part of this concluſion ſmelleth rankly of Jeroboam; Now ſhall the kingdom return to the houſe of David, if *this* people go 'up to do ſacrifice in the houſe of the Lord at Jeruſalem: whereupon the King took counſel, and made 'two calves of gold, and ſaid unto them, It is too 'much for you to go up to Jeruſalem, behold thy 'Gods, O Iſrael, which brought thee out of the 'land of Egypt. But by the juſt diſpoſition of Almighty God, this policy turned to a ſin, and was 'the utter deſtruction of Jeroboam and his family. It 'is not good jeſting with edge-tools, nor playing with 'holy things. Where men make their greateſt faſtneſs, many times they find moſt danger.'

THOMAS HOBBES,

'His Lordſhip either had a ſtrange *conſcience*, or 'underſtood not *Engliſh*. Being at Paris when there 'was no Biſhop nor Church in England, and every 'man writ what he pleaſed; I reſolved when it ſhould 'pleaſe God to reſtore the authority eccleſiaſtical, to 'ſubmit to that authority, in whatſoever it ſhould determine. This his Lordſhip conſtrues for a tempo'rizing and too much indifferency in religion, and 'ſays further, that the laſt part of my words do ſmell 'of *Jeroboam*. To the contrary, I ſay my words were 'modeſt, and ſuch as in duty I ought to uſe. And 'I profeſs ſtill, that whatſoever the *Church of England* '(the *Church*, I ſay, not every *Doctor*) ſhall forbid me 'to ſay, in matter of faith, I ſhall abſtain from ſaying 'it, excepting this point, *That* Jeſus Chriſt *the* Son 'of God *died for my ſins*. As for other doctrines, I 'think it unlawful, if the *Church* define them, for any 'Member of the *Church* to contradict them.' Theſe ſentiments of Mr Hobbes were certainly very conſiſtent with

country, he paſſed the ſummer commonly at Chatſworth, the Earl of Devonſhire's ſeat in Derbyſhire, and ſome of his winters in town, where he had, for his intimate friends, ſeveral of the greateſt men of that or of any age; ſuch as, Dr William Harvey, the great light and reſtorer of Phyſic; John Selden, Eſq; that prodigy of learning; Sir John Vaughan, afterwards Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas; Abraham Cowley, no leſs diſtinguiſhed by the innocency of his life than the elegance of his writings; and Sir Charles Scarborough, afterwards the King's Phyſician, a man famous for mathematical learning, his exquiſite ſkill in Phyſic, and for his open, generous, and communicative temper (*e*). In 1654, Mr Hobbes publiſhed his Letter upon Liberty and Neceſſity, which occaſioned a long controverſy between him and Dr Bramhall, Biſhop of Londonderry, afterwards Lord-Primate of Ireland. About this time, likewiſe, began the controverſy with Dr Wallis of Oxford, which laſted as long as our author lived, and in which he had the misfortune to have all the Mathematicians againſt him (*f*). It is indeed ſaid, that our author came too late to this kind of ſtudy, for a man who would excel in it; and that though for a time he maintained his credit, while he was content to proceed in the ſame track with others, and to reaſon in the accuſtomed manner, from the eſtabliſhed principles of the ſcience; yet when he began to digreſs into new paths, and ſet up for a reformer, inventor, and improver of Geometry, he loſt himſelf extremely (*g*). But, notwithſtanding theſe debates took up much of his time, he publiſhed ſeveral philoſophical treatiſes in Latin, in compliance with the promiſes which he had formerly given, and in which he made it his rule to be very punctual. Such were his occupations 'till the year 1660, when, upon the King's reſtoration, he came up to London; where, being at Saliſbury-houſe with his patron, when the King paſſed by in his coach, he accidentally ſaw him, and ſent for him, gave him his hand to kiſs, and enquired kindly after his health and circumſtances. Some time after this, his Majeſty directed that eminent Limner, Mr Samuel Cooper, to go to him and draw his picture (*h*). He likewiſe afforded our author another private audience, ſpoke to him very kindly, aſſured him of his protection, and ſettled a penſion upon him of one hundred pounds a year out of his privy-purſe; which laſt circumſtance is very particularly mentioned by himſelf, in his account of his own life in Latin verſe (*i*) [*I*]. Yet this

(*e*) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 84, 85, 86.

(*f*) Thomæ Hobbes Vita, p. 11. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 95, 96, 97. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 645.

(*g*) See the note [*S*].

(*h*) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 91, 92, 93. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 642.

(*i*) Thomæ Hobbes Vita, p. 14. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 80. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 642.

with his practice, ſo that ſuch as reproached him with diſreſpect for the Chriſtian Religion, Impiety, and Atheiſm, could do it no otherwiſe than from their own interpretation of his writings, which was very different or rather oppoſite to the ſenſe in which he declared he meant them, and for the proof of his ſincerity appealed to his practice, and in reſpect to this, even his noble antagoniſt, as in the former note appears, had not a word to ſay.

[*I*] *In Latin verſe.*] In theſe metrical memorials relating to himſelf, for one can hardly call them with any propriety a poem, he gives a very particular account of his eſtate, and of the changes it underwent, as we have mentioned in the text. He likewiſe intimates in theſe, as well as in his proſe memoirs, and in other parts of his works, that he knew well enough who they were that repreſented him, or at leaſt his writings, in a diſadvantageous light to the King. Of him however he profeſſes he never had any juſt reaſon to complain, nor even for liſtening to theſe repreſentations, and in conſequence of them, forbidding him his preſence and his Court. The reaſon he renders is this *.

* Thomæ Hobbes Vita, p. 9.

——Nam tunc adoleſcens
Credidit ille, quibus credidit ante Pater.

He then a youth, believ'd it was but juſt,
To truſt in thoſe, who had his father's truſt.

We find that his ſentiments in this reſpect were very well founded, for his noble antagoniſt, in that admirable dedication of his to the King, clearly and candidly avows what our author only ſuggeſts. 'I have often, 'ſays he, heretofore when I had liberty for that pre'ſumption, adverti'ſed your Majeſty of the wickedneſs 'of very many of the principles upon which that whole 'book is ſupported, and was not without ſome hope 'of prevailing with your Majeſty, to give yourſelf the 'leiſure and the trouble to peruſe and examine ſome 'parts of it, in confidence, than they would no 'ſooner be read than deteſted by you: whereas the 'frequent reciting of looſe and diſjointed ſentences and 'bold inferences, for the novelty and pleaſantneſs of 'the expreſſions, the reputation of the gentleman 'for parts and learning, with his confidence in converſa'tion, and eſpecially the humour and inclination of the 'time to all kind of paradoxes, have too much pre'vailed with many of great wit and faculties, without 'reading the context or obſervation of the conſequences, 'to believe his propoſitions to be more innocent or 'leſs miſchievous, than upon a more deliberate peru'ſal they will find them to be, and the love of his 'perſon and company, have rendered the iniquity of 'his principles leſs diſcernable.' There is no doubt that theſe were this noble perſon's real ſentiments, or that they were thoſe alſo of many others; but at the ſame time there were others of the King's friends, who thought that Mr Hobbes's book might do his Majeſty very effectual ſervice, by giving many of his exiled ſubjects an opportunity of going home and of getting into the poſſeſſion of their eſtates again, by ſubmitting to a compoſition, which they conſidered as giving a part to retrieve the whole. It was alſo apprehended, that thoſe who returned, would not be leſs the King's ſubjects, or leſs likely to ſerve him from that circumſtance, and that perhaps this book might likewiſe open the eyes of the people, and ſhew them upon what principles their new government ſtood. Taken in this light, however dangerous the principles laid down in the Leviathan might be, they could not be dangerous to the King, more eſpecially when the author was publickly diſgraced by him for publiſhing them. That this was really the caſe, and that Mr Hobbes had ſome reaſon to take it amiſs, to have any malice imputed to him againſt the King or his government, may appear in his apology to that Prince, publiſhed within two years after his Reſtoration (24). 'I will not break the cuſtom of 'joining to my offering a prayer, and it is, that your 'Majeſty will be pleaſed to pardon this following ſhort 'apology for my Leviathan, not that I rely upon 'apologies, but upon your Majeſty's moſt gracious 'general pardon. That which is in it of theology, 'contrary to the general current of divines, is not put 'there as my opinion, but propounded with ſubmiſſion 'to thoſe that have the power eccleſiaſtical. I did 'never after, either in writing or diſcourſe, maintain 'it. There is nothing in it againſt epiſcopacy. I 'cannot therefore imagine what reaſon any epiſcopal 'man can have to ſpeak of me, as I hear ſome of them 'do, as of an Atheiſt, or man of no religion, unleſs it 'be for making the authority of the Church depend 'wholly upon the regal power, which I hope your 'Majeſty will think is neither Atheiſm nor Hereſy. 'But what had I to do to meddle with matters of that 'nature, ſeeing religion is not philoſophy but law? it 'was written in a time, when the pretence of Chriſt's 'kingdom was made uſe of for the moſt horrid actions 'that can be imagined, and it was in juſt indignation 'of

(24) Prefixed to ſeven Philoſophical problems, and two propoſitions in Geometry, A. D. 1662.

this did not render him intirely ſafe; for, in 1666, his book of the *Leviathan*, and his treatiſe *De Cive*, were cenſured by Parliament, which alarmed him very much; as did alſo the bringing in of a bill in the houſe of Commons, to puniſh Atheiſm and Profaneneſs. It is thought, that, upon this occaſion, he compoſed his Hiſtorical Narration of Hereſy, and the puniſhment thereof, or rather detached it from his Leviathan, and added to it ſome freſh remarks, with a view of demonſtrating that he could not be legally guilty of Hereſy, in writing or publiſhing that book, becauſe the High-Commiſſion-Court was the only judicature in England that could declare what was Hereſy; and that court being aboliſhed at the beginning of the troubles, and not reſtored afterwards, whatever was contained in his book, written in the interim, could never, in a legal ſenſe, be adjudged Hereſy (*k*) [*K*]. When this ſtorm was a little blown over, he began to think of procuring a beautiful

(*k*) See the note [*K*].

' of that, that I deſired to ſee the bottom of that doc-
' trine of the kingdom of Chriſt, which divers mini-
' ſters then preached for a pretence to their rebellion,
' which may reaſonably extenuate though not excuſe
' the writing of it. There is therefore no ground for
' ſo great a calumny in my writings, there is no ſign of
' it in my life, and for my religion, when I was at the
' point of death at St Germains, the Biſhop of Dur-
' ham can bear witneſs of it, if he be aſked. There-
' fore I moſt humbly beſeech your ſacred Majeſty, not
' to believe ſo ill of me, upon reports that proceed
' often (and may do ſo now) from the diſpleaſure which
' commonly ariſeth from difference in opinion; nor to
' think the worſe of me, *if ſnatching up all the weapons*
' *to fight againſt your enemies, I lighted upon one that*
' *had a double edge.*' It muſt be allowed, that how truly or juſtly ſoever this was certainly very elegantly ſaid, and that both the logic and rhetoric therein, has more the air of the Court than of the Cloiſter. Indeed from the hour he left Oxford, Mr Hobbes ſpent his time chiefly amongſt perſons of great quality and diſtinction, from whoſe converſation no doubt, he borrowed much of that vivacity and facility, and perhaps alſo of that conciſeneſs and perſpicuity for which his writings were then admired; and that they were admired at Court, and not publickly diſapproved by the King, was what chiefly kept up the old man's ſpirits, and enabled him to employ his pen at an age when other men are ſometimes paſt reading.

[*K*] *Be adjudged Hereſy.*] Amongſt all the pieces that fell from our author's pen, which were not a few, we may with great truth aſſert, there is none in which he ſhewed more ingenuity, learning, or addreſs, than in this. To ſay the truth, there was nothing imported him ſo much in the circumſtances he then ſtood, as to ſet this matter in a clear light, or at leaſt in ſuch a light as might intereſt moſt of his readers in his cauſe, by ſhewing the poſſibility of it's becoming their own; and ſetting up at the ſame time ſuch a defence of his own conduct, as might ſecure him againſt any proceedings, which were not founded on a law *ex poſt facto*; which he knew, for their own ſakes, the Commons, would never be brought to paſs. The method he took was this; he began with explaining the term *Hereſy*, which he obſerved was a Greek word, ſignifying the taking of any thing, and which came to be particularly applied to the taking of an opinion. When Philoſophy was freely taught in Greece, there aroſe ſeveral wiſe and great men, who laboured to explain the general ſyſtem of things in very different manners. As for inſtance, Pythagoras, Plato, Ariſtotle, Epicurus, and Zeno. The doctrine that each of theſe taught was ſtiled his *Hereſy*; and, in proceſs of time, as each of theſe different opinions came to be embraced by many, the followers of them were ſtiled *Sects*, from the Latin *à ſequendo*; and this is his notions of Hereſy and Sects while confined to Philoſophy. But when the Chriſtian Religion began generally to prevail, it was embraced by Philoſophers of all kinds, who quickly began to conciliate and explain ſcriptures themſelves according to their former notions; and their ſentiments being embraced by others, this introduced Hereſies and Sects into the Church. As this was productive of many and manifeſt inconveniences, and gave great ſcandal to unbelievers, the remedy applied was, to convene the Paſtors of the Church, who examined any new opinion as ſoon as it was broached; and if it appeared to them falſe, they ſummoned the author to retract it, which if he would not do they ſhut him out from their communion; the members of which conſidered him from thence forward as a heathen, branding him with the name of *Heretic*, as one perſiſting in his own private opinion, againſt the common ſenſe of the Church: hence aroſe the terms *Catholic* and *Heretic*, as relatives; and the latter grew a name of reproach and diſgrace. He obſerves next, that the preſerving the catholic faith made way for councils and creeds; in the former of which it was ſettled, and by the latter of which it was declared. In the firſt four general councils, the peace of the Church was the principal object, which ſoon after was changed for the power of the Church As the authority of the Biſhop of Rome, under a variety of titles, grew up, there was no doctrine which tended to the power eccleſiaſtical, or to the reverence of the clergy, the contradiction whereof was, not by one council or another, made hereſy, and puniſhed arbitrarily by the emperors with baniſhment or death. And at laſt, kings themſelves, and commonwealths, unleſs they purged their dominions of heretics, were excommunicated, interdicted, and their ſubjects let looſe upon them by the Pope; inſomuch, as to an ingenuous and ſerious Chriſtian, there was nothing ſo dangerous as to enquire concerning his own ſalvation of the Holy Scripture; the careleſs cold Chriſtian was ſafe, and the ſkilful hypocrite a ſaint. The Pope, now poſſeſſed of the power of the Church, declaring what were Hereſies, kings and other ſtates made ſuch laws, as they thought proper for the extirpation of them; the firſt that was made here was in the fifth of Richard the Second, againſt the Lollards, or followers of John Wicliffe; by which law, Sheriffs and ſome others were to have commiſſions to apprehend ſuch, as the prelates certified to be preachers of Hereſy, and their abettors; and them to hold in ſtrong priſon 'till they juſtified themſelves, according to the law of the Holy Church. Richard the Second being depoſed, Henry the Fourth, who in aſpiring to the Crown ſtood in need of the biſhops good will, in the ſecond year of his reign, gave his aſſent to a law, by which every Ordinary might convene before him and impriſon any perſon ſuſpected of Hereſy; and, if he remained obſtinate, he was to be burnt before the people. His ſon and ſucceſſor, Henry the Fifth, went farther; and, in the ſecond year of his reign, conſented to a law, declaring, that the intent of the Lollards was to ſubvert the Chriſtian Faith, the Law of God, the Church, and the Realm; and that a heretic convict ſhould forfeit all his fee-ſimple, lands, goods, and chattels, and be burned beſides. Henry the Eighth, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, enacted, that a heretic convict ſhould abjure his Hereſies; and if he refuſed ſo to do, or relapſed, then to be burned in an open place for example-ſake. This was after he had aboliſhed papal power; which ſhewed, that his intention was not to alter religion, but to recover his own eccleſiaſtical authority. This, and all other laws againſt hereſy, were repealed in the time of Edward the Sixth. Under the reign of Queen Mary, her father's ſtatute was revived. Queen Elizabeth, in the fifth year of her reign, repealed all the eccleſiaſtical laws made by her ſiſter, and all former laws concerning the puniſhment of heretics. By the ſame ſtatute it was enacted, that the Queen, by her letters patent, conſtitute the Biſhops, and others her Commiſſioners for executing eccleſiaſtical authority, to whom the power was attributed of declaring Hereſy; but then they were reſtrained to ſuch as had been declared ſo by one of the firſt four general councils. This was the origin of the High-Commiſſion, which, upon the application of Parliament, King Charles paſſed a law to aboliſh (25).

(25) An Hiſtorical Narration concerning Hereſy, and the Puniſhment thereof, p. 25, 26.

' But, ſays our author, though the High-Commiſſion
' were taken away, yet the Parliament having other
' ends beſides the ſetting up of the Preſbyterate, pur-
' ſued the rebellion, and put down both Epiſcopacy
' and Monarchy, erecting a power, by them called the
' Commonwealth, by others the Rump; which men
' obeyed, not out of duty, but for fear; nor was there

any

a beautiful edition of ſuch of his works, as were either written by himſelf, or tranſlated into the Latin tongue, to be publiſhed in his life-time; and finding this to be a thing impracticable in England, he cauſed it to be undertaken abroad; where they were made public in 4to. in 1668, from the preſs of John Bleau (*l*). In 1669, he was viſited by Coſmo De Medicis, then Prince, afterwards Duke, of Tuſcany, who gave him ample marks of his eſteem and reſpect; and having received his picture, and a compleat collection of his writings, cauſed them to be repoſited, the former amongſt his curioſities, the latter in his celebrated library at Florence (*m*). The like viſits he received from foreign ambaſſadors, and other ſtrangers of diſtinction, who were curious to ſee a perſon, whoſe ſingular opinions and numerous writings had made ſo much noiſe over all Europe; which not only gratified the old man's paſſion for applauſe, which was his greateſt foible, but really raiſed his reputation; inſomuch, that ſome young men at the univerſities began to ſtudy his Philoſophy with great application, and embraced, with the paſſion natural to that ſeaſon of life, all his opinions (*n*). Amongſt theſe, there was one Daniel Scargill, Bachelor of Arts, and Fellow of Corpus-Chriſti-college in Cambridge, who undertook to defend ſome poſitions extracted from the Leviathan, which drew upon him a very ſevere academical proſecution, that ended in impriſonment, depriving him of his degree, removing him from his fellowſhip, and expelling him the univerſity (*o*). The man himſelf afterwards publiſhed a very full recantation, in which he acknowledged himſelf to have been drawn into the groſſeſt errors and impieties, by the ſtudy of our author's writings. This engaged him to write a vindication in reference to this matter, as he had often done upon other occaſions; which, notwithſtanding, was never publiſhed, but ſhewn only to a few intimate friends (*p*). In 1670, there was committed to the preſs in Latin, the Hiſtory and Antiquities of Oxford, by Mr Wood, or, as he ſtiled himſelf, Anthony à Wood; which was written by the author in Engliſh, but tranſlated and publiſhed at the expence of Dr Fell, Biſhop of Oxford, who cauſed ſome conſiderable alterations to be made, as well as many things to be left out, in the account given of our author and his writings (*q*). Upon this, Anthony à Wood, in juſtification of himſelf, acquainted him with the whole of that tranſaction, pointing out the ſeveral alterations and omiſſions; and our author, in a Latin letter, dated April 20, 1674, addreſſed to Mr Wood, publiſhed all this to the world, with very warm and bitter complaints againſt Dr John Fell. To this, that great man vouchſafed to publiſh a reply; in which he aſſerted, that the article contained in Mr Wood's Engliſh book was not compoſed by himſelf, but was tranſmitted to him, either by our author, or by his great friend and diſciple John Aubrey, Eſq; juſtifying likewiſe his corrections and omiſſions, in as ſtrong terms as thoſe which had been made uſe of by Mr Hobbes in his charge; and this vindication of himſelf he cauſed to be annexed to the Hiſtory and Antiquities of Oxford (*r*) [*L*]. In 1672, the Philoſopher of Malmeſbury wrote his life in Latin verſe, when, as he obſerves, he had compleated his eighty-fourth year; in which, whatever may be thought of the poetry, there is certainly a great deal of ſpirit, and, it may be, of vanity alſo (*s*). He mentions at the cloſe of it, that when he retired to France, his whole ſtock was five hundred pounds; as alſo the addition made to it,

(*l*) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 100. Hiſtoria & Antiq. Oxon. P. ii. p. 377.

(*m*) Vita Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 103. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 642.

(*n*) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 104, 105, 106. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 646.

(*o*) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 106.

(*p*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 646.

(*q*) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 111, & ſeq. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 645.

(*r*) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 123—147. Hiſt. & Antiq. Oxon. ad calcem. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 645.

(*s*) Thomæ Hobbeſii Vita, authore ſeipſo, Lond. 1679. 4to. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 162. Publiſhed in Engliſh verſe, Lond. 1680. fol.

‘ any human laws left in force, to reſtrain any man ‘ from preaching or writing any doctrine concerning ‘ religion that he pleaſed; and, in this heat of the ‘ war, it was impoſſible to diſturb the peace of the ‘ State, which then was none. And in this time it ‘ was, that a book called *Leviathan* was written, in ‘ defence of the King's power, temporal and ſpiritual, ‘ without any word againſt Epiſcopacy, or againſt any ‘ Biſhop, or againſt the public doctrine of the Church. ‘ It pleaſed God, about twelve years after the uſurpa‘tion of this Rump, to reſtore His Moſt Gracious Ma‘jeſty, that now is, to his father's throne; and pre‘ſently his Majeſty reſtored the *Biſhops*, and pardoned ‘ the Preſbyterians; but then both the one and the ‘ other accuſed in Parliament this book of Hereſy, ‘ when neither the Biſhops before the war had declared ‘ what was Hereſy; when if they had, it had been ‘ made void, by the putting down of the High-Com‘miſſion, at the importunity of the Preſbyterians: ſo ‘ fierce are men for the moſt part in diſpute, where ‘ either their learning or power is debated, that they ‘ never think of the laws, but, as ſoon as they are of‘fended, they cry out *crucifige*, forgetting what St ‘ Paul ſaith, even in caſe of obſtinate holding of an er‘ror, 2 Tim. ii. 24, 25. *The ſervant of the* Lord ‘ *muſt not ſtrive; but be gentle unto all men, apt to* ‘ *teach, patient, in meekneſs inſtructing thoſe that op‘poſe; if* God *peradventure may give them repentance* ‘ *to the acknowledging of the truth.* Of which coun‘ſel, ſuch fierceneſs as hath appeared in the diſputa‘tion of divines, down from before the Council of ‘ Nice to this preſent time, is a violation.

[*L*] *To the Hiſtory and Antiquities of Oxford.*] In the Engliſh work of Anthony Wood, who was an honeſt and very ſincere man, though ſometimes a little rude, in the catalogue he gives us of our author's treatiſes, he mentions this letter to himſelf, and then adds (26): ‘ It was written to Mr Wood, upon his ‘ complaint made to Mr Hobbes, of ſeveral deletions ‘ and additions made in and to his life and character, ‘ which he had written of him in that book, by the ‘ publiſher (Dr John Fell) of the ſaid Hiſtory and Anti‘quities, to the great diſhonour and diſparagement of ‘ the ſaid Mr Hobbes. Whereupon, when that hi‘ſtory was finiſhed, came out a ſcurrilous anſwer to ‘ the ſaid epiſtle, written by Dr Fell, which is at the ‘ end of that hiſtory.’ The reader will obſerve, that in this paſſage, Mr Wood contradicts what is alledged by Dr Fell, that the article of Mr Hobbes was written by himſelf, or his friend Mr Aubrey, and ſent to Mr Wood, whereas he who muſt know this beſt, affirms that it was of his own writing. There is certainly, as we have obſerved in the text, great ſpirit in Mr Hobbes's letter, and not leſs in Dr Fell's reply (27); the former, after all his complaints, declares himſelf ſatisfied, that his own fame at home and abroad ſtood beyond the reach of envy, and that though he held it his right to expoſe the ill uſage he met with, yet this did not proceed in the leaſt, from an apprehenſion that injuries of this kind could affect his reputation. On the other hand, the reply of the Dean is not at all leſs angry, and a great deal more rude, he ſtiles him *the moſt vain and waſpiſh animal of* Malmeſbury, treats his political performances as wicked and dangerous, and his mathematical writings as idle and ridiculous. He from thence infers, that as the editor of the work, in which this favourable character of Mr Hobbes was to appear, he had a right to expunge whatever was forced or falſe, in order to reſtrain it within the bounds of hiſtorical truth.

(26) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 645.

(27) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 129—147.

it, by the legacy of two hundred pounds from Sidney Godolphin, Esq; a man, whom virtue, loyalty, and learning, equally commended to the reverence of posterity. He takes notice likewise of an annuity granted him of fourscore pounds a year, by his patron the Earl of Devonshire, and the annual pension given him by the King of one hundred pounds; which provision, he declares, exceeded his wants, and adds very pleasantly, that by computing his effects in French sols or Spanish marvedies, he could persuade himself that Crœsus or Crassus were not at all richer men than he (t) [M]. In 1674, he published in English verse four books of Homer's Odyssey, which were very well received by the public; and this excited in him a resolution of translating, not only the Odyssey but the Iliad. The same year, in the month of July, he took his leave of London, and went to spend the remainder of his days in Derbyshire, but without the least abatement of his natural spirit and vivacity; which, together with his parts, he preserved 'till within a very few days of his death (u). In 1675, he sent abroad his English version of the Iliad and Odyssey, with a short discourse prefixed; which were in those days generally esteemed, though they have been censured by a modern poet and an excellent judge [N], as if they were

(t) Vita Hobbesii, p. 15.

(u) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 150. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 647.

[M] *Richer men than he.*] It may without any danger of a breach of truth be asserted, that never any man had a higher opinion of himself than Mr Hobbes; nor is there indeed scarce any treatise of his, in which he does not tell us as much; and this not with any apology, or as if it were a foible, but as a point of fact, of which he neither was or ought to be ashamed. Nay, what was yet much stronger, when he was reproached with this by his antagonists, he was so far from prevaricating or denying it, that he avowed and justified it; and yet with such an air of pleasantry and good humour, that sometimes he had his reader on his side, which, considering the point he defends, perhaps never happened to any but himself and Montaigne. See how fairly he has stated the case between himself and Dr Wallis (28), who thought he had convicted him of this crime, or folly at least, of talking loudly and impertinently in his own praise.

(28) Considerations on the Reputation, Loyalty, &c. of T. Hobbes, p. 56, 57.

'To the rest of your (Dr Wallis's) calumnies the 'answers will be short, and such as you might easily 'have foreseen; and first, for his (that is T. Hobbes) 'boasting of his learning, it is well summed up by 'you in these words. *'Twas a motion made by one '(whom I will not name) that some idle person should 'read over all his books, and collecting together his ar-'rogant and supercilious speeches, applauding himself 'and despising all other men, set them forth in one 'synopsis, with this title,* Hobbius de se. *What a 'pretty piece of pageantry this would make, I shall leave 'to your own thoughts?'*

'Thus say you: now says Mr Hobbes, or I for him. 'Let your idle person do it, and set down no more 'than he has written (as high praises as they be) I'll 'promise you he shall acknowledge them under his 'hand, and be commended for it, and you scorned. 'A certain Roman Senator having propounded some-'thing in the assembly of the people, which they mis-'liking made a noise at, boldly bad them hold their 'peace, and told them he knew better what was good 'for the Commonwealth than all they: and his words 'are transmitted to us as an argument of his virtue, so 'much do truth and vanity alter the complexion of self-'praise. Besides, you can have very little skill in mo-'rality, that cannot see the justice of commending a 'man's self, as well as of any thing else in his own de-'fence: and it was want of prudence in you, to con-'strain him to a thing that would so much displease 'you. That part of his self-praise which most offends 'you, is in the end of his Leviathan in these words: 'Therefore I think it may be profitably printed, and 'more profitably taught in the Universities, in case 'they also think so, to whom the judgment of the same 'belongeth. Let any man consider the truth of it: 'Where did those ministers learn their seditious doc-'trine, and to preach it, but there? where therefore 'should preachers learn to teach loyalty but there? 'and if your principles produced civil war, must not 'the contrary principles, which are his, produce 'peace. And consequently his book, as far as it 'handles civil doctrine, deserves to be taught there. 'But when can this be done? when you shall have no 'longer an army ready to maintain the evil doctrine 'wherewith you have infected the people. By a ready 'army, I mean arms and money, and men enough, 'though not yet in pay, and put under officers, yet 'gathered together in one place or city, to be put un-'der officers armed and payed, on any sudden occa-'sion, such as are the people of a great and populous 'town. Every great city is as a standing army, which, 'if it be not under the Sovereign's command, the peo-'ple are miserable; if they be, they may be taught 'their duties in the universities safely and easily, and 'be happy. I never read of any Christian King that 'was a tyrant, though the best of Kings have been 'called so.'

In the two lives written by himself of himself, he speaks exactly in the same language, and with the same air of easy assurance. In the prose life, which was the later written of the two, speaking in the third person, he describes himself thus. 'In familiar conversation 'he was easy and pleasant, except to such as came to 'dispute with him about what he had already publish-'ed concerning the right of sovereignty in civil and 'ecclesiastical causes. For in respect to these, he dis-'puted sometimes a little more vehemently perhaps 'than was necessary. He was naturally very open, and 'amongst his adversaries, who were many, and some 'of them very potent, it was rather owing to his inno-'cence than his skill that he remained safe. As no 'man understood justice better, so none practised it 'more strictly. Neither was this at all strange, as he 'was very careless about money, and the narrowness 'of his fortune considered, he was beyond measure be-'neficent, but through the kindness of his patrons, and 'of the best and most humane of Princes, Charles the 'Second, the old man lived very comfortably.' At the close of his life in verse, in the same singular and not unpleasing manner, he sings of himself thus (29).

(20) Thomæ Hobbes Vita, p. 15.

Nam mea vita meis non est incongrua scriptis:
Justitiam doceo, justitiamque colo.
Improbus esse potest nemo qui non sit avarus,
Nec pulchrum quisquam fecit avarus opus.
Octoginta ego jam complevi & quatuor annos:
Penè acta est vitæ fabula longa meæ.

In English thus.

Nor to my writings is my life untrue,
Justice I teach, and justice I pursue.
The root of wickedness is lust of gain,
Good works from misers men expect in vain.
Years having seen compleat, fourscore and four,
The farce of life, with me, will soon be o'er.

In the first edition, the two last lines run somewhat differently, viz (30)

(30) Ibid. Londi 4to. 1679. p. 14.

Octoginta annos complevi jam quatuorque,
Et prope stans dictat Mors mihi, Ne metue.

In English thus:

For having past, my four and fourscor'th year,
Death beckons now, and bids me nothing fear.

[N] *By a modern poet and an excellent judge.*] As good an opinion as our author had of himself, he resolved to make a trial of the public's taste in respect to his poetry, so much the more necessary as he now wrote in English, and was of course to have both the learned and the unlearned for his judges. His specimen consisted of the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth books of the Odyssey. How it succeeded, we learn from

were equally below the reputation of Hobbes and of the Grecian bard. In 1676, he cauſed his diſpute with Dr Benjamin Laney, Biſhop of Ely, concerning *Liberty* and *Neceſſity*, to be printed; for he loved not only to ſhew that he was living, by the exerciſe of his pen; but alſo to make the world take notice of it by annual publications (*w*). In 1678, appeared his *Decameron Phyſiologicum*: or, *Ten Dialogues of Natural Philoſophy*; about the ſame time he reviſed and put the laſt hand to a work formerly publiſhed, though without his name, the Art of Rhetoric, collected from Ariſtotle and Ramus; to which he added a book, compoſed ſome years before at the requeſt of a perſon of great diſtinction, entituled, A *Dialogue* between a *Philoſopher* and a *Student* of the *Common-Law* of *England*; which is a very ſingular performance, and very evidently proves, that, if Mr Hobbes had applied himſelf early to that, or indeed any other learned profeſſion, he could not have failed of making a great figure therein; though, for want of that early application, there is in it an air of poſitiveneſs, which does no honour to the author's abilities [*O*]. In the month of June the ſame year, he ſent another book of his, entitled *Behemoth*: or, *a Hiſtory*

(*w*) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 191. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 645.

(31) Vita Thomæ Hobbes, p. 17.

from the author's proſe life (31). 'His adverſaries 'now ſilent, he publiſhed in the eighty-ſeventh year of 'his age, the Odyſſey of Homer, and the next year 'the Iliad in Engliſh verſe.' In leſs than ten years, both run through no fewer than three large editions. The modern poet mentioned in the text, is the celebrated Mr Pope, who in the preface to his own tranſlation of the Iliad of Homer, has given us the following free and fair character of our author's performance, 'Mr Hobbes in his verſion, ſays he, has given a cor-'rect explanation of the ſenſe in general, but for par-'ticulars and circumſtances lops them, and often omits 'the moſt beautiful. As for it's being eſteemed a cloſe 'tranſlation, I doubt not, many have been led into 'that error by the ſhortneſs of it, which proceeds not 'from the following the original line by line, but from 'the contractions abovementioned. He ſometimes 'omits whole ſimilies and ſentences, and is now and 'then guilty of miſtakes, into which no writer of his 'learning could have fallen but through careleſſneſs. 'His poetry, as well as Ogilby's, is too mean for criti-'ciſm.' We readily admit all this to be true, and that though our author's tranſlation is no longer to be conſidered as an elegant, or it may be as a paſſable poem, yet it may ſtill perhaps be looked upon as a curioſity. For though in Pope's excellent verſification, the genius, force, and majeſty of Homer, appears to an Engliſh reader, and appears to great advantage, yet poſſibly he may wiſh to ſee ſomewhat more, and think it not time at all miſ-ſpent to read a coarſer compoſition, provided it conveys the plain ſenſe of the Greek. We are in raptures at a finiſhed picture by a firſt rate painter, but even a ſketch too after ſuch a maſter has it's merit. The reader may compare the following ſpeech of Achilles, which is remarkably cloſe, and takes in juſt twenty-ſeven lines of the Greek (32), with the ſame paſſage in Pope, and he will probably both underſtand and reliſh the latter better after the compariſon.

(32) Iliad of Homer, by T. Hobbes, Lond. 1682. p. 6, 7.

Achilles ſtill, nothing but choler breath'd,
And Agamemnon thus revil'd anew.

Dog's-face, and drunkard, coward that thou art,
That hat'ſt to lead the people out to fight:
Nor yet to lie in ambuſh haſt the heart,
And painfully watch in the field all night.

But thou to take from other men their due,
(Safe lying in the camp) more pleaſure haſt;
But fools they are, that ruled are by you,
Or elſe this injury had been your laſt.

But this I'll ſay, and with an oath make good,
(Now by this ſcepter which hath left behind
The ſtock whereon it once grew in the wood,
And never more ſhall have nor leaf nor rind,

And by Achean Princes now is born,
By whom Jove's laws to th' people carried be)
You hear now what a great oath I have ſworn,
If e'er the Acheans ſhould have need of me,

And Agamemnon cannot them relieve,
When Hector fills the field with bodies ſlain,
And Agamemnon only for them grieve,
They my aſſiſtance wiſh for ſhall in vain.

This ſaid, Achilles threw the ſcepter down,
That ſtuck all over was with nails of gold;
And Neſtor roſe of Pyle that wore the crown,
Wiſe and ſweet orator and captain old.

His words like honey dropped from his tongue,
Two ages he in battle honour gain'd;
For all that while he youthful was and ſtrong,
And with the third age, now in Pyle he reign'd.

[*O*] *To the author's abilities*] Theſe two pieces of our author, which did not appear together 'till after his deceaſe, are in effect but detached branches of his general ſyſtem of philoſophy. The firſt of them is a diſplay of the art of convincing and perſuading, which, according to his doctrine, took place in civilized ſtates, of that violence which he aſcribes to a ſtate of nature, that is, mankind at large, and unreduced to ſociety. The latter is an application of his principles to the government of England. In this, no doubt, he ſhoots beyond the mark, and having been once frighted out of his wits by anarchy; entertained too favourable an opinion of abſolute power. But that he was very capable of entering into the genuine ſenſe of our laws, and ſetting them in a clearer light than that in which they appear in the works of ſome very conſiderable perſons, the unprejudiced reader will probably diſcern from the following paſſage (33).

(33) Dialogue between a Lawyer and a Philoſopher of the Common-Law of England, p. 102—105.

La. All other crimes (that is except treaſon) merely temporal, are comprehended under felony or treſpaſs.

Ph. What is the meaning of the word *felony*? Does it ſignify any thing that is in it's own nature a crime, or that only which is made a crime by ſome ſtatute? for I remember ſome ſtatutes, that make it *felony* to tranſport horſes, and ſome other things out of the kingdom, which tranſportation before ſuch ſtatutes made, and after the repealing of the ſame, was no greater crime than any other uſual traffic of a merchant.

La. Sir Edward Coke derives the word *felony*, from the Latin word *fel*, the *gall* of a living creature, and accordingly defines *felony*, to be an act done *animo felleo*, that is to ſay, a *bitter*, a *cruel act*.

Ph. Etymologies are no definitions, and yet when they are true, they give much light towards the finding out of a definition; but this of Sir Edward Coke's carries with it very little of probability, for there be many things made felony by the ſtatute law, that proceed not from any bitterneſs of mind at all, and many that proceed from the contrary.

La. This is matter for a critic, to be picked out of the knowledge of hiſtory and foreign languages, and you may perhaps know more of it than I do.

Ph. All that I, or I think any other, can ſay in this matter, will amount to no more than a reaſonable conjecture, inſufficient to ſuſtain any point of controverſy in law. The word is not to be found in any of the old Saxon laws ſet forth by Mr Lambert, nor in any ſtatute printed before that of *Magna Charta*, there it is found. Now *Magna Charta* was made in the time of Henry the Third, grand-child to Henry the Second, Duke of Anjou, a Frenchman born and bred in the heart of France, whoſe language might very well retain many words of his anceſtors, the German Franks, as ours doth of the German Saxons, as alſo many words of the language of the Gauls, as the Gauls did retain many words of the Greek colony planted at Marſeilles. But certain it is, the French lawyers at this day, uſe the word *felon* juſt as our lawyers uſe the ſame. Whereas the common people of France uſe the word *filon* in the ſame ſenſe; but

filon

(*) See that letter in note [P]. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 152, 153. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 645.

a History of the Civil Wars from 1640 to 1660, to an eminent Bookseller, with a letter shewing the reasons for his communication, as well as for his request, that he would not publish it 'till a proper occasion offered (*x*). At that time, when things were fresh in memory, it was much read and admired [P]. Indeed the author gives his opinion very freely

filon signifieth not the man that hath committed such an act as they call *felony*, but the man that maketh it his *trade* to maintain himself by the breaking and contemning of all laws generally, and comprehendeth all those unruly people called cheaters, cut-purses, pick-locks, catch-cloaks, coiners of false money, forgers, thieves, robbers, murtherers, and whosoever make use of iniquity on land or sea, as a trading or living. The Greeks upon the coast of Asia where Homer lived, were they that planted the colony of Marseilles, they had a word that signified the same with *felon*, which was φιλήτης *filetes*, and this *filetes* of Homer, signifies properly the same that a *felon* signifies with us: and therefore Homer makes Apollo to call Mercury φιλήτην fileteen, and ἀρχὸν φιλήτων. I insist not upon the truth of this etymology, but it is certainly more rational than the *animus felleus* of Sir Edward Coke. And for the matter itself it is manifest enough, that which we now call murther, robbery, theft, and other practices of *felons*, are the same that we call *felony*, and crimes in their own nature without the help of statute. Nor is it the manner of punishment that distinguisheth the nature of one crime from another, but the mind of the offender, and the mischief he intendeth considered together with the circumstances of person, time, and place.

Besides these, there were some other pieces printed after his decease, such as his Ecclesiastical History in Latin verse, and also some of those pieces that had been before published from surreptitious copies, were reprinted again from his originals, by Mr William Crooke, who seems to have had the disposition of his writings in his life-time, and after his death. It must however be acknowledged, that they are very incorrectly printed, and that the sense is sometimes so much disturbed by typographical errors, that it is not easy to recover it with any tolerable certainty.

[P] *It was much read and admired.*] In reference to the Behemoth, there is no doubt that the author was very sollicitous to prevent it's coming abroad in his life-time, as will appear from the following extract of a letter (34), written in the month of June 1679. to his bookseller Mr William Crooke, at the Green Dragon without Temple-bar. But as there were several transcripts of it, this had not the effect hoped, though it did prevent the genuine copy which he had deposited with Mr Crooke, from being sent to the press; and those spurious editions were so faulty and imperfect, that they served only to raise the curiosity of the public for the true one. The letter is the more curious, from the matters of fact it contains, and because it is not printed as one might have expected, before the genuine edition.

(34) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 152, 153.

CHATSWORTH, June 19th, 1679.

'I would fain have published my dialogue of the 'Civil Wars of England long ago, and to that end I 'presented it to His Majesty; and some days after, 'when I thought he had read it, I humbly besought 'him to let me print it. But his Majesty, though he 'heard me graciously, yet he flatly refused to have it 'published. Therefore I brought away the book, 'and gave you leave to take a copy of it, which when 'you had done, I gave the original to an honourable 'and learned friend, who about a year after died. The 'King knows better, and is more concerned in pub'lishing of books than I am: therefore I dare not 'venture to appear in the business, lest it should of'fend him. Therefore I pray you not to meddle in 'the business. Rather than to be thought any way to 'further or countenance the printing, I would be con'tent to lose twenty times the value of what you can 'expect to gain by it, &c.——I pray do not take it ill. 'It may be I may live to send you somewhat else, as 'vendible as that, and without offence. I rest,'

The treatise itself is likewise valuable in many respects, as being wrote by a person of great penetration, strong judgment, and extensive information; one who lived in those times, saw the events, and conversed with the people of whom he speaks. It may be, that he had his prejudices, and that he writes with prejudice; but then we have some knowledge of these too, which is abundantly sufficient to prevent us from being misled. The reader will form a judgment as to the propriety of these remarks, from the following quotation (35), in which, Mr Hobbes states the tempers and conditions of the people at the time of the breaking out of the civil war. It is to be observed, that this treatise likewise is written in dialogue; after observing that epidemic corruption preceded the civil war, he says,

(35) Behemoth, P. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

B. But how came the people to be so corrupted? and what kind of people were they that did so seduce them?

A. The seducers were of divers sorts. One sort were ministers, ministers (as they called themselves) of Christ, and sometimes in their sermons to the people, God's ambassadors, pretending to have a right from God to govern every one his parish, and their assembly the whole nation.

Secondly, There were a very great number, though not comparable to the other, which notwithstanding that the Pope's power in England, both temporal and ecclesiastical, had been by act of parliament abolished, did still retain a belief that we ought to be governed by the Pope, whom they pretended to be the vicar of Christ, and in the right of Christ, to be the governor of all Christian people, and these were known by the name of Papists, as the ministers I mentioned before were commonly called Presbyterians.

Thirdly, There were not a few, who in the beginning of the troubles were not discovered, but shortly after declared themselves for a liberty in religion, and those of different opinions one from another, some of them (because they would have all congregations free and independent upon one another) were called Independents: others that held baptism to infants, and such as understood not into what they are baptized to be ineffectual, were called therefore Anabaptists. Others, that held that Christ's kingdom was at this time to begin upon the earth, were called Fifth Monarchy Men, besides divers others sects, as Quakers, Adamites, &c. whose names and peculiar doctrines I do not well remember, and these were the enemies which arose against his Majesty, from the private interpretation of the scripture, exposed to every man's scanning in his mother's tongue.

Fourthly, There were an exceeding great number of men of the better sort that had been so educated, as that in their youth, having read the books written by famous men of the ancient Grecian and Roman Commonwealths, concerning their politie and great actions; in which books the popular government was extolled by that glorious name of liberty, and monarchy disgraced by the name of tyranny; they became thereby in love with their forms of government, and out of these men were chosen the greatest part of the House of Commons, or if they were not the greatest part, yet by advantage of their eloquence, were always able to sway the rest.

Fifthly, The city of London and other great towns of trade, having in admiration the prosperity of the Low-Countries after they had revolted from their monarch the King of Spain, were inclined to think that the like change of government here, would to them produce the like prosperity.

Sixthly, There were a very great number that had either wasted their fortunes, or thought them too mean for the good parts they thought were in themselves, and more there were that had able bodies, but saw no means how honestly to get their bread: these longed for a war, and hoped to maintain themselves hereafter by the lucky chooſing of a party to side with, and consequently did for the most part serve under them that had greatest plenty of money.

Lastly, The people in general were so ignorant of their duty, as that not one perhaps of ten thousand, knew what right any man had to command him, or what necessity there was of King or Commonwealth, for which he was to part with his money against his will, but thought himself to be so much master of whatsoever he possessed, that it could not be taken from him upon any pretence of common safety without his own consent. King they thought was but a title of the highest honour, which Gentleman, Knight, Baron, Earl, Duke, were but steps to ascend to with the help of riches, and had no rule of equity but precedents and custom, and he was thought wisest and fittest to be chosen

freely upon abundance of delicate and important ſubjects, and lays open very roundly the faults of ſome great bodies of men, who, in his judgment, made but an indifferent uſe of that high and general reſpect which the world paid them. This was in ſome meaſure his legacy to the Public, ſince it was the laſt piece of his that went to the preſs during his life. About the middle of October, he was afflicted with a ſuppreſſion of urine, for which he had the aſſiſtance of one of the Faculty, who promiſed to do all that was in his power to give him eaſe; but told him plainly, that, on account of his great age, he had little hopes of making a perfect cure (*y*). On the 20th of November, his patron the Earl of Devonſhire removing from Chatſworth to another ſeat of his, called Hardwick, he obſtinately perſiſted in deſiring that he might be carried too, though this could be no other way done than as he lay upon a feather-bed. He did not ſeem to be much diſcompoſed with this journey; and yet, within ſix or ſeven days afterwards, he loſt, by a ſtroke of the palſy, the uſe of ſpeech and of his right ſide entirely; in this condition he remained for ſome days, taking little nouriſhment, and ſleeping much. He ſometimes endeavoured to ſpeak, but was not able. There did not appear, in the courſe of his laſt illneſs, any ſymptoms of a fever; ſo that he ſeemed to be quite worn out, and Nature being no longer able to furniſh wherewith to feed the flame of life, he expired December 4, 1679, in the ninety-ſecond year of his age (*z*). Mr Wood tells us, that after he received the anſwer, which has been beforementioned, from the learned perſon who attended him, he made uſe of this expreſſion, *Then I ſhall be glad to find a hole to creep out of the world at* (*a*). The ſame author obſerves, that his not deſiring the company of a Miniſter to receive the Sacrament before he died, ought in charity to be imputed to his being ſo ſuddenly ſeized, and being afterwards deprived of his ſenſes; the rather, becauſe the Earl of Devonſhire's Chaplain declared, that, within the two laſt years of his life, he had often received the Sacrament from his hands with ſeeming devotion. Two days after his deceaſe, his corpſe was removed from the houſe of his noble patron, and decently attended to the pariſh of Hault Hucknall (*b*), where in an iſle he was interred, with the ſervice in the Common-Prayer-Book, cloſe to the rail of the monument of the grandmother of the then Earl of Devonſhire; and over his grave a black marble ſtone was laid, with an inſcription mentioning the place and time of his birth, and of his deceaſe [Q]. As there are

(*y*) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 155. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 647. Kennet's Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family, p. 113.

(*z*) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 157. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 647.

(*a*) Id. ibid.

(*b*) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 157. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 647. Kennet's Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family, p. 116.

choſen for a Parliament, that was moſt averſe to the granting of ſubſidies or other public payments.

[Q] *And of his deceaſe.*] The chief and the moſt laſting monument erected to the memory of our author, is that tripartite life of him which appeared not long after his deceaſe, and concerning which, there have been great controverſies among ſome of the moſt eminent writers of literary hiſtory, the title of this work runs thus, *Thomæ Hobbes, Angli, Malmeſburienſis, Philoſophi vita.* That is, 'The life of Thomas 'Hobbes, an Engliſhman, Philoſopher of Malmeſbury;' and is ſaid to be printed, *Carolopoli, apud Eleutherium Anglicum, ſub ſigno Veritatis.* That is, 'In 'Charles's City, by Freeman Engliſh, at the Sign of 'Truth.' It may be ſuppoſed that this method of concealing, if it can be ſo called, the place where it was printed, and the perſon by whom it was publiſhed, was on account of the book's not being licenſed; and yet at the end, it is ſaid to be printed for William Crooke, at the Sign of the Green Dragon without Temple-bar. It is inſcribed to the Right Honourable William Earl of Devonſhire, by the editor: then follows a preface to the reader, wherein we are told, that a book concerning the life and manners of the deceaſed Mr Hobbes, written by ſome learned friend of his, coming by the interpoſition of J. A. i. e. John Aubrey, into his hands, he thought it his duty out of reſpect to the memory of the deceaſed to publiſh it. This preface is ſubſcribed only with the initial letters R. B. which ſome very learned foreigners underſtood to ſignify Ralph Bathurſt, Doctor of Divinity and Dean of Bath, who was indeed a great friend and admirer of Mr Hobbes, but not the perſon to whom thoſe initials refer, who was, as Mr Wood tells us (36), Richard Blackbourn, Maſter of Arts of Trinity-College in Cambridge, and afterwards Doctor of Phyſic in the Univerſity of Leyden. After this ſhort life, which contains no more than twenty pages, follows one much longer under this title, *Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium:* that is, 'A Supplement to the Life of Hobbes.' The account which Mr Wood gives of this matter, is in theſe words, ſpeaking of the inſcription upon the grave-ſtone of Mr Hobbes, and of the account of his perſon, which, ſays he, 'You may ſee at large in *Vitæ Hob-'bianæ Auctarium*, following the life in proſe (written 'by himſelf) and publiſhed by Richard Blackbourn.' It appears from hence, that Mr Wood aſcribes the firſt life to Mr Hobbes himſelf, and in the catalogue of our author's works, he ſets it ſo down expreſsly; and the ſupplement to that life, is what he attributes to Dr Blackbourn. He adds farther, 'that the mate-'rials for this ſupplement were all, or at leaſt the moſt 'part, taken from the Engliſh life in manuſcript of 'Thomas Hobbes, largely and more punctually writ-'ten by John Aubrey his ancient acquaintance.' This is very likely to be true, ſince beſides what is ſaid in the preface, ſuch a life in Engliſh is promiſed by an advertiſement from the bookſeller to the reader, at the end of this ſupplement. The title of the third and laſt piece in this collection, which however in point of time is the firſt, is this, *Thomæ Hobbes Malmeſburienſis vita Carmine expreſſa. Authore Seipſo:* that is, 'The 'Life of Thomas Hobbes of Malmeſbury metrically 'expreſſed. Written by himſelf.' About this there is no diſpute at all, the author ſpeaks in his own perſon, in his own ſtile, and with that pleaſant kind of confidence which was familiar to him. In the courſe of theſe memoirs we have cited all the three lives, and have treated the ſhort proſe life upon Anthony Wood's credit, as written by Mr Hobbes, to whom it has been alſo aſcribed by others; yet whoever will peruſe carefully, and reflect a little on the firſt paragraph of the ſupplement to Mr Hobbes's life, will ſee reaſon to doubt at leaſt, whether the author of that ſupplement was not the author of the ſhort life in proſe; and upon comparing both with the preface, whether the editor R. B. that is Dr Blackbourn, was the author of either, or of any thing more than that preface, and it may be the inſcription to the Earl of Devonſhire. If therefore the reader ſhould aſk, who was then the author of theſe lives, and why, if this was our opinion, we have attributed the proſe life to Mr Hobbes? We ſhall anſwer clearly, that we have heard the ſhort proſe life was written by Thomas Rymer, Eſq; the famous critic, in the life-time, and with the participation of Mr Hobbes; and our conjecture is, that he wrote the ſupplement after his deceaſe, at the requeſt and from the materials furniſhed him by Mr John Aubrey; but being deſirous that this might remain a ſecret, he ſuffered that gentleman to put them into the hands of Dr Blackbourn, who publiſhed them; and this we take to be a probable at leaſt, if not a certain account of this matter. But before we conclude this note, we will give the reader for the ſake of a reflection that he will meet with in a ſubſequent note, the Latin inſcription upon our author's tombſtone, and the rather, becauſe it is very ſhort and ſimple (37).

(36) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 647.

(37) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 221.

are many particulars very worthy of remembrance in regard to his private life, we will add ſome account of his perſon, temper, and manners. In his ſtature he was pretty tall, of a ſpare habit of body, his ſkin remarkably tender; ſo that, to defend himſelf from the injuries of cold, he went commonly very warmly cloathed (*c*). His face was comely enough; his brow large and open, but, in the more advanced part of his life, it became deeply wrinkled; his eyes very quick and ſparkling; his ſight ſtrong, penetrating, and tolerably good even to the laſt; his noſe ſomewhat long, with a lively colour in his cheeks; his hair, before age turned it grey, was of a bright black, but his beard of a yellowiſh red; a little of which he preſerved on his chin; but on his lip he wore his muſtachoes thick and turning upwards. His complexion was a ſanguine melancholy, as ſome ſtile it; that is, he was ſtrong and vigorous, but, withal, of a calm and grave deportment. In his youth his health was tender, and he was frequently threatned with the jaundice; but by forty he came to have it more ſettled; however, he kept his bed but rarely through his whole life, and dealt ſparingly in Phyſic. When he was about threeſcore his hand ſhook, and he was in other reſpects affected by the palſy towards his end (*d*). He was no way nice in his eating; on the contrary, there was hardly any kind of food came amiſs to him. When he grew in years, he dined at a certain hour, ſmoaked a little tobacco, but eat no ſuppers. In the vigour of his age he was not exempt from amorous failings, but perſiſted nevertheleſs in the reſolution he had taken to continue a bachelor for the ſake of his ſtudies. He uſed a great deal of exerciſe on the ſcore of his health; he played often at hand-ball, even after he was turned of ſeventy, and would even then take long walks, and at his return cauſe his limbs to be rubbed 'till he fell aſleep. When age made this exerciſe painful to him, he contented himſelf with having his chamber artificially heated, and the circulation promoted by the ſame kind of frictions. The chearfulneſs, activity, and ſoundneſs of mind, which he maintained to upwards of ninety, make even theſe trivial circumſtances worthy of notice. In reference to his manners, religion claims the firſt place. He acknowledged GOD the author of all things, but thought, or at leaſt pretended he thought, too reverently of him to believe his nature could be comprehended by human underſtanding. But what gave a handle to ſome to treat him as an Atheiſt was, the contempt he expreſſed for many of thoſe ſcholaſtic terms, invented by aſſuming men, who would impoſe their own crude notions of the Divine Being on their fellow-creatures as ſo many articles of Faith. It is commonly reported, though without any proof, that he was afraid of ghoſts, &c. which his Philoſophy had exploded; yet it is very poſſible he might not affect ſolitude, that he might avoid expoſing himſelf to the violence of the numbers who had declared themſelves his enemies. He embraced the Chriſtian religion as taught in the reformed Church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed; and profeſſed himſelf equally ready to defend her tenets, when attacked either by Papiſts or Sectaries. He had a great averſion to theological controverſies, but was much inclined to whatever tended to promote piety or ſound morals. He thought it more pious and reverent to believe in GOD, than to pretend to comprehend him. He would often blame ſuch, whatever their profeſſion might be, as pretended to innovate the ſimplicity of the Chriſtian Faith, by intermixing vain, and ſometimes profane, ſpeculations of their own. He thought it would turn much more to the benefit of ſociety, if, after eſtabliſhing a due reverence for the Supreme Being, men, inſtead of conteſting about theſe ſpeculations, would apply themſelves to ſtudy, and perform the ſeveral offices to which they are called, in civil and ſocial life. In reſpect to this, he gave himſelf a good example, being always concerned for the welfare of his country, obſervant in his duty to his ſovereign, religiouſly faithful in his friendſhips, and truly beneficent to his relations. The paternal eſtate of the family, which was of ſome value, he made over to his brother ſome years before his death. Several other acts of kindneſs he did in his life-time to thoſe who were of kin to him, and diſtributed his little fortune very prudently amongſt them at his demiſe. To the poor, he was in diſcourſe compaſſionate, and charitable in act to the extent of his abilities; and, to the reſt of the world in general, ſtrictly juſt, and very decent in his addreſſes as far as became him. In his converſation, his cuſtom was, to mingle with that ſound language, which is ſuitable to grave ſubjects, a peculiar kind of pleaſantry, that prevented the hearer from becoming weary. He had naturally a wonderful readineſs in anſwering whatever was propounded to him; but this was regulated by his judgment, which taught him to deliberate

(*c*) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 158. Kennet's Memoirs of the Cavendiſh Family, p. 116.

(*d*) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 164. Wood, ubi ſupra.

Condita hîc ſunt Oſſa
Thomæ Hobbes Malmeſburienſis
Qui per multos annos ſervivit
Duobus Devoniæ Comitibus,
Patri & Filio;
Vir Probus, & Fama Euriditionis
Domi Foriſque benè cognitus.
Obiit Anno Domini 1679
Menſis Decembris die 4°.
Ætatis ſuæ 91.

In Engliſh.

Here lie the Remains
Of Thomas Hobbes of Malmeſbury
Who was for many years in the Service
Of two Earls of Devonſhire
Father and Son;
A Man of Integrity and from the Fame of his Learning
At home and abroad well known.
He died in the year of our Lord 1679
On the 4th of December
Aged 91.

berate and to think well with himſelf before he ſpoke. He was of a ſimple and open diſpoſition, deſirous of inſtructing others, and very willing to communicate what he knew; mild and complaiſant to every body, except, perhaps, to ſome impertinent pretenders to learning, who, under pretence of diſplaying their abilities, came purely to contradict him. He never attacked others; but, whenever attacked himſelf, he ſhewed ſpirit enough in his own defence; yet was withal a little too tenacious of his own opinions. Theſe are the ſtrokes of a friendly pencil, inclined to draw a handſome likeneſs; but, if the reader inclines to ſee the portrait of our author in very different colours, he ſhall be gratified in that reſpect, and that too by an able hand [*R*]. The truth is, that all eminent perſons, from this very circumſtance, are liable to be repreſented in very different and even contrary lights;

[*R*] *And that too by an able hand.*] A celebrated writer, who had great opportunities of knowing the minuteſt particulars in regard to Mr Hobbes's manner of living, in his honourable retreat at Chatſworth, has been pleaſed to give them to the public in this manner (38). 'The Earl of Devonſhire, for his whole life, 'entertained Mr Hobbes in his family, as his old tutor 'rather than as his friend or confident. He let him 'live under his roof in eaſe and plenty, and in his own 'way, without making uſe of him in any public or ſo 'much as domeſtic affairs. He would often expreſs 'an abhorrence of ſome of his principles in policy 'and religion, and both he and his lady would frequently put off the mention of his name, and ſay he 'was an humoriſt, and that no body could account for 'him. There is a tradition in the family, of the 'manners and cuſtoms of Mr Hobbes, ſomewhat obſervable. His profeſſed rule of health, was to dedicate the morning to his exerciſe, and the afternoon 'to his ſtudies. And therefore at his firſt riſing he 'walked out, and climbed any hill within his reach, 'or if the weather was not dry, he fatigued himſelf 'within doors by ſome exerciſe or other, to be in a 'ſweat, recommending that practice upon this opinion, 'that an old man had more moiſture than heat, and 'therefore by ſuch motion, heat was to be acquired, 'and moiſture expelled. After this he took a comfortable breakfaſt, and then went round the lodgings to 'wait upon the Earl, the Counteſs, and the children, 'and any conſiderable ſtrangers, paying ſome ſhort 'addreſſes to all of them. He kept theſe rounds 'till 'about twelve o'cloek, when he had a little dinner 'provided for him, which he eat always by himſelf 'without ceremony. Soon after dinner he retired to 'his ſtudy, and had his candle with ten or twelve pipes 'of tobacco laid by him, then ſhutting his door, he 'fell to ſmoaking, thinking, and writing for ſeveral 'hours. He retained a friend or two at Court, and 'eſpecially the Lord Arlington, to proteſt him if occaſion ſhould require. He uſed to ſay, *That it was 'lawful to make uſe of ill* inſtruments *to do ourſelves* 'good. *If I were caſt*, ſays he, *into a deep pit, and 'the* devil *ſhould put down his* cloven foot, *I would 'take* hold *of* it *to be drawn out by it.* Towards the 'end of his life he had very few books, and thoſe he 'read but very little, thinking he was now able only 'to digeſt what formerly he had fed upon. If company came to viſit him, he would be free in diſcourſe, 'till he was preſſed or contradicted, and then he had 'the infirmities of being ſhort and peeviſh, and referring to his writings for better ſatisfaction. His friends, 'who had the liberty of introducing ſtrangers to him, 'made theſe terms with them before their admiſſion, 'that they ſhould not diſpute with the old man, nor 'contradict him.'——After mentioning the dread our author was under when the Parliament cenſured his book, he continues his account in the following terms (39). 'It is not much to be doubted, that upon this 'occaſion he began to make a more open ſhew of religion and Church communion. He now frequented 'the chapel, joined in the ſervice, and was generally 'a partaker of the Holy Sacrament. And whenever 'any ſtrangers in converſation with him, ſeemed to 'queſtion his belief, he would always appeal to his 'conformity in divine ſervices, and referred them to 'the chaplain for a teſtimony of it. Others thought it 'a meer compliance to the orders of the family, and 'obſerved that, in city and country, he never went to 'any pariſh-church, and even in the chapel on Sundays, he went out after prayers, and turned his back 'upon the ſermon; and when any friend aſked the reaſon of it, he gave no other but this, *They could teach 'him nothing but what he knew.* He did not conceal 'his hatred to the clergy, but it was viſible, that the 'hatred was owing to his fear of their civil intereſt and 'power. He had often a jealouſy that the biſhops 'would burn him, and of all the bench, he was moſt 'afraid of the Biſhop of Sarum (Dr Seth Ward) becauſe he had moſt offended him, thinking every 'man's ſpirit to be remembrance and revenge. ——— 'After the Reſtoration, he watched all opportunities 'to ingratiate himſelf with the King and his Prime 'Miniſters, and looked upon his penſion, to be more 'valuable as an earneſt of favour and protection, than 'upon any other account. His following courſe of 'life, was to be free from danger: he could not endure to be left in an empty houſe; whenever the Earl 'removed, he would go along with him, even to his 'laſt ſtage from Chatſworth to Hardwicke. When in 'a very weak condition, he dared not be left behind, 'but made his way upon a feather-bed in a coach, 'though he ſurvived the journey but a few days. He 'could not bear any diſcourſe of death, and ſeemed to 'caſt off all thoughts of it: He delighted to reckon 'upon longer life. The winter before he died, he 'made a warm coat, which he ſaid muſt laſt him three 'years, and then he would have ſuch another. In his 'laſt ſickneſs, his frequent queſtions were, *whether his 'diſeaſe was curable?* and when intimations were 'given, that he might have eaſe but no remedy, he 'uſed this expreſſion, *I ſhall be glad then to find a hole 'to creep out of the world at*, which are reported to 'have been his laſt ſenſible words; and his lying ſome 'days following in a ſilent ſtupefaction, did ſeem 'owing to his mind more than to his body. The 'only thought of death that he appeared to entertain 'in time of health, was to take care of ſome inſcription on his grave. He would ſuffer ſome friends to 'dictate an epitaph, among which, he was beſt pleaſed 'with this humour: *This is the true* PHILOSOPHER'S 'STONE, which indeed would have had as much religion in it, as that which now remains.'

(38) Biſhop Kennet in his Memoirs of the Family of Cavendiſh, p. 106—109.

(39) Ibid. p. 111—117.

It would have been very eaſy to have given the reader other accounts of the Philoſopher of Malmeſbury, that might have balanced the reflections contained in this; but we are not concerned to defend Mr Hobbes, our buſineſs is to diſtinguiſh truth. In order to this, it may not be amiſs to remark, that beſides dedications to the Earl of Devonſhire, ſome of our author's treatiſes are no other than letters to him; in which, though without the leaſt mixture of flattery, he acknowledges his kindneſs, and commends his familiarity. The manner in which he lived in his family, the giving a hundred pounds to the uſes of his will, the directing the place of his interment, and the acceptation of the lives of Mr Hobbes, publiſhed by Dr Blackmore, will ſcarce incline us to believe that he deteſted his notions. But that he deteſted the notions aſcribed to Mr Hobbes, there are the beſt grounds to believe, and his great civility to and friendſhip for, the old man, ſeem very concluſive arguments to prove, that they were only aſcribed to, and not maintained by him. His going regularly to chapel at Chatſworth, while he reſided there, is attributed to apprehenſion, but what apprehenſions had he when he deſired the aſſiſtance of Biſhop Coſins in France, or when he joined himſelf to the almoſt inviſible Church of England, in England? Wood ſays (40), that the chaplain teſtified he received the Sacrament with all exterior marks of devotion; and he accounts, as is ſaid in the text, for the manner in which he lay, and his not deſiring any ſpiritual aſſiſtance at the time of his death, from his being ſuddenly ſtruck with the palſy, and thereby loſing his ſpeech and ſenſes, which conſiſts very well with the Biſhop's account, who records the laſt ſenſible thing he ſaid; and men are not held reſponſible for their commiſſions, much leſs for their omiſſions, after they have loſt their ſenſes.

(40) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 647.

[*S*] *And*

lights; and there are very few characters tranſmitted to poſterity, which have not been flattered by ſome writers, and injured by others. The Mathematicians, not without reaſon, have handled our author roughly; for which, he not only gave them occaſion but example. This indeed was his weak part, and ſhewed the obſtinacy of his temper; for though he was over and over refuted, and his miſtakes pointed out, yet he adhered as pertinaciouſly as ever to his old opinions, and not only defended them as warmly as before, but rendered that a perſonal quarrel, which ought to have continued a literary diſpute; and perſiſted to the laſt with the ſame keenneſs and aſperity of language, as if he in reality had intended to eſtabliſh a kind of tyranny in ſcience, and to force his own opinions upon mankind, becauſe they were ſo, though contrary to their reaſon, and thoſe principles of knowledge which had been univerſally received, and which therefore no authority could ſubvert [S]. In reſpect to his moral, political, and religious ſentiments, he was no leſs poſitive,

[S] *And which therefore no authority could ſubvert.*] The hiſtory of that diſpute, which ſubſiſted for upwards of twenty years, between the Philoſopher of Malmeſbury and the moſt eminent Mathematicians of the age in which he lived, is a matter of more conſequence, in reſpect to literary Hiſtory, than any that has hitherto been diſcuſſed in this article; and yet, from the trouble and perplexity with which it is attended, has never been thoroughly or properly ſtated, though his life, and the lives alſo of Mr Hobbes's antagoniſts, have been ſo often written. We will therefore uſe our beſt endeavours to ſupply this defect. It began, then, upon our author's publiſhing the following work,

1. Elementorum Philoſophiæ, ſectio prima, de Corpore. That is, *The firſt ſection of the Elements of Philoſophy*, de Corpore, *or, of Body*, 8vo. Lond. 1655. in Latin; again in Engliſh, in 4to. 1656 and at Amſterdam in 4to. 1668. in Latin.

This is the account of the ſeveral editions given by the writer of his life, by Mr Wood, and, indeed, by every body elſe, except one writer (41); who aſſures us, that this book *de Corpore*, was publiſhed in the beginning of the year 1653. But as this writer ſent abroad his work when the parties were living, and for ſome other reaſons which will hereafter appear, he ſeems moſt to be depended upon; for, in the ſucceeding year, the Reverend Mr Seth Ward, then Aſtronomy Profeſſor in Oxford, publiſhed,

Vindiciæ Academiarum: containing ſome brief Animadverſions upon Mr John Webſter's book, entitled, The *Examen* of *Academies*; with an Appendix concerning what Mr *Hobbes* and Mr *William Dell* have publiſhed on the ſame arguments. Oxon. 1654. 4to.

Mr John Wallis, Savilian Profeſſor of Geometry in the ſame univerſity, declared in the ſtrongeſt and moſt expreſs terms againſt the mathematical part of our author's Philoſophy, in a treatiſe written directly againſt it, under the title of,

Elenchus Geometriæ Hobbianæ. That is, a Refutation of Hobbes's Geometry. Oxon. 1655, 8vo. in Latin.

Theſe attacks were very ſpeedily repulſed by Mr Hobbes, in a treatiſe entitled,

2. *Six Leſſons to the* Profeſſors *of* Mathematics *of the inſtitution of* Sir Henry Savile. Lond. 1656. 4to.

To this they both replied; Dr Wallis in Engliſh, under the following title,

Due Correction for Mr Hobbes: or, *School-Diſcipline for not ſaying his Leſſons right*, &c. Oxford, 1656. 8vo.

Dr Ward more at large, in a Latin treatiſe which bore this title,

In Thomæ Hobbii Philoſophiam, *exercitatio Epiſtolica ad Dominum* Johannum Wilkinſium, *Guardianum* Coll. Wadhami; *cum Appendicula ad Calumnias ab eodem Hobbio, in ſex documentis nuperrimè editis, in authorem congeſtas, reſponſoria*. Oxon. 1656 8vo. That is, An Epiſtolary Diſſertation againſt the Philoſophy of Thomas Hobbes, addreſſed to Dr John Wilkins, Warden of Wadham College; together with an Appendix, containing an Anſwer to the Calumnies thrown by the ſaid Hobbes, in his ſix Leſſons lately publiſhed, upon the author.

The very next year Mr Hobbes returned to the charge, and publiſhed in Engliſh, a very warm treatiſe, called,

3. ΣΤΙΓΜΑΙ, *The Marks of the abſurd Geometry, rural Language, &c. of Dr* Wallis. London, 1657. 8vo.

Dr Wallis very ſpeedily replied to this, in an Engliſh treatiſe, entitled,

Hobbiani Puncti diſpunctio: or, *An Anſwer to a late Treatiſe* &c. Oxon. 1657. 8vo.

After the Reſtoration, our author renewed this paper war, by publiſhing a new work, which was,

4. Examinatio & Emendatio Mathematicæ hodiernæ, ſex dialogis comprehenſa. That is, *The Examination and Emendation of modern Mathematics*. Londini, 1660. 4to. in Latin; and again at Amſterdam, 1668. 4to.

The next year produced the two following books,

5. Dialogus Phyſicus, ſive de Natura Aëris. That is, *A Phyſical Dialogue concerning the Nature of the Air*. London, 1661. 4to. again at Amſterdam, 1668. 4to.

Againſt which the celebrated Mr Robert Boyle wrote more than one treatiſe (42).

6. De Duplicatione Cubi. That is, *Of the* Duplication *of the* Cube. London, 1661 4to. the ſame at Amſterdam, 1668. 4to.

It appears, that, on the erection of the Royal Society, the King hoped ſome extraordinary things from Mr Hobbes; as is evident from the following paſſage, in a very uſeful work lately publiſhed (43).

'A propoſition of Mr Hobbes, for finding two mean 'proportionals between two ſtrait lines given, was de'livered into the Society, by Sir Paul Neile, from the 'King, indorſed with his Majeſty's own hand, and 'was ordered to be regiſtered; as was afterwards the 'anſwer to the problem by Lord-Viſcount Brouncker '(44).'

He publiſhed the next year,

7. Problemata Phyſica; viz. 1. De Gravitate, 2. De Æſtibus Marinis. 3. De Vacuo. 4. De Colore & Luce. 5. De Duro & Molli. 6. De Pluvia, Vento, aliiſque Cœli varietatibus. 7. De Motuum ſpeciebus. Adjunctæ ſunt etiam Propoſitiones duæ, de Duplicatione Cubi, & Dimenſione Circuli. That is, Phyſical Problems *relating to* Gravity, *to* Tides, *to a* Vacuum; *to* Colour *and* Light, *to* Hard *and* Soft, *to* Rain, Winds, *and other alterations of the* Heavens; *to the ſeveral* kinds *of* Motion. *To which are added, two Propoſitions, one concerning the* Duplication *of the* Cube, *and the other of the* Dimenſion *of the Circle*. Lond. 1662. 4to. again at Amſterdam, 1668. 4to. He alſo publiſhed this in Engliſh, under the title of *Phyſical Problems*; with an Addreſs to the King; which is commonly called Mr Hobbes's APOLOGY, which has been already frequently cited.

To this Dr Wallis returned a moſt ſarcaſtic anſwer, bearing the title of,

Hobbius Heautontimorumenos: or, *A Conſideration of Mr* Hobbes *his Dialogues*. Oxford, 1662. 8vo.

This gave our author occaſion to ſend abroad,

8. *Conſiderations upon the* Reputation, Loyalty, Manners, *and* Religion, *of* Thomas Hobbes *of* Malmeſbury, *written by himſelf by way of letter to a learned perſon*, i.e. Dr Wallis. Lond. 1662. 4to. again 1680. 8vo.

His next performance was,

9. De Principiis & Ratiocinatione Geometrarum, contra faſtum Profeſſorum Geometriæ. That is, *Of the Principles and Reaſoning of* Geometricians, *againſt the Vanity of certain* Profeſſors *of* Geometry. Londini, 1666. 4to. again at Amſterdam, 1668. 4to. Our author's ſtock of patience ſeems to have been worn out when he wrote this piece, ſince he gives us the following ſtate of the diſpute. 'With reſpect to thoſe 'who have written upon theſe kind of ſubjects, and 'myſelf either, I alone am mad, or they are all out 'of their ſenſes; ſo that no third opinion can be ta'ken, unleſs any will ſay that we are all mad.' There is a ſhort account of this piece in the Philoſophical Tranſactions

(41) R. R. in Præfat. ad Lucem Mathemat.

(42) See Boyle's Works, as cited at large in note [T].

(43) Birch's Hiſtory of the Royal-Society, Vol. I. p. 42.

(44) Regiſter Book, Vol. I. p. 105.

poſitive, but not ſo eaſily refuted; becauſe, in them, certainly there was a mixture of truth, and becauſe he conſtantly denied the conſequences which his antagoniſts endeavoured to draw from his principles. His deſire, or rather his humour, of penetrating to the bottom of all things, and of dictating in matters, which, perhaps, are beyond the reach of the human underſtanding, at once expoſed him to continual contradictions, and furniſhed him with the means of maintaining the diſpute. This will be the more eaſily comprehended, if we reflect, that ſome of his ableſt adverſaries, while they laboured to diſprove his doctrines, and to fix upon him a charge of Atheiſm, brought the ſame imputation from others upon themſelves; which afforded the cleareſt evidence, that men, with the beſt intentions in the world, may, upon certain metaphyſical ſubjects, excite notions in other men, utterly inconſiſtent with their own views, and for which notions they ought not certainly to be condemned. Beſides, in thoſe dangerous and diſtracted times, there were other wiſe and good men, as well as Mr Hobbes, who had recourſe to weapons, which they afterwards found had a double edge; and if, from their being of milder tempers, they did not perſiſt ſo long or ſo warmly as he did, yet even their apologies ſhewed, that men may be miſtaken without malice, and in certain conjunctures advance poſitions, that they may afterwards find it equally hard to retract or to defend. At leaſt this is certain, that if here at home there were many, and thoſe too, perſons of piety, learning, and honour,

Tranſactions (45). There is alſo an anſwer to it by his old antagoniſt Dr Wallis (46), written with as much acrimony as Hobbes had ſhewn in his work.

(45) No. 14. p. 253.

(46) No. 16. p. 289.

His next mathematical performance was,

10. Quadratura Circuli, Cubatio Sphæræ, Duplicatio Cubi, breviter demonſtrata. That is, *The* Quadrature *of the* Circle, *the* Cube *of the* Sphere, *and the* Duplication *of the* Cube, *briefly demonſtrated.* Lond. 1669. 4to.

To this Dr Wallis immediately gave an anſwer, which bore this title,

Tho. Hobbii Quadratura Circuli, Cubatio Sphæræ, Duplicatio Cubi, confutata. Oxon. 1669. 4to. There is ſome account of both of theſe in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (47).

(47) No. 48. p. 971.

The ſame year our author republiſhed his work, 11. together with an Anſwer to the Objections made by Dr Wallis, and dedicated it to Coſmo de Medici, Grand Prince of Tuſcany. To this Dr Wallis replied, and dedicated his work to William Lord Viſcount Brouncker. It is dated December 21, 1669.

Though our author was now in the fourſcore and fourth year of his age, he had ſpirit enough to undertake a new work, and to ſubjoin to it a criticiſm on one that had been publiſhed by his antagoniſt.

12. Roſetum Geometricum: five, Propoſitiones aliquot fruſtra antehac tentatæ, cum Cenſura Brevi Doctrinæ Wallisianæ de Motu. That is, *The* Geometrical Roſe-Garden: or, *Some Propoſitions hitherto unſucceſſfully attempted, with a brief Cenſure of the* Walliſian *Doctrine of* Motion. Lond. 1671. 4to.

The ſame year appeared,

13. *Three Papers, preſented to the* Royal Society, *againſt Dr* Wallis, *together with Conſiderations on Dr* Wallis *his Anſwer to them.* London, 1671. 4to.

The year following, the public received a preſent of another work, bearing this title,

14. Lux Mathematica, excuſſa Colliſionibus Johannis Walliſii, Theol. Doctoris Geometriæ in celeberrima Academia Oxonienſi Profeſſoris Publici, & Thomæ Hobbeſii Malmeſburienſis; multis & fulgentiſſimis aucta Radiis authore R. R. That is, *Mathematical Light, ſtruck out from the Claſhings between Dr* John Wallis, *Profeſſor of* Geometry *in the celebrated univerſity of* Oxford, *and* Thomas Hobbes *of* Malmeſbury; *augmented with many and ſhining Rays by the author* R. R. Lond. 1672. 4to.

This work contains a hiſtory of the diſputes between our author and his opponents. It is written with wonderful perſpicuity and vivacity, ſpeaks every where of Mr Hobbes in the third perſon, but gives him clearly the victory over his antagoniſt in every point. We have a very ſuccinct account of this in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (48), and a very long anſwer by Dr Wallis (49), who lets us into the ſecret who this R. R. is. Theſe letters, ſays he, ſtand for *Roſeti Repertor*, that is, the Finder of the Roſary, or Mr Hobbes himſelf; and as the book was written, ſo he ſays it ſhall be anſwered, by R. R. that is, *Roſeti Refutator*, or the Refutor of the Roſary. What ſeems to put Dr Wallis's conjecture out of doubt is, that we find this treatiſe in the liſt of our author's works, in that which is called Dr Blackbourn's Supplement to his Life.

(48) No. 86. p. 5047.

(49) No. 87. p. 5067.

The laſt mathematical treatiſe, publiſhed by our author, bears this title,

15. Principia & Problemata aliquot Geometrica, ante deſperata, nunc breviter explicata & demonſtrata. That is, *Some* Geometrical Principles *and* Problems, *heretofore looked upon as deſperate, now briefly explained and demonſtrated.* London, 1674. 4to.

We have alſo an account of this performance in the Philoſophical Tranſactions; which, becauſe it is very ſhort, and will, notwithſtanding, afford the reader ſome notion of the nature of theſe diſputes, we will ſubjoin it (50).

(50) No. 97. p. 6131.

'The famous author of this tract, having entertained 'the reader with ſome generals concerning the ſubject, 'principles, and method of mathematics, and with 'his doctrine of *ratio*, as alſo his ſenſe of algebraical 'operations, together with two chapters of quadrate 'figures, quadrate numbers, and angles, undertakes to 'confirm his former doctrine, 1. Of the ratio of the 'circumference to the radius of a circle. 2. Of mean 'proportionals. 3. Of the ratio of a quadrat to the 'quadrant of a circle inſcribed in it. 4. Of ſolids and 'their ſuperficies: to which laſt he ſubjoins another 'method of demonſtrating ſolids and their ſuperficies 'by their efficient cauſes. Which done, he concludes 'the book with a diſcourſe touching demonſtrations, 'the principal and moſt frequent cauſe of fallacies in 'the mathematics, and the notion of the word infinite: 'complaining very much that Geometry hath received 'it's greateſt prejudice, from thoſe that diſcourſe of a 'line without latitude, that take the ſide of a ſquare 'for the root of a number, that underſtand not the 'true nature of ratio, and that ſpeak unfavourly of in'finity. Which accuſations, how well they are ground'ed, we muſt leave to competent judges to determine.'

The truth of the matter is, that Mr Hobbes had talked ſo much, and thought ſo long, of matter and motion, that, notwithſtanding the quickneſs of his parts and the ſubtility of his genius, not at all impaired by his age, he could apprehend nothing inconſiſtent with theſe notions, and had perſwaded himſelf, and was deſirous of perſwading others, that, becauſe a point could not be made without quantity, a line drawn without latitude, or a ſuperficies repreſented without ſomewhat of depth or thickneſs, therefore they could not be ſo conceived; whereas, in truth, they cannot be conceived otherwiſe; for a point, a line, a triangle, as they ſubſiſt in the mind, have not quantity, latitude, or depth; though when, for the purpoſes of ſcience, they are produced to the ſenſes, they have all theſe; which yet if we conceive them to have, as he did, and reaſon upon them accordingly, it will lead us, as it led him, into an inextricable labyrinth of confuſions and abſurdities. This therefore was the plain foible of Hobbes, and which ſerved to refute and overturn whatever was falſe or dangerous in his notions as to Divinity; ſo that there was no need of exaggerating, and charging him with conſequences which he abſolutely denied; adding once with ſome heat (51), *Nor can the clamour of his adverſaries make Mr* Hobbes *think himſelf a worſe* Chriſtian *than the* beſt *of them.* He might err, as to the ſenſe of the Scriptures, without being an Apoſtate; and he might be miſtaken in his notions of the Deity, without being an Atheiſt.

(51) Conſiderations upon the Reputation, &c. of Thomas Hobbes, p. 47.

honour, who conceived very ill of Mr Hobbes, there were others, as irreproachable in point of faith as well as morals, who did not condemn our author's ſentiments, or look upon him in the light of an apoſtate from Chriſtianity, and much leſs as an Atheiſt [T]. It may be, if he

[T] *And much leſs as an Atheiſt.*] In this note, we will enumerate the antagoniſts our author met with at home, many of whom concurred in attacking his writings, even in thoſe in which they attacked each other. As for inſtance, the ingenious James Harrington in his Oceana (52), falls upon our author's ſentiments with great freedom and ſpirit, which was natural enough the repugnancy of their reſpective principles conſidered. But one would ſcarce have imagined that Sir Robert Filmer (53), ſhould ſpend a whole ſection in refuting the doctrines contained in the Leviathan, which however he has done, though he confeſſes Mr Hobbes's book to be right in the main, only it ſtood on another foundation than his own *Patriarcha*. Doctor Matthew Wren, in an excellent work of his on the ſubject of Government, juſt mentions Mr Hobbes (54); but that he who oppoſed Harrington in every thing, was ſtill far from Mr Hobbes's ſentiments, appears from the pains taken by the Earl of Clarendon, to engage the Doctor to write againſt him (55). There was a furious paper war between our author and Dr Wallis, which laſted all the life-time of the former, and it was in anſwer to a treatiſe which the Doctor publiſhed, entitled *Hobbius Heautontimoromenos*, five contra Dialogos ejus Phyſicos diſſertatio; that he wrote his *Conſiderations on the Reputation and Loyalty*, &c. which though not by name, is addreſſed to the Doctor. We have already mentioned the Primate of Ireland, Bramhall, who was one of our author's moſt early opponents, and the Biſhop of Ely, as alſo Dr Seth Ward, who is thought to be the perſon mentioned by Mr Wood (56), when he ſays, *That one who was made a Biſhop ſoon after the Reſtoration, would ſay ſome years before when this was little expected, that he had rather be the author of one of Mr* Hobbes's *books than be King of* England. At the time he ſaid this, he could not ſurely think Mr Hobbes an Atheiſt. Dr William Lucy, afterwards Biſhop of St Davids, wrote two treatiſes againſt the Leviathan (57), under the aſſumed name of William Pyke; as did alſo Dr Sharrock, whoſe books, though in other reſpects eſteemed, were not thought to anſwer the end for which they were written. Archbiſhop Tenniſon, then only a country clergymen, publiſhed a very ſuccinct and methodical performance dedicated to the Earl of Manchester (58). It is written by way of dialogue between Mr Hobbes and a Student in Divinity at Buxton Wells, and is penned with equal perſpicuity and politeneſs, as well as with great judgment and learning; but above all is remarkable for it's impartiality, there being nothing put in the mouth of Mr Hobbes, but what is taken out of his own writings, and expreſſed in his own words. Doctor, afterwards Biſhop, Cumberland's excellent treatiſe of *The* LAWS *of* NATURE (59), was likewiſe written againſt our author's ſyſtem, and is deſervedly eſteemed the cloſeſt and the beſt book of it's kind; indeed, he is the only one of all Mr Hobbes's antagoniſts that underſtood the advantages the old man had, as appears by his chuſing freſh ground, and diſputing in a manner quite different from the reſt. The famous Dr Henry Moore (60), has in different places of his numerous writings canvaſſed and refuted ſeveral propoſitions of Mr Hobbes: and the Philoſopher of Malmeſbury, is ſaid to have been ſo ingenuous as to own, that whenever he diſcovered *his* own philoſophy to be unſuſtainable, he would embrace the opinions of Dr Moore. Dr John Templar of Cambridge, publiſhed a Latin treatiſe (61) againſt our author; and Mr Shaftoe wrote likewiſe in Engliſh, in oppoſition to the notions of Mr Hobbes (62). Neither muſt we forget the two dialogues of Dr John Echard, between Timothy and Philalethes (63); or Dr Parker's, afterwards Biſhop of Oxford, large work, in which our author is very roughly handled, though in very elegant Latin (64). His notions are likewiſe combated in Dr Cudworth's Intellectual Syſtem, though there is no mention of his name (65). There was one Mr Whitehall of the Inner-Temple (66), who wrote againſt his Behemoth; and we find ſeveral parts of his philoſophy examined and refuted by the honourable Robert Boyle, Eſq (67). But in the midſt of theſe contentions, as we have already ſhewn, he wanted not patrons or friends who expreſſed a great eſteem for him and his writings; the names of many of theſe we have already mentioned in the text, to which without impropriety we may add (68), the famous Sir Kenelm Digby, who was himſelf a great philoſopher; the judicious Mr Chillingworth, Edmond Waller of Beaconsfield, Eſq; whoſe poetry will laſt as long as our language; Sir Henry Blunt, Francis Oſborne, Eſq; Mr Samuel Butler, who wrote that admirable poem entituled Hudibras; Sir William Davenant, Poet Laureat in two reigns; Dr Walter Charlton, diſtinguiſhed for his extenſive knowledge in every branch of uſeful literature; and Dr Ralph Bathurſt, Dean of Wells, who, together with Mr Jaſper Maine, Canon of Chriſt Church, were his conſtant admirers. Among later writers there have been two eminent and eloquent prelates, who, though they have hardly agreed in any thing elſe, have each had a ſtroke at the character of Mr Hobbes. Biſhop Burnet (69), who has given a dreadful character of the Leviathan; and Biſhop Atterbury, who in one of his ſermons (70), has vouchſafed to aſſign the reaſons why Mr Hobbes was continually terrified with the apprehenſions of ghoſts and apparitions. But to juſtify the great pains we have taken in this article, by ſhewing how highly our author was eſteemed by ſome men, who were themſelves diſtinguiſhed even in that learned age for ſpirit and genius; and for the reader's entertainment, we ſhall cite a few poetical complements, that if they ſhould not ſerve to ſupport his character, will at leaſt ſuffice to excuſe his vanity. The firſt of theſe ſhall be the concluſion of Dean Bathurſt's Latin poem on Human Nature (71), which has been always eſteemed a very fine performance independent of the ſubject.

Conſultor audax, & Promethæi potens
Facinoris Animé! quis Tibi dedit Deus
Hæc intueri Sæculis longè abdita,
Oculóſque luce tinxit Ambroſiâ tuos?
Tu Mentis omnis, at tuæ nulla eſt capax.
Hâc laude ſolus fruere: Divinum eſt opus
Animam creare; proximum huic, oſtendere.

The laſt ſtanza of Cowley's ode (72), is equally worthy of the reader's notice, from the perfection of it's ſenſe and the poetry; the former as ſound, and the latter as animated as is perhaps any where to be met with in that author's writings.

Nor can the ſnow which now cold age does ſhed,
Upon thy reverend head,
Quench or allay the noble fires within;
But all which thou haſt bin,
And all that youth can be, thou'rt yet;
So fully ſtill doſt thou
Enjoy the manhood and the bloom of wit,
And all the natural heat, but not the fever too.
So contraries on Ætna's top conſpire;
Here hoary froſts, and by them breaks out fire.
A ſecure peace the faithful neighbours keep;
Th' emboldened ſnow next to the flame does ſleep.
And if we weigh, like thee,
Nature, and cauſes, we ſhall ſee,
That thus it needs muſt be;
To things immortal, time can do no wrong;
And that which never is to die, for ever muſt be
young.

His Grace of Buckinghamſhire, when Earl of Mulgrave, wrote a poem on the death of our author (73), in which are the following beautiful lines.

While fame is young, too weak to fly away,
Malice purſues her, like ſome bird of prey;
But once on wing, then all the quarrels ceaſe;
Envy herſelf is glad to be at peace.
Gives over, weary'd with ſo high a flight,
Above her reach, and ſcarce within her ſight.
Hobbes to this happy pitch arriv'd at laſt,
Might have look'd down with pride on dangers paſt:
But

(51) Harrington's Works, Lond. 1747. fol. p. 14, 38, 41, 45, 52, 58, 364.

(53) Obſervations concerning the Original of Government, § 1.

(54) Monarchy aſſerted, &c. p. 16.

(55) See Sir Edward Hyde's Letter to Dr Barwick, in the Appendix to Dean Barwick's Life p. 430.

(56) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 647.

(57) Obſervations, Cenſures, and Confutations, of the notorious errors of Mr Hobbes in his Leviathan and other books. Lond. 1663. 4to. Occaſional Animadverſions on ſome Writings of the Socinians, and ſuch other Heretics of the ſame opinion with Mr Hobbes, Lond. 1675. 4to.

(58) The Creed of Mr Hobbes examined, &c. Lond. 1670. 8vo.

(59) De Legibus Naturæ, Lond. 1670. 4to. cap. i. § 10, 11, 12.

(60) Opera Philoſoph. Lond. 1670. Tom. I. cap. ii. § 9. 10, 11. cap. xxv. § 2. Tom. II. lib. i. cap. ix. x. lib. ii. cap. i. ii. iii.

(61) Idea Theologiæ Leviathanis. Cantab. 1673. 8vo.

(62) The great Law of Nature vindicated. Lond. 1673. 8vo.

(63) Lond. 1672. 8vo.

(64) Tentamina de Deo, Diſp. i. § 27, 28, 29, 30, 31. Diſp. ii. § 30.

(65) Intellectual Syſtem, Book I. chap. ii. § 21.

(66) Behemoth arraigned, &c. Lond. 1680. 8vo.

(67) Boyle's Works. Lond. 1744. 5 vols fol. Vol. I. p. 76, 119, 122, 124, 125, 126, 130, 133, 137, 140, 143, 149, 151, 153. Vol. II. p. 253, 254, 255, 280, 373, 374, 377, 378. Vol. III. p. 476, 478, 479, 480, 481, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 489, 491, 520. Vol. V. p. 360.

(68) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 181—187.

(69) Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 187, 188.

(70) Sermons by Dr Francis Atterbury, publiſhed from the originals by Thomas Moore, D D. Vol. II. p. 116, 117. edit. Lond. 1734.

(71) Prefixed to Mr Hobbes's Treatiſe of Human Nature, and to the three Latin Lives publiſhed by Dr Blackbourn.

(72) The Works of Mr Abraham Cowley, Vol. I. p. 197, 198.

(73) The Works of John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, Marquis of Normanby, and Duke of Buckinghamſhire, Vol. I. p. 281, 282.

he had been more gently treated, if he had been commended where he was right, if his miſtakes had been ſhewn him with candour, if a proper allowance had been made for the time in, and the circumſtances under, which he wrote, and his ſubmiſſion to authority in Church and State had been accepted, he might have been better diſpoſed to the review and correction of his writings: whereas, charged as he was with a multitude of the moſt atrocious crimes, of which, very probably, no man had a greater abhorrence than he; ſuch as Atheiſm, for thinking, as he affirmed, more reverently of the Deity than moſt other men; Apoſtacy, though he made belief in the miſſion and ſatisfaction of Jeſus Chriſt a fundamental out of the power of the Church, to whoſe decrees he was for ſubmitting in in every other reſpect; with attachment to Oliver's uſurpation, before perhaps Oliver had formed in his mind the project of uſurping; of treaſon againſt a Prince to whom he was always devoted, and who always looked upon him with favour and eſteem; and, in fine, with propagating the moſt deteſtable principles, notwithſtanding he always declared that he did not hold them, and that they were propagated chiefly by thoſe who pretended to find them in his writings; we need not at all wonder, that it increaſed the natural obſtinacy of his diſpoſition, and inclined him to repel with acrimony the charges of his opponents, or to recriminate ſeverely when he ſometimes had it in his power. In foreign countries, his correct and elegant Latin ſtile recommended his writings to a very general reception; inſomuch, that the works of very few Engliſh authors, at leaſt during their life-times, were diffuſed ſo much as his; to which it might alſo contribute not a little, that his perſon and converſation were alſo well known, as having lived in great intimacy and friendſhip with ſome of the moſt conſiderable members of the republic of letters [*U*]. In

But ſuch the frailty is of human kind,
Men toil for fame, which no man lives to find;
Long rip'ning under ground this china lies;
Fame bears no fruit, 'till the vain planter dies.

[*U*] *Of the republic of letters.*] In other parts of Europe our author's writings were read, and as at home, either heavily cenſured or highly applauded; amongſt the moſt remarkable of theſe, we will mention a few only. To begin with thoſe who wrote in his life-time. Adam Oſiander (74), a German divine, inveighed againſt him with great bitterneſs. Regnerus à Manſvelt (75), Profeſſor of Philoſophy in the Univerſity of Utrecht, takes occaſion to fall very ſeverely upon the writings of Mr Hobbes. Samuel Rachelius, an eminent lawyer of Holſtein (76), in his large work concerning the law of nature and nations, declares alſo with great warmth againſt the ſentiments of our author. Dr Gilbert Cocquius (77), a Dutch divine, wrote expreſsly againſt Hobbes's treatiſe De Cive, out of which, if there be taken what he borrows from the writings of Calvin and Beza, very little worth notice will be left. The ſame author with the like view wrote another treatiſe (78), in which he attacked moſt of our author's writings, and pretended to prove that Hobbes had apoſtatized from the Chriſtian religion, by which however he gained no great reputation to himſelf, nor does it appear that he has done much hurt to that of our author, in the ſentiments of candid and impartial readers, who will always diſtinguiſh between aſſertions and evidence. The learned and laborious John George Morhoff (79), in his great and uſeful work, makes frequent mention of Thomas Hobbes and his writings, but ſpeaks of them always with ſeverity and diſlike, *from* a perſuaſion, that excluſive of their plain and natural ſenſe, they have another concealed meaning of a dark and dangerous tendency. Dr Francis Buddeus (80), fixes our author Hobbes, after Sir Thomas Brown, in his catalogue of Engliſh Atheiſts, but is ſo modeſt, as not to inſiſt, that the character abſolutely belongs to either of them. Frederick Reimmanus (81), on the other hand, places him before Sir Thomas Brown, and immediately after Edward Lord Herbert of Chirbury; adding, that as he was ſhrewder and more learned, ſo he was alſo better verſed in philoſophy than that noble perſon, which is a character that, very poſſibly, Mr Hobbes may no better deſerve, than he does that of an Atheiſt. It is not however from all foreigners, or even from all the German writers, that Mr Hobbes has received ſuch bad treatment; on the contrary, the judicious and indefatigable Gundlingius (82), in his excellent obſervations, has written a long and curious diſſertation in defence of Mr Hobbes, in which, with great judgment and by dint of ſtrong arguments, he ſhews, that he is very unjuſtly accuſed of Atheiſm. And indeed, if we conſider how many great and good men are aſperſed by the ſame writers, and abuſed with the ſame imputations that are caſt upon Hobbes, we cannot but believe, that this knowing and diſintereſted critic is in the right. The celebrated Leibnitz (83), ſeems to be however of a contrary opinion, to whoſe judgment notwithſtanding, we may oppoſe that of the no leſs famous Mr Bayle (84), who, whenever he ſpeaks of our author, treats him with candour and decency. In fine, we may conclude theſe remarks with obſerving, that it is the deductions which others have made from Mr Hobbes's writings, that render them dangerous; by their finding in them poſitions which the author abſolutely denied; and drawing from them conſequences which he never meant, at leaſt, if he knew his own meaning. There is therefore good reaſon to wiſh, that in this learned and impartial age, his philoſophy might be again reviewed, thoſe things that are good in him, ſevered and collected from whatever there may be amiſs, and the reſt rejected; for ſurely, ſo many great and able judges as have given public teſtimonies of their eſteem for him and his writings, could not be abſolutely deceived, and beſtow their applauſe on a man altogether void of merit. It is very material to do this for many reaſons. It is with falſe reaſonings in philoſophy, as with unſucceſsful experiments in chemiſtry, they have their advantages, though they are without profit; and we cannot better defend ourſelves from errors, than by contemplating and diſcovering the ſources of error in other men. It is of conſequence to glean up the hints he gives us of his conjectures, and ſometimes ſhort hiſtories of his diſcoveries, which would point out to us many things that have eſcaped notice, and may for ever eſcape notice, in the bulk of his works. It is but juſtice to expoſe the true grounds of the quarrel between him and the clergy, that the nature of the prejudices on both ſides may be known; he apprehended the ill judged ſeverities exerciſed by ſome of the prelates, to be one of the cauſes of the civil war; he aſcribed the deſtructive and moſt deplorable events that followed, to the ambition and hypocriſy of the miniſters; and that ſtate of immoral confuſion into which the nation fell under the government, and after the death of Cromwell, to the enthuſiaſm and fanaticiſm of the ſectaries. This induced him to place the ſupreme power, ſacred as well as civil, in the Sovereign, as the beſt remedy he could deviſe againſt theſe evils. The clergy, for this, repreſented him as the ſubvertor of all religion, which by expoſing and exaggerating their ill conduct, he retorted upon them. It was impoſſible for foreigners to be acquainted with this, becauſe many of his and his opponent's writings were in Engliſh, which has occaſioned their painting him in the blackeſt colours (85). Laſtly, it may be very right to ſhew, that the ſtrength of his capacity appears in his political writings, where much depended upon ſpeculation; but that in other things his abilities frequently failed, which will ſufficiently abate his credit with impartial judges, and ſhew the falſehood of that popular conceit, that atheiſtical and irreligious notions are

(74) Tractatu de Typo Legis Naturæ.

(75) Tractatu adverſus Anonymum Theologo-Politicum (B. Spinoſam), 4to. Ultraject. 1674.

(76) De Jure Naturæ & Gentium. Kiloni, 1676. 4to. p. 102—117. & a p. 306 ad 311.

(77) Vindiciæ pro Lege & Imperio, five Diſſertationes duæ, quarum una eſt de Lege in communi, altera de exemptione Principis à Lege, inſtitutæ potiſſimum contra Tractatum Hobbii de Cive; acceſſit Giſp. Voëtii Diſquiſitio Textualis ad 1 Sam. 8. de Jure Regio Hebræorum, Ultrajecti, 1661. 12mo.

(78) Hobbeſianiſmi Anatome, quâ innumeris Aſſertionibus ex Tractatibus de Homine, Cive, & Leviathan, juxta ſeriem locorum Theologiæ Chriſtianæ, Philoſophi illius à Religione Chriſtianâ Apoſtaſia, demonſtratur & refutatur. Ultrajecti, 1680. 8vo.

(79) Polyhiſtor. literarius, philoſophicus & practicus, ii. 1, 15, 23. ii. 2, 15, 4. ii. 2, 17, 4. iii. 2, 1, 4.

(80) Theſes Theologicæ, de Atheiſmo & de Superſtitione. Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1737. 8vo. cap. i. § 27.

(81) Hiſtoria univerſalis Atheiſmi & Atheorum, Hildeſiæ, 1725. 8vo. p. 444. (82) Obſervationum ſelectarum ad rem Literariam ſpectantium, Tom. I. p. 37—77.

(83) Eſſais de Theodicée ſur la Bonte de Dieu, la Liberte de l'Homme, & l'origine du Mal, P. ii. § 172.

(84) See the article of HOBBES [THOMAS] in the Engliſh tranſlation of Bayle.

(85) *Chriſtiani Kortholti, de tribus Impoſtoribus magnis liber*, Edoardo Herbert, Thomæ Hobbes, & Benedicto Spinoſæ oppoſitus. Cui addita qua Hieronymi Cardani & Edoardo Herberti de animalitate hominis opiniones Philoſophicæ examinantur. Kilonii, 1680. 8vo.

In ſucceeding times, when all perſonal prejudices are worn out, together with the humour of the age, and the habit of conſidering things as agreeing or diſagreeing with the reigning ſyſtem, our author's Philoſophy has met with a fairer acceptation; not that it is in higher or more general eſteem than in his own time, but that it is beheld with greater calmneſs and candour. We perceive that he had looked ſtrictly into human nature, and that, like Socrates, he perfectly well underſtood the ſtrength and weakneſs of human faculties, the ſpring and force of our paſſions, and the ſpirit and vigour of the underſtanding, independent of the helps received from religion. We diſcern, that from hence he reaſons more correctly and cloſely, in many political points, than either Tacitus or Machiavel, and gives many ſingular and ſtrong hints of the cauſes of thoſe events, in our own and in other ſtates, which we have ſince ſeen; but at the ſame time we clearly comprehend, that, notwithſtanding the vivacity of his parts, and the ſolidity of his judgment, in matters that were the proper objects of both; yet, in things that lay without and beyond his reach, unleſs with ſuch aſſiſtance as he declined, he erred as much and as wildly as any man could. So that, to defend ourſelves from following him in his miſtaken notions as to Religion, we need only acquire a thorough knowledge of his erroneous ſentiments in regard to the Mathematics; for, upon a ſtrict enquiry and proper reflection, we ſhall find them both to flow from the ſame cauſes, an overweaning opinion of his own abilities, and a ſupercilious contempt for thoſe of other men. Great weakneſſes in a Philoſopher no doubt, but no proofs of madneſs, folly, or wickedneſs, much leſs of apoſtacy, impiety, and atheiſm; and, as great as theſe weakneſſes were, we muſt allow the ſtrength of his faculties at the ſame time; and if we conſider his natural diſpoſition, the confuſions of which he was a ſpectator; the ill uſage he met with, the retired courſe of life he led for many years, and the great age to which he lived, we ſhall be the more indulgent to his failings. At all events, we have done what lay in our power to render juſtice to his fame and writings; and, if there be any defect in the performance, we hope it will be ſupplied by the candour of the reader.

are found in the writings of the ſhrewdeſt men. Whereas in truth, the love of ſingularity, and the ambition of appearing wiſer than the reſt of their ſpecies, like the other infirmities of human nature, are inherent as well in little as in great minds. E

HODY [HUMPHREY], a late learned Engliſh Divine, was born January 1, 1659, in the county of Somerſet, at Odcombe, of which his father was Rector [*A*]. The 10th of March, 1676, he was admitted, with his two elder brothers, John and Richard, into Wadham-college in Oxford (*a*), where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, October 23, 1679; that of Maſter, June 19, 1682 (*b*); and in 1684 was choſen Fellow of that college. In 1680 and 1681, when he was only twenty-one or twenty-two years of age, he wrote his learned Diſſertation againſt Ariſteas's Hiſtory of the LXX Interpreters [*B*]. It was received with great applauſe by the learned, except by Dr Iſaac Voſſius, who publiſhed an anſwer to it, at the end of the appendix to his Obſervations on Pomponius Mela (*c*). October 31, 1689, he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity (*d*). The ſame year he wrote *Prolegomena*, or a preface to John Melala's Chronicle, printed at Oxford. In 1690, he was made Chaplain to Dr Edward Stillingfleet Biſhop of Worceſter, being tutor to his ſon at Wadham-college. The deprivation of the Biſhops in 1691, who had refuſed the Oaths to King William and Queen Mary, engaged our author in a controverſy

(*a*) De Vitâ & Scriptis Hum. Hodii Diſſertatio, p. 5, 6. Prefixed to his learned work *De Græcis illuſtribus Linguæ Græcæ inſtauratoribus*, &c. and extracted from a MS. Life written by himſelf in Engliſh.

(*b*) Wood Faſti, edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 211, 219.

(*c*) De Vitâ, &c. ut ſupra, p. 7—13.

(*d*) Wood, Faſti, col. 233.

[*A*] *Of which his father was Rector.*] His father was Richard Hody, younger brother of John Hody of Northover in the ſame county, Eſq. He reckoned among his anceſtors, in the ſixth generation, Sir William Hody, Knt. whom K. Henry VII. conſtituted, in the firſt year of his reign (1485) his Attorney-General (1), and, the year following, Chief Baron of the Exchequer (2). This office he enjoyed till the 13th of Hen. VIII. when he reſigned it, on account of his great age, being above fourſcore years old (3).——The father of this Sir William, was Sir John Hody of Stawall in the ſaid county, Knight, a learned lawyer, who aſſiſted Judge Littleton, in compiling the Inſtitutes of the Laws of England (4). In the Parliaments, 9 Henry V, and 1, 3, 6, and 15, of Henry VI, he was one of the Burgeſſes for Shafteſbury in Dorſetſhire, where he had conſiderable eſtates; and, afterwards, was one of the Knights of the Shire for the county of Somerſet. In the eighteenth of Henry VI, he was conſtituted Chief Juſtice of England (5).

(1) Dugdale Orig. Jurid. in Chronic. Serie, p. 74.

(2) Pat. 2. Hen. VII. p. 1. m. 21.

(3) Hall's Chronicle.

(4) Coke's Preface to the firſt part of the Inſtitutes, &c.

(5) Placit. coram Rege, t. Paſch. 18 Hen. VI. rot. 1. Et de Vitâ, &c. ut ſupra, p. 5, 6. See alſo Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 368.

[*B*] *Diſſertation againſt Ariſteas's Hiſtory of the LXX Interpreters.*] The ſubſtance of that Hiſtory of Ariſteas, concerning the LXXII Greek Interpreters of the Bible, is this. Ptolemy Philadelphus, King of Egypt, founder of the noble library at Alexandria, being deſirous of enriching that library with all ſorts of books, committed the care of it to Demetrius Phalereus, a noble Athenian then living in his Court. The latter being informed, in his ſearch, of the *Law of Moſes* among the Jews, acquainted the King with it; who thereupon ſignified his pleaſure, that a copy of that book (which was then only in Hebrew) ſhould be ſent for from Jeruſalem, with interpreters from the ſame place to tranſlate it into Greek. A deputation was accordingly ſent to Eleazar the High-prieſt of the Jews at Jeruſalem; who ſent a true copy of the Hebrew original of the Law of Moſes, and LXXII Interpreters, ſix out of each of the twelve Tribes of Iſrael, to tranſlate it into Greek. They being come to Egypt, the King tried their ſkill by propoſing to them 72 queſtions; and then cauſing them to be conducted into the iſland of Pharos near Alexandria, in a houſe prepared for them, they compleated their tranſlation in LXXII days.——Such is the ſtory told by Ariſteas; who is ſaid to be one of K. Ptolemy Philadelphus's Court. Our learned author ſhews, that it is the invention of ſome Helleniſt Jew; that it is full of anachroniſms, and groſs blunders; and, in ſhort, was written on purpoſe to recommend and give greater authority to the Greek verſion of the Old Teſtament, which from this ſtory hath received the name of the *Septuagint*.—This diſſertation is highly commended by the moſt learned Cha Du Freſne, in his notes on the *Chronicon Paſchale*; and by the no leſs learned G. Menage, who ſtyles Mr Hody *eruditiſſimus, doctiſſimus, elegantiſſimus*, &c.

[*C*] *The*

controverſy [C], of which an account is given below (e). He took the degree of Doctor in Divinity in February 1692-3. And, in 1694, publiſhed 'The Reſurrection of the ſame 'Body aſſerted [D],' &c. Dr Tillotſon, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, having conceived a great opinion of him from his writings, conſtituted him his domeſtic Chaplain, May 25, 1694. The good Archbiſhop being ſnatched away the 22d of November the ſame year, by a ſudden death; his ſucceſſor Dr Tenniſon continued Dr Hody his Chaplain (f). And, ſoon after, gave him the rectory of Chart near Canterbury (g): which before he was collated to, he exchanged with Mr De l'Angle, for the united rectories of St Michael-Royal and St Martin's-Vintrey in London, being inſtituted to theſe Auguſt 15, 1695 (h). In 1696, at the command of Archbiſhop Tenniſon, he wrote 'Animadverſions on two Pamphlets lately publiſhed by Mr Collier, &c [E].' The 6th of March, 1698, he was appointed Regius Profeſſor of the Greek tongue in the univerſity of Oxford: and Auguſt 1, 1704, inſtituted to the archdeaconry of Oxford, which the Archbiſhop had made his option. He was alſo Rector of Monks-Riſborough in Buckinghamſhire (i). In 1701 he bore a part in the controverſy about the Convocation [F]. In 1704 he publiſhed his learned book Of the Original Text, and Greek, and Latin vulgate, Verſions of the Bible [G]. And left behind him in manuſcript, An account of thoſe learned Grecians, who retired to Italy before and after the taking of Conſtantinople by the Turks, and reſtored the Greek tongue and learning in theſe weſtern parts of the world [H]. It was not publiſhed 'till

(e) De Vitâ, &c. ut ſupra, p. 16, &c.

(f) Ibid. p. 27.

(g) Which was become vacant by the death of the learned Henry Wharton. Ibid. p. 28.

(h) Ibid. and Newcourt Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 495.

(i) De Vitâ, &c. ut ſupra, p. 32; &c. and Br. Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 446, 447.

[C] *The deprivation of the Biſhops in* 1691,——*engaged our author in a controverſy.*] The pieces publiſhed by him upon that occaſion, were theſe. 'The 'Unreaſonableneſs of a Separation from the new Biſhops; or, A Treatiſe out of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. 'Shewing, That although a Biſhop was unjuſtly de'prived, neither he nor the Church ever made a ſepa'ration, if the ſucceſſor was not a Heretick. Tran'ſlated out of an ancient manuſcript in the publick 'library at Oxford.' [One of the Baroccian MSS.] London, 1691, 4to. 'He tranſlated it afterwards into Latin, and prefixed thereto ſome pieces out of eccleſiaſtical antiquity relating to the ſame ſubject. Mr Henry Dodwell publiſhing an anſwer to it, intituled, 'A 'Vindication of the Depriv'd Biſhops, &c.' Lond. 1692, 4to. Dr Hody replied, in a treatiſe, which he ſtyled, 'The Caſe of Sees vacant, by an unjuſt or un'canonical Deprivation, ſtated: in Reply to a Trea'tiſe, entituled, *A Vindication of the Deprived Biſhops*, '&c. Together with the ſeveral Pamphlets publiſhed 'as Anſwers to the Baroccian Treatiſe.' Lond. 1693, 4to.——Theſe two other pieces he publiſhed in the ſame controverſy. 'A Letter to a Friend concerning 'a Collection of Canons ſaid [by Mr Dodwell] to be 'deceitfully omitted in the Edition of the Oxford Trea'tiſe againſt Schiſm.' Oxon. 1692. 'Reflexions on 'a Pamphlet entituled, Remarks on the Occaſional 'Paper, Numb. VIII. relating to the Controverſy be'twixt Dr Hody and Mr Dodwell; and on another 'entitled, A Vindication of the Deprived Biſhops, 'written by Mr Dodwell; with an Anſwer to a third, 'called Hiſtorical Collections concerning Church Af'fairs.' Lond. 1698, 4to.

[D] *The Reſurrection of the ſame Body aſſerted, &c.*] Printed at London, 1694, 8vo. Mr Nicolas Beare, a clergyman in Devonſhire, wrote an anſwer to it, which he intituled, 'The Reſurrection founded on Juſtice, 'or a Vindication of this great ſtanding Reaſon aſſign'd 'by the Ancients and Moderns, wherein the Objec'tions of the learned Dr Hody againſt it are anſwered, '&c.' Lond. 1699.

[E] *He wrote animadverſions on two pamphlets lately publiſhed by Mr Collier, &c.*] Any perſon that has the leaſt acquaintance with our Engliſh hiſtory, knows, that Mr Jeremy Collier, Mr Cook, and Mr Snatt, three Nonjuring clergymen, did take upon them to pronounce to Sir William Perkins, and Sir John Friend (who were executed for the aſſaſſination-plot in 1696) the abſolution of the Church as it ſtands in the viſitation of the ſick, and accompanied this ceremony with a ſolemn impoſition of hands. For this imprudent action, they were not only indicted; but alſo the Archbiſhops and Biſhops publiſhed, 'A declaration of 'their ſenſe, concerning thoſe irregular and ſcandalous 'proceedings.' Mr Collier publiſhed ſome pamphlets to vindicate his own, and his brethren's conduct (6): in anſwer to which, Dr Hody wrote, 'Animadver'ſions on two Pamphlets lately publiſhed by Mr Col'lier, the one called, *A Defence of the Abſolution 'given to Sir William Perkins at the Place of Execu'tion*; the other, *A Vindication thereof, occaſioned by 'a Paper entitled*, A Declaration of the Senſe of the 'Archbiſhops and Biſhops, &c.'

(6) See Complete Hiſtory of England, edit. 1719. Vol. III. p. 712.

[F] *In* 1701 *he bore a part in the controverſy about the Convocation.*] He publiſhed upon that occaſion, 'A Hiſtory of Engliſh Councils and Convocations, and 'of the Clergy's ſitting in Parliament, in which is alſo 'comprehended the Hiſtory of Parliaments, with 'an Account of our ancient Laws.' Lond. 1701, 8vo.

[G] *Of the original text, and Greek, and Latin vulgate, verſions of the Bible.*] It is written in Latin, and intituled, *De Bibliorum Textibus originalibus, Verſionibus Græcis, & Latinâ vulgata: Libri* IV, &c. The firſt book, is his Diſſertation againſt Ariſtæas's Hiſtory; which is here reprinted with improvements, and an anſwer to Voſſius's objections. In the ſecond, he treats of the true authors of the Greek verſion, called *The Septuagint*, and of the time when, and the reaſons why, it was undertaken; and the manner in which it was performed. The third, is a hiſtory of the original Hebrew text, of the Greek verſion called The Septuagint, and of the Latin vulgate: ſhewing the authority of each in different ages, and that the Hebrew text hath been always moſt eſteemed and valued. In the fourth, he gives an account of the reſt of the Greek verſions, viz. thoſe of Symmachus, Aquila, and Theodotion; of Origen's *Hexapla*, and other antient editions; and ſubjoins liſts of the books of the Bible at different times, which exhibit a conciſe, but full and clear view of the Canon of holy Scripture. ——Upon the whole, he thinks it probable, that the Greek verſion, called The Septuagint, was done in the time of the two Ptolemies,—Lagi—and Philadelphus.——That it was not done by order of K. Ptolemy, or under the direction of Demetrius Phalereus, in order to be depoſited into the Alexandrine library, but by Helleniſt Jews for the uſe of their own countrymen.

[H] *An account of thoſe learned Grecians, &c.*] It remained in manuſcript 'till the year 1742, when it was publiſhed by Dr S. Jebb, under this title, *De Græcis illuſtribus Linguæ Græcæ Literarumque humaniorum Inſtauratoribus, eorum Vitis, Scriptis, et Elogiis libri duo. E. Cod. potiſſimum MSS. aliiſque authenticis ejuſdem Ævi Monimentis deprompſit Humphredus Hodius, S. T. P.* Lond. 1742, 8vo. It is divided into two books: the firſt whereof treats of thoſe who came to Italy before the taking of Conſtantinople. And the ſecond, of thoſe who came after the taking of that city. Theſe were, 1. Leontius Pilatus, Emanuel and Joan: Chryſolaras, Theodorus Gaza, Georgius Trapezuntius, Beſſarion Cardinalis, Iſidorus Cardinalis Ruthenus, and Nicolaus Secundinus. 2. Joannes Argyropylus, Demetrius Chalcondyles, Joannes Andronicus Calliſtus, Tranquillus Andronicus, Andronicus-Contoblaca, Georgius Harmonymus Charitonymus Chriſtonymus, Joannes Polo, Conſtantinus Laſcaris, Joannes Laſcaris, Michael Marullus, Manilius Rhallas, Marcus Muſurus Creticus, Angelus Calaber, Nicolaus Sophianus, Michael Sophianus, Geor. Alex. Jo. Geor. et Demetr. Moſchi, Emanuel Adramyttenus, Zacharias Calliergus, Nic. Blaſtus, Arſenius Monembaſienſis Archiepiſc: Ariſtobulus Apoſtolius, Demetrius Ducas, Nicetas Phauſtus, Juſtinus Corcyræus, &c.

'till the year 1742. In order to encourage the ſtudy of the Greek and Hebrew languages, of which he was ſo great a maſter himſelf, he founded in Wadham-college ten ſcholarſhips, of ten pounds a piece; and appointed, that five of the ſcholars ſhould apply themſelves to the ſtudy of the Hebrew, and five to the ſtudy of the Greek, languages. He died January 20, 1706, and was buried in the chapel belonging to Wadham college, where he had received his education, and to which he had been a benefactor (*k*). C

(*k*) De Vitâ, &c. ut ſupra, p. 14, 33, 38, &c.

HOLINSHED, or HOLLYNSHED [RAPHAEL], the firſt author, or compiler, of the Chronicles that go under his name. This moſt uſeful and induſtrious writer, who hath reſcued many illuſtrious perſons and facts from oblivion, is ſo unhappy as to have little or no acccount of himſelf tranſmitted to poſterity [*A*]. The beſt account therefore we can give of him, muſt conſiſt only of ſuch imperfect hints and notices, relating to him, as have been dropped occaſionally by ſome few authors. We are told (*a*), that he was deſcended from thoſe of his name that lived at Boſely in Cheſhire; educated in one of the univerſities [*B*] (but which is not certain); and that he was a Miniſter of God's Word. Others affirm, on the contrary, that he was neither a clergyman, nor even had an academical education; but that he was ſteward to Thomas Burdett of Bromcote in the county of Warwick, Eſq; or employed in ſome other ſervice in that family (*b*). However, in what place, or from whomſoever, he received his education, he appears to have been a man of conſiderable learning, and to have had a head particularly turned for Hiſtory. This he fully manifeſted in the voluminous Chronicles which go under his name [*C*]; though he was aſſiſted in that work by William Harriſon [*D*] and others [*E*]. In

(*a*) Wood Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 312. and Nicolſon's Engl. Hiſtor. Libr.

(*b*) T. Hearne Præfat. ad Camdeni Annales, p. lxxxiii.

[*A*] *Is ſo unhappy as to have little or no account of himſelf tranſmitted to poſterity.*] Biſhop Nicolſon obſerves, that, 'Tis not certainly known where they '[he and Will. Harriſon] ſpent the moſt of their days. 'So remarkably careful have they been to benefit the 'Public, without the vanity of making their own ſtory 'known to Poſterity (1).

(1) Nicolſon, ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *Educated in one of the univerſities.*] Biſhop Tanner ſays, he was educated in Cambridge, where he commenced Maſter of Arts in 1544 *.

* Tanner Bibliotheca, &c. ex M.SS. Inett. p. 468.

[*C*] *In the voluminous Chronicles which go under his name.*] Theſe Chronicles were firſt publiſhed at London in 1577. 2 vols folio, with a great number of wooden cuts, which were all omitted in the ſecond edition. This firſt edition is very ſcarce, and ſeldom to be met with. The ſecond edition came out in 1587, being finiſhed in January that year, as it is noted in the laſt pages of the ſecond and third volumes: for, this ſecond edition is in three volumes; whereof the firſt and ſecond are generally bound in one.—And here, undoubtedly, it will be a pleaſure to the curious reader, to know what ſhare our author Holinſhed had in this large work, as it appears in the ſecond and moſt common edition. To take it, therefore, in the order wherein it ſtands; Vol. I. contains, An Hiſtoricall Deſcription of the Iland of Britaine, in three books, by William Harriſon: next, The Hiſtorie of England, from the time that it was firſt inhabited, untill the time that it was laſt conquered, by R. Holinſhed. Vol. II. contains, The deſcription, conqueſt, inhabitation, and trobleſome eſtate, of Ireland: particularly the deſcription of that kingdom, compiled by Richard Stanihurſt; the conqueſt of Ireland, tranſlated from the Latin of Giraldus Cambrenſis (2), by John Hooker, alias Vowell, of Exeter, Gent. The Chronicles of Ireland, beginning where Giraldus did end, continued untill the year 1509, from Philip Flatſburie, Henrie of Marleborow, Edm. Campian, &c by R. Holinſhed; and from thence to the year 1586, by R. Stanihurſt and J. Hooker.—The deſcription of Scotland, tranſlated from the Latin of Hector Boëthius, by R. H. or W. H. The Hiſtorie of Scotland, conteining the beginning, increaſe, proceedings, continuance, acts and government, of the Scotiſh nation, from the originall thereof unto the yeere 1571, gathered by *Raphaell Hollinſhed*: and continued, from 1571 to 1586, by Francis Boteville, alias Thin, and others. Vol. III. begins at Duke William the Norman, commonlie called the Conqueror; and deſcends, by degrees of yeeres, to all the Kings and Queenes of England. Firſt compiled by *Raphaell Holinſhed*, and by him extended to the yeare 1577; augmented, and continued to the yeare 1586, by John Stow, Fr. Thin, Abraham Fleming, and others.—How our author, R. Holinſhed, came to be engaged in this work, he acquaints us himſelf, in the dedications to his ſecond and third volumes of theſe Chronicles; which is to this effect, That Reginald Wolfe, Printer to Queen Elizabeth, having undertaken to publiſh an univerſal Coſmography of the whole world, and therewith *particular hiſtories of every known nation*, he procured our author to take in hand the collection of thoſe hiſtories. But, after five and twenty years labour ſpent in that work, Wolfe died: and his executors, willing to reap ſome fruit of what he had ſo long employed himſelf about, deſired R. Holinſhed to continue his endeavours for the furtherance of it. However, the volume growing ſo large, that the undertakers were not willing to go through the whole original deſign, they reſolved to publiſh firſt the Hiſtories of England, Scotland, and Ireland; which produced theſe three volumes.—Leland dying at Wolfe's houſe, this eminent Printer had undoubtedly his collections; of which, we are told (3), a great uſe was made in theſe Chronicles. John Stow, who expreſſes himſelf ſomewhat *envioully* about our author, ſays, that 'The Chronicle was firſt collected by Reigne 'Wolfe, and finiſhed by Raphaell Hollenſhed: that it 'was printed and reprinted without warrant or well-'liking; and that Rayne Wolfe, a grave and learned 'citizen, hired Ralphe Holinſhead to tranſlate for him '(4).' Which, however, doth not detract from *his* learning or induſtry.

(2) Otherwiſe Barry. See above, the article BARRY [GIRALD.].

(3) J. Bagford's Letter, prefixed to T. Hearne's edit. of Leland's Collectan. Vol. I.

(4) Stow's Annales, edit. 1605. 4to. p. 1277, 1438.

[*D*] *William Harriſon.*] This ingenious Hiſtorian was born in London (5), educated in Grammar-learning at Weſtminſter, under Mr Alexander Nowell, in the latter end of King Henry VIII. or beginning of Edward VI. thence ſent to Oxford, but to what college is not certainly known, unleſs it was Chriſt-church. He ſtudied alſo at Cambridge (6); and afterwards became Houſhold-Chaplain to Sir William Brooke, Knt. Baron of Cobham, and Lord-Warden of the Cinque-Ports; by whom he was preſented, in 1558, to the rectory of Radwinter in Eſſex. He was alſo admitted, in 1570, to the vicarage of Wimbiſh adjoining (7). He died in 1593 (8). What part he had in Holinſhed's Chronicle, appears from the foregoing note. And as to his manner of proceeding in that work, be pleaſed to take an account of it from himſelf, in his dedication to the Lord Cobham.——'Indeed I muſt 'needs confeſſe, that untill now of late, except it 'were from the pariſh where I dwell, unto your Ho-'nour in Kent; or out of London, where I was borne, 'unto Oxford and Cambridge, where I have bene 'brought up, I never travelled 40 miles foorthright, 'and at one journey, in all my life; nevertheleſſe, 'in my report of theſe things, I uſe their authorities, 'who either have performed in their perſons, or left 'in writing upon ſufficient ground, whatſoever is want-'ing in mine.' He ſaid before, that he 'obtained 'one helpe, and none of the ſmalleſt', from Leland's Collections, 'books utterlie mangled, defaced with 'wet and weather, and finallie unperfect through want 'of ſundrie volumes'—Beſides the *Deſcription of Britaine*, printed in theſe Chronicles, he compiled alſo a *Chronology*, never printed (9).

(5) See Dedication of his Deſcript. of Britaine, p. 2.

(6) Wood Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 234. See alſo Dedication, as above.

(7) Newcourt Repert. Vol. II. p. 479, & 674.

(8) Ibid. p. 479.

(9) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[*E*] *And others.*] Namely, *John Hooker*, alias Vowell, of Exeter, Gent. uncle to the famous Richard Hooker. He was born in Exeter about the year 1524, being

In the ſecond edition, ſeveral ſheets were caſtrated in the ſecond and third volumes, undoubtedly becauſe there were paſſages in them diſagreeable to Queen Elizabeth and her Miniſtry [F]. The time of Hollinſhed's death is unknown; but it appears from his Will, that it was between the firſt day of October, 1578, and the twenty-fourth of April, 1582 [G]. Biſhop Tanner ſays, he died at Bromcote, in 1580 (c).

(c) Biblioth. ut ſupra.

being the ſecond ſon of Robert Hooker, Mayor of that city in 1529, by Agnes his third wife, daughter of John Doble of Woodbridge in Suffolk. His anceſtors were gentlemen of faſhion. He was brought up in ſchool learning under Dr Moreman, Vicar of Menhinit in Cornwall, and afterwards educated at Oxford, either in Exeter or Chriſt's-Church-college. Then he travelled into Germany, where, at Cologn, he kept exerciſes in Law, and undoubtedly took his degree there. Next he went to Straſburg, and ſojourned with the famous Peter Martyr, who inſtructed him in Divinity. Returning home, after a ſhort ſtay he travelled into France, and intended alſo to have travelled into Italy and Spain; but was hindered by the declaration of war. So he retired to his native place the city of Exeter, where he married, and became the firſt Chamberlain of it in 1554 †; and was choſen one of the Citizens for the ſame, in the Parliament holden at Weſtminſter in the year 1571 ‖. His works are, 1. A tranſlation, from Latin into Engliſh, of the Epiſtle of St Auguſtin to Dardanus. 2. ——— of Eraſmi *Detectio Præſtigiarum*. 3. He wrote a book of Enſignes. 4. A book of the Order of Orphans; and a pamphlet of the Government of the city of Exeter. 5. He printed the Statutes of Ireland, and the Order of keeping a Parliament in Ireland.—Not *in England*, as Wood ſays; there being no ſuch mentioned by him in his own Catalogue. Lond. 1572. 4to. 6. He tranſlated into Engliſh, The Hiſtorie of the Conqueſt of Ireland, with Scholies, from the Latin of Giraldus Cambrenſis, inſerted in the ſecond volume of Holinſhed's Chronicles; and compiled 'The Supplie of the Iriſh Chroni-'cle continued from the death of K. Henry the eight '1546, untill the year 1586,' inſerted alſo in the ſame volume, together with The Order and Uſage how to keepe a Parlement, abovementioned. 7. A Catalogue or Hiſtory of the Biſhops of Exeter, and the Deſcription of that city, and of the ſundrie aſſaults given to the ſame; printed in the third volume of the ſaid Chronicles, &c. 8. He wrote a Synopſis chorographical: or an Hiſtorical Record of the Province of Devon. Never printed. He lived in the pariſh of St Mary the More in the city of Exeter, where ſeveral of his family lie interred. He died in November 1601, at the age of near 80, and was buried in Exeter-cathedral, as appeared from a ring with his ſeal of arms, dug out of his grave about the beginning of this century (10).

† Wood Athen. edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 311.

‖ See Notitia Parliamentaria, by Browne Willis, Eſq; Vol. II. p. 272. and Hooker's Supplie of the Iriſh Chronicle, p. 121.

(10) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 388.

Another aſſiſtant in this work was *Abraham Fleming*, born in London (11), and a clergyman; being Rector of St Pancras Soperlane in that city (12). He made ſeveral additions in the ſecond edition, which are denoted by the letters A. F and Abr. Fl. in the margin. The firſt, ſecond, and fourth Tables or Indexes to Vol. I. and II. and the Index to Vol. III are alſo of his compiling. *In hiſce Chronicis detergendis atque dilatandis, una cum uberrimorum indicum acceſſione, plurimum deſudavit*, as his own words are (13). He died in 1607 (14).

(11) See Holinſhed's Chronicles, Vol. III. p. 1590.

(12) Newcourt Repertor. Vol. I. p. 519.

(13) Holinſhed, as above, p. 1590.

(14) Newcourt, ubi ſupra.

Francis Botevile, alias *Thin*, Lancaſter-Herald, made alſo many uſeful additions to theſe Chronicles; particularly with regard to the catalogues of the Archbiſhops of Canterbury, of the Nobility, and other important articles. T. Hearne ſtyles him, a man of great learning and judgment, and a wonderful lover of Antiquities: *Virum cum ſummo ingenio, tum acerrimo judicio ornatum, admirabilique quodam ad Antiquitatem ſtudio concitatum* (15).

(15) Præfat. ad Camdeni Ann. ut ſupra, p. lxxxiv.

Finally, they received ſeveral improvements from the hand of the induſtrious and well known Antiquary *John Stow*.

[F] *Several ſheets were caſtrated in the ſecond and third volumes, undoubtedly becauſe there were paſſages in them diſagreeable to Queen Elizabeth and her Miniſtry.*] Theſe ſuppreſſed ſheets go generally under the name of *Caſtrations to Holinſhed's Chronicle*; and having been reprinted ſome years ago, are ſold by themſelves to compleat gentlemens books. They are chiefly ſome of the additions made by Fr. Thin. In the ſecond volume, there are only four ſheets ſuppreſſed, and that in the Annales of Scotland. The firſt is from page 421 to 424 incluſive; the ſecond, from p. 433 to 436; and the third and fourth together, from p. 443 to 450. What they treat of, is the violent contention which ſubſiſted in the years 1577, &c. between the two oppoſite parties in Scotland; and Queen Elizabeth's interfering therewith by her frequent Embaſſadors. Points, which ſhe did not care to have made public.—In the third volume, the caſtrations are much larger, being as follows. One ſheet, from p. 1328 to 1331 incluſive; containing, part of a libel upon Campian's execution, and a large account of the departure of the Duke of Alenſon, and his reception in Holland. The next is of thirty nine ſheets together, including four after p. 1491 that are in the common copies. And the chief contents of them are, A diſcourſe of the Earls of Leiceſter by ſucceſſion. The Earl of Leiceſter's proceedings in the Netherlands. The lives of the Archbiſhops of Canterbury by Fr Thin, in 16 ſheets, chiefly taken from Mat. Parker's. [The honourable mention he makes there of Card. Pole, was probably the cauſe of their ſuppreſſion.] A treatiſe of the Lord Cobhams. The catalogue of the Lord-Wardens of the Cinque Ports, and Conſtables of Dover caſtle. A fuller account of Sir Henry and Sir Philip Sidney, and of Tho. Lovelace. Execution of Wm. Tomſon and Richard Lea, Seminary Prieſts. Jone Caſon, a pretended witch, executed at Feverſham. A fuller account of the conſpiracy of Babington and the reſt; and of Sir Fr. Drake's return to England; with a deſcription of Hiſpaniola, and ſome verſes of Tho. Newton in his praiſe.—Theſe caſtrations were made by order of the Privy-Council, as is evident from ſome original papers of Abraham Fleming abovementioned, that were in the hands of the late Rev. Mr Francis Peck; and of which he gives this account at the end of the firſt volume of his *Deſiderata Curioſa*. '1. De 'Caſtratione Chronicorum, quæ Raphaelis Holingſhedi 'nuncupantur; & imprimis de eorundem Cenſuris; 'quando Roberto Comiti Leiceſtriæ, D. Thomæ Brom-'ley, Cancellario, & D. Gul. Cecil, Theſaurario, ob-'lata; prout ea omnia Camdenus Flemingo retulit. '2. Cenſuræ aliæ diverſorum hominum malevolentium; 'ſeu nimium ſubtilium, in eadem Chronica; cum re-'ſponſionibus Abrahami Flemingi. 3. The Council's 'Letter to Whitgift Archbiſhop of Canterbury, touch-'ing the Examination and Reformation of the Addi-'tions of the new Edition of Hollingſhed's Chronicle; 'Thurſday 1 Feb 1586. 4. Whitgift Archbiſhop of 'Canterbury's Letter to Thomas Randolph, Henry 'Killigrew, Eſqrs. and Mr Hammond, touching the 'Examination and Reformation of the Additions to 'the new Edition of Hollingſhed's Chronicle, on 'Thurſday 1 Feb. 1588. 5. Abrahami Flemingi '(qui præerat Typis & Prælo) de modo caſtrandi refor-'mandique Chronica prædicta, brevis & vera relatio.'

[G] *But it appears from his Will, &c.*] It was firſt communicated to the Public by the induſtrious Mr Hearne (16): and we ſhall give it at length here, becauſe it confirms the account we have given of our author. 'In the name of God Amen. I Raphael Hol-'lynſhed of Bromecote in the county of Warr', ordaine 'and make my laſt Will and Teſtament, in manner 'and form following: Firſt, I bequeath my ſinful 'ſoule to Almighty God, the creator of me and all 'mankind, truſting that, by the merits and blood-'ſhedding of his deareſt ſon Jeſus Chriſt, he will par-'don me of all my offences, and place my ſaid ſinfull 'ſoule, waſhed and purged from the filth of ſin, among 'the number of his Elect in the bliſs of heaven. Se-'condly, for my worldly goods, whatſoever the ſame 'be, wherein I have any property to give and beſtow 'the ſame, I give and bequeath them, and every part 'and parcel of them, unto my maſter Thomas Burdett, 'of Bromcote aforeſaid, Eſq; making and conſtituting 'him my only and ſole Executor. In witneſs where-'of, I have written my laſt Will and Teſtament with 'mine own hand, and ſubſcribed my name, and put 'to my ſeale, the firſt day of October, in the year of 'our Lord God a thouſand five hundred ſeventy-eight.

(16) Præf. ad Camd. Ann. ut ſupra, p. exliii.

'Per me RAPHAEL HOLLLYNSHED.

Prov'd Apr. 24. 1582.

HOLLAR [WENTZEL, or] WENCESLAUS, as he wrote himſelf, and as he is generally written; one of the moſt indefatigable, admired, and famous Engravers, in Germany, Holland, and England, for above fifty years in the laſt century. He was deſcended of a genteel family in Bohemia, and born in the city of Prague in that kingdom, anno 1607, as we have it teſtified under his own hand (*a*). After ſome competent qualification in ſcholaſtic learning, he was put forth to the practice of the Law; but his mild diſpoſition not reliſhing that dry, wrangling, and intricate profeſſion, together with the troubles and tumults that, invading the place of his nativity, rendered it the calamitous ſeat of war, ſoon diſengaged him from his clerkſhip; and the unfortunate adherence of his friends and relations to that party which oppoſed the imperial intereſt, ſubjecting them to plunder and ruin in the battle of Prague, which was fought in the year 1619 (*b*), they were deprived of the means to make ſuch proviſion for him as had been propoſed. Hereupon, having a great command of his pen, and following the propenſity of his own genius, though not much to the approbation of his friends, he removed from Prague in 1627; and during his abode in ſeveral towns in Germany, applied himſelf to drawing and deſigning; to copying the pictures of ſeveral great artiſts, taking geometrical and perſpective views and draughts of cities, towns, and countries, by land and water; wherein at length, he grew ſo excellent, eſpecially for his landſkips in miniature, as not to be excelled in beauty and delicacy by any artiſt of his time. He had ſome regular inſtruction, and was, for a while, under the diſcipline of Matthew Merian, who was eminent for his uſeful and numerous ſculptures of towns, landſkips, and battles, eſpecially thoſe of his own prince, the famous Guſtavus Adolphus; and we are particularly informed, that the ſoft varniſh, and ſeparating aqua fortis, were the materials he uſed upon his plates (*c*). Hence may we account for the long, conſtant, and dexterous uſe thereof, alſo by Hollar himſelf, in his own innumerable performances. As experience improved him in the art, it might alſo in the choice and management of his materials for working in it; which have been thought ſo worthy of regard, that the whole proceſs of his preparing his plates, or operation upon them, has been preſerved, and ſince his death communicated to the public; which, for the ſatisfaction of the curious, is here ſubjoined [*A*]. He was but eighteen years

(*a*) In the inſcriptions upon the prints of his own head, etched by himſelf.

(*b*) The Life of Wen. Hollar, annexed to a Deſcription of his Works, by Mr Geo. Vertue, Member of the Society of Antiquaries, Lond. 4to. 1745. p. 221.

(*c*) Sculptura: or the Hiſtory of Chalcography, and graving in copper, by John Evelyn, Eſq; 8vo. 1662. p. 71.

[*A*]. *Which, for the ſatisfaction of the curious, is here ſubjoined.*] As we have this proceſs in manuſcript, agreeing totally in ſenſe with that in print, but more correct in ſtyle, and retrenched of ſeveral ſuperfluous expreſſions, we ſhall here give a tranſcript of the former, and refer to the latter for our authority.

Mr WENCESLAUS HOLLAR's ground for etching in copper or braſs; with his directions how to uſe it.

'Take three parts of virgin wax, one part of aſphaltum, one part of the beſt maſtick; if you will, you may take away ſome third part, or thereabouts of the aſphalt, and put inſtead of it, as much roſin that is tranſparent and clear, which I hold to be better than aſphaltum altogether; for this will make the ground too black; it is true you ſhall then better ſee your ſtroke when you work, but when you are to ſtop ſome things, which you would have faint, then you ſhall hardly ſee your work, by reaſon of the blackneſs of the aſphalt, when the work doth appear black alſo; but the roſin will make the ground paler and tranſparent, through which you ſhall ſee what you do.

'Therefore, beat your aſphalt and roſin to powder, as alſo the maſtick, and mingle them well together; then put your wax into a clean pipkin, where nothing hath been before, except ſuch ground; ſet it over a gentle fire, and let it melt, 'till it begins to boil, then put the aſphalt and the maſtick into it; mingle altogether 'till they be well melted. Then take a porringer with ſome clean water, and pour that boiling ground into it, all but the dregs; and let it cool, ſo as you may work it into a ball, or what you will; then take a fine clean linen cloth double or treble folded, and put into it a piece of the ground, as big as a walnut or more, and tie it up, till you have occaſion to uſe it.

'Now for the copper, that muſt be well poliſhed, but though it be ever ſo well poliſhed, you muſt (before you put the ground upon it) rub it over with a coal, which muſt be prepared thus, viz.

'Either burn ſome charcoal; and when it is well kindled, put it into cold water; that which ſinks is the beſt, that which will ſwim is nought; and take heed that there be no outſide or cruſt left on the coal, for that will make ſcratches; therefore it muſt be well ſcraped off with a knife: or burn billets of beech wood, (according to the former directions) thoſe coals will be more gentle. And when you have rubbed the copper with theſe coals, then pour clean water over it, and let the copper ſtand ſoaping 'till it be dry; then ſcrape ſome chalk upon the copper, and rub it off with a very clean rag. That done, there muſt nothing touch the copper 'till you put the ground on, which muſt be done thus:

'Put into a fire-pan ſome ſmall-coal (for charcoal is too hot) lay down the copper over that, ſo as the fire may have air; then take your ground tied up in a linen rag and rub it up and down the copper, neither too thick nor too thin, but ſo as may ſufficiently cover the plate, then take a feather of a duck's wing or ſome other bird that has ſtiff feathers, and ſpread the ground with it as ſmooth as poſſibly you can, firſt, all one way, then croſs and croſs again, 'till it be even to your eye, and take care all the while that your copper be not too hot; for ſo the moiſture of the ground will be burned away, which will cauſe it to break in etching. Then let it cool, and grind ſome white lead with gum water, and as much gum as the quantity of a cherry ſtone, will ſerve for a piece of white lead as big as a nutmeg or more; but there muſt be ſo much water amongſt it, that the white lead may freely quit your pencil, and ſpread over the plate; then you muſt have ſuch a bruſh as the Painters uſe, the hair of which in compaſs may be about the bigneſs of a walnut or more, eſpecially for your great plates; with that, ſweep twice or thrice acroſs over the plate, 'till it lies even; then you muſt have another pencil or bruſh bigger than the firſt, but ſmooth, made of ſquirrels tails; with that you may ſmooth gently the white, which you could not do with the other bruſh, and ſo let it dry.

'Then take the deſign after which you are to work, and ſcrape on the back ſide thereof ſome red chalk all over, and rub a ſoft piece of ſmall-coal or charcoal over the red chalk, 'till both mingle together; then with a hard bruſh, or great pencil that is very ſtiff, rub it 'till all be fine and even, and ſo lay the deſign upon your copper; and with a blunt point of a needle draw the out-ſtrokes; this done, take off your deſign and ſo go to work: but if you would preſerve the print, or drawing, you would copy, from being ſoiled on the back ſide, you may rub over a piece of Venice paper with red chalk, according to the former directions, and ſo put your print on that, by which means your print will be kept clean.

'You muſt have commonly three or four ſorts of needles, ſome bigger, and ſome ſmaller, which muſt be put into little ſticks of the thickneſs of a pen, and

'on

years of age when the firſt ſpecimens of his art appeared in print; and thoſe who are connoiſſeurs in his works have obſerved, that he inſcribed the earlieſt of them with only a cypher of four letters; which, as they explain it, was intended for the initials of *Wenceſlaus Hollar, Pragenſis, Excudit* (*d*). Thus we have ſeen three of his firſt pieces marked; an Ecce Homo, in a ſmall ſquare, and a Female Penitent of the like ſize, both printed in the year 1625. Another ſmall piece of his, of the Virgin and her ſon, with a Greek verſe out of St Luke, was publiſhed, after Albert Durer, in the ſame year; and Fortune on a globe, &c. from the ſame maſter, with the like cypher, the next year: then taking ſpirit from the encouragement he met with, we ſee his other copy of the Virgin and the infant under a tree, after the ſame maſter again, printed the ſame year 1626, with his name written at length. Thus he went on, copying heads and portraits, ſometimes from Rhembrandt, Henzelman, Fœlix Biler, and other eminent hands: but his little delicate views of Straſburgh, Collen, Mentz, Bonn, Frankfort, and many other towns along the Rhine, Danube, Neccer, &c. (*e*), got him ſo much reputation, that when Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, was ſent Embaſſador to the Emperor Ferdinand the Second in 1636, concerning the recovery of the Palatinate, that great encourager of arts, and collector of antiquities, curioſities, &c. was ſo highly pleaſed with the performances of this ingenious artiſt, that, by little other recommendation than their own merits, he was ſoon received into his Lordſhip's retinue, and bore him company through all the towns from Collen to the Emperor's Court at Lentz, alſo to Vienna, &c. where it was then obſerved, that the taſte or fondneſs was grown ſo exceſſive in ſome perſons for fair and beautiful flowers, that three hundred and forty pounds had been given once for one tulip root, as was atteſted to his Lordſhip by a credible gentleman, named Sir Ferdinando Carey (*f*); of whom this ſhort but remarkable memorial is elſewhere recorded, that being an officer formerly at the ſiege of Burgen op Zoom by the Marquis of Spinola, and though an huge corpulent man, was ſhot through the body at the navel, without any mortal hurt, and the ſame ball killed his ſervant who ſtood behind him (*g*). In this progreſs alſo, Hollar made ſeveral draughts and prints of the places through which they travelled; as that view of Wurtzburg, under which is written, *Hollar deliniavit, in Legatione Arundeliana ad Imperatorem.* He then made alſo a curious large drawing, with the pen and pencil, of the city of Prague, in the ſame ſize with the print that was etched after it, in two large plates; which drawing, giving great ſatisfaction to his patron then upon the ſpot, is ſtill in being (*h*). After the Earl had finiſhed his negotiation in Germany, and been about nine months upon his embaſſy, he returned to the Engliſh Court, in the latter end of December the year aforeſaid, as we are informed by the Hiſtorian of his journey, who attended upon, and returned with him (*i*); when Hollar, alſo arriving in his train, then made his firſt appearance in this nation. He ſeems not to have been at that time ſo entirely confined to his Lordſhip's ſervice, but that he had liberty to accept of ſome employment from others; accordingly, we ſoon find his hand engaged by the Printſellers, &c. and Peter Stent, who was one of the moſt eminent among them in thoſe times, prevailed upon him to make an ample view or proſpect of and from the town of Greenwich in Kent to London, which he finiſhed in two plates in 1637, the earlieſt date of his works in this kingdom. 'Tis almoſt incredible to believe, that his labours ſhould have been ſo much admired, and ſo poorly rewarded; ſince we are informed, that he was paid for thoſe very etchings, which are near a yard in length, but thirty ſhillings; when if the plates were as thick and weighty as he ſometimes choſe them to work on, the very copper would amount to that ſum; and we are aſſured by a good judge of the art and pains beſtowed upon them, that they were fairly worth five times the money he received for them (*k*). In the next year appeared alſo his elegant proſpect about Richmond. In both thoſe years, and the next year following, he finiſhed ſeveral curious plates from the fine paintings, &c. in the Arundelian Collection, and ſome of them not improbably of that number which

(*d*) Mr Vertue's Deſcription of the Works of W. Hollar, as above, p. 3.

(*e*) Amœniſſimæ aliquot Locorum in diverſis provinciis jacentium Effigies, a W. H. delin. & ſculp. Colon. Agrip. 1635.

(*f*) W. Crown's True Relation of the remarkable Places and Paſſages obſerved in the travels of Tho. Howard, Earl of Arundel, &c. Ambaſſador Extraordinary to Ferdinand II. Emperor of Germany, &c. 4to. Lond. 1637. p. 67.

(*g*) See the Familiar Letters of James Howel, Eſq; 5th edition, 1678. p. 147. alſo 247.

(*h*) Preſerved among the Collections of Dr Richard Rawlinſon.

(*i*) W. Crown's Relation, &c. as before, p. ult.

(*k*) Mr Vertue's Life of Hollar, as before, p. 13[illegible]

'on the other end, a pencil to ſweep off the ground that 'will riſe up where you have wrought it away. To 'make the bluntеſt needles, you muſt rub them on the 'backſide of a plate; the fineſt needles, you muſt whet 'gently on a fine whetſtone, 'till they have a very 'ſmall point; but let it not be too ſharp, but blunted 'on a table-book leaf, or ſome ſuch thing. And always 'when you leave your work, be ſure not to let your 'plate ſtand open, but wrap it up in a paper: for the 'air in time will corrupt the ground, and take out the 'moiſture from it, which will be prejudicial in etch-'ing, and ſubject to danger, eſpecially in winter-time, 'when you commonly muſt keep a good fire while you 'work, otherwiſe your ground will leap away.

'When you are going to etch, take ſome green wax, 'melt it in a little pipkin, and with a pencil, cover 'all the four edges of the copper; then take more of 'the wax, and frame it into long flat ſlices in the ſhape 'of a ruler, but nothing ſo broad; lay them alſo along 'the edges which you had ſwept with your pencil; 'then you muſt have a little piece of pencil-ſtick, or 'ſome ſuch thing, made ſharp underneath the broad 'way, not point way; with the help of that, make 'your wax ſtick to the copper, ſtill ſtopping it as you 'go along round about it. If the work be fine, take 'aqua-fortis of three pence the ounce, and qualify it 'with at leaſt too parts of wine vinegar; but if the 'work be coarſe, requiring much deepneſs, then you 'muſt take of the aqua-fortis alone; and from ſuch 'places as you would have faint, you muſt pour the 'aqua-fortis off the plate, and put on in it's room only 'fair water, ſo let the plate ſtand 'till it be dry; which 'done, melt ſome candle-greaſe with a little of your 'ground, and ſtop ſuch places, with a pencil dipped 'in that mixture, as you would have faint; then pour 'on your aqua-fortis again, as before, ſo often as oc-'caſion ſhall require. Then lay the copper on the 'fire 'till the ground melts, and wipe it off with a rag; 'then rub the plate with a little piece of a beaver-hat 'dipped in oil; and ſo your plate is done (*l*).' Then alſo follows, in this printed book, a *Receipt to make hard varniſh, for etching in aqua-fortis*; but as it is not expreſsly appropriated to Hollar, we chuſe rather to refer to it there, than recite it in this place.

(*l*) Albert Durer reviv'd: or, a Book of Drawing, Limning, Waſhing, or Colouring of Maps and Prints, and the Art of Painting; with the Names and Mixtures of Colours uſed by the Picture-Drawers; with directions how to paint pictures upon Glaſs, &c. printed by H. Hills for John Garret, folio, 1685. p. 20.

Which were preſented to his Lord in his late embaſſy. In the midſt of his working upon theſe pieces, arrived in London Mary de Medicis the Queen-Mother of France, to viſit her daughter Henrietta Maria Queen of England; and ſhe alſo had an Hiſtorian, who recorded the particulars of her journey and entry into this kingdom. His work, written in French, was printed in this city, and adorned with ſeveral portraits of the Royal Family, etched for the ſame, by the hand of Hollar (*l*). The ſame year that he finiſhed theſe portraits, was publiſhed, his effigies of his patron the Earl of Arundel on horſeback, as afterwards he etched another of him in armour, and ſeveral views of his country-ſeat at Albrough in Surry. In 1640, he ſeems to have been introduced into the ſervice of the Royal Family, to give the Prince of Wales ſome taſte and inſtruction in the art of deſigning; as may appear in a book, containing ſome draughts for that purpoſe, adorned with ſilver claſps, and mounted with the Prince's arms or badge engraved thereon, and ſome of Hollar's writing in it (*m*). This year appeared his beautiful ſet of figures in twenty-eight plates, containing the ſeveral habits of Engliſh women of all ranks or degrees (*n*): they are repreſented at full length, do ſignally teſtify the charming tenderneſs of his needle, and have rendered him very famous among the lovers of ſculpture. It is intimated, and not improbably by himſelf, that either before the irruption of the civil wars, or at leaſt before he was driven by them abroad, that he was in the ſervice of the Duke of York (*o*). In 1641 were publiſhed his prints of King Charles and his Queen, and ſeveral after Vandyck's moſt capital portraits; and though he could not always imitate his graceful and maſterly manner, eſpecially in his larger or half ſheet plates; yet, as other eminent artiſts have more failed in their imitation of this great maſter; as even ſome of his beſt pieces have been highly copied by Hollar, and by him only, the collectors of Vandyck's works in print are always glad of admitting Hollar's among them: and, 'To 'do juſtice to his memory (ſays Mr Vertue upon this head) ſome of his portraits may be 'obſerved to be truly well done, ſo far did he arrive to excel, from the ſmalleſt begin-'ning, in the moſt difficult branch of that profeſſion; which is, to expreſs life and like-'neſs; on which depends great application and ſtudy (*p*).' But now the civil wars being broke out, and his patron, the Earl of Arundel, leaving the kingdom about the latter end of this year, in his attendance upon the Queen and Princeſs Mary, who was to be eſpouſed to William the young Prince of Orange, his Lordſhip embarked at Dover for Holland; and there taking leave of his native country, which he never ſaw after (*q*), Hollar was left to ſhift for himſelf. And now he went on with cloſer application, if poſſible, than ever; for indeed his whole life was a rare and moſt exemplary pattern, or rather prodigy, of induſtry. Now appeared in print many other parts of his works, after Holbein, Vandyck, &c. eſpecially the portraits of ſeveral perſons of quality of both ſexes, Miniſters of State, Commanders in the Army, learned and eminent authors, both in large and ſmall prints; more eſpecially another ſet or two of female habits in divers nations of Europe (*r*). Theſe figures are leſs than thoſe beforementioned of the Engliſh habits, and etched in threeſcore plates or more; beſides many other habits afterwards of other kinds, not only of women but men, in the moſt eminent and conſiderable ſtations of life. In the year 1644, he publiſhed, beſides ſeveral others beforementioned, two prints, ſaid to be of his wife; by whom he had a ſon, whom he trained in his own art; and he proved a very promiſing genius, as may be ſeen in ſeveral of the pieces, partly graved by Mr Francis Place, who acquainted the worthy author of his father's life before quoted with this particular, as he has courteouſly informed us; and alſo that the ſaid ſon, to the great grief of his parents, died at the age of about ſeventeen (*s*). Whether he grew obnoxious, and was moleſted as an adherent to his patron aforeſaid, or as a malignant, for the honour he did to ſo many of the royal party, by his portraits of them, is not expreſsly ſaid; but it ſeems, that he was driven to take ſhelter under the protection of one or more of them, 'till they were defeated, and he taken priſoner of war with them upon the ſurrendry of their garriſon at Baſing-houſe in Hampſhire, which was on the 14th of October, 1645 (*t*): but Hollar making his eſcape, or otherwiſe obtaining his liberty, went over after the Earl of Arundel, who then, or rather lately, reſided at Antwerp [*B*] with his family, and had tranſported thither his moſt valuable collection of pictures (*u*), &c. There Hollar alſo publiſhed ſeveral prints from the works of the greateſt maſters in that collection and others; but that climate not agreeing with the Earl's ſtate of health, he had been adviſed to go to Italy, where he died at Venice in 1646. Hollar remained ſeveral years after chiefly at Antwerp, working, partly out of that collection, partly out of others, for Printſellers, Bookſellers, and publiſhers of his works; but ſeems to have cultivated no intereſt among men of fortune and curioſity in the art, to diſpoſe of them by ſubſcription, or otherwiſe moſt to his advantage. In 1647 and 1648, he etched eight or ten of the Painters heads with

(*l*) Hiſtoire de l'Entrée de la Reyne Mere du Roy Tres-Chreſtien, dans la Grande Bretaigne: Enrichie de Planches. Par le Sieur de la Serre, Hiſtoriographe de France, fol. a Londre, 1639.

(*m*) Prince Charles his Drawing-Book; in the Harleian Library.

(*n*) Entitled, Ornatus Muliebris Anglicani, &c.

(*o*) Inſcript. under his own portrait, etched by himſelf, in the Collection entitled, Image de divers Hommes D'eſprit ſublime, qui par leur Art & Science debuyvent vivre eternellement, &c. par J. Meyſſens, fol. a Anvers, 1649.

(*p*) In the Life of W. Hollar, as before, p. 125.

(*q*) See a View of the Life and Actions of Thomas Earl of Arundel, in Sir Edward Walker's Hiſtorical Diſcourſes, folio, 1705. p. 220.

(*r*) Entitled, Theatrum Mulierum: ſive, Varietas atque Differentia Habituum Fœminei Sexus diverſorum Europæ Nationum hodierno Tempore, vulgo in uſu, pars prima, Lond. 1642. The other, whether partly the ſame, or all various, is entitled, Aula Veneris: ſive, Varietas Fœmini Sexus diverſarum Europæ Nationum different. Habituum, ut ſunt apud illas nunc uſitati, Lond. 1644.

(*s*) See the Life of Hollar, &c. p. 134.

(*t*) Sir George Wharton's Geſta Britannorum, &c. 8vo. 1662. p. 22.

(*u*) The Life of Hollar, p. 146.

[*B*] *Making his eſcape, &c. he went over to Antwerp.*] A fuller account of this circumſtance is delivered to us in theſe words, from the information of a late noted Antiquary, who was acquainted with Hollar. 'As his good fortune depended much upon his noble 'patron, ſo the misfortune of the King's friends the 'Loyaliſts, in thoſe civil wars, or grand rebellion, 'toſſed Hollar about with the loyal party; and when 'diſtraction ran ſo high, that it drove the Earl of 'Arundel out of England into Flanders, his houſes 'here and eſtates being plundered or deſtroyed, poor 'Hollar being left behind, tried in ſome way the for-'tune of war, by entering under the command of the 'noble Marquis of Wincheſter, and Colonel Robert 'Peake *, at Baſing-houſe in Hampſhire; there he 'was made priſoner of war; but made his eſcape from 'hence, and went over to Antwerp to his patron the 'Earl of Arundel (2).'

* Who had been a Painter, and dealt with, for pictures by ſome of the Royal Family.

(2) Mr Vertue's Life of Hollar, &c. as before, p. 126.

[*C*] *Hereunto*

with his own, in Myſſen's book of portraits before referred to; beſides various other curious pieces then likewiſe, as the picture of King Charles I. ſoon after his death, with ſeveral of the Royaliſts; and alſo, in the three following years, many portraits and landſkips, after Breughil, Elſheimer, and Teniers, with the triumphs of death, beſides divers others of the moſt delicate and admired part of his works, from the moſt celebrated paintings (w): he etched alſo King Charles II. ſtanding, with emblems, and afterwards publiſhed a print of James Duke of York, his young maſter, ætat. 18, anno 1651, from a picture drawn of him, when he was in Flanders, by Teniers. He was more punctual in his dates than moſt other engravers, which has given very obliging lights and directions, both to the more regular narrative of his own perſonal hiſtory and performances, and thoſe of many others. But at laſt, either not meeting with encouragement enough to engage his reſiding longer abroad, or by the intelligence of ſeveral magnificent and coſtly works, propoſed or preparing in England, wherein his ornamental hand might be employed more unrivalled, and more to his benefit, he was invited to return hither in the year 1652. After which time, ſome foreign writers ſeem to have known no more of him; though it is well known to us, that he ſince then performed many of the moſt conſiderable or inſtructive and elaborate of his publications, ſome of which he wrought while he lived with Mr William Faithorne, another famous engraver, of our own country, near Temple-bar, in 1654 (x). But though he was an artiſt of genius and aſſiduity ſuperior to moſt others, yet had he the fate, harder than many others of them, to work here as he had done abroad, ſtill in continual ſubordination, and more to the profit of others than his own; his grinding publiſhers only (y), reaping plenty from his moſt laborious and fruitful hand. The liberality of his labour has been reported by a deſcendant of one of thoſe publiſhers to have ſo grown upon him, notwithſtanding his penurious pay, that he contracted a voluntary affection to his extraordinary toil, even to the ſetting almoſt two thirds of his whole time at it, and would not be diverted or diſengaged 'till his hour-glaſs had run to the laſt moment propoſed. Thus he went on for many years in full buſineſs, ever making art a rival to nature, or abſent perſons, places, and things, preſent; reſtoring to our memory, objects long forgotten, and producing thoſe far diſtant from our ſight before our eyes; ſcarcely ſo much imitating as multiplying originals; reviving the dead, and making the living, if we may not ſay more populous, more popular we may well ſay: and this, in relation to mankind, the chief and nobleſt of thoſe objects, not under the reſtraint of his talents to any partial repreſentations; for art and ingenuity, learning and knowledge, valour and virtue, with him were of no party; and nothing, at his powerful ſummons to appearance, could make reſiſtance. Thus went he on, I ſay, though with profit or reward much inferior to his reputation or deſerts, 'till the reſtoration of Monarchy brought home many of his friends, and him into freſh views of employment. We hear of no exception taken to any part of the pains he beſtowed, during the interregnum, upon any of the heads of the predominant party; the rather, perhaps, as he was under the influence and employment of others; beſides, ſuch a public diſplay as might then be taken to their honour, might now appear to their expoſure; as the liſt of thoſe who were concerned in the King's tryal and death, is always revived by the Royaliſts to ſtigmatize their memory with infamy. It was but two years after that memorable epocha, that the learned and ingenious Mr Evelyn publiſhed his curious and intelligent Hiſtory of Engraving before-cited; in which he has left upon record ſuch an encomium of Hollar, as were it not hereunto annexed [C], might be accounted an unpardonable deficiency. Some of the firſt things

(w) Id. p. 128.

(x) Ibid. p. 131.

(y) Peter Stent, John Overton, &c.

[C] *Hereunto annexed.*] The encomium that author has given of this Engraver is as follows, 'Wenceſlaus Hollar, a gentleman of Bohemia, comes in 'the next place; not that he is not before moſt of the 'reſt for his choice and great induſtry, for we rank 'them very promiſcuouſly, both as to time and prehe'minence, but to bring up the rear of the Germans 'with a deſerving perſon, whoſe indefatigable works 'in aqua-fortis do infinitely recommend themſelves, by 'the excellent choice which he hath made of the rare 'things furniſhed out of the Arundelian collection; 'and from moſt of the beſt hands and deſigns; for 'ſuch were thoſe of Leonardo da Vinci, Fra Parmenſis, Titian, Julio Romano, A. Mantegnio, Corregio, 'Perino del Vago, Raph. d'Urbino, Seb. del Piombo, 'Palma, Alb. Durer, Hans Holbein, Vandyck, Rubens, Bæugel, Baſſan, Elſheimer, Brower, Artois, 'and divers other maſters of prime note, whoſe drawings and paintings he hath faithfully copied; beſides ſeveral books of landſkips, towns, ſolemnities, 'hiſtories, heads, beaſts, fowls, inſects, veſſels, and 'other ſignal pieces; not omitting what he hath etched 'after De Cleyn, Streater, and Dankers, for Sir Robert Stapleton's Juvenal, Mr (Tho.) Roſs's Silius, 'the *Polyglotta Biblia*, the *Monaſticon*, firſt and ſecond 'part, Mr Dugdale's Paul's and Survey of Warwickſhire, with other innumerable frontiſpieces and things 'by him publiſhed, and done after the life; and to 'be, *eo nomine*, more valued and eſteemed, than where 'there has been more curioſity about chimera's, and 'things which are not in nature: ſo that of Mr Hollar's works we may juſtly pronounce, *there is not a 'more uſeful and inſtructive collection to be made* (3).' In a further part of his work, the ſame author recommends, for the improvement of our engravers in this inſtructive and delightful art, the copying and publiſhing the beſt pieces in the collections of our nobility and gentry, as what would bring them into a good manner of deſigning, and render our nation famous abroad: 'Eſpecially (adds he) if, joined to this, ſuch as exceed 'in the talent, would entertain us with more landſkips 'and views of the environs, approaches, and proſpects, 'of our nobly ſituated metropolis, Greenwich, Windſor, and other parts upon the goodly Thames, in 'which Mr Hollar has ſo worthily merited, and other 'countries abound with, to the immenſe refreſhment 'of the curious, and honour of the induſtrious artiſt: 'and ſuch, we further wiſh, might now and then be 'encouraged to travel into the Levantine parts, the 'Indies, Eaſt and Weſt; from whoſe hands we might 'hope to receive innumerable and true deſigns, drawn 'after the life, of thoſe ſurpriſing landſkips, memorable places, cities, iſles, trees, plants, flowers, and 'animals, &c. which are now ſo lamely and ſo wretchedly preſented and obtruded upon us by the ignorant, 'and for want of abilities to reform them (4). To this judgment of Mr Evelyn's, of Hollar's merits, there is little need to add that of another author, who pronounces

(3) Mr Evelyn's Hiſtory of Engraving in Copper, &c. as above, p. 81, 82.

(4) Idem, p. 100, 101.

things he performed after the Reſtoration were, a map of Jeruſalem, the Jewiſh ſacrifice in Solomon's temple; maps of England, Middleſex, &c. views of St George's chapel at Windſor, the gate of St John of Jeruſalem near London, and many animals, fruits, flowers, inſects, &c. after Francis Barlow and others; beſides many heads of nobles, biſhops, judges, &c. ſeveral proſpects about London, eſpecially this metropolis itſelf, as well before the general conflagration, as after it's ruin and rebuilding; though when thoſe deplorable interruptions and diſcouragements of all arts broke out, in the fatal Plague, anno 1665, and the Fire of London in the following year, theſe public calamities muſt have very much ſtagnated all arts of this kind, and are thought to have reduced him to ſuch difficulties as he could never afterwards clearly overcome (z). Yet a number of his prints do appear, beyond all expectation, in theſe times, and even 'till he was ſent over to Tangier in Africa, in the quality of his Majeſty's Deſigner, to take the various proſpects there of the town, garriſon, fortifications, and the circumjacent views of the country. We are told that he accompanied the Lord Henry Howard, who was the Governor; and many of his drawings upon the ſpot, dated 1669, ſtill preſerved by a very worthy poſſeſſor (a), were, within three or four years after, made public in ſeveral prints; upon ſome whereof Hollar ſtyles himſelf *Stenographus Regis*. It is further recorded, upon the authority, as we are informed, of a perſon who was acquainted with him, that, in their return home, Hollar narrowly eſcaped being killed, or taken priſoner by a Turkiſh rover the ſame year, in a fight that happened between the ſhip named the Mary Roſe, in which he was, and ſeven Algerine men of war; yet after all his travels and labours, all his preferment, performances, and time ſpent in this ſervice, with the hazard of his life in a ſtorm, and by the enemy, he got no other recompence than barely one hundred pounds (b). Hollar engraved alſo a print of this engagement, and it was publiſhed the next year, with a narrative thereof, printed at the letter-preſs under it; which, for the better underſtanding of the danger he was in, is more ſuccinctly related in the note below [*D*]. After his return into England, he was variouſly employed in finiſhing his views of Tangier for publication, and taking ſeveral draughts at and about Windſor in 1671, with many repreſentations in honour of the Knights of the Garter *. About the year 1672 he travelled northward, and drew ſeveral views of Lincoln, Southwell, Newark, and York-Minſter. In 1673, a continuation of many ruins he had before publiſhed from Sebaſtian Vranck; and, except ſome other views, as thoſe about Plymouth, &c. moſt of the remainder of his time was engaged in etching of towns, caſtles, churches, and their feneſtral figures, arms, &c. beſides tombs, monumental effigies, with their inſcriptions, and alſo many beautiful proſpects, to embelliſh ſome hiſtorical and topographical works now publiſhing, as he had before done for others, in ſuch numbers, as would make the whole endleſs to enumerate [*E*]. He appears not to have had much aſſiſtance in his operations, not only from the uniformity,

(z) Life of Hollar, p. 131.

(a) Being in the Library of Sir Hans Sloane, Bart.

(b) Life of Hollar, p. 132.

* See them in the Inſtitution, Laws, and Ceremonies, of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, by Elias Aſhmole, Eſq; Windſor-Herald, fol. 1672.

pronounces him the greateſt artiſt of his time in aquafortis (5); but ſhall conclude upon this head, with the ſubſtance, or abſtract of a character given him by a French author, who was himſelf both a Painter and Engraver; where he ſays, *C'eſt un de ceux, de qui, nous voyons le plus de pieces*, &c. 'This is one of thoſe 'artiſts, of whoſe prints we behold the greateſt num'ber, as well invented as graved, upon all ſorts of 'ſubjects; and after the moſt excellent maſters. He 'has given us many enchanting proſpects, ſeveral of 'them after P. and J. Breughel, J. Wildens, and A. 'Eſheimer; and has even reformed the taſte or ſtyle 'of graving, in thoſe which he has made after J. Van. 'Artois, being much after the manner of Morin. The 'public is indebted to him for every beautiful ſcrap 'that he has etched, as well at Antwerp as in England, 'after the originals preſerved in the Earl of Arundel's 'houſe, as well in hiſtorical pieces as portraitures, 'from the year 1632 to 1650, &c. (6)' The former of which dates may be rectified from what has been before obſerved.

(5) The Excellencies of the Pen and Pencil, 8vo. 1668.

(6) Cabinet des Singularitez D'Architecture, Peinture, Sculpture, & Gravure, &c. Par Florent Le Comte, Sculpteur, Peintre, &c. tome troiſieme, ſecond edition, a Bruſſelles, 8vo. 1702. p. 357.

[*D*] *More ſuccinctly related in the note below.*] This encounter is entitled, *A true Relation of Captain Kempthorn's Engagement in the Mary Roſe with ſeven Algerine Men of War*; and the ſubſtance of it is briefly as follows. 'In the beginning of December, 1669, the Lord-Ambaſſador, Henry Howard, having obtained letters of ſecurity from Taffaletta Emperor of Barbary, reſolved to purſue his journey to his court, and ordered his baggage, with moſt of his retinue, to be embarked in the Mary-Roſe, which had tranſported him from England; purpoſing himſelf, and ſome fifteen of his attendants, to go by land, and the ſhip by ſea, to Sallee; ſo the ſhip ſet ſail along the ſhore of Barbary on Wedneſday the 8th of that month; and beyond Arzil it took an Engliſh veſſel that had been taken by an Algier man of war; but it ſo retarded their voyage, that they arrived not at Sallee 'till Saturday noon. There they were accoſted by a brigantine, with Engliſh colours, belonging to Tangier; by which they were admoniſhed not to land, but rather receive aboard all the Engliſh who were aſhore, with their effects, the ſtate of affairs at Tangier, ſince their departure, being much altered. They tarried there 'till Monday; and then, not getting any body on board, were ſtorm-beaten far at ſea. On the 18th they diſcoved ſeven Turkiſh men of war, off from La Rotta, on the Spaniſh coaſt, and there enſued an hot engagement between them; the ſaid Engliſh Captain having, beſides his own ordinary ſhip's crew, above ſeventy land-ſoldiers of Tangier, and about forty of the Ambaſſador's retinue, in all above 250 men. But after the Engliſh Captain had received five broadſides, beſides their ſmall ſhot, and returned them as briſkly as he could, the Turkiſh Admiral, juſt as he was about to board him, receiving a ſhot between wind and water, and another, which tore his main-ſail from end to end, was ſo diſabled, that with his fleet he was forced to ſheer off, though the Engliſh ſhip had eleven men killed in her, ſeventeen wounded, and was herſelf very much ſhattered. The next day in the evening they arrived in the bay of Cadiz, being the 30th of December, St. Vet. 1669 (7).

(7) Engliſh Atlas, Tom. I. containing Africa, &c. collected, tranſlated, and adorned, with maps, &c. by John Ogilby, Eſq; Maſter of his Majeſty's Revels in Ireland, fol. 1670. p. 219. (8) Evelyn's Sculptura, p. 135.

[*E*] *Would make the whole endleſs to enumerate.*] Indeed, from ſuch an univerſal genius or taſte to all objects, ſuch continual application, and ſuch an expeditious hand as he had, 'tis queſtionable, if he were alive, whether he could himſelf enumerate the productions of it. If Michael de Marolles, the Abbot of Villeloin, who in three years time collected fourſcore thouſand copper prints, by the year 1644, as a credible author before-cited informs us he did (8), from the Abbot's Memoirs of his own Life (9), had then among them the nine hundred fifty-nine of Hollar's etching, as it is aſſerted he ſome time had, in the Catalogue that was afterwards publiſhed of his Collection (10), we may well compute, not only from the labours that Hollar publiſhed after that great treaſure was amaſſed, but from the vaſt diverſity of his works ſtill in being, that he muſt have publiſhed much above thrice that number;

(9) Memoires de M. de Marolles, contenent ce qu'il a Vu de plus remarkable en ſa Vie, &c. fol. Paris, 1656.

(10) Catalogue des Livres eſtampes & de Figures en Taille douce, Paris, 8vo. 1667. Voyez auſſi, Le Cabinet des Singularitez D. Archet. Peint. Sculp. & Grav. Tom. III. p. 282.

uniformity, but ſuperior labour; the fulneſs and cloſeneſs, the neatneſs and delicacy, in the generality of his workmanſhip; though he had ſeveral diſtant, or ſlight and looſe copyiſts

number: or if we were only to compute of them from the many large volumes, of which the greateſt collection extant conſiſts, and the catalogue of particulars in theſe volumes now before us, which, though very conciſe, makes the greateſt part of a moderate volume in quarto. To repeat ſuch a catalogue in this place cannot be expected, becauſe it would appear dry without a commentary, and with one would fill a volume: therefore, neither entirely to diſappoint the curious, nor burden thoſe readers who have but little curioſity in the art, we ſhall here mention ſuch parts of his works in ſuch manner as may give a reaſonable idea of the whole, and refer to our ſaid author's catalogue of them for the reſt. This catalogue is divided into fourteen claſſes, as follow. I. Religious ſubjects. II. Hiſtories, fables, and emblems. III. Maps, plans, views, and proſpects. IV. Ships and ſea-proſpects. V. Leonard da Vinci's, and other Italian maſters. VI. Dutch deſigns and landſkips. VII. Various habits of nations and religions. VIII. Portraits, Engliſh and foreign. IX. Churches, monuments, cenotaphs, and coats of arms. X. Inſects, flowers, and ſhells. XI Animals, hunting, fiſhing, and boys. XII. Coins, medals, ſeals, vaſes, and cups. XIII. Seaſons, muffs, fans, and ſwords. XIV. Frontiſpieces and titles of books. The whole concludes with a repertory or recapitulation of the whole, and another chapter of addenda. Out of all theſe, we ſhall here give an extract, only under three diviſions. Firſt, The heads and portraits of ſuch perſons as have been moſt eminent. Secondly, A Miſcellany, the moſt comprehenſive that we can, out of all the reſt; therefore not ſo much of ſingle prints, as thoſe which were publiſhed in, or intended for, ſets. And laſtly, ſuch of our larger printed books, as have been adorned with his ſculptures. I. Beſides his prints of the Royal Family, ſome of which are already mentioned, we have alſo ſeveral of their predeceſſors; and among them, one of the moſt curious pieces of Engliſh Antiquity, is, the portrait repreſenting King Richard II. in his youth, at his devotion. 'Tis in two tables or half-ſheet prints; the one repreſents him kneeling before his three Patron Saints, St John the Baptiſt, King Edmund, and Edward the Confeſſor; having a crown on his head, and robes, adorned with harts and broom-cods, in alluſion to his mother's arms, and his own name of *Plantageniſta*; thus he is praying to the Virgin Mary with the Infant in her arms: On the other table, ſurrounded with Chriſtian virtues, in the ſhape of angels, with collars of broom cods about their necks, and white harts pendant at their boſoms; one holds up a banner of the croſs before them; the ground is ſtrewed with lilies and roſes, and verſes at the bottom, compoſed by Henry Peacham, explaining the whole picture. It is expreſſed at top to be etched from an original painting in colours; was then dedicated to King Charles I. in 1639, and the ſaid original tables or pictures, about eighteen inches high, are now in the poſſeſſion of the Earl of Pembroke (11). Among the heads he etched out of the Arundelian collection, after Hans Holbein, are thoſe of King Henry VIII. in 1647. Mary Queen of France, and Princeſs Mary, the ſame year; Queen Jane the next year; and Queen Anne Bolen the year after. The Lord Denny, Sir Henry Guldeford, and his lady. Dr Chambers, ætat. 88. Mr Morett, the King's Jeweller, and Hans Van Zurich, Goldſmith, both etched in 1647. Anne of Cleve, in 1648. Henry Howard Earl of Surrey: Hans Holbein himſelf, from a painting by himſelf, in a circle (ætat. 45. anno 1543). Albert Durer, ſenior and junior. Pietro Aretino, from Titian, a fine, bold, and lively head, in 1647: another of him in profile, 1649. La Bella Laura, after Palma, 1650. Raphael D'Urbin, 1651. Martin Luther (nat. 1483, ob. 1546). Sir Thomas Chaloner (ætat. 28, 1548), &c. Alſo theſe, among many others, after Vandyck, beſides his patron the Earl of Arundel, in ſome pieces partly beforementioned, and the Lady Alathea his Counteſs; the Earl of Strafford and Archbiſhop Laud in 1640. Alſo, Algernoon Earl of Northumberland, Sir Peter-Paul Rubens; Vandyck himſelf, after a draught of his own, 1644. And Margaret Lemon, ſaid to be his miſtreſs, with an encomium in French verſes at bottom. Alſo Mark Gerard the Painter, in the year laſt mentioned. Inigo Jones the Architect, Jerom Lord Weſton, Earl of Portland, in 1645. Charles Lodowick, Count Palatine 1646: and ſeveral ladies. Franciſcus Junius, ætat. 49. About forty heads of the Nobility, and Members of Parliament, in ſmall ovals; ſome Royaliſts, others Republicans: Prince Rupert, William Earl of Newcaſtle, Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury: Robert Devereux Earl of Eſſex, Robert Earl of Warwick, Sir Thomas Fairfax, 1648. Alſo Alexander Henderſon, with Engliſh verſes at bottom; Dr Baſtwick, William Prynne, Hen. Burton, Dr Leighton, and John Lilburne, with inſcriptions under them, expreſſing their ſevere ſufferings by ſentence of the Star-Chamber court, for exclaiming againſt the Popiſh clergy: the Judges, Crook, Barkley, Hutton, Clench, Heath, and Crew: Archbiſhop Spotſwood, Arthur Lake Biſhop of Bath, 1640. Lancelot Andrews Biſhop of Winton, 1647. John Overal Biſhop of Norwich, 1657. Robert Sanderſon Biſhop of Lincoln, 1668. A head of the Lord Bacon with the Great Seal, his monumental effigies at St Alban's, 1650. Mr Oughtred, ætat. 73. Tho. Hobbes the Philoſopher of Malmeſbury, W. Dugdale the Antiquary, 1656. John Tradeſcant, father and ſon, the two Virtuoſi of Lambeth, the ſame year. James Harrington, 1658; Elias Allen the Mathematician, 1666: alſo, to paſs over many others, ſome remarkable perſons; as the twin birth ſeen at Colen, the year before Hollar came into England, being the man who had his brother growing out of his ſide; alſo Francis Battalia the Italian youth, with a diſh of ſtones in one hand, which he fed upon or ſwallowed (12); and Blaiſe de Manfre, with water ſpouting out at his ear, &c. Under the II. diviſion, beſides the ſets of habits, domeſtic and foreign, already mentioned, we have many little ſets more of ſmall dreſſes, of men as well as women, in circles, ovals, and ſquares, to the number of near two hundred. Among the religious ſubjects, ſix days of the Creation, in two ſets; his ſmall ſcripture ſtories, beginning at Adam and Eve, thirty-ſix of them; cuts for the Common-Prayer, eighteen; others after Stella and Palma, in number eight; twelve others of the New-Teſtament; and a ſmaller ſize, in twenty-four cuts, as ſome foreigners reckon (13) now very ſcarce, repreſenting Chriſt's Paſſion, after Holbein; wherein the Pope, with his Biſhops, Monks, and Friars, are expoſed as the perſecutors of Chriſt, with four Engliſh verſes at the bottom of each: but it is modeſtly intimated, in a reflection upon this work, that the Eccleſiaſtics were not his executioners, by a French author before quoted (14). Though ſome have doubted whether theſe pieces were deſigned by Holbein, becauſe his name is inſcribed but on one of them, or whether etched by Hollar, becauſe his name appears not at all, nor the time when done; yet there might be good reaſon for ſuch reſervation; and thoſe who are well acquainted with his works, have made no doubt to admit them of the number, as thinking themſelves doubly guided againſt miſtaking another artiſt's for his, becauſe his hand is as well known by his writing as his etching. A more noted collection is that which is called *Holbein's Death's Dance*, through the various ſtates or conditions of life, in thirty ſmall ſquare prints: *Abr. Diepenbeck inv.* with ornamental borders; another ſet without borders, and four Latin verſes at bottom. The holy reliques at Aix la Chapelle, on a ſheet in twenty-nine compartments, &c. Among his hiſtories, &c. the print of Seleucus, beholding his rigid law againſt Adultery executed upon his own ſon, after Julio Romano, with verſes under it by Henry Peacham, is reckoned an excellent piece. The views of the diſpoſition of King Charles's army at the Leaguer in the North, on his march to Scotland, in 1639, in ſeveral ſheets. The form of Archbiſhop Laud's tryal, and the Earl of Strafford's, with the manner of his execution, in three ſheets. The funeral ſolemnities of M. Jean Baptiſte de Taſſis, in 1645. The fire-works near Stockholm, at the inveſtiture of Charles King of Sweden, with the Order of the Garter. Many fables and emblems, in the ſmaller ſize, after A. Elſheimer, Corn. Schut, &c. and about twelve of the emblems, deviſed from ſeveral ſentences in Horace, by Otho Venius (15). His five ſets of the ſeaſons, in half lengths, full lengths, &c. in twenty plates. A ſet or two of the ſeaſons. A ſet of the months; ſets of the alphabet, ſome with emblems, &c. Among his proſpects, &c. there are between fifteen

(11) Deſcription of Hollar's Works, p. 4. See alſo, in the Regiſter of the Order of the Garter, by John Anſtis, Eſq; &c. ſome further Remarks upon theſe two obſervable prints, fol. 1724. Tom. I. f. 112, 113, &c.

(12) See the Britiſh Librarian, 8vo. 1738. p. 368. from Dr John Bulwer's Anthropo-Metamorphoſis, or Artificial Changeling, 4to. 1653. ſcene 18.

(13) Cabinet des Singularitez D'Archit. Peint. &c. Tom. III. p. 358.

(14) Idem ibid.

(15) Vide Emblemata Horatiana Imaginibus illuſtrata; inciſis notiſque illuſtrata; Studio Othonis Vænii, 4to. Antv. 1607, &c.

pyiſts after him. Some were indeed his ſcholars or diſciples; but their hands are very diſtinguiſhable in thoſe few plates wherein their labours were united, or thoſe pieces which they publiſhed in imitation of his; as may be ſeen in the works of Dudley, F. Carter, D. King, and R. Gaywood; which laſt, in ſome ſamples, approached the neareſt of them to his maſter, and had moſt right, after his death, to inſcribe himſelf his *Quondam Diſciple*. F. Place and P. Tempeſt received alſo inſtructions under him, and might lend him a hand in ſome of his pieces that were moſt in haſte, eſpecially now in his declining age. But though few artiſts were able to imitate his works, many lovers of the art, both abroad and at home, have, from his time to ours, diſcovered a peculiar fondneſs, and even emulation, in collecting them [*F*]. And though they were liberal in the purchaſe of his performances,

teen and twenty maps, plans, and views of the city of London both before and after the fire; one whereof is two yards and a half long, from Weſtminſter to beyond St Katherine's, with Latin verſes at bottom, by Edward Bendlowes, Eſq; dedicated to Queen Henrietta-Maria and William Prince of Orange, and ſold at Amſterdam, by Corn. Danckers, 1647. Beſides many other parts of the city and ſuburbs; as the Royal-Exchange, Tower, St Mary Over's church, Covent-garden piazza, Whitehall, Weſtminſter-hall, Lambeth, and abundance of the environs. Six ſmall proſpects of the Iſle of Man, in compartments about the map of it, Four proſpects of Elizabeth-caſtle in the Iſle of Jerſey, five of Dover, three of Plymouth, ſix of Albury, fifteen of Tangier. Proſpects of Oxford, Cambridge, Canterbury, &c. Map of Great-Britain, England and Wales, in ſix ſheets; another in one ſheet, with views about it of thirty principal cities therein. Ireland, Middleſex, Surrey, and other counties. Several of Holland, Germany, Denmark, Candia, Italy, Africa, America, &c. and perhaps more views in ſome of thoſe countries than in our own, at leaſt more than can be here recited. Among his ſea-proſpects, we have his *navium variæ figuræ & formæ*, in twelve plates: nine ſtorm-pieces: the ſea-fights, under Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle, againſt the Dutch, anno 1666, in ſeven ſheets, &c. From Leonard da Vinci, and other Italian maſters, *diverſæ probæ* for learners. Twelve plates of monſtrous or deformed heads, and antick faces. as alſo twenty-three more, after F. Place. Several plates of Cupids, after Julio Romano: a drawing-book in ten plates; and landſkips, abundance after P. Vanden Avont, eſpecially his ſet of boys; Wildens, Jacques Van Artois, P. Pontius, D. Teniers, Aug. Braun, P. and J. Breughel, P. Brill, A. Elſheimer, &c. &c. As for his habits and portraits, we have touched upon them before. His churches, monuments, cenotaphs, and arms, will be found moſtly in the books mentioned under the next head. Of his animals, wild and tame, hunting and fiſhing, with fowls, after Barlow, &c. we have ſeveral ſets; alſo his flowers, fruits, plants, and trees, particularly the great hollow tree, thirty-ſix feet round, in Langley-park near Windſor; with a door in the trunk, and ſtairs within, up to the great turret at top, thirty-four feet about: and the ſtately yew-tree, in Anſley-park, with a bower at top, and a ladder to aſcend it, &c. Of his inſects, we have twenty-two plates; and his ſhells, in thirty-eight plates, are the ſcarceſt of his works; they were ſome of his laſt performances out of the Arundelian collection, and ſeveral of them have letters of reference upon them, as if they were etched to explain ſome treatiſe upon this part of Natural Hiſtory. His vaſes, wrought cups, ſeals, coins, and medals; alſo ſeveral ornaments of dreſs for men and women, as Holbein's rich deſigns of ſword-hilts, for King Henry VIII. and King Edward VI. are elegantly etched by him; alſo his fans, tippets, maſks, and muffs, in about eight plates, all delicately executed, and very much admired. III. and laſtly, if the ſculptures only which he etched, to adorn ſo many pompous and coſtly printed books as we meet with, publiſhed in his time, were to be particularly deſcribed, this part of his works alone were ſufficient to gain him a ſuperior character of genius and induſtry, and give him a preheminence above many artiſts of no ſlender reputation for both; and this obſervation was ſoon confirmed, by only turning over thoſe volumes; ſome whereof have been already mentioned, others not: as, the entry of Queen Mary of Medicis (16). The three elaborate volumes of the Monaſticon, by Mr Dodſworth and Dugdale, at ſeveral times publiſhed (17). He alſo etched about forty-five prints in Mr John Ogilby's Virgil, in the years 1652, 1654, &c. (18), ſo highly to his reputation, that they were preferred, not only for Ogilby's Latin edition of that poet (19), which volumes, in both languages, were then juſtly accounted the moſt beautiful productions, for paper, print, and ſculpture, of the Engliſh preſs; but the ſame plates were alſo choſen to ſupply the Louvre edition of this poet; and laſtly, for Mr Dryden's tranſlation of him (20), the arms, and inſcriptions at bottom, being changed. Some of his works alſo appear in Sir Henry Spelman's *Aſpilogia* (21); and in Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickſhire*, there are reckoned to the number of near fourſcore prints of his doing (22), many of them with great pains and accuracy. He was, not improbably, at the author's ſeat, at leaſt a conſiderable time in that county, while he was at work upon them. In the learned Dr Brian Walton's Polyglot Bible, there are ſome elaborate proofs of his art (23); and Dugdale's *Hiſtory of St Paul's Cathedral* is adorned throughout with abundance of ſepulchres, effigies, buſto's, arms, epitaphs, inſcriptions, proſpects, and perſpective views, within and without the cathedral, by his artful and unwearied hand (24). In Ogilby's Tranſlation of Homer, there are ſome plates of his etching, after Fra. Clein (25). In Sir Robert Stapleton's Tranſlation of Juvenal, his ſet of cuts, after E. Streeter, J. Dankers, and F. Barlow, etched in 1658, were two years after publiſhed (26). There is alſo, as we remember, ſome of his work in that beautiful large Bible, at leaſt ſome copies of it, which was printed by J. Field at Cambridge the ſame year (27); and in the grand ceremony of the King's cavalcade, or proceſſion to his coronation, publiſhed by Mr Ogilby the next year (28). The tranſlation of Silius Italicus his poem, on the ſecond Punic war, between Hannibal and the Romans, by Tho. Roſs, Eſq; is alſo embelliſhed by his hand (29). In Mr Ogilby's poetical verſion of Æſop's Fables, there are near threeſcore plates that he has etched, ſome of them very accurately; to which is joined, the ſtory of the Epheſian Matron, verſified alſo by the ſaid editor, from Petronius Arbiter, &c. and repreſented in ten plates by Hollar (30). In Sir William Dugdale's *Origines Juridiciales*, there are many plates performed by him, of the antient arms of our moſt eminent Lawyers, from the feneſtral paintings, &c. in the inns of court; alſo, ſome of the Judges heads, &c. beforementioned (31). Soon after appeared Mr Aſhmole's curious book of the Order of the Garter, which is enriched with many delightful proſpects, proceſſions, interviews, combats, martial ſolemnities, habits, ornaments, arms, badges, &c (32). In Ogilby's Embaſſy from the Eaſt-India Company to China (33), there are ſome of our artiſt's pieces; and in that part of his Atlas, entitled his Britannia, others (34): but in Francis Sandford's Genealogical Hiſtory of the Kings of England, there are many monuments, cenotaphs, effigies, ſeals, &c. etched by him, ſome in 1664, 1666, &c. though publiſhed later (35). And laſtly, in Dr Robert Thoroton's Antiquities of Nottinghamſhire, ſeveral views of towns, churches, country-ſeats of the nobility and gentry, monuments, inſcriptions, &c. ſome unfiniſhed, and moſt of them dated the ſame year he died (36). But if we were to mention all the books before which there appear heads, frontiſpieces, or title-pages, &c. of his doing, they would amount to a little library, at leaſt three times the number of thoſe already ſpecified.

[*F*] *Have diſcovered a peculiar fondneſs, and even emulation in collecting his works.*] It is apparent that the painters, gravers, and operators in other arts bordering upon theirs, were the moſt early and conſtant collectors of his as well as other prints; and among Sir Peter Lely's vaſt collections, *not only of paintings and drawings, but ſculptures, which were valued, as we have read, at ten thouſand pounds* (37), there ſeems to have been ſome of Hollar's moſt finiſhed and eſteemed performances. Among private gentlemen,

(16) Fol. Lond. 1639.

(17) In folio, 1655, 1661, and 1673.

(18) Fol. 1654.

(19) Fol. 1658.

(20) Fol. 1697.

(21) Fol. 1654.

(22) Fol. 1656.

(23) In ſix vols folio, 1657.

(24) Fol. 1658.

(25) The Iliad, fol. 1660. and Odyſſey, 1665. 1669.

(26) Fol. 1660.

(27) Fol. idem.

(28) Fol. 1661.

(29) Fol. ibid.

(30) Two vols fol. 1665, 1668.

(31) Fol. 1672, &c.

(32) Fol. 1672.

(33) Fol. 1673.

(34) Fol. 1675.

(35) Fol. 1677.

(36) Fol. ibid.

(37) In a *MS. Diary of Mr Beal's, huſband to Mrs Mary Beal, the Face-Painter*; in the Harleian library.

ſtances, the performer himſelf was ſo incompetently recompenced for them, that he could not now in his old age, with all his toils to the laſt, keep himſelf clear from the incumbrances of debt, and all thoſe diſpiriting, or, indeed, heart-breaking vexations, as they ſeem

men, Mr Evelyn, before quoted, was one of the firſt among us, that we can hear of who made a collection of copper prints, eſpecially Engliſh heads; not ſo much for the bare entertainment and curioſity there is in ſuch artful and beautiful imitations, or the leſs ſolid intelligence of the different modes, or habits and faſhions of the times, as the more important direction and ſettlement of the ideas upon the true form and features of any worthy and famous perſon repreſented; and alſo the diſtinction of families, and men of ſuperior merit in them, by their arms and mottoes, or emblematical alluſions to their actions, writings, &c. the inſcriptions of their titles of honour, preferments, and moſt ſignal ſervices, or other obſervables; with the chronological particulars thereof, as well as of their birth, age, deaths, &c. and the ſhort characters, or encomiums of them, often ſubjoined in verſe or proſe: beſides the names of the painter, deſigner, graver, &c. and the dates alſo of their performance: whereby, a ſingle print, when an artiſt is thoroughly apprehenſive, or well adviſed, in what he is about, and will embrace the advantages or opportunities he may, to anſwer the expectations of the curious, in their various taſte and enquiries, may become a rich and plenteous banquet, a full-ſpread table of choice and uſeful communications; not only moſt delightful to the eye, but moſt inſtructive to the mind: and ſo, a collection may be made, one of the moſt compendious helps to many ſciences, or rather, according to the project and practice of the ingenious La Martelay, they are all moſt expeditiouſly to be learned by ſculpture alone (38). Mr Evelyn was ſo famous, in the beginning of the civil wars, for one of the beſt collections that could be then made of this kind, that Hollar dedicates one of his portraits, as we remember of Sir Anthony Vandyck, to him, as an eminent or diſtinguiſhed patron and promoter of ſuch curious and comprehenſive memorials. Mr Aſhmole was alſo a cotemporary collector of copper prints; and beſides what Hollar etched for him in his *Order of the Garter*, part of which he had, ſeparately, in his volumes of proceſſions, proſpects, &c. he had alſo a large collection of Engliſh heads; among which probably, were many by the ſame hand, for ſome he had which were not incorporated in that collection of Hollar's doing which we have ſeen. And he had for ſeveral years ſuch an appetite to collect all curious pieces of this kind, that he would often purchaſe a volume for the ſake only of the face that was before it, which he would paſte among the reſt, and underwrite from whence it was taken (39), a practice which other collectors have ſince followed. But thoſe volumes of prints, as well as the reſt of Mr Aſhmole's curious library, with all his other antiquities and curioſities, his old evidences, charters, pedigrees, ſeals, coins, medals, &c. which he had been above thirty years gathering, to aſſiſt him in the books he was writing, were all conſumed at his chambers in the Middle-Temple, by the great fire that happened there, in January 1678 (40). Mr Samuel Pepys, Secretary of the Admiralty, had alſo in his library of MSS. and printed books, a good collection of Engliſh heads; in which Hollar's made no ordinary figure; and among them one of his own, for he had two engraved by Robert White, ſignificantly denoting his love of prints, by repreſenting his picture in a picture, or his effigies in a paper print upon a copper-plate. But the late John Bridges, Eſq; of Lincoln's-Inn, had in his copious and well-choſen library, a collection of Hollar's works alone, bound in four volumes folio, which were ſold in the auction of his books after his death, for above an hundred pounds; a price that would not compaſs a quarter of his performances according to the Dutch valuation of them that we have ſeen. As for the collectors of them, more near our preſent times, many honourable and curious perſons might be named. The Duke of Rutland has a very large collection of Hollar's in ſeveral volumes; Sir Hans Sloane bought a great volume of Hollar's works many years after his death of his widow, and he has ſince, as we heard, much increaſed them. Sir John Evelyn is poſſeſſed of his grandfather's ancient collection, and has alſo made ſome conſiderable additions to it. Sir Anthony Weſtcomb's collections of Hollar, are likewiſe admired for being of the ancient and beſt impreſſions. The late General Dormer, and Brian Fairfax, Eſq; had ſome choice pieces of his among their prints. Dr Mead and Mr Samuel Gale, are alſo remembered for their diſtinguiſhing taſte of the art, in the preſervation they have made of this artiſt's labours. And if the Hollars, in the poſſeſſion of James Weſt, Eſq; are proportionable to the great number of other prints, eſpecially Engliſh heads in his collection, they muſt fall little ſhort of the moſt numerous aſſembly that has been made of them. But the crown of all, for the moſt complete collection of Hollar's works, is without diſpute, that of the moſt noble preſerver of every thing that could contribute to the promotion of literature, Edward, late Earl of Oxford. Among the vaſt treaſures of ſculpture in his moſt magnificent library, his Hollars appeared ſo conſpicuous, that he appointed the prints and ſets he had, to be ſelected, and ſpared for no enquiry or encouragement to make them perfect. Then he had them ſtuck upon the fineſt largeſt imperial paper, more or leſs upon a leaf, according as the ſizes of them would permit, ſo had them bound in ſeveral ſpacious and ſplendid volumes of red Morocco leather, with the leaves gilt, and covers richly adorned with gold. He had thus bound up ten volumes before his death, which happened in the year 1741. And about a twelve month before, he had procured a conſiderable augmentation of them out of Holland. Theſe, the worthy poſſeſſor of them, his Lordſhip's ingenious daughter, the preſent Ducheſs of Portland, directed to be digeſted, diſpoſed of, and bound in the ſame ſize and manner, ſo that the whole collection is now in twelve volumes complete; and Mr Vertue's catalogue of them, to which we have, in this article, been much indebted, though very ſuccinctly taken, makes fifteen ſheets in quarto. It has been often wiſhed that ſome other able hand, ſince the moſt able declines it, were to do the like juſtice to his performances, before delay increaſes the difficulty; that the titles of their works might be united with their names, and the memory of Hollar and Vertue ſurvive together. In the next century, there may probably be as much enquiry after the labours of the one, as in this, of the other; and then it may poſſibly be known, that this omiſſion lay not at the door of ſuch a friend to the art, as may have been the firſt who promoted a public catalogue of our gravings, eſpecially of Engliſh heads; and we hope that the uſes which are manifeſt in the ſpecimens that have appeared, eſpecially of the late Mr John Nickols his collection, who was F. R. S. and Member of the Society of Antiquaries (41), will encourage others to proceed, and lay open this long concealed channel of knowledge, to the ſervice and benefit of the curious. All that we have more to obſerve of the grand collection of Hollar's aforeſaid, is, that in a ſpare leaf before one of the additional volumes which his Lordſhip, as we obſerved, procured from abroad, there was an encomium written in honour of the ſaid celebrated artiſt, which we ſhall here give the reader in the original, with a tranſlation thereof; as follows.

(38) Evelyn's Sculptura, p. 139.

(39) Athen Oxon. Vol. II. col. 888.

(40) Item ibid. One MS. volume in folio, however eſcaped the flames; containing the copies and draughts of many antient evidences and ſeals; which was preſerved in the Harleian library.

(41) See a Catalogue of Engliſh Heads: or an Account of about two thouſand Prints, deſcribing what is peculiar on each; as the names, title, or office, of the perſon; the habit, poſture, age, or time when done; the name of the Painter, Graver, Scraper, &c. with ſome particulars of their Lives, publiſhed by Joſeph Ames, F. R. S. and Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, 8vo. 1748.

Qui mores hominum multorum vidit, & urbes,
Ithacus eſt digitis dignus, Homere, tuis:
At mores hominum melior qui ſculpſit, & urbes,
Solus erit digitis gloria laufque ſuis:
Qui tantum vidit, cœcum tulit ille poetam;
Qui ſculpſit, propriis claruit ex oculis.
Æternum vives, proprio tumulatus in ære,
Hollare; nec nôrunt hæc monumenta mori.

For towns, and faſhions ſeen, by ſea and land,
Ulysses got the praiſe of Homer's hand;
But who theſe towns in braſs, and faſhions fram'd,
Needs only by his own hand to be fam'd.
Blind poets ſerve to blaze the feats of ſight,
Whilſt, Hollar, thou can'ſt ſhine by thy own light;
Inſhrin'd by thy own braſs, then may'ſt thou lie,
And live; ſuch monuments can never die.

ſeem to have been in his caſe, that attend it. Yet is it viſible that he was variouſly and cloſely employed, to a very ſhort time before his death. But as many of his plates are dated that year, in the very beginning whereof, as we are informed, he died, 'tis likely they were ſomewhat antedated by him, that the ſculptures might appear of the ſame date with the book in which they are printed (*c*). Some of them appear unfiniſhed; and one page, that is entirely blank, was left ſo, probably, for a plate that he was to have ſupplied (*d*). It may be but cold encouragement for the practitioners of ſuch curious arts, to know that, while he was raiſing many a rich and royal manſion for the dead, he could ſcarcely be allowed a little homely one himſelf to die in; that he was forced to leave the ſumptuous monument of ſteel, erected in St George's chapel at Windſor for King Edward IV. St Mary's church at Nottingham, with Mr Plumtre's hoſpital, beſides other honourable and ornamental ſtructures there, unfiniſhed, becauſe the rewards of all his diligence, now that he had reached to the verge of his ſeventieth year, were ſuch and ſo inſufficient, that they could not prevent the aſſault of an execution upon him, at his houſe in Gardiner's-lane Weſtminſter; which probably haſtened his end. He deſired only the liberty of dying in his bed, and that he might not be removed to any other priſon but his grave; which was in the New-Chapel church-yard, near the place of his death; and this his final removal, as it appears in the pariſh regiſter of St Margaret's-church in that city, was on the 28th day of March, 1677, being attended to his interment by ſome few of his acquaintance; one of whom, Mr Francis Place of York beforementioned, communicated theſe particulars to the author of his life (*e*), as we have been obligingly informed by him; whoſe generous propoſition, to raiſe a decent monument over the place of his burial [G], is likely to wait 'till a more grateful age ſhall contribute to the accompliſhment thereof. Thus died this rare pattern of perſeverance in his profeſſion; a man, who, though all his life ſo averſe to all idleneſs and extravagance, has likewiſe left himſelf an example of exception againſt an often-confirmed maxim, and proved, that *Induſtry is* not always *the right hand of Fortune, nor Frugality the left.*

(*c*) Thoroton's Antiquities of Nottinghamſhire.

(*d*) Idem, p. 501.

(*e*) Life of Hollar, p. 235.

[G] *Propoſition to raiſe a monument over the place of his burial.*] The author of Hollar's life aforeſaid, conſidering how ungrateful it was, that he, who had raiſed ſo many ſumptuous monuments of great men, in the copies he has made of them, which will outlaſt the originals, ſhould now ſo long after his death, of as many fail, who might raiſe ſome little memorial of that kind in honour of him, very generouſly deſigned a decent monumental ſtone to be erected over Hollar's grave, if his impreſſion of the catalogue of his works, and the life of him annexed, ſhould meet with a ſuitable encouragement; and for that purpoſe has given us a ſculpture at the end of the ſaid life, of the form he intended the ſame ſhould be built in, with an inſcription ſetting forth, where, and when he was born; how famous he became by his indefatigable labours; how much eſteemed by the curious; and, after his peregrinations in many parts, was here depoſited to reſt in the year of our Lord, and of his age beforementioned. But no ſuch monument being erected, we may preſume there was no ſuch encouragement, by the curious who have ſo eſteemed him. After the ſaid plate was thus inſcribed, a friend of the author's ſent him the following

EPITAPH upon HOLLAR.

The Works of *Nature*, and of *Men*,
By thee preſerv'd, take life again;
And e'en thy PRAGUE ſerenely ſhines
Secure from *Ravage* in thy *Lines:*
In juſt Return, this Marble fain
Wou'd add ſome ages to thy name:
Too frail alas! 'tis forc'd to own,
Thy SHADOWS will out laſt the STONE. G

(*a*) The particulars of this article are chiefly taken from a manuſcript account of the Holles family written by Gervaſe Holles, Eſq; of Great-Grimſby in Lincolnſhire, now [1752] in the poſſeſſion of the Right Honourable Henrietta Cavendiſh Holles, Counteſs-Dowager of Oxford.

HOLLES [JOHN], the firſt Earl of Clare (*a*) of his name, was deſcended from the cadet of an antient family [*A*], being the eldeſt ſon of Denſil Holles of Erby, Eſq; by his

[*A*] *Deſcended from the cadet of an ancient family.*] In order to trace this family to it's original, Mr Gervaſe Holles begins with the etymology of the name, which he finds written variouſly both in ancient and modern records; as Holiſh, Holes, Holeys, Hollis, Hollies, Holles, and Hollys, but moſt frequently Holes (1) anciently; yet his grandfather and his father, always ſigned their names Hollys, though of late by all the family Holles, conforming in that to the firſt Earl of Clare. As to the etymology then, ſome who aver the original to be Holleys, will have the name to be French, and to ſound as much as hault-lys, in the French pronounciation Holys, the high flower de lize. Others would have it to be Holyes, gueſſing it from the creſt or *rebus*, which heretofore was uſed by the family, viz. the arm and hand holding a holly-buſh; but theſe ſeeming to be groundleſs fancies, that which my author moſt inclines to is (believing it to be truly written Holles), to ſignify as much as *concavitas*, hollowneſs; as Holland, Holcraft, &c. had likewiſe their denomination from the lowneſs or hollowneſs of their ſituation, and with this he believes the name to be local, and firſt aſſumed from a mannor called Holes or Holles in the county of Cheſter. There was a very ancient family of Holes in that county, denominated from the mannor beforementioned; whereof *Robert Holes* was Juſtice of Cheſter, anno. 1394, 20 R. II (2). He ſucceeded Robert de Veer, Duke of Ireland, Thomas Plantagenet, Duke of Glouceſter, and Thomas Moubray, Earl of Nottingham, in that office. After him was *Sir Hugh de Holles*, Knt. a Judge in the King's-bench in the reigns of Hen. IV. & V. and was buried in the church of Watford in Hertfordſhire, with this epitaph (3), as it was remaining in the laſt century.

(1) Andreas Holes, *Cancellarius Eccl. Sarum*, makes his Will anno 1467, whereby it appears, that Lady *Alianore Vernon*, the Lady of Brereton, and the Lady Joan of Fouleſhirſt, were his ſiſters. *Regiſt. Vocat. Godin. qu.* 30 *in Cur. Prærog. Cant.*

(2) Webb's Vale-Royal of England, p. 228.

(3) Weever's Fun. Mon. p. 591.

*Hic Jacet Hugo de Holes Miles Juſticiarius Banci Regis Tempore Regni—obiit—anno—*1415.

His wife is likewiſe entombed in the ſame church, with this epitaph (4).

(4) Ibid.

Hic jacet Margaretta quæ fuit Uxor Hugonis Holes——— obiit 4 *Die Martii* 1416.

Sir Wingfield Bodenham gave me (continues Mr Holles) the copy of a deed bearing date the laſt day of March, anno 16 R. II. 1392, whereby John Domville grants to Thomas de Holes his granchild and heir, the ſon of Margaret (his daughter and heir) his mannor of Modberleigh [called now Mobberley] in the county of Cheſter, to which is appendant his arms, viz. *Azure a Lyon*

his wife Eleanor, daughter of Edmund Lord Sheffield. He was born at Haughton in the county of Nottingham near the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign. From his childhood

o Lyon rampant, Argent collared Gules, which arms he charges him to bear upon his blessing (5). The said Thomas Holes, I take to be son of Sir Hugh de Holes and Margaret his wife beforementioned. For by inquisitions taken in 3 H. V (6). it appears that Sir Hugh de Holes held, the day he died, half of the mannors of Fordesham and Newport, and a third part of the mannor of Eggemandone in Com. Salop. of the King *in foccage*; Also the reversion of the mannor of Albrighton in the same county, held of the King *in capite* by Knight's service. And that Thomas de Holes is son and heir of the said Hugh, &c. as also to the third part of the mannor of Tillal in Com. Heref. held of the King *in capite* (7). It appears likewise that Andrew Holeys was of the bed-chamber to H. VI. who in the 13th year of his reign employed him with Adam Moleyns on an embassy to Pope Eugene, concerning the D. of Burgundy's being absolved from the oaths he took to the French King (8). From a cadet of this house, the first Earl of Clare derived himself in a pedigree written with his own hand (9), as follows: John Holles, Esq; living in the reign of Edward III. married Emma, daughter of ——— Eastleigh, and had issue John his son and heir, William second son, and a daughter Emma, wife of William de Bryanson. John the eldest had to wife, Anne, daughter to Thomas de Cornwal, by whom he had issue Edward, who had to wife Maud, daughter to Thomas de Syward, and had issue, John, James, and Richard. John the eldest wedded Jacobine, daughter to James de Grandone, and had issue Edward Holles, Esq; who married Joyce, daughter to Thomas Cantilupe, by whom he left issue John Holles of Stoke in Warwickshire, father of Thomas Holles of Stoke near Coventry, who had issue four sons and four daughters; John the eldest son, who married and left two daughters his coheirs; Sir William Holles, ancestor to the Earl of Clare; Thomas Holles a priest, and Edward Holles. Thus the Earl of Clare; but Mr Gervase Holles goes no higher than to Thomas Holles the father of the first Sir William Holles (10); and observes, that Humphry Randel of Stoke, living in the reign of H. VIII. affirmed, that he married a daughter of —— Moore, by a daughter of Thomas Holles, the father of Sir William Holles; and that the said Thomas, in the reign of K. Edward IV. dwelt in Stoke near Coventry, and was a man of good account and insight; but having slain a person there, he fled to Calais, where he staid seven years, 'till Henry VII. entered England, when he had a charge in the fight under him against K. R. III. His second son William (11), was certainly Sir William Holles, Lord-Mayor of London, who laid the foundation of the greatness of this family, and was born in Edward IVth reign at Stoke aforesaid, a village within a mile of Coventry, about the year 1471 (12). He was bound apprentice to Robert Kirvile, Citizen and Mercer of London, July 13, 8 H. VII. as appears from the register of Guild-hall cited in the margin [note 11] where he is mentioned to be the son of Thomas Holeys of Stoke yoeman. However Mr Gervase Holles thinks he was really a gentleman, persuaded thereof by the assertion of the first Earl of Clare, who in his letter to Lord Burleigh [mentioned in note 12] tells him, he was very able to give account, what the Lord-Mayor's ancestors were, when he should find them questioned. He was made free of the Mercer's company 17 Sept. 15 H. VII 1499 (13), chosen warden thereof 11 H. VIII. and master of the said company 21 H. VIII. (14). He was chosen Sheriff of Middlesex by the commonalty the last of August 19 H. VIII (15), and was elected Alderman of Aldgate ward on the last of March following in the same year of H. VIII (16). He received the honour of knighthood — October 25 H. VIII (17), and was elected Lord-Mayor of London on St Edward's day 31 H. VIII (18). Something more than a year after his mayoralty ended, and much about a year before his death he made his will, dated December 25, 1541, by which it appears among other things that he left 200 l. for the building a cross at Coventry, which beautiful cross was begun that year, and finished in 1544 (19). He died in October 1542 (20) at his house in London, and was buried in the church of St Helen's, where there is a monument of grey marble still standing over him in the midst of the north isle, but the inscription is intirely effaced. His estate that he left to his three sons was very great. I believe, says our author, as great as ever Lord-Mayor had before him. In the time of H VII. he had married Elizabeth, daughter of John [or Thomas] Scopeham, who died soon after him in London, March 13, 1543, and was buried at her own request in the same grave with her husband. By her will, among other things, it appears that she was the real foundress of those six alms houses in the parish of St Helen's, which, by Stowe (21) and others, are ascribed to Sir Andrew Judde, one of her executors. Sir William Holles had by her three sons, Thomas, William, and Francis, and a daughter Ann, who married John Whiddon, afterwards Chief Justice of the King's-bench, and it is said was the first judge who rode to Westminster-hall on a horse, the judges before his time riding on mules. Sir Thomas Holles eldest son of the Lord-Mayor, was a son of misfortune, and by his profuseness and improvidence the ruin both of himself and his posterity. His father left him a very fair estate, yet he lived to spend it all, and died in prison. But though the first branch withered, yet there remained a flourishing estate in the hands of the second, both to yield a present lustre and found a future greatness. This son William had left to him by his father, the mannor of Haughton, with the moiety of the mannors of Crumwell and Baseford, and the advowson of the church of Crumwell, with lands in Gamelston and Walesby in the county of Nottingham. The mannor and advowson of the Church of Irby, with his other mannors and lands in Castor, Cabourne, Cadney, Burgh in the Marsh, Moreton, Adlethorp, Winthorp, South Willingham, Nettleton cum Smythefield, Malton, and Whaplode in the county of Lincoln. The mannors of Pingilton, Blackwell, Whitewell, and Crossewell, with the advowson of the church of Whitewell in com. Derb. And his lands and tenements in the parish of St Clement Danes, St Giles, St Pancras, and Kentish-town in the county of Middlesex; which lands in the county of Middlesex by the improvement and building upon them, yield his heir at this present [1658] (22) 3000 l. a year, and when the leases are expired, they may treble that value. Besides he had in his father's life-time the moiety of Densel's estate with his wife (23), viz. on the partition the mannors of Densel alias Denysell, and Trenowith, with lands in Leving, Skilligorra, and Enesworgy in the county of Cornwall, and a little after his father's decease reverted to him (by the death of his younger brother Francis without issue, March 29, 33 H. VIII) the mannor of Yoxhall, with a good estate there in the county of Stafford. This Sir William Holles was born in London in the beginning of H. VIIIth's reign, and shortly after his father's decease, seated himself at Haughton in Nottinghamshire, a seat of the family of Long Villiers, from whence through Maulovel it descended upon Stanhope. He was by King Edward VI. made one of the Knights of the Carpet February 22, two days after the coronation, all those then summoned being to be made Knights of the Bath, but for want of time the ceremonies were omitted *. He was elected one of the Knights for the county of Nottingham, in the first year of Queen Mary; and was twice high-sheriff, the first time for Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, and the second time (after the division of the counties) for Nottinghamshire alone, in the 14th of Queen Elizabeth. He kept both the shrivalties with great pomp, and appeared at the several assizes with a very numerous retinue (24), but chusing a country life, he never desired to represent the county again in Parliament. He died at Haughton, 18th of January 1590; he had lived in great hospitality, and always kept a company of stage-players of his own, which presented him with masques and plays at festival times and on days of solemnity (25). He left two sons, Denzil and Gervase (26), and a daughter *Gertude, married to* Walter Stanley of West-Bromwich in Staffordshire, a cadet of the illustrious house of the Earls of *Derby*. For the payment of

(5) In 1742 this deed was in the possession of the Lady Henrietta Cavendish Holles, only daughter and heir of John Holles Duke of Newcastle, and Countess Dowager of Oxford.

(6) Esc. 3. H. V. Salop.

(7) Esc. 3. H. V. Heref.

(8) Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. X. p. 620.

(9) In the possession also of the Countess Dowager of Oxford, curiously painted with the effigies of the Earl of Clare, and the marches and arms of his ancestors.

(10) He goes no higher, because, as he observes, the Earl of Clare's descent is vouched by no record, which however is usual in the pedigrees in the Herald's office, where he met with it signed by the Earl's own hand. *Vid. Officin. Facial. Notit. anno* 1614.

(11) Stowe, in his Survey of London, p. 582. is mistaken, in asserting that William Holles of London, and Sir Thomas Holles of Stoke in Warwickshire, was the father of Sir William Holles. Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 95. & Regist. de Guildhall, 8 H. VII.

(12) He died, aged 71, in the year 1542. A letter of the first Earl of Clare to Lord Burleigh, cited by Mr Gervase Holles, ubi supra.

(13) Lime-street book of Freedoms, fol. 122 5.

(14) Records of Mercer's-hall, communicated to Mr Gervase Holles by Sir W. Dugdale.

(15) Stowe's Survey, p. 582.

(16) Regist. at Guildhall.

(17) In 2 Court-Roll of Irby in Lincolnshire, bearing date 8 *Octo* 25 *H. VIII.* he is called only *Alderman*; and in a record, dated the last of that month and the same year, he is stiled *Miles*. (18) Stowe, p. 582. and Regist. of Guildhall, 15 Mart. 1538. where are more particulars of his mayoralty; as also in Stowe, p. 182. b. and p. 274 a. and also Baker's Chron. Vita *H.* VIII. Hall's Chron. fol. 241 and 238. and Hollinshed, p. 948, 949, 950.

(19) Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 95. a.

(20) Cole's Esc. Lib. 2. 61 A. 13. p 26 in Bibl. Harl. and the probate of his Will bears date Dec. 18, 1542. Regist. Spert. qu. 24. Stowe in his Survey, p. 279. b. falsly sets him down buried in 1540.

(21) Survey of London, p. 90 and 182.

(22) This account by Mr Gervase Holles appears to be written in that year.

(23) Anne, eldest daughter and coheir of John Densel of Densel in the county of Cornwall, Serjeant at Law, descended from a family of great antiquity, denominated from the mannor of Densel in the parish of St Mawgan, the place of their residence; after her death he married Jane, daughter of Sir Richard Grosvenor, whom he also survived, but had no issue by her.

* N. B. John de Vere, 6th Earl of Oxford, with the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Hertford, and other noblemen, were then made Knights of the Bath; and being created with great royalty, were ordered to pay double fees to the Heralds. So Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 23. & MS. in Offic. Arm. I. 7.

(24) His retinue was always magnificent. At the coronation of Edward VI. he appeared with 50 followers in blue coats and badges, and always went to Retford sessions, but four miles from his house, with 30 proper fellows at his heels.

(25) This was unusual in those times among the greatest subjects.

(26) Grandfather to the author who compiled this account of the family.

hood he diſcovered an extraordinary genius above moſt of his contemporaries; his underſtanding and apprehenſion being quick, and his judgment ſound and ripe, even in the morning of his life, which yet (though contrary to common obſervation) continued vivid and vigorous even to the laſt. He had not attained the age of thirteen when he was ſent to Cambridge, but ſo well fitted for the univerſity, that the Maſter of the college into which he was admitted, examining him, as uſual, both in Grammar and Greek, received ſuch unexpected ſatisfaction at thoſe years to every queſtion, that taking him up into his arms, he kiſſed him, and ſaid to the by-ſtanders, *This child, if he lives, will prove a ſingular honour and ornament to this kingdom.* From the univerſity he was ſent by his father to Gray's-Inn, where he continued ſome years, and furniſhed himſelf with ſo much knowledge in the Law, as was neceſſary both for the management of his private eſtate, and for the ſervice of his country in the diſcharge of public offices; ſo that there never was a more upright or a more able juſticiary. Thus accompliſhed, he was called to the Court, and choſen by Queen Elizabeth into the band of her Penſioners, a poſt at that time of much honour (*b*). But being reſolved to compleat himſelf in every branch of the moſt genteel education, he entered into the army, and ſerved firſt for ſome time as a volunteer, under his kinſman Sir Francis Vere, in the Netherlands. He afterwards entered into the ſea-ſervice, and was in the famous engagement in 1588. He was then but young, and without any command; yet he was called to all the councils of war *, and particularly was preſent at that great debate, whether they ſhould engage the Spaniſh fleet or no; which was with difficulty carried in the affirmative, eſpecially by the ſound and reſolute arguments of Sir Martin Forbiſher. He had ſuch ſtrength and activity at this time, that being heavily armed at all pieces he could without difficulty climb to the top of the talleſt ſhip in that fleet. In the year 1590, he loſt firſt his father and then his grandfather, whereby there devolved upon him a very fair and opulent inheritance, and with it the care of divers brothers and ſiſters [*B*]. Shortly after his grandfather's death, namely, in May 1591, being then

(*b*) See remark [*E*].

* Edward Vere, Earl of Oxford, in pure love to his country, had hired ſhips at his own charge, and joined the grand fleet. Camden's Eliz. in Hiſt. of Eng. Vol. II. P. 547.

of this daughter's portion, her father ſold ſome lands in Derbyſhire, and others in Burgh in the Marſh, Adelthorp, and Winthorp in Lincolnſhire. Denſil the eldeſt ſon of this Sir William Holles, was born at London about 1538 (27). His mother's ſirname gave him his chriſtian name of Denſil, and he married Eleanor, daughter to Edmund Lord Sheffield, the firſt Baron of that race, about the cloſe of Queen Mary's reign; and the manor of Irby, with other lands in Lincolnſhire, being ſettled upon him at his marriage, he fixed his reſidence at Irby (four miles from Great Grimſby) lying at the entrance upon the Wolds. A place, ſays our author, happy in the ſweetneſs of the air, and very delightful by the pleaſant hills and dales, where there are dry and inviting walks both ſummer and winter, with a welcome proſpect toward the ſea; affording as good hawking and hunting, and as good conveniency for training and airing young horſes, as can be found any where. This Lordſhip not being intirely his own, he purchaſed that part which belonged to our author's grandfather Kingſton (28), and had it conveyed to him 18 Eliz. viz. one meſſage, one cottage, a garden, an orchard, 104 acres of land, 30 acres of meadow, and 40 acres of paſture, with the appurtenances. After this purchaſe he improved the Lordſhip by incloſing it, and dividing it into farms laying the lands of each farm by themſelves, which he fenced with quickſet hedges, the beſt and moſt thriving in all the country; this added much both to the beauty of the place and conveniency of the inhabitants. He had alſo that juſt care as to leave the commons very large (beyond the proportion of any of their neighbours); and all theſe together, ſays my author, has been the cauſe, that I never knew in that town any tenant that was not thriving. He had a deſign likewiſe of building a fair manſion houſe near to the place where the ſprings of Welbeck have their riſe, &c. but theſe deſigns were cut ſhort by his death, which happened at Irby, April 22, 1590, near nine months before his father, being then about 52 years of age, and was buried in the chancel of that church under a grave ſtone without any inſcription. His wife died before him, having brought him beſides John the eldeſt, afterwards Earl of Clare, the ſubject of the preſent article, three more ſons, *William*, who died a youth, Sir *George Holles*, and *Thomas*, and five daughters, *Douglas*, *Frances*, *Anne*, *Jane*, and *Gertrude*, of all whom mention will be made in the ſequel (29).

(27) In his picture in the cuſtody of the Counteſs-dowager of Oxford, his age is mentioned to be 48, anno 1586.

(28) Our author's father, Freſcheville Holles, married Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of John Kingſton, Eſq;

(29) They were all born at Irby except the eldeſt ſon. His daughter Douglas, who died before him, was probably named from her aunt, wife to John Lord Sheffield, and daughter of Will. Lord Howard of Effingham, of whom ſee remark [*I*].

[*B*] *An opulent inheritance, and the care of divers brothers and ſiſters.*] As to his inheritance on the inquiſition taken at Nottingham October 4, 33 Eliz. after the death of Sir William Holles his grandfather, the jury found that the ſaid Sir William died on the 26th of January laſt, and that John Holles was his grandſon and heir, and at that time 25 years of age. His grandfather died ſeized of the mannors of Haughton, Eaſthall, Cromwell, and Carleton, with the advowſon of the church of Cromwell, Foxhall-grange in Bothomſale and Haughton, the mannor of Baſford, with the advowſion of the rectory of Kirton, and advowſion of the church of Bothomſale, and divers meſſuages and lands in Haughton, Great Markham, Bothomſale, and Waleſby, all in Com. Nott. the mannor of Yoxall in Staffordſhire, the mannor of Blackwell in Derbyſhire, the mannor of Denſell alias Deinſell in Cornwall, and of forty meſſuages, twenty cottages, 20 toſts, one mill, one dove-houſe, ſixty gardens, ſixty acres of meadow, one hundred acres of paſture, and ten acres of wood, in the pariſhes of St Clement Danes without Temple-bar, St Giles, and St Pancraſe in the Fields, and Kentiſh town, in the county of Middleſex, to all which the ſaid John Holles was his heir. Moreover by his father's will he ſucceeded to the mannor of Irby, as likewiſe to lands purchaſed by him in Barnalbie (30). With regard to his brothers and ſiſters, of theſe latter which were now four, two only lived to be married, Frances, in the life-time of her father, to Sir Francis Cooke of Truſsley in the county of Derby, Knt (31), eldeſt brother to Sir John Cooke, Principal Secretary of State in the reign of King Charles I. And Jane, after her father's deceaſe, became the wife of Thomas Saunderſon, Eſq; younger brother of Sir Nicholas Saunderſon, Viſcount Caſtleton. By her father's will, her fortune on the deceaſe of her two ſiſters Anne and Gertrude before marriage being trebled, was advanced to 3000 marks. Concerning his two brothers; Sir George Holles was born February 19, 1575, and Thomas, in 1579. He ſent them both to Cambridge, from whence the elder, Sir George, made a ſally into the Netherlands, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the wars againſt the Spaniards. In the famous battle of Newport, where Sir Francis Vere (by the ſingular courage of the Engliſh, and the good conduct of his brother Sir Horace Vere after he himſelf was ſhot) overcame the Spaniards and obtained a great victory, Sir George received a wound in his right arm with a pike, and a ſhot in his body. After that, for the ſpace of nine months he ſerved within Oſtend, where Sir Francis Vere was Governor, and at the time when the Marquis Spinola beſieged it. There he ſucceeded to the company of Captain Wilford then ſlain (32), and afterwards received a ſhot in at his left eye, and out of his neck behind, with which he immediately fell down ſenſeleſs from the parapet of the town, and was carried off by his friends, who got him into bed. A while after he recovered his ſenſes, but was blind, the anguiſh of one eye having for the preſent taken away the ſight of the other. So ſoon as he came to himſelf he groped for his breeches, in the pockets of which, he remembred, there

(30) See the Will in Regiſt. vocat. Drury in Cur. Prærog. Cantuar. Qu. 31.

(31) He was appointed by his father-in-law executor of his Will, jointly with his eldeſt ſon John Holles.

(32) By this promotion he loſt an annuity of 13 l. 6 s. 8 d. bequeathed by the father's Will to each of his ſons for life, or 'till either came to preferment worth 50 l. per annum, in which caſe to remain to the other brother.

then 26 years of age, he entered into a marriage with Anne, the only daughter of Sir Thomas Stanhope of Shelford in the county of Nottingham, Knight (c). This marriage, though it brought him all the happineſs that could be hoped for in a wife, yet it conveyed to him a deep and laſting animoſity from a great and potent neighbour, the ſon of his grandfather's eſpecial friend, Gilbert Earl of Shrewſbury [C]. But his courage and good fortune

(c) Anceſtor to the preſent Earl of Cheſterfield, Earl Stanhope, Earl of Harrington, and others.

there was ſome gold, and miſſing it, he ſwore an oath that the French had made a booty of him (it being near their quarters that he fell), but being told that his friends had taken it out for ſafety, he was well ſatisfied. Of this hurt he recovered, but loſt his eye, over which he wore a black patch ever after. At length for his ſignal ſervices he was made Serjeant-Major-General of the Engliſh forces in the Low-countries, and died in London unmarried in 1626 (33), and by his laſt will made his nephew Denſil Holles (afterwards Lord Holles of Iſfield) and Mr Nicholas Drake his executors. He lies buried on the eaſt ſide of the chapel of St John the Evangeliſt in Weſtminſter-abbey, next to his kinſman, and firſt commander Sir Francis Vere. His funeral was ſolemnized May 23, 1626; and Mr Gervaſe Holles relates, that it was the greateſt and moſt ſolemn of any in thoſe days. To which, continues he, both the advantage of time and place added much; it happening ſoon after the term, in Parliament time, and a little before the expedition to the iſle of Rhee, when London was full of nobility, gentry, and commanders. All the city trained-bands were preſent. The hearſe was borne by twenty-four colonels and field-officers, eight at a time, the reſt encompaſſing it. His brother the Earl of Clare, and the Lord Vere of Tilbury, were the chief mourners; a great train of the nobility and gentry followed it, and an infinite concourſe of people of all ſorts were ſpectators. The Earls of Oxford and Eſſex offered their aſſiſtance to bear the corps, but the Earl of Clare would not permit them. Over his grave his brother the Earl of Clare ſhortly after erected a handſome monument. His effigies, curiouſly performed, is in the habit of a Roman General ſtanding on a pedeſtal in a commanding poſture, with a battoon in his hand, and is enriched with other figures, cartouches, &c.

(33) See the Latin inſcription on his monument, in the chapel of St John the Evangeliſt in Weſtminſter-abbey.

We ſhall now proceed to Thomas Holles his younger brother, who alſo made a ſally from the Inns of Court into the Netherlands not long after his brother, and became like him a brave and eminent commander. He was (ſays Gervaſe Holles) Lieutenant-Colonel to Sir Horace Vere's regiment conſiſting of thirty-two companies, and was at the ſieges of Sluys, Gulicke, the Grave, Grell, Rhinebergh, and the famous ſieges of the Boſch and Maeſtricht, where he was appointed to aſſault the breach, as my Lord Craven can witneſs, who, as a volunteer, aſſiſted him in that aſſault. He died in Holland, October 13, 1642, aged ſixty-three. He had to wife, Katharine, daughter of Joachimi Van Ecke of Guelderland, by whom he had iſſue two ſons and two daughters; Denſil, who died an infant, George, an officer in the ſervice of the States, who died at Maeſtricht, unmarried, the 10th of March 1654, and was buried in St John's church there; Eleanor, who died unmarried, and Elizabeth, who wedded Theodore Becquer, but died without iſſue.

[C] *This match drew him into a quarrel with the Earl of Shrewſbury.*] It ſeems there had been a treaty between the old Earl of Shrewſbury and Sir William Holles, concerning a marriage betwixt this his grandſon and a neice or kinſwoman of the Earl's. To which motion, whether he meant it in earneſt, or pretending it only for fear of diſpleaſing his grandfather, he ſeemed not unwilling, ſo that every one thought it would have proceeded. But after the deceaſe of them both (for George Earl of Shrewſbury and Sir William Holles died in the ſame year) liking Mrs Stanhope better, he married her, and relinquiſhed the Earl's kinſwoman. This the Earl took as the greateſt affront, the rather becauſe Sir Thomas Stanhope and the Earl were great enemies. The proceſs of this difference cauſed a great deal of trouble and ſome loſs of blood. For firſt, Roger Orme, who was then Sir John Holles's ſervant, though afterwards a captain in Ireland and the Low-Countries, fought a duel with one Pudſey gentleman of the horſe to the Earl of Shrewſbury, in which Pudſey was ſlain. And this quarrel aroſe upon the grounds of the difference between their maſters. The Earl eagerly proſecuted Orme's life, but Sir John Holles got him conveyed into Ireland, and maugre the Earl's power, procured his pardon of Queen Elizabeth. Upon Orme's buſineſs followed that of his own with my couſin Gervaſe Markham, ſo much talked of yet in theſe parts. Gervaſe Markham was a great confident, or as the phraſe is now, the gallant of the Counteſs of Shrewſbury, and was uſually in thoſe days termed her champion. A proper handſome gentleman he was, and of a great courage. He, after Pudſey was ſlain, let fall ſome paſſionate words, accuſing Sir John Holles as the cauſe of that quarrel, and as being guilty of his death. This coming to the ears of Sir John, he ſends him a chartell to this effect.

For GERVASE MARKHAM,

Whereas you have ſaid that I was guilty to that villany of Orme in the death of Pudſey, I affirm that you ly; and ly like a villaine, which I ſhall be ready to make good upon your ſelf, or upon any gentleman my equal living.

JOHN HOLLES.

Markham returned for anſwer, That he accepted the challenge, and would accordingly give a meeting ſuch an hour alone, or with either of them a boy of fourteen or under; the place Workſop Park, and the weapons rapier and dagger. Sir John Holles allowing of the other circumſtances, excepted againſt the place, being the park where his mortal enemy the Earl of Shrewſbury then lived, which he thought neither reaſonable for himſelf to admit, nor honourable for his enemy to propound, and therefore urged, that a more equal place might be aſſigned. Markham taking advantage of this, as if he had declined the encounter, publiſhes it accordingly to his diſgrace. Sir John Holles finding this unworthy dealing, and that he could not have an equal place aſſigned him, reſolved to take that opportunity, which fortune ſhould next offer him, and ſuch a one ſhortly after offered itſelf on the following occaſion. To the chriſtening of his ſecond ſon Denzil Holles, the Lady Stanhope his mother-in-law was invited a godmother, after which performed, ſhe returned from Haughton to Shelford; and Sir John Holles accompanying her part of the way over the foreſt of Shirwood, it fortuned, that Gervaſe Markham with others in his company met them, and paſſed by. So ſoon as he ſaw that Markham was paſſed, he took leave of the Lady Stanhope, galloped after, and overtook him. When obſerving how unworthily he had dealt with him, they both alighted, and drew their rapiers. I have heard him ſay, that upon the firſt encounter he uſed theſe words, *Markham, Guard your ſelf better, or I ſhall ſpoil you preſently*; (for he ſaid, he lay as open to him as a child) and the next paſs he run him between the privities and the bottom of the guts up to the hilt, and out behind toward the ſmall of the back. With this wound Markham fell, and was carried off the field by thoſe in his company, whilſt Sir John Holles with his ſervant Aſhton and a groom, who only were with him, returned to Haughton. The news coming to the Earl of Shrewſbury, he immediately raiſed of his ſervants and tenants to the number of one hundred and twenty, with a reſolution to apprehend Sir John Holles, ſo ſoon as he ſhould know, that Markham's wound was mortal; which Edmund Lord Sheffield, afterwards Earl of Mulgrave, underſtanding, he ſpeedily repaired to Haughton, with threeſcore in his retinue out of Lincolnſhire, to aſſiſt his couſin-german, in caſe the Earl ſhould attempt any thing. An old ſervant of Sir John Holles told me, he was preſent, when the Lord Sheffield came, and that his maſter going forth to meet him, he aſked him, how it was with Markham? he replied, That *he thought the greateſt danger was, that he had ſpoiled his whoring. I bear couſin*, ſays the Lord Sheffield, *that my Lord of Shrewſbury is prepared to trouble you, take my word, before he carry you, it ſhall coſt many a broken pate.* And he went in and remained at Haughton until they had certain account, that Markham was paſſed danger, who indeed recovered, and lived after to be an old man, but never after eat ſupper, nor received the ſacrament; which two things he raſhly vowed not to do, until he were revenged.

[D] *He*

fortune carried him through all the oppoſition he met with on this occaſion with honour and advantage. Indeed his courage was ſo great, that it rendered him in a manner unconcerned at any danger with which his enemies could threaten him; ſo that he aſſumed for his motto in theſe times, *Qui inimicum timet, amicum non amat.* However, finding there was much animoſity and a ſtrong combination againſt him, he reſolved to take a proper method to divert it; and thence, indulging alſo his own inclination ſtrongly bent to knowledge and actions of honour, he made ſeveral ſallies out of the kingdom, and ſpent many years either in travail or military employments, and *that* after a marriage to a lady, who both deſerved and had for him a very great and tender affection. Some of his time he ſpent in Ireland under the then Deputy Sir William Fitz-Williams; where, accompanying Sir Henry Norris in an expedition he made againſt the Iriſh rebels, and behaving in that ſervice with great bravery, he received from the Deputy at his return the honour of knighthood (*d*), as a reward of his merit. He ſerved likewiſe two years in Hungary againſt the Turks; and in his paſſage to and from thence, viewed and obſerved the beſt parts of France and Italy; both which languages he was maſter of, and reaſonably well of the Spaniſh. And whilſt he ſerved in Hungary, he grew ſo perfect in that tongue, that he might have paſſed for a native *. His laſt military employment was with the Earl of Eſſex to the Terceras, an iſland of the Azores, in the year 1597, in the company of his kinſman Sir Francis Vere, who was Lord-Marſhal in that expedition (*e*), with whom he ſailed in the ſhip called the Mary Roſe (*f*). Theſe, and thoſe beforementioned, were the ſcenes of his warfare, which gave him great advantage in knowledge, and added greatly to his reputation. But before this laſt voyage he daſhed upon a rock, which probably might have ſunk him, and indeed threatened more danger than all thoſe enmities he had encountered before. This was a ſharp difference with the Lord Burleigh [*D*], Lord High-Treaſurer of England, who was then and long before of great power with the Queen. But this danger vaniſhed upon the death of the Treaſurer, which happened ſoon afterwards. Neither did this quarrel caſt him at all (as his enemies hoped it would) in the Queen's regard, who never ſteered her opinion of any man by the paſſions or affections of others, but by her own judgment: ſo ſhe continued to him that ſame gracious favour ſhe had always done, even to her deceaſe, which happened about five years after. Upon the acceſſion of King James I. to the throne, Sir John Holles, much out of humour with the new face of things at Court [*E*], retired into the country and attended his eſtate, which 'till then he had very little leiſure to look into, and which he had impaired, by ſelling lands of good value both in Lincolnſhire and Derbyſhire after his grandfather's deceaſe [*F*].

He

(*d*) Mr James Howel obſerves, that this power of conferring honours and knighthood, is a point of grandeur in which the Lord-Deputy of Ireland exceeded the Viceroy of Naples or any other that he knew. Howel's Letters, Vol. I. Sect. 6. Lett. xxxvi. p. 226. edit. 1650.

* The laſt cited author having written an Eſſay concerning the original, growth, changes, and preſent conſiſtence, of the French language, ſubmitted it to his Lordſhip's correction, as to a perſon who had an exact knowledge of many languages, not in a ſuperficial vapouring way, but in a moſt exact manner, both in point of practice and theory. *Ibid.* p. 469. *edit.* 1754.

(*e*) See an account of this expedition, in a piece entitled, The Commentaries of Sir Francis Vere, being diverſ pieces wherein he had Command; written by himſelf in a way of Commentary. Publiſhed by William Dillingham, D. D. 1657.

(*f*) See a liſt of gentry at the end of a diſcourſe concerning that voyage.

[*D*] *He had a ſharp difference with Lord Burleigh.*] What was the grounds of this quarrel is not certainly known, though ſome have imagined it to be the very great familiarity, that Sir John Holles had with the Lady Hatton, the Treaſurer's grand-child *; but certain it is that the Treaſurer, during the preparation for this expedition, inveighed bitterly againſt him (with little arguments of that gravity and wiſdom he had formerly expreſſed) in the Exchequer Chamber. This imprudent and injurious behaviour of the Treaſurer did exceedingly inflame Sir John Holles, and he reſolved not to ſit down with it, but to return him his own. In this ſpirit he writes him a letter, wherein he lets him know the malice and falſhood of his invectives, and then retorts ſeverely upon himſelf, and that in ſo home and nicking a way, as the Treaſurer had never met with the like in his life. The delivery of this letter, continues our author, he entruſted with my father (34), giving him direction, that as ſoon as he received notice that he was got on ſhip-board, he ſhould go with it to the Treaſurer's houſe at dinner-time, and after he had delivered it to one of the ſervants, he ſhould ſlip away and make ſpeed to the fleet after him. This was performed accordingly; and the Treaſurer having read the letter, and being in a great paſſion, ſent out preſently to apprehend the bearer, but he was gone, and being a young gentleman unknown at Court, no man could tell him what he was. Moreover, as Sir John Holles thought he had received a public injury, he reſolved to make his vindication as public; and to that end, diſperſed among his friends divers copies of this letter, which yet remain in ſeveral hands, and one I had, but have loſt it. I have heard many wiſe men ſay, they eſteemed this one of the boldeſt acts that ever he did: for the Treaſurer having power enough, would not have wanted means one way or other to have ruined him. Nor was he unapt (as ſome that knew him have affirmed) to ſecret revenges, which his own creature Camden (35), doth more than darkly inſinuate in the death of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton.

* As the Earl of Clare had the higheſt veneration for the family of Vere, it may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that Edward Vere Earl of Oxford, who married Burleigh's daughter, had at this time quarelled with him, for refuſing his ſuit to intercede for the life of the Duke of Norfolk, condemned for aſſiſting Mary Queen of Scots. Dugd. Baronage, Vol. I. p. 199.

(34) Freſcheville Holles, ſon of Gervaſe, mentioned in note (26). He was alſo, as well as his couſin the Earl of Clare, in the famous engagement againſt the Spaniards in 1588. Our author had an only ſon of the ſame name, who became a brave ſea-officer, as appears from his monument in St Edward's chapel in Weſtminſter-abbey.

(35) Annal. Eliz. anno 1570.

[*E*] *Out of humour with the new face of things at Court.*] My author having obſerved that the Queen's death conveyed a great and general lamentation to all her ſubjects, and to him [Sir John Hollis] who ever had faithfully and religiouſly ſerved and honoured her, and moſt ſincerely loved his country, of which ſhe was the glory, felicity, and firmament, &c. proceeds thus: This bright ſtar ſet, the ſcene at Court was ſtrangely altered, for though King James entered with the greateſt expectation and acclamations that any Prince could do, (ſuch as his wiſdom and virtues well merited) yet he brought with him a crew of neceſſitous and hungry Scots, and filled every corner of the Court with theſe hungry blue-caps. This was that which firſt darkened the glory of the Engliſh Court, which Queen Elizabeth had ever maintained in great luſtre. *I have heard the Earl of Clare ſay, that when he was penſioner to the Queen, he did not know a worſe man of the whole band than himſelf; and that all the world knew he had then an inheritance of* 4000 *l. a year.* It was the conſtant cuſtom of that Queen to call out of all counties in the kingdom, the gentlemen of the greateſt hopes, and the beſt fortune and families, and with thoſe to fill the more honourable rooms of her houſhold ſervants; by which ſhe honoured them, obliged their kindred and alliance, and fortified herſelf. But when moſt of thoſe rooms were poſſeſſed by ſuch trotting companions, the better ſort of the gentry declined the Court, as ſcorning their fellowſhip. Hence it followed, that in a little time, the Court was in a manner wholly compoſed of theſe Scots, and ſuch inconſiderable perſons, as favourites preferred, or money introduced. This cauſed Sir John Holles at that time to retire into the country.

[*F*] *He had ſold ſome lands after his grandfather's death.*] However he repaired that loſs by a far greater improvement afterwards. For he purchaſed the lordſhip of Gamelſton, Maplebecke, and Bevercotes, with a mannor in Baſeford; the rectories of Bothomſale, Eaſt-Markham, and Weſt-Markham, with divers lands in Elkeſly, Waleſby, and little Drayton, all in the county of Nottingham. He likewiſe purchaſed one half of Prince's-ſtreet in Drury-lane, and cauſed to be erected thoſe edifices called Loche's buildings, with the moſt part of Clement's-inn lane, Blackmore-ſtreet by Drury-lane, and a part of Clement's-inn-fields. So that by theſe purchaſes and improvements, he advanced his eſtate before his death to near 8000 *l.* per ann. He likewiſe enlarged Thurland-houſe (now called Clare-

He was engaged during this reign in three conſiderable law-ſuits, the firſt of which being carried for the Crown [*G*], made him much averſe to King James, for whom he had little kindneſs. However, when Prince Henry was created Prince of Wales, May 30, 1610, Sir John Holles was by the King appointed Comptroller of his Houſhold †. In this office he continued during the Prince's life, which was about two years and a half after [*H*]. But with the loſs of that brave Prince all his favour at Court vaniſhed, and he lay open and expoſed to the reſentments of his adverſaries: ſo that, about three years after a bill was filed againſt him in the Star-Chamber, containing ſeveral allegations of high miſdemeanours, which were particularly preſſed and amplified by Sir Edward Coke, Chief Juſtice [*I*]. And though Sir John made a defence, the eloquence of which gave great

† Henry Earl of Oxford was the firſt choſen to be of the order of the Bath at this creation. Anſtis's Obſervations on the Knights of the Bath, p. 61, & ſeq. This is mentioned as an inſtance of the connection between the two families of Vere and Holles, which was moſt aſſiduouſly cultivated by this firſt Earl of Clare.

Clare-houſe) in Nottingham, and new built the Inn called the Blackmoor's-head there. He had alſo an intention of building a new houſe at Haughton, and had ſeveral platforms drawn of it, reſolving to have ſeated it on higher grounds above the barns; but the charge thereof was like to be ſo great, that he thought it better to conſider of, than to undertake it.

[*G*] *He had three law ſuits, of which the firſt was carried for the Crown.*] This firſt law-ſuit was about the wardſhip of Robert Sutton, afterwards Lord Lexington, whoſe mannor of Averſham, was held of his mannor of Haughton by fealty and knight ſervice, which had ever been performed by the anceſtors of Mr Sutton, to the anceſtors and predeceſſors of Sir John Holles; and their wardſhips accordingly accrued, when any of thoſe Suttons died, and the heir within age. But when this laſt fell, a trick was found to intitle the King thereto, for whom judgment was given in the Court of Wards againſt Sir John. His ſecond law-ſuit was with the Society of the Inn of Chancery, called Clement's Inn; and the caſe was thus: Sir William Hawte, and Margaret his wife, had long before ſold by their deed bearing date 17th of December, 23 H. VIII. to Sir William Holles [the Lord-Mayor] their mannor or capital meſſuage called Clement's-Inn, with divers other meſſuages, lands, and tenements, in the pariſhes of St Giles and St Panchraſe in the county of Middleſex. Shortly after, Sir William Holles demiſes the capital meſſuage called Clement's-Inn to that corporation of ſtudents for the term of ninety-nine years, reſerving a rent. That term near expired, the Earl of Clare his great-grand-child and heir reſolving to enter upon it, and theſe clerks and attornies to keep the poſſeſſion they had got, he put it in ſuit; and they brought the Earl into Chancery; there the Lord-Keeper —— to favour thoſe ſetting-dogs * of his own profeſſion, decreed, that they ſhould hold their poſſeſſion for ever, acknowledging him lord of the fee, and paying him a ſmall yearly rent, with an allowance to him and his heirs of two chambers in that houſe for a ſollicitor. Both theſe cauſes were carried againſt him with all the injuſtice that might be; the firſt by the power of the King, and the next by the partiality of the lawyers. In the third, though he had a worſe cauſe, yet he found better ſucceſs. It was concerning the rectories [impropriations] of Elkeſley and Bothomſale, which he had purchaſed for a valuable conſideration; but there proving a flaw in the title, he was impleaded by one Brigham, who pretended to a better right, and he was forced to fly to equity. I well remember, that I attended him to Sir Humphry Davenport, Sir Thomas Crew, Sir Francis Aſhley (all then ſerjeants), and to Mr Noy, all whom he would have retained as counſel in this cauſe. Sir Humphrey Devenport (though a great lover and honourer of him) abſolutely refuſed him. The other would appear for him; but all adviſed him to compound it as well as he could, telling him he would be caſt. He found he had been abuſed, and was very unwilling to loſe what he had well paid for; ſo he procured meetings with the then Lord-keeper, Sir Thomas Coventry. They met in Hatton-houſe garden. When the day of hearing came, I attended my Lord of Clare to Weſtminſter-hall. I remember we met there with Mr Serjeant Glanvil, who was one of Brigham's counſel, who ſaluting him ſaid, *My Lord, I am againſt you to day, and believe you muſt loſe the cauſe.* And the ſame Serjeant when he argued, told the Keeper, *That this cauſe would not require many words, for it was the ſame* (terminis terminantibus) *that he had decreed that very term between ſuch and ſuch parties.* Yet in concluſion, the Keeper gave judgment for the Earl. I have heard the Keeper much condemned for that judgment, who was a man of great abilities and learning in his profeſſion, and for a good while had the reputation of a juſt Judge: but at laſt he appeared with a bare face, and died very ſeaſonably before the Parliament met, elſe no man had heard louder of his corruptions. The loſs of Mr Sutton's wardſhip made Sir John Holles, as ſome have thought, much averſe to King James, for whom he had little kindneſs; nor indeed was a friend to his memory. I have heard him ſay, *That he came to govern a people, that he knew he was not worthy of, and then he was ruled himſelf by two beggars, and a baſe fellow,* Suffolk, Northampton, and Saliſbury. And at any time when he mentioned any thing, which he thought an error in that King, he would ever give his diſcourſe this ſevere cloſe, *which now he feels.*

* Theſe are our author's words.

[*H*] *He was Comptroller of the houſhold to Prince Henry.*] The Prince ever expreſſed a very great love to him and value of him, inſomuch that once he took a progreſs to his houſe at Haughton, where he continued with him many days, and found an entertainment anſwerable to his greatneſs. And I may well queſtion, had the Prince lived to be King, whether any ſubject had found greater proofs of his love. But in 1612 that Prince died. A Prince of ſo great expectation, that not only the eyes of all England, but of all Chriſtendom, were upon him. Moſt people think he was poiſoned, and the Earl of Somerſet not a little ſuſpected for it. I remember Sir George Radcliff told me, he aſked the Earl of Clare, whether he thought the Prince was poiſoned or no, and that he replied, *he thought he was not; but if he was, he believed he had it half a year before he died.* What he meant by that, Sir George underſtood not; nor did he further queſtion him. But I think that had he believed it, and ſuſpected Somerſet of it, he would eternally have hated and abhorred him, whereas, on the contrary, he continued to his death his friendſhip to him.

[*I*] *Allegations preſſed by Sir Edward Coke, and invalidated by Sir John Holles.*] 'Tis ſaid Sir Edward Coke bore a ſpleen againſt him for the familiarity which Sir John Holles had with his then wife, the Lady Elizabeth Hatton. The allegations were, that he had private conference with two jeſuits, Jervas and Garnet, at their execution; and that in all his leaſes to his tenants, he inſerted a condition that they ſhould not go to law one with another, but ſhould make him the umpire of all their differences; with other charges as inconſiderable. But the Chief Juſtice called *thoſe covenants regal covenants,* and ſaid, *it was no leſs than to uſurp over his tenants a regal authority.* He ſaid, that his private conference with thoſe traitors the jeſuits, was a boldneſs of a dangerous inſinuation, and ought to be both cenſured and puniſhed; and with his law rhetoric endeavoured to give as ugly a face, as he could, both to thoſe, and the reſt of his charges. Sir John Holles made his own defence, being ſecond both in reaſon and oratory to no perſon that I knew in his time. He told the Lords, that he wondered much how he could have ſuffered ſo great a charge and inconvenience upon ſuch ſlight accuſations; did he not know withal, that ſince the death of his royal maſter, he had been left *tanquam piſcis in aridum littus.* But it was his happineſs, he ſaid, that he was to make his defence before ſuch honourable perſons, who would rightly judge both of his innocency, and the malice of his adverſaries. He then profeſſed, that if he had erred at all, they were only errors of ignorance. For he could not underſtand at all, that it might be miſconſtrued a crime in him, to endeavour that his poor tenants ſhould not undo one another by unneceſſary ſuits and quarrels, whilſt he might be a medium to reconcile their differences. And having had the honour to ſerve the Crown in near relations, and having been ever bred up in a ſchool of duty and obedience, he was far from that preſumption to trench in the leaſt manner upon

great ſatisfaction to his hearers, yet he was committed to the Fleet, where he continued a priſoner ſome weeks; until at laſt he came out a Baron of England, being created ſuch on the 9th of July 1616, in the 14th year of King James (g). For this dignity he paid the then favourite, the Duke of Buckingham, ten thouſand pounds ſterling [K]. 'Tis certain that, much about this time, he in a manner wholly withdrew from Court [L]. However,

(g) The preamble of his patent mentions only his ſervice to Prince Henry, his integrity and fidelity to the Crown, and his abilities to ſerve it.

upon regal authority. That he could as little apprehend, how his diſcourſe with thoſe condemned perſons could inſinute any dangerous conſequence, ſince dying men are far from a capacity to threaten any ſuch thing. Adding, that he had travelled the beſt parts of Chriſtendom, and obſerved the cuſtoms of thoſe people amongſt whom he came, but could never obſerve, that any man was prohibited to ſpeak to a dying perſon. Sir Edward Coke (who had as much law and levity in him, as any of his profeſſion ever had) interrupted him, ſcoffingly turning upon him that verſe of Virgil, a little varied,

Et quæ tanta fuit Tiburne tibi cauſa videndi?

We have ſeen that this was not the only vengeance which Sir John's ſuſpected intrigue with Lady Hatton brought upon him, and the ſilence of his advocate Mr Gervaſe Holles upon that head, leaves room to conclude that the ſuſpicion was not entirely without good grounds. If ſo, it may be obſerved, that he inherited this weakneſs from his father Denſil Holles, who was inſerted in a paſquil made in thoſe days upon the Lincolnſhire gentlemen, as follows:

Hollys hits in every hole,
And Denſil drives thro' all their dintes,
He gets his neighbours wives with fole,
And yet they ſay the man but mintes.

I remember, ſays Mr Gervaſe Holles, that walking in Irby grounds with the firſt Earl of Clare, he ſhewed me a handſome farm houſe, telling me his father built it to pleaſe a fooliſh woman. The truth is, he was ſeldom without one or other in it for his private uſe and pleaſure. But this could not be ſo private, as to be unknown to his wife, who notwithſtanding ſhe had, as it ſhould ſeem, recourſe to patience, as the only remedy in the caſe of a huſband's falſeneſs to the marriage-bed; yet ſhe proved inexorable in the caſe of her ſiſter-in-law Douglas, daughter of William Lord Howard of Effingham, and wife to John Lord Sheffield, of whoſe incontinency with the Earl of Leiceſter, detected by this Denſil's wife, we have the following account by Mr Gervaſe Holles. The Lord Sheffield, ſays he, and the ſaid lady lived together for ſome years with much happineſs and contentment. Until at laſt it happened, that Queen Elizabeth took a progreſs northward, upon whom the Earl of Leiſter (the then powerful favourite) attended, and ſome days ſhe abode at the Earl of Rutland's at Belvoir-Caſtle. Thither the principal perſons of Lincolnſhire repaired to ſee their Queen, and do their duty, and among others the Lord Sheffield and this fair young lady of his, who ſhone as a ſtar in the Court, both in regard of her beauty, and the richneſs of her apparel. Leiceſter (who was *cauda falax*) ſeeing her, and being much taken with her perfections, he made his addreſſes of courtſhip to her, and uſed all the art that might be (in which he was maſter enough) to debauch her. There is ſmall hopes, that ſhe, who hath once permitted a ſiege, can hold out. For that woman who keeps a looſe guard upon her honour, hath one port already open, and there wants nothing but a bold man to enter. To be ſhort, he found her frail, and had the unlawful fruition of her body. Their crime being arrived at this height, their next deſign was how to ſecure it, as alſo the continuance of this their wickedneſs; which they thought could not well be, ſo long as the Lord Sheffield lived. He was a gentleman of great ſpirit; him therefore they contrived how to make away, and before they parted, Leiceſter (who was perfect in thoſe villainies) undertook the charge of it. Not long after, being at at Normanby, and her ſiſter Holles with her, Leiceſter who had wrote letters to her, in one (after many amorous expreſſions) told her, *That he had not been unmindful in removing that obſtacle, which hindred the full fruition of their contentments; that he had endeavoured one expedient already, which had failed; but he would try another, which he doubted not would hit more ſure.* This letter (as ſhe was going down ſtairs to walk abroad) ſhe dropped in pulling her handkerchief out of her pocket, and her ſiſter Holles, following her, took it up, and either overcome with a woman's curioſity, or guided by a higher providence, ſhe put it in her pocket and read it, when ſhe found her opportunity; and finding therein a plot againſt her brother's life, reſolved (as it befitted her) to acquaint him with it. The lady ſoon after miſſed the letter, and being ſufficiently affrighted, conſcious enough of what was in it, ſhe ſtrictly examined all her women (the gentlewoman from whom I had this relation, was one of them) at firſt with intreaties, at length with ſeverity and cruelty. But out of them, who indeed knew nothing, ſhe got nothing. Then ſhe came to her ſiſter Holles, and falling down on her knees beſought her, if ſhe had found any ſuch letter, to deliver it unto her, aſſuring her, that nothing of harm ſhould come from what the contents of it might ſeem to threaten. But ſhe was inexorable, and would not own the knowledge of any ſuch accident. Shortly after the Lord Sheffield returns home, and his ſiſter Holles (watching her opportunity) gives him the letter. He reads it with anger and amazement; that night he parts beds, the next day houſes, and retired from her. He meditates with himſelf in what manner he might beſt take an honourable and juſt revenge upon the adulterers. Having reſolved, he poſts up to London to effect it; but the diſcovery was arrived at the knowledge of Leiceſter before him; who finding a neceſſity to be quick, bribes an Italian phyſician (whoſe name I have forgot) in whom the Lord Sheffield had great confidence, to poiſon him, which was immediately effected after his arrival at London. He being removed by this villainy, ſhe expected the reward of it, that Leiceſter, as he promiſed, ſhould have married her; but he (according to the nature of all men, who think baſely of their proſtitutes) after he had cohabited with her ſome time, and begot on her a baſe ſon (Sir Robert Dudley, who called himſelf Duke of Northumberland (36)) rejects her and marries the Lady Lettice, widow to Walter Devereux Earl of Eſſex, who, 'tis thought, ſerved him in his own kind every way. I have been, concludes this author, the longer and more punctual in this relation, becauſe it is known to few, yet a certain truth (37).

(36) See ſome account of this perſon in the article GREAVES [JOHN].

(37) The tragical part is touched upon in Leiceſter's Commonwealth, a Satyre upon Leiceſter, diſperſed in the days of Queen Elizabeth; but Mr Holles ſays, he received the relation from a perſon of credit then living in the family, who gave him an account of the ſhare his aunt Holles had in it.

[K] *He purchaſed his Barony.*] Mr Gervaſe Holles obſerves, that after the entrance of King James, the ſale of honours was become a trade at Court, and whilſt the Duke [of B.] lived, ſcarce any man acquired any honours, but ſuch as were either his kindred, or had the fortune (or misfortune) to marry with his kindred, or miſtreſſes; or paid a round ſum of money for it. Nor indeed (continues this author) did that way of merchandiſe ceaſe all the reign of our laſt martyred King (38), which was one cauſe, and not the leaſt of his misfortunes. I have heard the Earl of Clare (I now treat of) often inveigh bitterly againſt it, and he would uſually call it *temporal ſimony*. I remember once I took the liberty (hearing him ſo earneſt on that ſubject) to aſk him, why he would purchaſe himſelf, ſeeing he condemned the King for ſelling. He anſwered, *That he obſerved merit to be no medium to an honorary reward; that he ſaw divers perſons, who, he thought, deſerved as little as he either in their perſons or eſtates, by that means leap over his head; and and therefore ſeeing the market open, and finding his purſe not unfurniſhed for it, he was perſuaded to wear his money, as other men had done.*

(38) This was written, as has been already obſerved, in 1658.

[L] *He withdrew from Court.*] For what reaſon principally is not known, but there was found written by his own hand in one of his books, theſe ſix lines.

Actæon once Diana naked ſpied
At unawares, yet by his dogs he died.
So ill, not done but taken in all things,
Doth cloud the uncleared eyes of minor Kings.
Then haſte from Courts of ſuch unſound complexion,
If that thy ſafety be in thy election.

[M] He

However, the ſame favourite, eight years afterwards, for 5000 pounds, procured him the Earldom of Clare [*M*], by letters patent, bearing date 2 November 1624 (*b*). He had now acquired the higheſt dignity of honour that in reaſon he could aſpire to, which may be reckoned among the felicities of his life. Yet this was accompanied with ſeveral near and preſſing afflictions, the death of many of his children, and downfal of ſome of his neareſt friends. For between and about the time of his two creations, he buried four of his youngeſt ſons and two daughters, and ſaw the ruin of the Earl of Somerſet, and the beheading of Sir Walter Ralegh [*N*], both much eſteemed and beloved by him. King James, a little before his cloſe, diſcovered an intention of making the Earl of Clare Lord-Treaſurer; which was ſo generally believed, that ſeveral applications were made for places under him. And this was the more likely, (notwithſtanding his Majeſty's former dryneſs towards him) becauſe, about the ſame time, he bewrayed ſome jealouſies and wearineſs of the Duke of Buckingham, and an inclination to introduce again into favour the Earl of Somerſet. But his death, which followed immediately upon it, made fruſtrate both theſe intentions. King Charles, in the firſt year of his reign, diſplaced Williams Biſhop of Lincoln from the cuſtody of the Great-Seal. This the Earl of Clare was concerned at; the Biſhop being one of his intimate friends; and when the King deſigned both his ſons to be Knights of the Bath at his Coronation, and gave them notice thereof by his letters, they both refuſed it. As did alſo his younger ſon Denſil Holles to be of that maſque which was then preparing, and in which the King invited him to take a part. Neither did the Earl himſelf move towards London 'till the meeting of the Parliament; and then likewiſe wholly abſented himſelf from Court; which cauſed the King to obſerve him as a perſon diſcontented. That Parliament was remarkable for the charge againſt the Duke of Buckingham, which being delivered from the Houſe of Commons by eight reporters, was again reported by eight Lords in the Houſe of Peers, of which the Earl of Clare was one, who ſpoke to the ſame part that Mr Pym had done before. But the King quickly ſtopt their further proceedings by diſſolving the Parliament. About this time the Duke had uſed all poſſible endeavours to gain the Earl of Clare to his party; to which end he had procured two or three meetings with him in the Strand, at the Counteſs of Banbury's, but could never obtain him [*O*]. And the next Parliament (which was that of

(*b*) The preamble of this patent takes notice of his ſervices againſt the Spaniards and the Iriſh rebels, and contains the grant of an annual fee of 20 l. payable out of the cuſtoms within the port of London.

[*M*] *He procured the Earldom of Clare.*] It was not a little wondered at, that he could obtain this title of Earl of Clare. For the Lord Rich, when he was created an Earl, did very much deſire that title, and the King's counſel after ſeveral debates about it concluded, that ſince the time of the firſt Earls of Clare determined, that honour of Clare had ever been conferred on a Prince of the blood royal; Clare and Clarence being one and the ſame title, and therefore not to be allowed to a meaner ſubject. Whereupon the Lord Rich was created Earl of Warwick. But the power that procured the dignity, prevailed for the title, which was the Duke of Buckingham, to whom King James could not well deny any thing. That he procured it, is plain from a letter (the copy whereof I have ſeen) from this Earl of Clare to the then Biſhop of Lincoln, which began thus.

MY LORD,

My patent is now paſt for the Earldome of Clare (the title wherein my Lord of Warwick was ſo emboged) but what is it, that a powerful favourite cannot do, &c.

[*N*] *He had a particular friendſhip for Sir Walter Ralegh.*] There was found written by the Earl of Clare with his own hand this epitaph on him. Which though his poetry was the worſt part, ſays our author, yet I ſhall here remember.

Here lies Ralegh's corpſ, his ſoul is gone,
To inhabit many, too much for one.
By his we learn the harmes of rarity,
That ſafety only dwells in doe-nought parity.
Artes, Nature, henceforth no more ſuch pieces,
Whilſt fortune's dragon guards the golden fleeces.

Our author here takes occaſion to relate the following paſſage, not contained in the hiſtories of that time. It was much laboured by Sir Walter Ralegh's friends to ſave his life, and particularly by the Earl of Clare, who had ſome power with his proſecutor (Gondemar the Spaniſh Ambaſſador) with whom he had frequent converſations. He diſcovered, as he thought, an inclination in Gondemar to make ſuit to King James for Sir Walter Ralegh's life, in caſe he [Sir Walter] would intreat him to do it. This the Earl of Clare intimated to Sir Walter by Mr Charles Thynne, one of his faſteſt friends, bidding him withal let him know, that there was no other way for his preſervation. When Sir Walter Ralegh heard it he pauſed a little, and then gave this anſwer, *I am yet neither ſo old, nor ſo infirm, but I could be content to live, and therefore this would I do, if I was ſure it would do my buſineſs: but if it fail, then I loſe both my life and my honour; and both theſe I will not part with.* A reſolution, ſays Mr Gervaſe Holles, really not unworthy ſo famous a perſon.

[*O*] *At this time the Duke of Buckingham tried in vain to obtain him.*] His diſpoſition with regard to the Court at this time, as well as the temper obſerved by him in oppoſing the meaſures thereof, may be inferred from a letter to his ſon-in-law Sir Tho. Wentworth, afterward Earl of Strafford, on the following occaſion. Sir Thomas, in the Houſe of Commons, had ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the rights and liberties of the ſubject, and had ſo far diſpleaſed the Duke of Buckingham, that, by his inducement, the King, in 1625, declared ſix that had been members in the laſt Parliament Sheriffs of ſeveral counties, to prevent their being returned to the new Parliament. Among theſe, Sir Tho. Wentworth was for Yorkſhire, Sir Edward Coke, who had been Lord Chief Juſtice, for Buckinghamſhire, Sir Francis Seymour for Wiltſhire, &c (39). Sir Francis, having taken advice thereon, was informed that he might be returned and ſerve for any town or city out of his own county; and thereupon he made an offer to Sir Thomas Wentworth, that he would procure him to be choſen in the Weſt, if he would favour him to get him elected for ſome place in the North. Of which he wrote to the Earl of Clare, requeſting his ſentiments how he ſhould proceed; and his Lordſhip ſent him the following anſwer.

(39) Earl of Strafford's Letters, &c. Vol. I. P. 30.

SON,

You reſolve, in my opinion, of this particular rightly; for we live under a prerogative government, where book-law ſubmits unto lex-loquens; then be theſe extraordinaries, that rely rather upon inference o interpretation than the letter, too weak ſtaves for ſuch ſubjects to lean upon. This is a novelty and a ſtranger, that a Sheriff, who, according to the received rule of our forefathers, is tied to his county as a ſnail to his ſhell, may cauſe himſelf to be choſen a burgeſs or ſervant for a borough; and ſo in a ſort quit the greater and the King's ſervice for a ſubject's a leſs; therefore as a novelty it is rather to be followed than to begin it, and as a ſtranger to be admitted as a probationer, and to be embraced upon further acquaintance. For my part, I ſhall be glad if Sir Edw.

of 3 Car. I.) made the breach ſtill wider between them. For the great cauſe being heard in the Houſe of Peers between Robert Vere Earl of Oxford and Robert Bertie Lord Willoughby of Ereſby, concerning the office of Great-Chamberlain of England *, the Earl of Clare aſſerted the right of the former againſt the Duke of Buckingham's party, and made a reſolute ſpeech on the occaſion [P]. He continued to oppoſe the Court meaſures 'till the death of the Duke, and ſhortly afterwards particularly offended the King, by countenancing the report of his Majeſty's having a deſign to entertain a body of German horſe, in order to awe the kingdom. For this offence he was impriſoned for ſome time, and then reproved at the Council-board [Q]. He was alſo turned out of the commiſſion of the peace, which he took ill, and the country worſe where he lived; miſſing on the bench a perſon of ſuch courage, integrity, and ſo great abilities.

Whilſt

* Lord Willoughby at the ſame time laid claim alſo to the title of Earl of Oxford, as likewiſe to the titles of Lord Bolebeck, Sanford, and Badleſmere. See their ſeveral caſes, as delivered to the Houſe of Peers, in the Hiſtorical Collections of the noble families, Cavendiſhe, Holles, Vere, Harley, and Ogle; by Arthur Collins, Eſq; Lond. 1752. fol. p. 269, & ſeq.

Edw. Coke and Sir Rob. Philips can make their undertaking good. And I could wiſh Sir Francis Seymour were a burgeſs, ſo you were not ſeen in it: and if any of them, without your knowledge or conſent, ſhall confer any ſuch place on you, you are no way in fault thereby; and yet Cæſar's wife muſt be free from ſuſpicion. So as I may conclude, it is not good to ſtand within the diſtance of abſolute power. But I ſee the iſſue. The queſtion will fall between the King and the Parliament; the Houſe will demand her member; and the King denies his officer, and the King's election was prior, ſo as in concluſion ſome drops of diſpleaſure may fall upon the borough, whoſe charter is always in the King's reach: but this is my chimæra, and the lion may be leſs terrible than the picture. Howſoever, this well-proceeding, would put the Courtier out of his trick, ſecure the Parliament better, and the Subject in general, and make great ones more cautious in wreſtling with that high court. Yet, as you write, Son, this buſineſs is of ſuch a nature, as it is much better to be a ſpectator than an actor; and in this I give you no opinion, I only confirm your's. I am glad to hear of my daughter's good health. The Lord of Heaven continue it, and bleſs you both with his beſt bleſſings. Amen.

Your aſſured loving father-in-law,

Haughton, Nov. 27, 1625.

* CLARE (40).

(40) Ibid. p. 31.

[P] *He made a reſolute ſpeech on the occaſion.*] The Earl of Oxford claimed the Chamberlain's place (41) as heir-male, and the Lord Willoughby as heir-general, to Henry Vere Earl of Oxford, deceaſed. They were both near allied in blood to the Earl of Clare, but he had a principal love to the Veres, from which family his grandmother came; and he believed alſo that juſtice lay on his ſide. The Duke of Buckingham, on the contrary part, having ever endeavoured to ſuppreſs the old nobility, ſays our author, laboured earneſtly, both with the Judges who were to deliver their opinions, and with the Peers who were to be judges of the right, in the behalf of the Lord Willoughby; and finding he had gained the moſt of them, he haſtened the tryal a little before the Term began, and when but few of the Judges were yet come to town. They were but five, whereof two (and they of the greateſt learning and reputation) declared their opinions for the Earl of Oxford, the other two for the Lord Willoughby; the fifth (which was Juſtice Dodderidge, an able Antiquary) made a long and learned diſcourſe, but determined nothing. So ſoon as the Judges had ſpoke their ſenſe, the Earl of Dorſet ſtood up, and with an excellent memory delivered the ſum of what the Judges had ſaid, then made an eloquent oration in the behalf of the Lord Willoughby, and moved the Lords to proceed to the vote. The Earl of Clare riſes up after him, and ſpoke to this effect. *That he had not intended to have ſpoken that day, for he had ever obſerved it the manner of the Houſe of Peers, that when any great cauſe was agitated before them, after the Judges had given their opinion, the Lords took time to conſider of the arguments, and to weigh well every circumſtance, before they would proceed to judgment; but ſince that Lord which ſpoke laſt, had, with a very happy memory, delivered the effect of what the Judges had diſcourſed, and with no little force of elocution had endeavoured to incline their Lordſhips in favour of the Lord Willoughby, he would take the liberty to ſay ſomething in the behalf of the Earl of Oxford: and firſt he thought it requiſite and juſt not to proceed to the vote until they had heard all the Judges deliver their opinions; he ſaid that might be ſhortly done, for the term was at hand, when they muſt repair to town. He told them, that in caſe of right between private perſons, when the cauſe appeared any thing knotty or doubtful, the ſeveral courts never uſed to proceed unto judgment, until the matter had been deliberately argued and debated by all the Judges in the Exchequer-chamber; and if yet there appeared any diſſatisfaction, they deferred the determination of it until the next Parliament: wherefore if in leſſer cauſes and between meaner perſons, both preſent and former ages had been ſo tender in matter of right, How much more ought the Lords to be in this particular, being between perſons of ſo great nobility, and a right of the moſt antient and the moſt honourable tenure of grand Sergeantry then in being? Yet, notwithſtanding all this, if they would proceed to a vote with ſuch precipitation, he deſired them to conſider, firſt, as to the Judges opinions, the ballance yet hung even, nor would he endeavour to caſt it by making compariſons of the perſons; their Lordſhips knew them well enough* (42). *Then he wiſhed them to remember, that whenever before, as ſometimes it had happened, there had been a failing of the heir male in the direct line, not only the earldom of Oxford, but likewiſe the office of High Chamberlain, did revert unto the next collateral male of the ſame name and family. And laſtly, he wiſhed them to recollect, that this noble perſon who then made claim, was the 19th Vere who had borne that honourable title of Earl of Oxford, deſcended from Aubrey de Vere, Earl of Guiſnes in Normandy, and Beatrice his wife, ſiſter to King William the Conqueror. A family that had out-laſted three races of the blood-royal; a family that had ever been true to the Crown, and untainted in every branch of it; a family that had filled our hiſtories with the records of their noble actions, being ever, both in peace and war, moſt ſerviceable to the Crown of England. Concluding, that what Lord ſoever ſhould give a vote to take away that office from that family, he was not worthy to have the blood of a* Vere *in his veins.* But notwithſtanding this ſpeech, the right was carried by many voices for the Lord Willoughby (43). I remember (ſays our author) my Lord Clare came that day to dinner (which he ſeldom uſed to do in Parliament time), and ſitting down, he was ſilent a good while, looking very red, as he uſed to do when angry. At laſt he broke forth thus, *Well, this day I have parted with all my opinion of Parliaments, when I ſee that thoſe men, whoſe qualities and dignities ſhould render them the leaſt inclinable to fear or partiality, can yet, for fear of one great man, their fellow-ſubject, do an act ſo full of injuſtice as they have done this day in the cauſe of my Lord of* Oxford. And the next day entering the Houſe of Peers, he found four or five Biſhops talking together (all the Biſhops, by the Duke's inſtigation, had voted for the Lord Willoughby), whom he ſaluted, ſaying, *My Lords, I obſerved yeſterday you went all one way, and yet you ſhall not all be Biſhops of Canterbury.*

(41) The fee of this office was granted by Hen. I. to Alberic de Vere Earl of Oxford, the ſecond of that name, in the room of Robert Malet (Lord of the honour of Eye in Suffolk) who had been diſinherited and baniſhed in 2d Hen. I. for deſerting the King, and adhering to Robert Curthoſe. Pat. 1. Hen. VIII. p. 1. m. 26. cited in Hiſtorical Collections, &c. p. 218. by Collins.

(42) According to the Journal of the Houſe of Peers, Dodderidge, Yelverton, and Baron Trevor, gave their opinions for the heir-general: the other two, Lord Chief-Juſtice Crew, and Lord Chief-Baron Sir John Walter, for the heir-male. The major part thus declaring, the Lords voted accordingly. Journal of Parliament, 2 Car. I.

(43) Whereupon he was admitted into the Houſe, 13 Apr. 2 Car. I. with his ſtaff of that office, and took his place of all the Barons, according to the Act of Parliament of 31 Hen. VIII. cap. 10. N. B. This office has continued ever ſince in his family; His Grace Peregrine Bertie, Duke of Ancaſter, being deſcended from him.

[Q] *He was confined, and reprimanded at the council-board.*] This deſign, with a liſt of the ſeveral perſons names who were taken up and impriſoned for countenancing and for diſperſing the pamphlet in which it was written, is mentioned in our general hiſtories, to which we refer, and ſhall only obſerve, that the Earl of Clare was confined to the Biſhop of Wincheſter's houſe; and that though the Earl of Bedford very ſubmiſſively acknowledged his fault, and his Majeſty's favour in the liberty and pardon he granted him, yet the Earl of Clare would not ſpeak one word. Of which being told by ſome of his friends, he replied, *That he would thank the King for his favours, but not for his puniſhments, eſpecially when he could not underſtand that he had at all offended; for he could not think it a crime, deſerving impriſonment, to look on that paper, which had run through the hands of every man.*

[R] *He*

Whilſt the Earl continued under this cloud, the King making a progreſs into the North, together with the Prince Elector and Prince Rupert, who were then in England, continued ſeveral days at Rufford-Abbey, hunting in the foreſt of Shirwood. Whereupon, the Earl being then at Haughton, but four miles off, wrote a letter to the Prince Elector, (from whoſe mother, the Queen of Bohemia, he had found good reſpect) entreating his good offices for him with his Majeſty; which being performed, he came ſhortly after and kiſſed the King's hand [*R*]. Before this time he had altogether eſtranged himſelf from the Court; nor did he much repair to the city, but lived for the moſt part in the country, at his mannor of Haughton and his houſe in Nottingham, cheriſhing more quiet and contented thoughts in a retired life. He had by his lady ſix ſons, John, Denſil, Francis, William, and two who died infants of the name of Charles; and four daughters, Eleanor, Arabella, Elizabeth, and Margaret. The three younger ſons and Margaret died children, Elizabeth when ſhe was near marriageable, and Francis at 18 years of age *. So that, about twelve years before his death he had only four remaining, the two eldeſt of each ſex. Of theſe he ſaw both his ſons (of whom hereafter) and Lady Arabella married †, and lived to ſee grandchildren from all of them. Only Eleanor at his death continued a maid, afterwards married to Oliver Fitz-Williams Earl of Tyrconnel. The ſunday before he fell ill of that diſorder which carried him off, going from prayers at St Mary's-church in Nottingham, he ſuddenly ſtept (taking his lady with him) into a place in the church; where laying the end of his ſtaff upon the ground, he ſaid, *In this place will I be buried.* After he found himſelf ill, he ſent for Dr Plumtree, accounted the beſt Phyſician there, who gave him phyſic but it never wrought; whereupon he grew worſe, and after a few days delivered his ſoul into the hands of God, on Wedneſday the fourth of October *1637*, at his houſe called Clare-palace in Nottingham, aged 73 years and about 4 or 5 months, as the inſcription on his picture ſets forth. He was interred in Clare-iſle in St Mary's-church, the place where himſelf had appointed. There was no Will found after his death, except one made above 40 years before upon his going the iſland voyage, wherein were ſeveral legacies to perſons dead before him. But a day or two before his departure he called his daughter Eleanor to him, and told her he gave her 6000 pounds, which was ready in the houſe for her. Mr Gervaſe Holles has drawn a character of him, which is inſerted below [*S*]. His eldeſt ſon John, the ſecond Earl of Clare, was born at Haughton June

* See his monument in St Edmund's chapel in Weſtminſter-abbey, with an inſcription in Engliſh verſe by his father.

† Viz. To Sir Tho. Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford. See his article.

[*R*] *He came to Rufford-abbey and kiſſed the King's hand.*] He then told his Majeſty, that *he found he had incurred his diſpleaſure, but he did not know for what, only he conceived it was by the miſinformation of ſome perſons that were ill affected to him: and humbly beſought his Majeſty, that when the like ſhould happen again, he would tell him of it, aſſuring him, that he would either clear himſelf, or acknowledge his error if he had offended, and aſk his pardon; which he could not doubt of, becauſe his errors would appear only errors of ignorance; and greater faults than theſe his Majeſty pardoned every day.* The King promiſed him he would, but the Earl ſaid, he forgot his promiſe. He would ſay of the courtiers at that time, *that they had little power to do good, but power enough to do hurt: for they could miſrepreſent any man to the King, and ſtamp an ill character upon him, and he ſhould never know who injured him, and in what he was injured.*

[*S*] *His character drawn by Mr Gervaſe Holles.*] The author having obſerved that Mr William Skipwith wrote a handſome elegy upon the Earl, which he once had, but had loſt it, proceeds thus. I ſhall now give ſome deſcription of his body and diſpoſition. He was a perſonage of a gallant preſence, full ſix feet high, ſtraight, and of a ſtrong limb. In his youth he was ſomewhat lean, but in his later days grew well in fleſh, though not corpulent: his hair was of a light brown, ſomething towards an aburne, his eyes grey, his ſkin white, and his cheeks roſy. In his face there was a ſtrong mixture of ſeverity and ſweetneſs, and his motion was ſtately, befitting ſo great a perſon. I heard a lady ſay, that he came when he was a young man to the Earl of Huntingdon's, where he found divers perſons of quality dancing, and he fell into the dance with them with his cloak and rapier on, which he performed with the beſt grace that ever ſhe had ſeen any thing done in her life. He had a moſt becoming ſeat on horſeback, and was an excellent horſeman. In his youth he had a very active body, nor was it at all unſerviceable in his old age; for I have ſeen him walk often from Chaloner-houſe in Clerkenwell, where he then lived, to the Parliament-houſe at Weſtminſter, his coach paſſing after him. And I remember he ſeeing his ſon Denſell fencing, he took the other foyle, and played with him, which he performed with great ſkill (for he was ſingularly good at his rapier), and with as active a delivery, as the youngeſt man of them all. Thus much as to his body. But his mind was yet the far nobler part, which was adorned with all the ornaments that the Univerſity, the Inns of Court, the King's Court, the Camp, Travayle, and Language could enrich him with. I muſt not forget the judgment of Sir John Brooke, now Lord Cobham (who was contemporary with him) which he delivered at the Lord Lexington's table in theſe words, *I have travailed the beſt partes of* Chriſtendome, *and have converſed with the moſt noble perſons where I came, yet in all my life I never met with ſo exactly accompliſhed a gentleman as my Lord of* Clare. He had a felicity of converſation beyond all other men. No perſon of what condition ſoever, that came to him, parted away uncontented; he had ſo juſt a penetration, that he quickly found the bottom of his capacity, and which way his genius lay, then would diſcourſe with him civilly in his own element, ſo as all men took their leave of him with a great deal of ſatisfaction. His table was in effect a continual *convivium philoſophale*; for after he had reaſonably well checked his appetite, he would ever ſtart ſome diſcourſe, either in divinity, philoſophy, or hiſtory, in all which he was excellent. So that every man there had his mind as well as his body feaſted. It hath often repented me, that I have not gathered and preſerved thoſe apophthegms, which fell from him at ſeveral times, which really would have weighed with the beſt of the Antients. His table was always good, and his retinue anſwerable, having ever the ſons of ſome gentlemen to follow him, who would ſend them to him, as to a ſchool of knowledge (44), virtue, and temperance, for he hated drunkenneſs and debauchery, nor would he endure exceſs in his buttery, which cauſed his houſe-keeping (in this lewd age where no entertainment is valued, that does not ſwim in drink) to be the leſs commended. The gentleman of his horſe once took the liberty to tell him, that his table was good, and a little charge more would make his houſe-keeping without exception, and much to his honour, viz. 100*l.* more yearly in his cellar, and as much in his ſtables: he replied, Watſon, Watſon, *look you to my profit, I will look to my honour myſelf* (45). He was exceeding eloquent, and in his familiar letters, had one of the beſt ſtiles that ever I met with. One diſcourſe he was writing, and I believe finiſhed before he died, but I have ſeen but a part of it. It was an anſwer to ſome paſſages in Sir Francis Bacon's Eſſay on Empire; wherein he ſays, that the errors of Princes for the moſt part proceed from a fatiety of government,

(44) He took care of the education of Mr Gervaſe Holles for more than 3 years, deſcending even to the pains of reading Logic and Philoſophy to him himſelf.

(45) Mr Gervaſe Holles obſerves, that his grandfather was more liberal this way, and even ſtiled the wonder of his age, *for* conſtant hoſpitality, which cauſed the Earl to let fall an unbecoming word, that *his grandfather ſent all his revenues down the privy-houſe.*

June 13, 1595; and marrying Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter and coheir of Horatio Lord Vere of Tilbury, beſides other children, had iſſue by her Gilbert, the third Earl of Clare; who was born at Hackney near London, April 24, 1633, and took to wife Grace, fourth daughter of the honourable William Pierpoint, ſecond ſon of Robert Earl of Kingſton, who brought him three ſons; the eldeſt of whom, John, born January 9, 1661-2, became the fourth Earl of Clare; and four daughters, of whom the youngeſt, Grace, being married to Sir Thomas Pelham of Suſſex, became mother to the preſent Duke of Newcaſtle; to which title, as alſo to that of Marquis of Clare, he by creation (*i*) ſucceeded her brother his uncle, the fourth Earl of Clare, who obtained the ſame by creation, May 14, 1694 (*k*), having married Margaret, third daughter and coheir of Henry Cavendiſh Duke of Newcaſtle, by whoſe Will he alſo ſucceeded to the whole of the Cavendiſh eſtate. But dying July 15, 1711, without male iſſue, the family of Holles thereby became extinct. His Grace made his laſt Will and Teſtament Auguſt 29, 1707, four years before his deceaſe; *Wherein he deſires his body may be buried in that vault in Weſtminſter-abbey, where the Lord* Tilbury *lies buried* *, *and that his funeral be performed in ſuch manner, and ſo much money be expended therein, as his executors ſhall think fit. And that they, in ſome convenient time after his deceaſe, ſhall cauſe a monument to be erected for him in ſuch part of the ſaid church as they ſhall think proper. He bequeaths to his wife Margaret, Lady-Ducheſs of Newcaſtle, his capital manſion-houſe, called Orton-houſe, with the appurtenances in Orton or elſewhere in the county of Huntingdon, which he purchaſed of the Earl of Kingſton, to her and her heirs and aſſigns for ever: but he deſires her Grace to diſpoſe of the ſame to his daughter the Lady Harriot Cavendiſh Holles, if by her duty and obedience to her mother ſhe ſhall merit and deſerve the ſame; and, confirming his wife's jointure, he alſo gives her the uſe of all his plate during her life, and all his jewels abſolutely. He bequeaths to his ſaid daughter and her heirs for ever, all his eſtates in the counties of Stafford, York, and Northumberland (except ſuch as are of his own purchaſing in the county of York), over and beſides* 20000 *pounds, which is provided to be paid her by his marriage-ſettlement; which ſettlement, as to the* 20000 *pounds, he alſo ratifies and confirms: and as for all other his eſtates, he gives and deviſes them to the honourable Thomas Pelham* (now Thomas Holles (*l*) Duke of Newcaſtle) *ſon and heir apparent of the Right Honourable Thomas Lord Pelham, entailing them on him and his heirs male; in default, to the Honourable Henry Pelham, one other of the ſons of the ſaid Thomas Lord Pelham, and his heirs male: in default, to the Honourable William Vane, ſecond ſon of Chriſtopher Lord Bernard, with like remainder: in default, to the Honourable Gilbert Vane* (*m*), *ſon and heir of the ſaid Lord Bernard and his iſſue male: in default, to the right heirs of him the ſaid John Duke of Newcaſtle. Provided that whoever ſhall poſſeſs the ſaid eſtates ſo deviſed, ſhall aſſume the name of Holles* ‖. His Grace was buried in Weſtminſter-

(*i*) He was firſt created Earl of Clare and Viſcount Haughton Oct. 26, 1714, and afterwards Duke of Newcaſtle and Marquis of Clare, Aug. 2. 1715, with remainder to his brother Henry Pelham.

(*k*) He was alſo created, by the ſame patent, Marquis of Clare. N. B. The Dukes of Shrewſbury, Leeds, Bedford, and Devonſhire, were all created ſo about the ſame time. Boyer's Life of Queen Anne.

* The family of Vere Earls of Oxford was then become extinct by the death of Aubrey de Vere, March 12, 1702-3, whoſe daughter Diana became his ſole heir, being married, Apr. 1694, to Charles Beauclerk Duke of St Albans, ſon to King Charles II. by Mrs Eleanor Gwin, from whom is deſcended George the preſent Duke of St Albans. Coſſins's Hiſt. Collect. &c. p. 282, 283.

(*l*) He aſſumed the name and arms of Holles, in purſuance to his uncle's Will, being therein adopted his heir.

(*m*) Theſe two Vanes were his Lordſhip's nephews, by his eldeſt ſiſter Elizabeth, wife to their father, Chriſtopher Lord Bernard.

‖ Ex Regiſt. vocat. Fagg. No. 548 quire 202. in Cur. Prærog. Cantuar.

vernment, which makes them deſcend many times, for variety, to low entertainments, as *Nero* to be a ſtage-player, *Commodus* a fencer, and the like. The Earl of Clare on the contrary proves, that the errors of Princes are in the perſons abuſing the office, and not in the office appropriated to a fit perſon. A diſcourſe worthy the public view, being clad in an excellent ſtile, and deſigned with a ſingular judgment. He was of a moſt courteous and affable diſpoſition, yet preſerved exactly the grandeur and diſtance of his quality: nor was it poſſible, but all men ſhould have loved him, had not the poiſon of envy ſwoln the ſtomachs of divers, who therefore were his enemies, becauſe they well knew, what little inconſiderable trifles they were in compariſon of him. His youth was lively and ſpiritful, and he would ſay, it was a prepoſterous thing to ſee a young man old; but his age was ever accompanied with a chearful gravity. I remember that endeavouring to reconcile a difference between two of his poor neighbours, the one of them let a very flovenly ſpeech fall concerning the other, at which the by-ſtanders fell a laughing; he preſently rebuked them ſaying, *Ye ought rather to pity the poor man, than deride him; for if God had given him better education, he would have expreſſed better manners.* A better huſband, that is a more kind or careful, lived not; and indeed he had the happineſs of a wife, that deſerved all goodneſs from a huſband. Neither was there a better father, or a better friend, more conſtant both in proſperity and adverſity; of which the Earl of Somerſet and the Biſhop of Lincoln had good experience. I well remember, that the firſt time I ſaw the former of theſe (after the Earl's deceaſe) he ſtood a pretty while ſad and mute after he had ſaluted me; then he began thus. *You and I, Mr Holles, have loſt a good friend.* And then throwing up his eyes, he thus proceeded. *Next the loſs of myſelf, the loſs of my Lord Clare was the greateſt calamity that ever befel me. I was once upon the top, when I was able to confer favours, and did ſo to ſome; though I muſt ſay, to my Lord of Clare, I never did one conſiderable courteſy. Yet I muſt tell you, bad I ſtood, he had riſen; but in my calamity, and when I was underfoot, whether I look upon your nation or my own countrymen that I had deſerved well of, I found not one faithful friend but my Lord of Clare.* One other paſſage concerning him I muſt not omit. His mortal enemy, Gervaſe Markham, being then ſheriff of Nottinghamſhire, (which as I take it was in 1625) was robbed of about 5000 l. during his abſence from home, by two of the Soubeys his reputed baſtards, and others. But purſuit being made after them, they hid about 2000 l. of the money in Gameleſton woods (a lordſhip of the Earl of Clare), which was found, and brought to the Earl, as lord of the fee, to whom, as felons goods, it eſcheated: but he preſently ſent the whole back to Gervaſe Markham from whom it was ſtolen, ſcorning to advantage himſelf by the ſpoils of his enemy. This act more enraged Markham than the loſs of his money, becauſe it impoſed upon him an obligation to his adverſary; yet after he had curſt and ſwore like a beggar, he impoſed upon himſelf ſo good manners, as to come to the Earl at Haughton, to give him thanks, which, from the time of their combat, was the only time, during their lives, that they had ſeen one another. He [the Earl] was naturally juſt, but nothing liberal, no man living being more ready to oblige by his intereſt and endeavours, but not at all by his purſe: which I have often fancied to be the reaſon, why our modern writers are ſo ſilent concerning him. For it is not merit ſo much as munificence that ſtuffs hiſtory with ſo many commendable characters. And writers for the moſt part remember not ſo willingly, who deſerve well, as who deſerves well of them. This little monument I have raiſed to his memory, which I hope ſhall laſt, as long as my poſterity laſts; at leaſt ſo long as any of them ſhall retain a love either to goodneſs, or to their anceſtors. I ſhall conclude concerning him, making uſe of that of Tacitus upon Agricola: *Quicquid & Eo amavimus, quicquid mirati ſumus, manet, manſurumque eſt in animis hominum, in æternitate temporum, fama rerum. Nam multos Veterum velut inglorios & ignobiles oblivio obruet, Clarenſis Poſteritati narratus & traditus ſuperſtes erit.*

Weſtminſter-abbey according to the appointment in his Will, Auguſt 9 following his deceaſe, and in 1723, his only child Henrietta Cavendiſh Holles Harley erected a magnificent monument to his memory (*n*), in the north croſs iſle near the entrance by Solomon's porch on the left hand. In the 5th of George I. there paſſed in Parliament an act, to render more effectual the agreements that have been made between Tho. Holles Duke of Newcaſtle, Henry Pelham Eſq; Edward Lord Harley, and the Lady Henrietta his wife, William Vane, and Gilbert Vane, Eſqrs. ſons of Chriſtopher Lord Bernard, or any of them, in relation to the will and eſtate of John late Duke of Newcaſtle; and for ſettling the ſame in ſuch manner as may be agreeable to the intent of the ſaid agreements, and for other purpoſes therein mentioned. Her Grace Margaret, Ducheſs-Dowager of Newcaſtle, deceaſed at London in the 65th year of her age, Dec. 24, 1716, and was interred with her anceſtors in the burial place of the Cavendiſhes, in the church of Bolſover, January 5 following. Their Graces only daughter and heir, the Lady Henrietta Cavendiſh Holles, is now [1752] Counteſs-dowager of Oxford, and reſides for the moſt part at Welbeck in Nottinghamſhire. Her Ladyſhip was married October 31, 1713, to the Right Honourable Edward Lord Harley, only ſon and heir of Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, Lord High-Treaſurer of England; and by the death of his father, May 21, 1724, ſucceeded to his honours and eſtate, and died June 16, 1741. They had iſſue an only daughter their heir, Lady Margaret Cavendiſh Harley, married July 11, 1734, to his Grace the preſent Duke of Portland. P

(*n*) See the inſcription on the monument.

• HOLLES [DENSIL], Baron of Iſfield in Suſſex, and ſecond ſon of the former, was born in 1597 at Haughton, his father's ſeat in Nottinghamſhire. He had a noble education ſuitable to his quality, and his excellent endowments appeared from his youth, having the advantage of ſo great a tutor as his father, who gave all his children an education equal to the beſt, and beyond moſt of the nobility (*a*); and this was his favourite ſon [*A*]. He had likewiſe the advantage of being for ſome time a companion and bedfellow to the Duke of York, afterwards King Charles I. who took great delight in him. However, as ſoon as he came to man's eſtate, falling in with the ſentiments of his father, he ſided with the party againſt the Court in the laſt Parliament of King James I. having obtained a ſeat there as one of the repreſentatives for Mitchel in Cornwall (*b*). He perſevered in the ſame temper after the acceſſion of King Charles I. to the throne, as has been already mentioned in the preceding article. Early in this reign he married [*B*] Dorothy, ſole

(*a*) Memoirs of the family of Holles, by Mr Gervaſe Holles, ubi ſupra.

(*b*) Willis's Notit. Parliament. p. 188.

[*A*] *Denſil was his favourite ſon.*] Mr Gervaſe Holles obſerves (1), that the Earl ſaw nothing but arguments of comfort in his children, ſave only a difference, which happened betwixt his two ſons, and which to his dying day he could not reconcile, they being both of great ſtomachs. Yet the ground at the firſt was ſlight, being only a trivial difference between their wives at cards, which drew in the huſbands to make a party. Though, continues he, ſomething of jealouſy might ſtick concerning their father's affection; the Earl ſeeming to diſcover more of kindneſs to his younger ſon; led to it paradventure by the ſame ground, which makes grand-fathers love beſt their grand-children, as thoſe that may be the leſs content to part with them.

(1) In Parentela & Parentalia Hollefiorum, MS. cited in the preceding article.

[*B*] *He married early in the reign of King Charles I.*] This is evident from the concluſion of the following letter (2), wrote by him to his brother-in-law Sir Thomas Wentworth (afterwards Earl of Strafford) then confined in Kent for refuſing to pay the loan money in 1626.

(2) Earl of Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 40.

GOOD BROTHER,

'To begin without complement, as I wiſh we may 'ever ſo continue (3), I know not, how your foggy 'air, you complain of, may affect your brains; but I 'am ſure ſomething has played ſuch tricks in mine, 'that Jupiter's head aked not more, when Minerva 'was in it all in armour, than mine has done this 'fortnight; but if I had a Minerva, it was a *craſſa* 'Minerva, for I had never a whit the more wit for 'it; and God be thanked I am now pretty well eaſed 'of the pain, as I think by this time you are of your '*Marſhalſea* ill air (a thing fatal to all priſoners) and I 'like your remove better beyond ſea into Kent, than 'Currington's over Thames into the Fleet, but ſeeing 'he had not a horſe, I think their Lordſhips did well 'to ſend him a journey by water. I ſhall deſire to 'know where your rendezvous is, that I may now and 'then afflict you with ſome weſtern intelligence; for 'you know, we have the active ſpirits of the time, 'and accordingly we were the firſt that cried out upon 'the dull ſleepy time of peace, and deſired action, in 'which virtue does conſiſt. But we now to our coſt 'find the old logic rule true, there is no action without 'paſſion; for we ſuffer ſufficiently for it, and now we 'can cry out as faſt on the other ſide: that ſince theſe 'wars all our trading is dead, our wools lie upon our 'hands, our men are not ſet on work, our ſhips lie in 'our ports unoccupied, to be ſold as cheap as fire 'wood: land, ſheep, cattle, nothing will yield 'money; not to ſpeak of other petty inconveniences 'we have found by the ſoldiers raviſhing mens wives 'and daughters (getting them with child otherways 'was fair play, counted a favour); killing and carrying away beefs and ſheep off the ground (ſtealing of 'poultrey was not worth the ſpeaking of); killing and 'robbing men on the highway, nay in fairs and towns '(for to meet a man coming from the market with a 'pair of new ſhoes or a baſket of eggs or apples, and 'take them from him, was but ſport and merriment), 'and a thouſand ſuch other pretty pranks; come a 'a dozen of them to a Juſtice of Peace and Deputy 'Lieutenant's houſe, and make my lady give them five 'or ſix pieces to be gone. Why we weſtern lads reſpect not ſuch things as theſe, ſo we may have wars, 'and be in action; for as you ſay our prizes make 'amends for all; yea, but the craft is in the catching, 'and I'll aſſure you, we are not overburthened with 'the ſtore of them; and thoſe few that are, now and 'then a barque of fiſh, or canvas from our neighbours 'and late friends by alliance the French (4), by that 'time my Lord Admiral and his Vice-Admirals be ſatisfied, and all other rights and wrongs be diſcharged, 'a ſlender gleaning is left for the taker. And I do 'not find the country to be any thing the better ſerved 'for the ſale of them, for every thing is at a moſt exceſſive rate, I proteſt a great deal dearer than at London. No, the prizes moſt common now a-days are 'the *priſes des corps* of you rebellious gentlemen, who 'will not open your purſe-ſtrings, and ſupply his Majeſty's wants for the maintenance of the wars, and my 'Lord Duke's expences by ſea and land, in war and 'peace. I hear there are more of you ſent for, fourteen out of Yorkſhire, eight out of Cornwal, *cum multis aliis, quos nunc perſcribere longum eſt*, or rather *quos non proſcribere longum eſt*; for this is the Engliſh 'of it, it will not be long before many more of you be 'baniſhed your own homes. I hope now you ſee, we 'play fighting in earneſt; take towns, and countries, 'whol-

(3) See in the art. of the Earl of Strafford, the particular incident which broke the neck of this wiſh.

(4) This war with France was occaſioned by the King's diſmiſſing the Queen's French ſervants. See the general hiſtories of England.

* This gentleman dying in 1635, Mr Holles succeeded to about 1200 l. per annum in lands, besides a good personal estate. *Mr Garrard's letter to Lord Wentworth, in the Earl of Strafford's Letters, Vol. I.*

† Willis's Not. Parl. Vol. II. p. 424.

‖ Willis, p. 240, 244. It appears from the same author, p. 229, 231. that Mr Holles was chosen for the same place in the Short-Parliament, which met 13 April the same year.

(5) According'y she brought him a son, named Francis, born 10 days after the date of this letter. MS. of the Family of Holles in the Harleian library.

(6) By her son William, afterwards Earl of Straffod, born June 8, 1626. Essay towards the Life of Lord Strafford, subjoined to Strafford's State-Papers.

(7) Ubi supra.

(8) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 105.

(9) Upon their rejecting the King's propositions for peace, sent from Oxford to the Earl of Essex in January 1642.

(c) Husband's Collections of Declarations, Votes, &c. from Dec. 1641, to March 21, 1643, p. 73, 74. 'Tis remarkable, that in Dec. 1645, the King proposed Mr Holles (among others) for the same trust. Rushworth, Vol. VI. p. 216, 217. and Whitlock, p. 191.

(10) Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. II. p. 460. first edit. in folio.

(11) Ibid. Vol. V. p. 58.

(12) Memoriale, &c. p. 108.

(14) Clarendon, Vol. I. 8vo. edition, p. 138.

(15) *His Lordship seems to have been a stranger to the quarrel of the Holles family with the Earl of Strafford, mentioned in his article.*

sole daughter and heir to Sir Francis Ashley *, one of the King's Serjeants at Law, and Recorder of Dorchester, whereby he became seated at Winterburne St Martin in Dorsetshire; and in the Parliament which met March 17, 1627, being returned for Dorchester †, he collected the three famous resolutions against Popery and Arminianism, and the King's right to tonnage and poundage, without consent of Parliament; and, together with Mr Valentine, held the Speaker of the House of Commons forcibly in the chair, while they were read by Sir John Elliot. He was, with the rest concerned, sharply prosecuted for this violence, which rendered him still more irreconcilable to the Court [C]; and being returned again for Dorchester, in the Long-Parliament called in 1640 ‖, he was then at the head of the moderate Presbyterian party [D]; and though he would not be concerned in the prosecution of his brother-in-law the Earl of Strafford, yet he carried up the general impeachment of Archbishop Laud. He was one of the five Members accused of high-treason by the King, in January 1641; and in consequence thereof, at the breaking out of the Rebellion, had a regiment conferred upon him by the Parliament; and having been nominated by the Commons as a fit person to be trusted with the militia (*c*), was made Lieutenant of Bristol, and exercised the militia there. Thus, notwithstanding he was well affected to the establishment both in Church and State, yet he unwarily concurred

'whole islands, scare our enemies, beggar ourselves; 'for the end of our victories, I am afraid, will be as 'the good wife said to my Lord Bishop by her medi- 'cine, we shall be never the better, nor they much 'the worse. In the mean time we have lost many 'good men, yet let us make the best of it, and I hope 'it will make our wives, instead of bearing wenches, 'which of late you say they have been much given to, 'fall to bringing of boys, young soldiers for the rein- 'crew of our army; and I know no reason, but mine 'should begin (5), and she had as good do it at first, 'for if she do not, at her peril I hope to make her 'go again for it; and when my sister Arabella shall 'see how mine is served, I hope she will take fair 'warning, and do as she should do, but I fear not her 'so much, for she has begun pretty well already (6). And 'now I will close my letter to you, as you do your's 'with thanks by the way for it (as also for the whole 'letter) heartily praying, she may so continue to make 'you a glad father of many goodly and godly boys, 'and some wenches among, least the seventh work 'miracles, as old wives will tell us; and herself be a 'joyful and good mother, as I know she is a good and 'loving wife, and long may she so be to your comfort 'and her own; and this is the prayer of,

'Your most affectionate

Dorchester,
Aug. 9, 1627. 'loving brother and servant,

'D. Holles.'

[C] *Sharply prosecuted for this behaviour, which rendered him more irreconcilable to the Court.*] Mr Gervase Holles (7) was of opinion, that his opposing the Court prejudiced his father the Earl of Clare in the King's judgment, and relates the following circumstance. A friend of the Earl's besought the King not to impute any miscarriage of the son to the Earl his father, nor let him suffer for the son's offence in his Majesty's opinion: the King replied, *He was sorry with all his heart for the miscarriage of his old companion and bedfellow; however he would be so far from reflecting on the father in it, that he would be content to bear the father in the son's behalf.* Yet, proceeds this author, was Denzil Holles kept close prisoner in the Tower for above twelve months, and when with much difficulty his liberty was procured, he was bound to his good behaviour for many years after. But he does not say that the father accepted the King's kindness in making the overture for an application, and strongly suggests the contrary both by his silence, and by the account he gives of the Earl's conduct at this time, as related in the preceding article. And it may be observed, that though Mr Holles was one of the five Members of the House of Commons accused of high-treason by his Majesty in January 1641. Yet being appointed of the committee to carry propositions agreed to be made to the King for a peace in the beginning of November 1644. His Majesty made no objection to him, as he had before to others that were accused, and nominated in former treaties (8). 'Tis true his eyes were then open, so that he discerned the designs of those, who were afterwards generally stiled *Root-and-Branch men* (9), and accordingly these propositions producing the treaty of Uxbridge, he was one of the commissioners there, who, as Lord Clarendon remarks (10), 'desired a peace upon much honester conditions 'than they durst own, and that he was the frankest 'among them in owning his animosity and indignation 'against all the independent party, and was no other- 'wise affected to the Presbyterians, than as they con- 'stituted a party, upon which he depended to oppose 'the other, foreseeing that many of those, who ap- 'peared most resolute to concur with him, would by 'degrees fall from him, purely for want of courage, 'in which he so abounded.' There are several instances of this signal courage, a very remarkable one is related by the same historian as follows. Holles one day upon a very hot debate in the house, and some rude expressions which fell from Ireton, persuaded him to walk out with him, and then told him, that *he should presently go over the water and fight him.* Ireton replying, *his conscience would not suffer him to fight a duel.* Holles in choler pulled him by the nose, telling him, *if his conscience would keep him from giving men satisfaction, it should keep him from provoking them* (11). We have another instance from Mr Whitlock (12), who was an eye-witness of it, being joined among others with Mr Holles to carry the Parliament's propositions for peace to the King at Oxford, in November, 1644. Soon after their arrival, some officers of the King's army coming into the hall of the inn, where they were lodged by the Governor's order, quarrelled with their servants, calling them, and their masters, and the Parliament, *rogues, rebels,* and *traytors,* and would not suffer them to come near the fire, on which there ensued a fray; and the servants acquainting their masters with it, Mr Holles went presently to one of the King's officers there, a tall, big, black man, and taking him by the collar, shook him, and told him it was basely and unworthily done to abuse their servants in their own quarters, and contrary to the King's safe conduct; and presently took his sword from him. This encouraged Mr Whitlock to do the like to another officer; and the result was, that the action being approved by the Governor, he sent the two disarmed officers to prison, and the commissioners were afterwards quier.

[D] *He was at the head of the moderate Presbyterian party.*] The last mentioned noble author gives him this character (14). 'That he was as much valued and 'esteemed by the whole party [against the Court] as 'any man; as he deserved to be, being of more ac- 'complished parts than any of them, and of great reputation by the part he acted against the Court and the 'Duke of Buckingham in the Parliament of the fourth 'year of the King, and his long imprisonment and sharp 'prosecution afterwards upon that account, of which he 'retained the memory with acrimony enough: but he 'would in no degree intermeddle in the counsels or pro- 'secution against the Earl of Strafford (which he could 'not prevent) who had married his sister, by whom he had all his children (15), so that he was a stranger to 'all those consultations, though it did not otherwise in- 'terrupt the friendship he had with the most violent of 'those prosecuters. In all other contrivances, he was in 'the most secret councils with those who most governed, 'and was respected by them with very submiss applica- 'tion as a man of authority.'

[E] *After*

concurred in all the measures of those who aimed at the utter extirpation of both, and thereby helped to put into their hands that sword which was employed against himself, when it was too late to oppose them *. After having suffered much from both sides, he joined heartily in bringing back [E] the King [Charles II.]; who for that service was pleased before his Coronation to advance him to the dignity of a Baron of England, by the style of Lord Holles of Isfield (d) in the county of Sussex, having before called him into his Privy-Council (e). He was afterwards employed in several weighty affairs of State; though

* When Cromwell had brought his designs to perfection, he said at Kingston in 1648, that he was able to rule the kingdom as Holles. Hist. of Independency, Part iii. p. 21[illegible] edit. 1648. 4to.

(d) The patent bears date 20 April, 13 Car. II. His son was also created a Baronet by patent, dated June 27, 1660, 12 Car. II. Heylin's Help to History, p. 634.

(e) Hist of Independency, 4th and last part, by T. M. p. 111. edit. 1660. 4to. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 433.

[E] *After having suffered much on both sides, he joined heartily in bringing back the King.*] We have already mentioned his sufferings in general from the King's side; and as these were so many instances of his merit on the side of the Parliament, he afterwards in his own justification to that party, *set forth* the particulars in the following account, which at the same time is a signal testimony of his singular disinterestedness in their service. Having taken notice how greatly those that adhered to the army, had bettered themselves in their fortunes, he proceeds, 'I myself for my 'sufferings after the Parliament 3 Car. which con'tinued many years, cost me some thousands of pounds, 'and prejudiced me more, had five thousand pounds 'given me by the house for my reparation. I refused 'it, and said, I would not receive a penny 'till the 'public debts were paid. Let any of them say so 'much. I desire whoever shall chance to read this, 'to pardon me this folly. I don't mean for not tak'ing the money, but seeming to boast of it. I must 'again repeat the Apostle's words, I am become a 'fool in glorying. but they have compelled me. It 'is true, I paid for a fine imposed in the King's-bench 'a thousand marks. This in the time of these trou'bles, when my whole estate was kept from me in the 'West, that for three years or thereabout, I received 'thence not one farthing, was reimbursed me (16).' Thus far on that side. On the other hand, from the year 1643, when he began (as has been already mentioned) to see into the destructive designs of the leading men in the army against the constitution, he opposed them with the same vigour and intrepidity as he had before shewn against the oppressions of the Court. To this end he found means continually to excite the King never to desist from offering propositions of peace to the Parliament even to the last, as their neglecting his gracious invitations would make them odious, if they continued in their obstinacy; and so early as 1644, advised the Earl of Essex to divest Cromwell of his command in the army, and pressed to have him accused to the Parliament as an *incendiary* *. Persevering with the same spirit in 1647 he made a motion in the House of Commons for disbanding the army, and even prevailed to have the foot regiments disbanded †. But it was now too late, and the army having got the absolute mastery impeached him of high-treason at the head of ten more of the principal members of his party. So that he was obliged to seek his safety by flying into France; where fixing his residence at *St Mere Eglide*, in Normandy, he wrote memoirs of the miseries that had befallen the kingdom. To which he prefixed the following dedication'

(16) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Holles, &c. p. 140.

* Whitlock, p. 111.

† Ibid. p. 252.

'*To the unparallelled couple,* Mr Oliver St John, *His 'Majesty's Sollicitor-General, and* Mr Oliver Crom'well, *the Parliament's Lieutenant-General, the 'two grand designers of the ruin of three kingdoms.*

'Gentlemen,

'As you have been principal in ministring of the 'matter of this discourse, and giving me the leisure of 'making it, by banishing me from my country and 'business, so it is reason I should particularly address 'it to you. You will find in it some representation of 'the grosser lines of your features, those outward enor'mities that make you remarkable, and your pictures 'easy to be known, which cannot be expected here so 'fully to the life, as I could wish. He only can do 'that, whose eye and hand have been with you in 'secret councils; who has seen you at your meetings, 'your sabbaths, where you have laid by your assumed 'shapes (with which you cozened the world) and re'sumed your own; imparting each to other, and 'and both of you to your fellow-witches the bottom 'of your designs, the policy of your actings, the turns 'of your contrivances, all your falshoods, cozenings, 'villainies, and cruelties, with your full intentions to 'ruin the three kingdoms. All I will say to you, is 'no more than what St *Peter* said to *Simon* the sorce'rer, *Repent therefore of this your wickedness, and 'pray God, if perhaps the thoughts of your hearts may 'be forgiven you.* And if you have not grace to pray 'for yourselves, (as it may be you have not) I have 'charity to do it for you, but not faith enough to 'trust you.

'So I remain,

At St Mere Eglide in Normandy this 14th of February, 1647, *St. V.*

I thank God, not in your power, and as little at your service,

Denzil Holles.

We have transcribed this address, as it is a true specimen of the temper which swayed Mr Holles's pen at that time. His indignation was indeed that of a patriot indisputably just and noble, and the general merit of the piece, does more than atone for his too hastily crediting the stories of others concerning Cromwell's cowardice at the battles of Marston-moor and Basing-house (17), especially when it is considered that he had been himself an eye-witness of that tyrant's cowardly behaviour at Edge-hill. However Mr Holles did not proceed to publish these memoirs *, restrained probably by an expectation, which there was some grounds to entertain soon afterwards, that he should be discharged by his own party in the House of Commons from the impeachment against him. This being effected in June 1648 (18), he returned home and resumed his seat in that house on the 14th of August (19), and was the first of the ten commoners in the treaty with the King at the Isle of Wight. When Colonel Pride seized on the forty-nine members, the very day that Cromwell returned from Scotland (20), Mr Holles being apprised of the inveteracy of the army against him, forbore coming to the House, whereby he escaped an imprisonment; and finding the Parliament submitted to their power, he consulted his own safety by retiring beyond the seas, and before the King's death went a second time into France. He now chose to reside in Brittany, and making use of such means as lay in his power for restoring King Charles II (21), he staid there 'till Monk came to London in the latter end of the year 1659, when he returned and took his seat in the House of Commons with the secluded members on the 21st of February. On the 2d of March, all votes against him were repealed, and the two acts of sequestrations of his estate, and on the 10th, they made him *Custos Rotulorum* of the county of Dorset. Upon the dissolution of that Parliament and the ordering writs for a new one on the 15th, he was appointed of the council of state to govern in the interim (22). During which he was one of those that held a conference at Northumberland house with Monk, where the King's restoration was proposed in direct terms, but not without some conditions (23). Hence it appears that he did not actually promote, though he readily concurred in and submitted to the Restoration, as it was afterwards brought about, without any terms or conditions. Upon the meeting of the Parliament, April 25, 1660, Mr Holles assisted by General Monk and Mr Pierpoint (ancestor to the present Duke of Kingston) placed Sir Harbottle Grimston, who was chosen speaker, in the chair (24). He was afterwards chairman of the committee of seven appointed to prepare an answer to his Majesty's letter delivered to the house May 1 (25), and was also of the committee appointed to confer with that of the Lords for preparing instructions for those who were to go with the letter of answer to his Majesty (26) and probably was the person who drew it up. Lastly, he was one of the twelve Commoners; who with six Lords, carried the Parliament's invitation to the King at the Hague to return (27), on which occasion he was pitched on to make the speech for the Commons (28), and accordingly returned with his Majesty shortly after.

[F] *Correct*

(17) See Cromwell's article in remark [*M*]. N. B. These stories are retailed in the General Dictionary, and referred to in Tindal's note to Rapin's History, without any animadversion.

* They were published in 1699 in 4to. with this title, Memoirs of Denzil Lord Holles, Baron of Isfield in Sussex, from the year 1641 to 1648.

(18) Whitlock, p. 306.

(19) Rushworth, Vol. V. p. 1226.

(20) Dugdale's View of the Troubles, &c. p. 363.

(21) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. III. p. 457. where he is mentioned as one of the principal agents in the royal cause.

(22) Whitlock, p. 698 and 699.

(23) Clarendon, Vol. VI. p. 753.

(24) Journals of the House of Commons, Vol. X. p. 1.

(25) Ibid. p. 4.

(26) Ibid. p. 20.

(27) Hist. of Independency, by T. M. versus finem.

(28) Some complaints being made of this speech afterwards, the House of Commons resolved, June 2, that Mr Holles have the leave of this House to print his speech to his Majesty, with his Majesty's answer thereto, which he hath leave given him by his Majesty to print; and also the instructions of this House for his vindication. Journals of that House, Vol X. p. 57.

though ſtill retaining his firſt principles, he always ſided with the country party. But for the particulars of his public employments and his conduct therein, we ſhall refer to the general hiſtories cited in the margin (*f*), the ſubſtance of which is put together in the account of his Lordſhip's life by Arthur Collins, Eſq; (*g*). 'Tis only in the view of making that account more perfect and compleat (which is the more immediate deſign of theſe memoirs), that ſome miſtakes committed therein are rectified below [*F*], and one conſiderable

(*f*) Viz. Clarendon, Whitlock, Ruſhworth, Journals of Parliament, &c.

(*g*) In his Hiſtorical Collections of the noble Families of Cavendiſhe, Holles, &c. from p. 109 to 162. Lond. 1752. fol.

[*F*] *Correct ſome miſtakes and miſrepreſentations.*] Theſe are as follow. Firſt, Speaking of the plot to bring up the army to awe the Parliament in 1641, he refers to Lord Clarendon's account of it (29), with this remark, that his Lordſhip's obſervations and concluſions may admit of ſome diſpute in readers, that will examine the ſeveral particulars that were then publiſhed. In ſupport of this general charge, nothing is produced but only that his Lordſhip aſſerts, '*That* 'Wilmot Aſhburnham *and* Pollard, *on their examinations upon oath denied their meeting at Mr Percy's* 'chamber, *and of a diſcourſe of the Parliament's neglect of the King, and favouring of the Scottiſh army,* 'the taking an oath of ſecrecy, *and ſome other particulars* [contained in Percy's letter]. Alſo alledging, 'that in all their teſtimonies produced, there was ſo little ſhew of proof of a real deſign or plot to bring up 'the army to awe the Parliament, that in truth it was 'very evident, there was no plot at all, only a free 'communication between perſons (the major part whereof was of the Houſe) of the ill arts that were gene- 'rally uſed to corrupt the affections of the people; and 'of ſome expedient, whereby in that ſo public infection 'the army (in which they had all conſiderable command, 'two of them being general officers) might be preſerved 'from being wrought upon and corrupted.' Our author apparently in the view of invalidating the force of theſe aſſertions, inſerts Percy's letter and the Earl of Northumberland's teſtimony concerning it given to Mr Holles (30), who was employed by the Houſe of Commons on this occaſion, and as it is upon his account only that this matter is introduced, it ſeems thereby to be inſinuated, that he would not have been concerned in the affair, had he not been perſuaded of the reality of the plot. But ſurely it ought to have been obſerved, in juſtice to the Earl of Clarendon, that it is no prejudice to the character of Mr Holles, to ſuppoſe him innocently drawn into this belief, and engaged in this affair by the artifices of thoſe with whom he was joined at this time, having then, as he himſelf intimated afterwards, no ſuſpicion of their deſigns (31); and that therefore Mr Holles's perſuaſion and behaviour thereupon, is far from being a ſufficient reaſon to diſpute the veracity of his Lordſhip's account, and eſpecially when it is conſidered, how very poſitive his Lordſhip is in maintaining his aſſertion concerning Percy's letter, and how well it is ſupported, a bare reference thereto may perhaps hardly be deemed enough to clear Mr Collins from the charge of partiality. The noble author having related what was generally believed afterwards concerning the letter, viz. 'That Percy finding the ſea- 'ports ſhut, and watches ſet for his apprehenſion in all 'thoſe places [beforementioned] whereby the tran- 'ſporting himſelf into foreign parts was very difficult, 'he found means to return to London, and to put 'himſelf into his brother's protection, where it is 'thought he was harboured, 'till his hurt was 'cured, the ſtrictneſs of the enquiry over, and 'till he 'had prepared that letter to his brother the Earl of 'Northumberland, which ſerved as far as in him lay 'to deſtroy all his companions.' His Lordſhip then proceeds thus. '*The truth is, that after his brother's* 'being accuſed of high-treaſon, and then upon his hurt 'in Suſſex coming directly to Nort humberland-houſe to 'ſhelter himſelf, the Earl, being in great trouble of mind 'to ſend him away beyond the ſeas after his wound 'was cured, adviſed with a confident friend then in 'power, whoſe affection to him he doubted not, and in- 'nocently enough brought Mr Pym *into the council, who* 'over-witted them both, by frankly conſenting that Mr 'Percy ſhould eſcape into France, which was all the care 'the Earl had; but then obliged him firſt to draw ſuch 'a letter from him, as might by the party be applied as 'an evidence of the reality of the plot after he was 'eſcaped; and in this manner the letter was procured, 'which made a laſting quarrel between the two 'brothers.' To confirm this his Lordſhip adds, as a ſufficient argument to evince what opinion the Houſe of Commons had of the letter, as well as of their other evidences of the plot, that they never proceeded againſt Wilmot, Aſhburnham, or Pollard, who were in their power, though they patiently attended, and importuned a trial above a year after their accuſation.

(29) Hiſt of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 265 to 272. 8vo. edition.

(30) Hiſtorical Collections of the Holles Family, p. 108.

(31) In his Memoirs, &c. from the year 1641 to 1648. edit. 1699. 4to.

Another miſrepreſentation given by Mr Collins, and that founded upon a groſs miſtake concerning a matter of fact atteſted by the Earl of Clarendon, relates to the famous Proteſtation made by both Houſes, on occaſion of the ſame plot, to defend the Proteſtant Religion. His Lordſhip having recited the Proteſtation, proceeds thus. 'This oath of their own making to entangle the people (ſo like a covenant) by which ſuch admirable things had been compaſſed by their neighbours, and upon which they could make what gloſs they pleaſed when they had occaſion, as they did within two days after, ſome of their own party taking occaſion to inform the Houſe, that *it was apprehended by many well affected abroad, that if they ſhould take the Proteſtation, they ſhould thereby engage themſelves for the defence of the biſhops, &c.* Whereby without any great oppoſition, in a thin Houſe, the enſuing order was made. *Whereas ſome doubts have been raiſed by ſeveral perſons out of this Houſe, concerning the meaning of theſe words in the Proteſtation lately made by the members of this Houſe.* The true reformed Proteſtant Religion expreſſed in the doctrine of the Church of England, againſt all popery and popiſh innovations within this realm, contrary to the ſame doctrine. *This Houſe doth declare, that by thoſe words was and is meant, only the public doctrine profeſſed in the ſaid Church, ſo far as it is oppoſite to popery and popiſh innovations; and that the ſaid words are not to be extended to the maintaining of any form of worſhip, diſcipline, or government, nor of any rites or ceremonies of the ſaid Church of England.* His Lordſhip farther recites, that this Explanation was made in the Houſe of Commons, without ever adviſing with the Houſe of Peers; and that they ordered the Proteſtation, together with the Explanation, to be printed and publiſhed without conſulting with them (32). Upon this Mr Collins makes the following obſervation. That in the diurnal occurrences of thoſe times, wherein the proceedings of the Lords and Commons are ſet forth, ſome particulars relating to the Proteſtation, &c. are differently related; and, continues he, as Mr Holles (of whom I am treating) was choſen by the Commons to confer with the Lords thereon; I think it neceſſary to remark, that the Explanation beforementioned is not cited by any but the Earl of Clarendon (33). Strange eſcape! It is not only to be ſeen in Ruſhworth (34), together with the day, May 13, 1641, when it paſſed the Houſe, but was alſo printed and publiſhed that ſame year, together with Mr Holles's ſpeech on preſenting the Proteſtation to the Houſe of Peers, as alſo the Proteſtation itſelf, and the preamble; the whole concluding with the order for taking it, entitled, *Directions for more orderly making the aforeſaid Proteſtation* (35), which being not common to be met with, we ſhall inſert as follows. *It is thought fit that the Proteſtation which the Parliament lately made, be taken by the City of London, in the ſeveral pariſh-churches in the afternoon of ſome Lord's day after ſermon, before the congregation be diſſolved, by all maſters of families, their ſons, and men-ſervants, in manner and form following. Firſt, that forthwith notice of this intention be given to the miniſter, church-wardens, and ſome other meet perſons of each pariſh in London, liberties, and adjacent pariſhes, and ſome of them to give notice to the reſt of the pariſhioners. Secondly, That the miniſter be intreated (if he pleaſe) to acquaint his pariſh in his ſermon, either forenoon or afternoon, with the nature of the buſineſs, more or leſs, as he ſhall think fit, for the better and more ſolemn taking the ſaid Proteſtation; or if the miniſter refuſes it, that ſome other be intreated to preach, that will promote the buſineſs; or if neither of theſe may be had, that ſome other convenient courſe be taken by ſome well affected to the buſineſs, to ſtay the pariſh and communicate the matter to them. Thirdly, That the miniſter or miniſters of every congregation firſt take it in his or their own perſon, reading the ſaid Proteſtation in ſo diſtinct a voice, that all preſent may conveniently hear it, and that all the aſſembly preſent do*

(32) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, &c. Vol. I. p. 251, 252, 253, 8vo edition. This particular is confirmed by the author of the Diurnal occurrences of both Houſes of Parliament, from 3 Nov. 1640, to 3. Nov. 1641. P. 317—319.

(33) Hiſtorical Collections, &c. p. 116.

(34) Ruſhworth's Collections, Part iii. Vol. I. p. 273. edit. 1692. folio.

(35) It does not appear by what authority theſe directions were drawn up, but it was evidently done in purſuance to the vote of the Houſe of Commons, die Ven. 30 July, 1641. *That this Houſe doth conceive, that the Proteſtation made by them is fit to be taken by every perſon that is well affected to Religion, and to the good of the Common wealth, &c.* Diurnal Occurrences, &c. p. 321.

conſiderable omiſſion ſupplied in remark [G]. His Lordſhip's firſt wife dying at Paris in 1665, whilſt he was Ambaſſador there, he was married in King Henry VIIth's chapel in Weſtminſter-

do make the ſame Proteſtation diſtinctly after this manner, every man taking this Proteſtation into his hand. I, A. B. do in the preſence of Almighty God, freely and heartily promiſe, vow, and proteſt, the ſame which the leading perſon took, naming the perſon. Fourthly, That there be a regiſter-book wherein every man taking this Vow or Proteſtation, ſubſcribe his name or mark, and that the names be taken of ſuch as do refuſe the ſame. Fifthly, That all the pariſhioners aboveſaid, whether in town or out of town, be earneſtly required to be preſent at their own pariſh-church in the afternoon of that Lord's-day wherein it ſhall be taken, that every man may take it in their own place, and if any be neceſſarily abſent, that they may be deſired to take it the next Lord's-day after, or as ſoon as may be with convenience. Sixthly and laſtly, That all whom it doth not immediately concern, be earneſtly required to depart. A copy of the whole lies now before me, intitled, *A True copy of the Speech made by the Honorable* Denzell Holles, Eſq; *at a Conference by a Committee of both Houſes of Parliament in the Painted Chamber, concerning the Proteſtation formed by the Houſe of Commons, which was ſolemnly made by every Member of the ſame; wherein is ſet forth the Proteſtation itſelf, and the reaſons inducing them to make it; together with their deſire that the Lords would concur with them in the ſame zeal and affection for the public ſafety, with an Explanation upon ſome doubts made upon the ſaid Proteſtation.* London printed MDCXLI. but without the printer's name. With regard to Mr Collins, it is obſervable that this famous Explanation being notoriouſly levelled againſt the Biſhops, is little conſonant to what he remarks in the introduction to his account of it concerning Mr Holles, who, ſays this author, as he was not only a ſon of the firſt Earl of Clare, and brother to the Earl Clare (a conſtant attendant of the Houſe of Peers), but had alſo by his learned and elegant ſpeeches in ſeveral debates gained great applauſe, the Houſe of Commons, in their conferences with the Lords, choſe him to deliver their ſentiments on the moſt important occaſions; *except*, continues he, *their proceedings againſt the Biſhops, wherein he would not be prevailed on to be concerned* (36). That is (as it muſt be underſtood) after he begun to ſee into their deſign againſt the Monarchy; for before that, he joined in every ſtep that was taken againſt Epiſcopacy. And beſides the Explanation (37) and Proteſtation juſt mentioned, and his ſpeech thereupon, there is in print another, and as tart a one as ever came from him, which he ſpoke againſt the Biſhops in the debate about taking away their votes in Parliament.

(36) Hiſtorical Collections, p. 115.

(37) Lord Clarendon obſerves, that this was voted in a thin Houſe; but if Mr Holles was not then preſent, he manifeſtly concurred in it afterwards.

[G] *Supply an omiſſion in that account.*] This omiſſion relates to a paſſage in his Lordſhip's private life, wherein his character being aſperſed, he printed and publiſhed his own defence, under the following title. *A true Relation of the unjuſt Accuſation of certain French gentlemen charged with a Robbery (of which they were moſt innocent) and the Proceedings upon it, with their Trial and Acquittance in the Court of King's-Bench in Eaſter Term laſt. Publiſhed by* Denzel Lord Holles. *Partly for a further Manifeſtation of their Innocency (of which, as he is informed, many do yet doubt) and partly for his own Vindication, in regard of ſome Paſſages at that Trial, which ſeemed very ſtrongly to reflect upon him.* In the introduction, having mentioned his reaſons (the ſame in ſubſtance as in the title) for publiſhing this account, he proceeds to the matter, wherein he obſerves, that theſe two gentlemen, one a youth of about ſeventeen, called *Valentine Simon, Chevalier de* [*that is Knight of*] *Hoeville*, he being deſigned it ſeems by his parents, to be a Knight of Malta, when it is uſual to give them the appellation of Knight even very young before their going thither to take upon them the vow and habit. The other, whoſe name was *Adrian Lampriere St des Maxieres*, nineteen years of age, and of a good family in Normandy, as well as the former, both of them neighbours to Lady Holles, and to her ſeat in thoſe parts, and their parents of acquaintance and friends to her Ladyſhip. That though they arrived in London on the third of November 1669, yet ſhe heard not of them, 'till they were made to cry to her out of Hertford goal, whither they were ſent on the eleventh of that month, having been ſeized with three more of their countrymen and acquaintance at Hatfield (38), for robbing four butchers upon Totternoll-hill in Bedfordſhire, on the eighth inſtant. His Lordſhip engaged with admirable diligence in their behalf, which was become abſolutely neceſſary by the behaviour of one of the butchers [Bellingham], who on every occaſion perſiſted ſteady in ſwearing very peremptorily againſt them. For that reaſon, notwithſtanding there was unqueſtionable evidence to prove their being in London on the ſame day and hour when the fact was charged upon them to be committed in Bedfordſhire, yet his Lordſhip was not ſatisfied till he had found the very perſons who actually committed the fact, and brought one of them [*Walrond*] to confeſs it in open court. 'Twas his Lordſhip's management in this laſt particular, which occaſioned the reflections upon him mentioned in the title page of his narrative, and of this he gives the following account. 'I was, ſays he, from the beginning as certain as of any thing that I had not ſeen with mine eyes, that the French gentleman were innocent, and therefore when Du Val and Mac Guy were taken up for a robbery, I did verily believe they had done this, and therefore I went with Mr Hall of Dorſetſhire to Newgate; but Du Val denied it.' Yet after two days, one of the French gentlemen came to him and told him, that Du Val had then confeſſed it to a Romiſh Prieſt an Engliſhman. 'It was upon a council-day, and, continues he, I was then going to council, where I acquainted the King with what had been told me that morning, and got the King's warrant to bring Bellingham to confront Du Val.' Whereupon taking two juſtices along with him they went to Newgate, where Du Val confeſſed the fact before the juſtices, and charged Walrond as an accomplice, who was then in the Gate-houſe on a general ſuſpicion only. His Lordſhip therefore went to him, and before Lady Broughton, keeper of the priſon, and the turnkey, aſked him, '*If he knew any thing of the robbery, &c. of which, ſays he, I deſired him but to tell me the truth. My Lord, anſwered he, as no body as yet hath come againſt me to accuſe me, ſo I have not been indicted, and if I ſhould accuſe myſelf, I might bring myſelf into trouble, and I have not yet my pardon, which I hope I ſhall obtain by the King's mercy. I replied, Mr Walrond, I will promiſe you, that whatever you ſay to me, ſhall not ariſe in judgment againſt you; his anſwer was, my Lord, I will acquit myſelf to you, and tell you all, and then did confeſs to me the whole matter, and told me many particulars; and then indeed I told him, that he had done well, and had told me, what I knew before, for that Du Val and Mac Guy had confeſſed the ſame thing; and as to his pardon, I did again aſſure him, that it ſhould be no prejudice to it, and happily it might be an advantage, for that I would endeavour all I could to help it forward. He afterwards put down in writing what he had ſaid, and I did move his Majeſty for his pardon, and got it paſſed for him in charity, as he had no money to pay for it.* But, continues his Lordſhip, he was terrified at the trial, and told, he had now confeſſed enough to be indicted for it, and ſo perplexed with queſtions, that he knew not almoſt what he ſaid, and left an impreſſion, I verily believe, with moſt of the ſtanders by, that he was gained by me to take this robbery upon himſelf, merely to ſave the Frenchmen at the bar, himſelf not at all guilty of it. But how undeſervedly that could be imputed to me, let my greateſt enemy be judge, if this my narrative be true, as I take the God of truth to witneſs that it is true, I mean for matter of fact, and for what I relate here as ſaid or done by me.' Having related the whole trial, with all the proceedings preparatory thereto, and the acquittal of the Frenchmen, he proceeds to obſerve the bad conſequences that would probably have followed, if theſe gentlemen had been condemned and ſuffered; that they had friends and kindred in their own country, who had courage enough to reſent, and very likely would have revenged it upon the next of the Engliſh they had found in France, and thence it might have bred a national quarrel. But that now they had received ſome reparation, for that having ſince brought their action againſt the butchers for an unjuſt and malicious proſecution, they had recovered four hundred pounds damages in the Common-Pleas before the Lord Chief-juſtice *Vaughan*. Lord Holles likewiſe received ſatisfaction for the

(38) They all went on horſe-back, firſt to viſit a merchant at Barnet, with whom they had ſome buſineſs, and miſſing of him, they went to ſee Hatfield-houſe, and were apprehended at the inn where they put up their horſes in that town. See a true Relation, &c. Lond. 1671. 4to. pt. 44 pages.

Weſtminſter-abbey, September 14, 1666, to Jane, eldeſt daughter and coheir of Sir John Shirley of Iſfield in Suſſex, Knight, widow of Sir Walter Court, Knight; and after her deceaſe, which happened in a few years (*b*), he married Heſter, ſecond daughter and coheir to Gideon de Lou, Lord of the Mannor of Columbiers in the duchy of Normandy in France, widow of James Richer, Lord of the Mannor of Cambernon in the ſame province. He had no iſſue by either of theſe latter wives. He died on Tueſday, 17 Feb. 1679-80, aged 81 years, 3 months, 16 days, and ſome hours, and was interred at Dorcheſter, being ſucceeded in honour and eſtate by his only ſon (*i*) Sir Francis Holles, Baronet [*H*], who, in the latter part of his life, reſided at the ſeat purchaſed by his father at Aldenham in Hertfordſhire (*k*), where he was buried. He died March 1, 1689-90, leaving an only ſon and heir, Denzel Lord Holles, born April 9, 1675. But his Lordſhip dying of a fever, January 25, 1693-4, unmarried, was the laſt of this branch of the family; whereby the honour became extinct, and his eſtate devolved on his heir John Holles Duke of Newcaſtle, mentioned in the preceding article, who in 1699 erected a ſtately monument, in the church of Dorcheſter, with an inſcription, in reverence to the memory of his great-uncle, Denzel Lord Holles, the firſt Baron of Iſfield, the ſubject of this article [*I*].

(*b*) He had married his 3d wife in 1669. See remark [*G*].

(*i*) He had three more ſons by his firſt wife, viz. Denzel, John, and another Denzel, who all died in their infancy. MS. de Famil. de Holles in bibl. Harleian.

(*k*) Chauncey's Hiſtory and Antiquities of Hertfordſhire, p. 491.

the affronts put upon him at the trial by the Lord Chief-Juſtice Keeling, who when he attempted to ſpeak to the characters of the Frenchmen, ſtopped him, ſaying, he muſt not interrupt the Court; and Lord Holles replying, that it was neither to interrupt the Court, nor to do them any wrong to inform them as much as poſſible of all paſſages, &c. The Chief-Juſtice anſwered again very angrily, *My Lord, you wrong not the Court, but you wrong yourſelf; and it is not the firſt time you have been obſerved to appear too much for ſtrangers.* 'So, ſays Lord Holles, I was ſnubbed and 'ſet down again, but I muſt ſay it was language I had 'not been uſed to, nor I think any of my condition, 'that had the honour to ſerve the King, in the qua-'lity, I do, of a Privy-counſellor.' The Lord Chief-Juſtice alſo upon Walrond's evidence declared (looking fully at Lord Holles, whence the whole Court underſtood it to be meant of him) *that there had been ſome foul doings.* Upon theſe injuries he petitioned the Houſe of Lords, who on Friday March 10, 1670, made the following order. 'This day the Lord Hol-'les produced ſeveral witneſſes to be examined con-'cerning his complaint on his petition of ſeveral indig-'nities put upon him by the Lord Chief-Juſtice of the 'Court of King's-Bench, at the trial of ſome French 'gentlemen in the ſaid Court of King's-Bench, who 'were there falſely accuſed of a robbery by four 'butchers in Eaſter-Term laſt. After the hearing of 'which witneſſes, the Lord Chief-Juſtice made his 'defence, and denied, that he intended any thing a-'gainſt the Lord Holles when he ſpoke thoſe words at 'the ſaid trial, that it was a foul contrivance, &c. as 'in the petition is ſet forth; to which defence the 'Lord Holles made a ſhort reply, and then voluntari-'ly withdrew himſelf, and the Lord Chief-Juſtice 'withdrew himſelf alſo. Upon which the Houſe took 'the whole matter into ſerious conſideration, and or-'dered, that the Lord Chief-Juſtice ſhould be called 'to his place as a Judge; and openly (in the preſence 'of the Lord Holles) the Lord-Keeper ſhould let him 'know, that this Houſe is not ſatisfied, with his car-'riage toward the Lord Holles in this buſineſs, and 'therefore has ordered, that he ſhould make this ac-'knowledgment, which is to be read by the Clerk as 'followeth, That he did not mean it of the Lord 'Holles when he ſpoke theſe words (that it was a foul 'contrivance) and that he is ſorry that by his beha-'viour or expreſſions, he gave any occaſion to inter-'pret it otherwiſe, and aſks the pardon of this Houſe 'and the Lord Holles. Then the Lord Chief-Juſtice 'of the Court of King's-Bench was called to his place, 'and (the Lord Holles being alſo preſent) the Lord-'Keeper performed the directions of the Houſe, and 'the Lord Chief Juſtice read the acknowledgment 'aforeſaid, only changing the ſtile into the firſt perſon.'

(39) Journal-book of the Houſe of Peers, anno 1671.

(40) See the text in note (*d*).

(41) Ex Regiſt. Eccleſ. Sti Petri apud Weſtmonaſ. They were married in Henry VIIth's chapel.

John Browne, Cleric. Parliamentorum (39).

[*H*] *Sir Francis Holles, Baronet.*] He was born Auguſt 19, 1627, at Dorcheſter, and created a Baronet in the life-time of his father (40). On the 22d of Auguſt, 1661 (41), he married Lucy, youngeſt daughter to Sir Robert Carr of Sleford in Lincolnſhire, Knight and Baronet, and had by her two daughters, Mary and Denzella, who both died in their infancy, and were buried in Holles's ſouth iſle adjoining to the church at Iſfield, and their mother dying September 15, 1667 (42), Sir Francis took to his ſecond wife, Anne, eldeſt daughter and coheir of Sir Francis Pile, the ſecond of that name of Compton-Beauchamp in Com. Berks, Baronet. She brought her huſband one daughter, Jane, who dying an infant, was interred in 1673, at Iſfield, as was alſo her mother, on Thurſday May 4, 1682. So that ſhe lived to be Baroneſs Holles, and died in the houſe of her Lord in Lincoln-ſquare, in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, Middleſex *.

(42) His Lordſhip had a remarkable ſuit in Chancery with Lady Carr, ſiter-in-law to his wife, for her portion, which was decreed in his favour in 1686. Vernon's Reports, Vol. I. p. 431. caſe 406.

* MS. de Famil. de Holles, in Bibl. Harleian.

[*I*] *An inſcription in reverence to the memory of the ſubject of this article.*] It is drawn up in the following terms.

To eternize the name and honour of Denzel Lord Holles, Baron of Iſfield.

His birth was equal to his virtues, being the ſecond ſon of John the firſt Earl of Clare, *who by ſea and land, at home and abroad, did not more ſignalize himſelf in the ſervice of his country, than he was meritoriouſly diſtinguiſhed and rewarded by Queen* Elizabeth *and King* James. *All that* Denzel's *wit or courage, probity or induſtry preſaged in his youth, he made good and exceeded, when a man. For as his excellent endowments and abilities made him early known to his Prince and country, ſo he could by his eloquence and valour intrepidly defend the liberty of the laſt, without refuſing the obedience that was due to the former. When the rights of the nation were barbarouſly invaded by that army, which the Parliament levied to ſecure them, he bore the violence and injuſtice of his enemies, as it became a finiſhed hero: nor could loſſes, exile, or his hatred to the factious, make him forget the love that he owed to* England. *After the reſtoration of monarchy, he was created Baron of Iſfield by King* Charles II, *and had the honour of repreſenting him in two extraordinary ambaſſies; the one to* Lewis *the* French *King, who no leſs admired the generoſity, whereby he maintained ſo high a character (43), than he dreaded that virtue he was not able to corrupt by his magnificent preſents, which were more princely refuſed, than offered. No part of his reputation was diminiſhed, when he went afterwards Plenipotentiary to the treaty at* Breda. *His learning was unaffected, uſeful, and general; but not to be exceeded by any in the knowledge of the ancient records of the kingdom (44), and the diſtinct powers of the ſeveral parts of the adminiſtration. So true a friend, that none could exceed or equal him.* He *was as great a patron to religious, as to civil liberty, which made him univerſally beloved and lamented, when he peaceably ended a long and glorious life, the ſeventeenth of February in the year of Chriſt, one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-nine, and in the eighty-ſecond year of his age. This monument is therefore dedicated to his memory for the honour of the preſent age, as well as an example to poſterity, by his nephew's ſon and heir* John *Duke of* Newcaſtle.

MDCXCIX.

(43) Sir Henry Chauncey relates, that, during Mr Holles's Embaſſy in France, he continually kept a noble table, furniſhed with diſhes of meat after the Engliſh faſhion, and in contempt of the French mode. Antiq. of Hertfordſhire, p. 491.

(44) His Remains are an illuſtrious inſtance of this truth.

We have inſerted this inſcription, becauſe it contains an exact and particular account of his Lordſhip's character. And ſeveral articles of it are confirmed and illuſtrated by remarkable inſtances in the following letter, wrote, as appears, in confidence, and conveyed privately to Sir William Morrice, then Secretary of State (45).

Paris, $\frac{12}{22}$ July, —64.

'SIR,

'I have received your's of June 27, moſt welcome 'to me; and I give you my humble thanks for it, be 'the

(45) The original was communicated by Dr Birch to Mr Collins. Hiſtorical Collections, &c. p. 159.

'the contents what they will, which muſt be what the 'complexion of the time affords, and not always what 'you and I would deſire. Cloudy enough it is for the 'poor Proteſtants, methinks, in all quarters; and no 'where worſe than here. The poor people of Privas, 'that are forced from their lands and houſes, are not 'ſuffered to carry away their moveable goods with 'them, but are robbed of it as they go; and the coun-'try of Gex by Geneva, which had been antiently the 'Duke of Savoy's, taken from him by the Swiſſes of 'Berne, and upon the reſtitution of it back from them 'to him, agreed they ſhould ſtill enjoy their liberty of 'religion; which the Duke of Savoy ſtill ſuffered them 'to do, and afterwards paſſed it over to the King of 'France upon an exchange, but with that condition 'for the freedom of their religion, which they have 'ever ſince enjoyed from the time of Henry IV. being 'all Proteſtants: now all their temples are every one 'pulled down to the number of three and twenty, and 'the exerciſe of their religion ſuffered but in two pla-'ces, where they are glad to make uſe of barns; and 'no reaſon given for it to ſuch as have been deputed 'hither, both from them and from the Canton of 'Berne, to endeavour to obtain ſome favour in it, but '*Le Roy le veut*. Truly I doubt it will drive them 'to deſpair at laſt, and they will ſo wring them, that 'blood will come at laſt. Here is a report this week, 'that the Proteſtants of Hungary have made their 'agreement with the Turk; and probable enough, for 'the Emperor had uſed them moſt ſeverely; and cer-'tain it is, that the Proteſtant cantons of the Swiſſes 'are ſo ill ſatisfied with France, ſeeing the hard hand 'held here upon the Proteſtants, and their mediation 'for them ſo little conſidered, that they begin to 'hearken to the King of Spain, who hath made an 'offer to take off the Inquiſition in Spain, upon condi-'tion that they will enter into a league with him. 'One Veroldingues of the canton of Uri is the promo-'ter of it, and hath been with all the Proteſtant can-'tons about it, inſomuch as Berne have ſent their de-'puties to the Spaniſh Ambaſſador there, the Conde 'de Caſſati. The levies which Spain makes there are 'now perfected, and are upon their march, two thou-'ſand Swiſſes and two thouſand Griſons; and but need 'enough, for they are in Spain in a very bad condi-'tion, not able to take the field, a few horſe, about 'five thouſand, and in bad equipage, no foot at all; 'and the Portugueze on the other ſide as ſtrong, have 'taken Valença de Alcantara, a place of importance; 'and the very letters from Madrid ſay, may take Al-'buquerque after, and all Eſtramadura; for, ſay they, 'our councils are bewitched and our forces ſmall, 'that we have nothing to oppoſe them: and I think 'they are bewitched indeed, for weak as they are, 'they go not about to ſtrengthen themſelves, nor to 'make friends. I do not find that Sir Richard Fan-'ſhaw, from whom I had a letter this week, is well 'ſatisfied with them: his expreſſion is, that he does 'not find the middle to anſwer the beginning, whate-'ver the end will be, ſpeaking of his uſage there; 'and I hear his men and the Spaniards have been to-'gether by the ears. All ſeems to make for the great-'neſs of France. The weakneſs, and diviſions, and 'ill counſels, and ill ſucceſſes of the undertakings of 'all the other Chriſtian princes and ſtates, are the ele-'vation of this young king, who may be raiſed ſo 'high, that his brains may turn, and he may *fais vi-'ribus ruere*, commonly the fate of human greatneſs. 'Yet he hath certainly great advantages of his own, 'beſides what his neighbours contribute to make him 'great; a clear underſtanding, a good judgment, an 'indefatigable induſtry; then a vaſt treaſure and abſo-'lute power within his kingdom, all of them neceſſa-'ry qualifications for one that will carry on great de-'ſigns. Our war with Holland will be no hinderance 'to him, and may give way to his growth up at ſea, 'where his greateſt defect is, and he knows it; and 'therefore now bends all his thoughts and care to ſup-'ply it, and to that purpoſe hath ſet up an Eaſt-India 'company, to which himſelf contributes vaſt ſums, 'five millions; and allows great privileges to encou-'rage adventurers, who come in apace; and then for 'the Mediterranean ſea and the trade there, he hath 'now ſet out a fleet of thirteen ſhips, eight galleys, 'ſome fire-ſhips, and forty other veſſels of lading, with 'all manner of materials for the building a fort upon 'the coaſt of Afric, where he will land near upon ſe-'ven thouſand men, within ten, upon a juſt account. 'This under the command of Mr de Beaufort; and if 'once he can get to be conſiderable at ſea, he will be 'formidable indeed; and yet need not our maſter fear 'him except he will; and he only of all the princes of 'Chriſtendom is out of his reach, who can prejudice 'him, and receive no prejudice from him; except it 'be that the other plow with his heifer, get within 'his councils; ſo will he unriddle his riddles, and I 'doubt not doth now; otherwiſe I ſhould not have 'orders ſent me to go and viſit the Princes of the Blood, 'which is now a tame yielding of that up which we 'have ſtruggled for all this while, and had gotten with 'ſo much difficulty; for in every body's judgment that 'hears of it, it is giving them the precedency, and as 'great a diſhonour to the King as can be after all this 'buſtle; and to have carried it, as I may ſay, in the 'field, to be outwitted, and perſwaded out of it in his 'chamber. Sir, it makes me mad, that I wiſh my-'ſelf ten thouſand miles off, to be the unhappy man, 'that muſt be forced to deliver up the honour of my 'king and nation. Oh that I had never come hither! 'or that I might ſoon be ſuffered to return from hence '(46), where I ſhall be aſhamed hereafter to ſhew my 'face, which hitherto I could hold up with ſome com-'fort, though I received no favour nor kindneſs from 'them. Yet they got no ground of me; nay, they 'had loſt ground, which now they recover with ad-'vantage; for to recover a loſt game, is more than to 'have fortune give it at the firſt; it is the product of 'a greater virtue. I am full, and glad I can unbur-'then myſelf into a friend's boſom; all is, how I 'ſhall be ſure to get it thither, that it fall not into ano-'ther hand, which I hope I ſhall by the means of an 'honeſt merchant, which muſt be your way, when 'you write any thing you would have no-body elſe ſee. 'Remember my humble ſervice, I beſeech you, to our 'good Lord-General, whoſe humble ſervant I am, as 'I am alſo moſt affectionately,

'Sir,

'Your very faithful

'And moſt humble ſervant,

'HOLLES.'

(46) His Lordſhip entered on this embaſſy July 7, 1663. and propoſitions for an accomodation being made by the French, after their declaration of war, Jan. 27, 1665 (*a*), he did not come away preſently, but adverſing his Majeſty that they played a double game (*b*), he was recalled, and arrived at Whitehall 24 May, 1666 (*c*).

(*a*) Kennet's Hiſt. of Eng. Vol. III. p. 279.

(*b*) Pointer's Chron. Hiſt. Vol. I. p. 212.

(*c*) Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. under this year 1666.

There has been printed another of his Lordſhip's letters, written in the year 1676, which is evidently dictated by the ſame patriot ſpirit, and addreſſed to Mr Van Benninghen, who had been the Dutch Ambaſſador in England. But it is too long to be tranſcribed here *. We ſhall only take notice, that, among other memorable paſſages, his Lordſhip obſerves, that England was then in a very weak condition; which he aſcribes to two cauſes. (1.) To the change of the ballance from the nobility to the people. (2.) To a ſucceſſion of three weak princes together; in which caſe, ſays he, the government can hardly ſtand—'And therefore I make no doubt to affirm, that if the government of the Parliament had not been interpoſed in the middle, the government muſt have ſunk e're now; *for ſave what they did, we have not taken one true ſtep, nor ſtruck one true ſtroke, ſince Queen Elizabeth's time.*' Whoever compares this paſſage with the ſentiments of his Lordſhip's father, ſeen in the preceding article, concerning the Stuarts, will perhaps be inclined to think, that a diſguſt to that family was inbred in the ſon.

* It may be ſeen in Mr Collins's Hiſtorical Account, p. 152—157. who tranſcribed it from the Memoirs of the Holles Family; the author of which maintains, that it ought to be ſet in golden characters, and preſerved to all poſterity. See Kennet's Hiſt. of Eng. Vol. III. p. 341. &c. b.

Beſides what have been already mentioned, there came out in 1682, in 8vo, a piece intitled, 'LORD HOLLIS HIS REMAINS: being a ſecond letter to a friend, concerning the judicature of the Biſhops in Parliament. In the vindication of what he wrote in his firſt, and in anſwer to a book ſince publiſhed againſt it, entitled, *The Rights of the Biſhops to judge in Capital Caſes in Parliament, cleared*, &c. It contains likewiſe part of his intended anſwer to a ſecond tractate, entitled, *The Grand Queſtion touching the Biſhops Right to vote in Parliament, ſtated and argued* †.' In the preface, the editor, who hath added a tract of his own on the ſame ſubject, having aſſerted the authenticity of this piece, obſerves, that his Lordſhip lived not to finiſh his anſwer to the *Grand Queſtion*, &c. but often affirmed that he had conquered all the difficulties in it. 'Nature, continues he, *was ſpent.—And when we conſider that he had paſſed the age of man, having arrived to his eighty-firſt year, and that he continued ſtill writing for eternity—ſurely I cannot be taxed of impertinence, if I here ſtrew upon his hearſe ſome of* Cicero's *happy flowers, ſince one would think they ſprung up now for this*

† This diſpute was occaſioned by the debates in Parliament, preceding the trial of the five Popiſh Lords in 1675, on account of the Popiſh plot. Ibid. p. 365. 2d edit.

this very purpose. Eſt etiam quietæ & puræ atque elegantèr actæ ætatis placida ac lenis ſenectus, qualem accepimus Platonis, qui uno & octogeſimo ætatis anno ſcribens mortuus eſt (47).' (47) Cicero de Senectute.

HOOKE [ROBERT], an eminent mechanic genius, was born on the 18th of July, 1635 (*a*), upon a peninſula called Freſhwater, on the weſt ſide of the Iſle of Wight, where his father Mr John Hooke was miniſter. Being a very weakly child he was nurſed at home (*b*), with ſmall hopes of his life for the firſt ſeven years. Yet under this conſtitutional infirmity, which particularly ſubjected him to violent pains in the head, there appeared a ſprightly and active temper, which being accompanied with a quick apprehenſion and a promptneſs at his book, induced his father to think of breeding him to the Church; and, having taught him to read, he proceeded in that view to inſtruct him in Grammar for ſome time; but growing aged and infirm, was obliged to drop his deſign, not being able to go through a work wherein he met with too many diſcouraging hindrances, from the frequent returns of his ſon's head-ach. Thus left to himſelf, the boy followed the peculiar bent of his genius, which was naturally turned to Mechanics, and employed his time in making toys of that ſort with uncommon attention [*A*]. Theſe indications led his friends to think of ſome ingenious trade for him; and, as he had alſo a great fancy for drawing (*c*), ſo, after his father's death, which happened in the month of October 1648, he was placed with the celebrated Painter Sir Peter Lely; but the ſmell of the oil-colours increaſing his head-ach, he quitted that buſineſs in a ſhort time, being kindly taken thence by Dr Buſby into his houſe, and ſupported there while he attended Weſtminſter-ſchool. By this means, he not only acquired a competency of Latin and Greek, together with an inſight into Hebrew, and ſome other oriental languages, but alſo made himſelf maſter of a good part of Euclid's Elements, being encouraged therein by the doctor, who allowed him particular hours for that ſtudy (*d*). About the year 1653, he was removed to Chriſt-church-college in Oxford (*e*), a choriſter's place having been procured for him there, and he was admitted ſervitor to one Mr Goodman *. In 1655, he was introduced to the Philoſophical Society at Oxford (*f*); where, his inventive genius being obſerved, he was firſt employed to aſſiſt Mr (afterwards Dr) Thomas Willis, in his operations of Chemiſtry; and this eminent Phyſician recommending him to the honourable Robert Boyle Eſq; he afterwards ſerved that curious and inquiſitive gentleman in the ſame capacity for ſeveral years. The ſame year, 1655, he was inſtructed by Dr Seth Ward, Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy, in that ſcience; and applying himſelf to improve the pendulum for Aſtronomical obſervations in the two ſubſequent years, he contrived a way to continue the motion of the pendulum, ſo much commended by Ricciolus in his Almageſt; which book had been recommended to him by Dr Ward. Having made ſome trials to this end which ſucceeded to his wiſh, the ſucceſs of theſe put him upon thinking to improve it further, for finding the longitude; and by the method he had made for mechanic inventions [*B*], being quickly led to the uſe of ſprings inſtead of gravity for the making a body vibrate in any poſture, he firſt of any one invented, in 1658 and the following year, what is now called the pendulum watch [*C*]. About the ſame time he alſo invented

(*a*) He was baptized the next day, Ath. Ox. Vol. II. c. 1039. probably on account of his weakneſs.

(*b*) All their other children were nurſed abroad. Life of Dr Hooke, prefixed to his Poſthumous Works, by Rich. Waller, Eſq; fol. 1705.

(*c*) He copied ſeveral prints with a pen ſo well, that Mr Hoſkyns (ſon of the famous Hoſkyns, Cowper's maſter) much admired they could be done by one not inſtructed. Ibid.

(*d*) Ibid. and Wood, ubi ſupra, who ſays, he likewiſe learned of his own accord to play 20 leſſons upon the organ, and invented 30 ways of flying, as himſelf and Dr Wilkins of Wadham-college had reported.

(*e*) Waller, p. 3. probably from our author's papers, there being now no entry of his admiſſion in the college regiſter. Whence Mr Wood, ubi ſupra, places it in 1650 doubtleſs on report only.

* Ibid. N. B. the choir-ſervice was then ſuppreſſed.

(*f*) See an account of this ſociety in the article of Dr Wallis.

(*g*) Journals of the Royal-Society, Vol. I. p. 104.

[*A*] *He made ſome mechanical toys with great attention.*] For inſtance, ſeeing an old braſs clock taken to pieces, he made a wooden one that would go; he likewiſe made a ſmall ſhip about a yard long, fitly ſhaped, maſted, and rigged, with a contrivance to make it fire ſmall guns, as it was ſailing croſs a haven of ſome breadth (1).

[*B*] *His method for mechanic inventions*] Mr Waller obſerves, that he never could meet with this method mentioned here, and in ſeveral other places of our author's works, and called ſometimes by him a *Mechanic Algebra* for ſolving any problem in mechanics, as eaſily and certainly as any geometric problem is ſolved by algebra, aſſerting that by this his method, he could readily determine whether any ſuch problem was poſſible, and if ſo, which was the eaſieſt and neareſt way of ſolving it (2).

[*C*] *He invented the pendulum watch in* 1658.] The invention whence this watch had it's name, is a ſpring faſtened at one end to the plate, and at the other end to the arbor of the ballance, to regulate it's ſtrokes and motion. That Mr Hook was the firſt inventor of this ſpring cannot be denied, if his firſt thought was conceived at the time here mentioned; and that it was ſo, is inferred from the following account of it given by himſelf, and confirmed by Mr Waller. In the poſtſcript to his treatiſe of *Helioſcopes*, publiſhed in 1675 *, expreſsly to vindicate his right to this invention, our author writes thus,** 'About ſeventeen years 'ſince †, being very inquiſitive about regulating the 'meaſure of time in order to find the longitude, I did 'from a mechanical algebra which I was then maſter 'of, find out and perfect this contrivance both in the 'theory and experimental verification thereof, of which 'I diſcourſed to ſeveral of my friends, but concealed 'the modus. About fifteen years ago, viz. in the year '1666, I was in treaty with divers perſons of honour 'for the diſcovery thereof upon propoſed articles of 'encouragement. This I can prove by undeniable 'witneſſes yet living; and I have ſtill all the papers, 'articles, and tranſactions of this matter by me in their 'own hand writing. In order to bring this treaty to 'paſs, I was neceſſitated to diſcover ſomething of my 'invention about meaſuring time, which was this way 'of applying ſprings to the arbor of the ballance of the 'watch, for regulating the vibrations thereof in all 'poſtures.' We find him alſo in another place (3), giving the ſame account, and naming Mr Boyle, as the particular friend to whom he firſt applied to on the occaſion, who imparting the affair to the Lord Brouncker and Sir Robert Moray, they adviſed the getting of a patent, and that Sir Robert drew up the form of one, 'The principal part whereof, continues our author, 'viz. the deſcription of the watch ſo regulated, is his 'own hand writing, which I have yet by me.' In confirmation of this account, Mr Waller ſays, that among Mr Hooke's papers, he met with a draught of an agreement to this purpoſe, between the Lord Brouncker, Mr Boyle, and Sir Robert Moray, with Robert Hooke, M. A ‖. The ſubſtance of which was, that Robert Hooke ſhould diſcover to them *the whole* of his invention, and ſhould have ſuch a ſhare of the profits to be made by it as is there ſet forth, and be publickly owned the author and inventor thereof. That there

(1) Our author's own account, in his Life, by R. Waller, p. 1.

(2) Ibid. in a] note to an Extract from our author's papers, inſerted in p. 3.

* In the title-page it is put 1676. from the cuſtom of the Printers in beginning the year at Michaelmas; after which, and before Chriſtmas, this treatiſe of Helioſcopes muſt have been printed. See note (49).

† See alſo Derham's Artificial Clock-maker, p. 102, 103. edit. 1734.

(3) MS notes of our author, ubi ſupra.

‖ And conſequently not before 1663, when that degree was conferred upon him. See above in the text, and in note (g).

invented ſeveral aſtronomical inſtruments, for making obſervations both at ſea and land [*D*], and was alſo particularly ſerviceable to Mr Boyle, in compleating the invention of the air-pump (*b*) [*E*]. In 1660, he publiſhed a ſmall tract in 8vo. upon the riſing of water in ſlender glaſs pipes higher than in larger ones, and that in a certain proportion to their bores, together with the cauſe thereof [*F*]. This ſubject was taken into conſideration by the Royal-Society, and a committee appointed to examine into the truth of the fact, on the 28th of May, 1661 (*i*). Which year our author publiſhed another piece in 4to. intitled, *A Diſcourſe of a new Inſtrument* (lately invented by him) *to make more accurate obſervations in Aſtronomy than were yet made.* November 12, 1662, *Sir Robert Moray*, then Preſident, *propoſed him for Curator of Experiments to the Royal-Society*; *whereupon, being unanimouſly accepted of, it was ordered that Mr Boyle ſhould have the thanks of the Society, for diſpenſing with him for their uſe, and that he ſhould come and ſit among them, and both bring in every day of their meeting 3 or 4 experiments of his own, and take care of ſuch others as ſhould be mentioned to him by the Society* (*k*). He executed this office ſo much to ſatisfaction [*G*], that, upon the eſtabliſhment of that illuſtrious body by the royal charter, his name was in the liſt of thoſe who were firſt nominated by the Council, May 20, 1663 (*l*); and he was accordingly admitted, June 3 following, with a peculiar exemption from all payments (*m*); and he was frequently afterwards a member of the Council himſelf (*n*). The ſame year, on September 28, he was nominated by the Earl of Clarendon, Chancellor of Oxford, for the degree of Maſter of Arts (*o*); and on the 19th of October it was ordered, that the repoſitory of the Royal-Society ſhould be committed to his care, the weſt or white gallery in Greſham-college being appointed for that uſe (*p*). In the month of May, 1664, he begun to read the Aſtronomy lecture at Greſham for the Profeſſor Dr Pope, then in Italy *; and the ſame year he was made Profeſſor of Mechanics to the Royal-Society by Sir John Cutler, with a ſalary of fifty pounds per annum, which that gentleman

(*b*) MS. notes of our author, printed by Waller, ubi ſupra. Mr Wood tells us, that he explained Euclid's Elements and Des Cartes's Philoſophy to Mr Boyle. Ath. Ox. ubi ſupra.

(*i*) This Committee conſiſted of Wilkins, Ent, Whiſtler, Ward, Henſhaw, D[illegible]s, and Mr Hooke. Hiſt. of the R. S. in two vols, by Birch, edit. 1756. Vol. I. p. [illegible]. N. B. This ſubject has been ſince proſecuted by Hauksbee, Dr Jurin, and others, as may be ſeen in the Phil. Tranſ.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 125.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 150.

(*m*) This exemption was only peculiar, as it was ordered at his admiſſion; for at different times the like exemption was granted to other members, particularly to Dr Charlton and Dr Pell. Birch's Hiſt. of the R. S. Vol. II. p. 241.

(*n*) See their Journals.

(*o*) Wood's Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 1039, 1040. & Faſti, col. 156. but it does not appear by the Regiſter, whether he was then admitted or diplomated.

(*p*) Ward's Life of Dr Hooke, in the Lives of the Greſham Profeſſors, p. 174.

* Mr Hooke continued to read this lecture 'till Dr Pope's return ſome time in the following year. Ibid. p. 112.

there were ſome other draughts which differed only in the diviſion of the profits (4). Theſe circumſtances leave no room to doubt that the regulator was invented at the time here fixed for it. But it muſt not be omitted, that in the firſt invention, the form of this ſpring was not ſpiral (as now) but ſtreight (5), like the clock pendulum, which is of the ſame uſe in that machine, as this ſpring is in the watch, and was invented a little before it, viz. in the preceding year 1657, by Mr Huygens (6). Dr Derham, obſerving that one end of this tender ſtreight ſpring played backward and forward with the ballance, proceeds thus, 'ſo that the ballance 'was to the ſpring as the bob of a pendulum, and the 'little ſpring as the rod thereof.' This analogy indeed holds well enough with regard to the form as well as the reſpective poſition and motion of theſe contrivances; but in their reſpective uſes the order is inverſe, the ſpring in that view being to the ballance as the bob of a pendulum, and the ballance as the rod.

[*D*] *Several aſtronomical inſtruments, &c.*] Our author tells us, that he afterwards ſhewed theſe inſtruments to the Royal-Society, and Mr Waller thought they were thoſe inſtruments which are mentioned in his aſtronomical lectures, publiſhed in his poſthumous works (7). About the ſame time alſo, as Mr Hooke himſelf ſays, he contrived the circular pedulum and the uſe of it, for continuing the motion of another pendulum which he afterwards ſhewed to the Royal-Society in 1663, about which time and afterwards ſeveral particulars relating to it are inſerted in their journals as his (8). He alſo gives an account elſewhere of his bringing it into uſe in 1665, and exhibiting it to the ſaid Society the following year; and we are told by another author (9), that 'the motion of this pendulum being as regu'lar as the vibrating one, was contrived by Mr Hooke, 'to give warning at any moment of it's circumgyra'tion, either when it had turned a quarter, half, or 'any leſſer or greater part of it's circle. So that here 'you had notice not only of a ſecond, as in the pen'dulum vibrating ſeconds, but of the moſt minute 'part of a ſecond of time, by which means it was made 'very uſeful in aſtronomical obſervations (10).'

[*E*] *He was ſerviceable to Mr Boyle in perfecting the invention of the air-pump*] Our author tells us (11), that in 1658, or the following year, he contrived and perfected the air-pump for Mr Boyle, as it was printed in 1660, having firſt ſeen a contrivance to that purpoſe made for that excellent perſon by Mr Gratorix (or Greatrix (12)), which was too groſs to perform any great matter. Mr Hooke here aſſumes the honour of of perfecting that celebrated machine to himſelf. The ſequel of this memoir, will diſcover the exact weight of that authority as to ſuch claims. In the mean time 'tis certain, that he made a draught of the air-pump as then publiſhed by Mr Boyle. This draught was in the hands of Mr Waller, whom he informed, that Mr Boyle ſent him then to London to get the barrel and other parts of that engine made there, which could not be done at Oxford (13).

[*F*] *A tract about the riſing of water in ſlender pipes, &c.*] In the catalogue of our author's printed works by Mr Ward, the firſt is, *An attempt for the explication of the phænomena obſervable in an experiment publiſhed by the Honourable Robert Boyle, Eſq; in the XXXV experiment of his* Epiſtolical Diſcourſe *touching the air: in confirmation of a former conjecture made by R. H. London*, 1661, 8vo. Upon which that gentleman makes the following remark. Mr Waller, ſays he, informs us, '*That ſoon after the beginning of the Royal-Society* '*viz. about April* 1661, *a debate aroſe in the Society* '*occaſioned by a ſmall tract printed in* 1660, *about the* '*cauſe of the riſing of water in ſlender glaſs pipes higher* '*than in larger, and that in a certain proportion to their* '*bores. This diſcourſe was wrote and publiſhed by Hooke,* '*the explication of which difficult phænomenon made him* '*the more regarded. The ſum of his reaſonings upon* '*this ſubject he publiſhed afterwards in his* Micrography '*Obſervation VI. in which there are ſeveral very cu*'*rious, and then new remarks, and hints as to the nature* '*of fluidity and gravity, which laſt is farther proſecuted* '*in his* Treatiſe of Springs. This ſmall tract, con'tinues Mr Ward, here ſaid to have been written and 'publiſhed by Mr Hooke in 1660, ſeems to agree in 'all circumſtances with that, whoſe title I have here 'given, except in the year of it's publication 1661. 'But as it is well known, that books when printed are 'often antedated, and as I do not find upon the 'ſtricteſt enquiry, that he ever publiſhed any other ſe'parate diſcourſe upon that ſubject; I cannot but 'think this is the tract referred to by Mr Waller (14).'

[*G*] *He executed this office to their ſatisfaction.*] The journals of the Society are a ſufficient teſtimony of this truth, by the large number and variety of his experiments and inventions therein recorded. Some of theſe are taken notice of by Dr Spratt, in 1666 (15), and Mr Waller recited a great many of the moſt conſiderable of them, and ſuch as were brought neareſt to perfection in 1705 (16); ſeveral others were printed by Dr Derham afterwards in 1726 (17); and the reſt that are worth notice, will fall into the deſign of Dr Birch; who has publiſhed ſome of them this year, together with others, as a ſupplement to the Philoſophical Tranſactions (18); wherein likewiſe ſeveral of our author's experiments and obſervations may be found; and ſome years ago, about 1640, a large number of his original papers and draughts in the Society's poſſeſſion, were collected into one volume, and diſpoſed in order of time by Dr Tho. Stack, F. R. S.

(4) Ibid. p. 5. Perhaps it was one of theſe other draughts which Derham tells us was drawn in 1660.

(5) Artificial Clock-maker, ch. viii. edit. 1734.

(6) Ibid. p. 103. Compare his *Brevis Inſtitutio de uſu horologiorum ad inveniendas longitudines*, edit. 1657. and his *Horologium*, in 1658. with his *Horolog. Oſcill.* p. 3.

(7) P. 500, & ſeq.

(8) Life of Dr Hooke, p. 8.

(9) Derham's Artificial Clock-maker, p. 98. edit. 1734.

(10) See a deſcription thereof, with other matters relating to it, in Hook's Cutlerian Lectures, and in his Animad. in Hevelii Machina Cœleſtis, p. 69.

(11) Life of Hooke, p. 3.

(12) A perſon of this name was an active member of the R. S. at it's firſt ſettlement in 1660. Hiſt. of the R. S. in two vols 4to. edit. 1756. Vol. I. *paſſim*.

(13) Hooke's Life, p. 3.

(14) Lives of the Greſham Profeſſors, p. 189.

(15) In his Hiſt. of the R. S. 4to.

(16) Life of Hooke, p. 8. & ſeq. 1705. folio.

(17) Philoſ. Exper. and Obſerv. &c. of the late Dr R. Hooke, edit. 1726. 8vo.

(18) Hiſt. of the R. S. &c. in 2 vols 4to. 1756.

[*H*] *His*

man, the founder, ſettled upon him for life (*q*). On the 4th of January, 1664-5, *It was ordered that the Society be ſummoned to meet on Wedneſday following, for the election of Mr Hooke as Curator by office, who was recommended from the Council to the Society by the Preſident.* Accordingly, at the next meeting, on January 11, *He was elected Curator by office to the Society, and that for perpetuity, with a ſalary of thirty pounds a year* pro tempore (*r*). And on the 20th of March following, he was elected Profeſſor of Geometry in Greſham-college (*s*). In 1665, he publiſhed at London in folio, his *Micrographia, or ſome Philoſophical Deſcriptions of minute bodies made by magnifying glaſſes, with Obſervations and Enquiries thereupon* [*H*]. And during the receſs of the Royal-Society on account of the plague, the ſame year, he attended Dr Wilkins and Sir William Petty, about the middle of July, to Durdens, a ſeat of the Earl of Berkeley near Epſom in Surry, where ſeveral experiments were made, which were afterwards communicated to the Royal-Society. And at one of their firſt meetings after their return to Greſham-college (*t*), he produced a very ſmall quadrant for obſerving accurately to minutes and ſeconds (*u*). September 19, 1666, he produced a model of his own deſign for rebuilding the city, deſtroyed by the great fire. This being approved by the court of the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen [*I*], though not carryed into execution, Mr Hooke was appointed City-Surveyor (*w*); in virtue of which office he laid out the ground to the ſeveral proprietors for rebuilding. As this proved a very gainful employ [*K*], ſo a great part of his time was ſpent upon it, which occaſioned an unavoidable interruption in the buſineſs of experiments. However, before the expiration of the year, in purſuance of an order by the Royal-Society on the 9th of January 1666 7, he begun to proſecute his obſervations of the earth's parallax, which had been propoſed by him formerly (*x*). He produced ſeveral new inventions in this and the four following years, the moſt conſiderable of which are printed in ſome of his works, or related by Mr Waller. But we muſt not omit to take notice, that, in 1668, Mr Hevelius, the famous Aſtronomer at Dantzick, having preſented a copy of his *Cometographia* to Mr Hooke (*y*), among other members of the Royal-Society, our author in return ſent the Conſul a deſcription of the dioptric teleſcope, with an account of the manner of uſing it, at the ſame time recommending it to him as greatly preferable to thoſe with plain ſights (*z*). This gave the firſt riſe to the diſpute between them, mentioned in a preceding Memoir (*a a*); wherein, though Mr Hooke had the beſt ſide of the queſtion, yet he managed it ſo as to be univerſally condemned [*L*]. But in 1671, he attacked Sir Iſaac Newton's New

(*q*) Both the ſubject and number of the lectures were to be appointed by the Society, who ordered their thanks to be returned to the founder, for his kindneſs to ſo worthy a member. Waller, p. 10. from the Journals of the R. S.

(*r*) Birch's Hiſt. of the R. S. Vol. II. p. 3 and 8.

(*s*) Ward, ubi ſupra.

(*t*) They returned March 14, and the quadrant was produced March 31. Journals of R. S.

(*u*) This was done by moving the arm with a ſcrew on the limb of the inſtrument, and might perhaps be the firſt of the kind, which is now in common uſe. Waller, ibid. There is a deſcription of one at large, p. 54. of the Animad. upon the Machina Cœleſtis.

(*w*) One Mr Oliver, a Glaſs-Painter, was joined with him in it. Waller, p. 13, and Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(*x*) See remark [*M*].

(*y*) Birch's Hiſtory of the R. S. Vol. II. p. 313. Our author had made Hevelius a handſome compliment, on account of his Selenographia, printed in 1647. See his preface to Micrographia.

(*z*) Annus Climacterius Johan. Hevelii, &c. P. 39, 40, 41.

(*a a*) That of Dr Halley.

[*H*] *His Micrographia, &c.*] In the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 11. there is an account of this book (19). In which, as Mr Waller obſerves, 'It will hardly 'be denied that there are more excellent hints and 'philoſophical diſcoveries, than in moſt extant of it's 'bulk. The book, continues he, being well known, 'I ſhall only obſerve that there are deſcribed in it ſe-'veral ſorts of microſcopes, with the ways of uſing 'them. As alſo the baroſcope, hygroſcope, an inſtru-'ment to graduate thermometers. An engine to grind 'optic glaſſes. An inſtrument to try the refraction of 'liquors. I remember, ſays he, Mr Marſhall (20), 'when he deſired the Society's approbation of his new 'method of grinding ſpectacles, owned he had the firſt 'intimation of it from a hint of Mr Hooke's, in this 'book about poliſhing many of the ſmall microſcopic 'glaſſes at once (21).' But whatever merit this piece had, it never was printed but once; the later date 1667, found in ſome copies, being only put to a new title page (22).

(19) There is alſo an account of it in the Journal des Sçavans, for Dec. 1666.

(20) The famous Optician at that time.

(21) Life of Hooke, p. 10.

(22) Ward, in our author's Life, p. 190.

[*I*] *His model was approved by the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen.*] Sir John Lawrence, the late Lord-Mayor, being preſent when the model was produced to the Society, acquainted them, that the ſaid court deſired it might be ſhewn to his Majeſty. However no notice was taken of this requeſt; probably becauſe Dr Wren's model had been then delivered to his Majeſty, and by him approved and laid before the Council; though as the Doctor had not an opportunity to communicate his either to the Royal-Society or the City, before it was ſent to the King, neither of them probably at that time had ſeen it; that is, in their corporate capacity, or at a public meeting, as it muſt be underſtood, for Mr Ward, who gives this account (23), refers therein to a letter wrote to Mr Boyle by Mr Oldenburg, September 18, 1666, of which he has, in the place referred to (24), tranſcribed the following extract. '*Dr Wren has, ſince my laſt, drawn a modell for a new 'citty, and preſented it to the King.—I was yeſterday 'morning with the Doctor, and ſaw the modell.——I 'then told him, that if I had had an opportunity to ſpeak 'with him ſooner, I ſhould have ſuggeſted to him, that 'ſuch a modell contrived by him, and reviewed and ap-'proved by the Royal-Society or a committee thereof, be-'fore it had come to the view of his Majeſty, would 'have given the Society a name, and made it popular, and 'availed not a little to ſilence thoſe, who aſk continually,* 'What have they done. *He anſwered, that he had 'been ſo preſſed to haſten it, before other deſſeins came in, 'that he could not poſſibly conſult the Society about it. 'However, ſince it is done without taking in the Society, 'it muſt ſuffice, that it is a member thereof that hath 'done it; and, by what I ſee, hath done it ſo, that 'other modells will not equall it. And I hope, that 'when it comes to be preſented to the Parliament, as the 'author will be named, ſo his relation to the Society will 'not be omitted.*' The date of this letter ſhews, that when Mr Hooke's model was produced to the Society, that of Dr Wren had been ſeen by Mr Oldenburg, and therefore probably by others, eſpecially as there was not the ſame reaſon for keeping the ſecret ſo ſtrictly after he had got the ſtart in preſenting it to the King. But the chief reaſon of inſerting this extract here, is the manifeſt diſguſt that appears in it on the occaſion of Dr Wren's not having communicated his model to the Society. This diſguſt doubtleſs had ſpread itſelf a good way among them; and thence it is obvious to conceive, how a perſon of Mr Hooke's temper might be encouraged to make the attempt, we have ſeen he did, upon them by his intereſt in the City; which behaviour, conſidering his competitor's great merit and eſteem, particularly in that Society, ſeems otherwiſe to be unaccountable.

(23) Ibid. p. 175.

(24) In the Life of Sir Chriſtopher Wren, p. 102.

[*K*] *This proved a gainful employ.*] The profits of it aroſe from the money which was given him by the ſeveral proprietors of the ground for diſpatch The whole amounted to ſeveral thouſand pounds in gold and ſilver, and he put it all into a large iron cheſt, which was found after his death locked down with a key in it, and a date of the time, ſhewing it to have been ſo ſhut up for above thirty years (25).

(25) Waller, ubi ſupra.

[*L*] *He managed it ſo as to be univerſally condemned.*] This controverſy at firſt was conducted with temper enough on both ſides, by means of Mr Oldenburg; who receiving Hevelius's letters, which were addreſſed to him, returned the ſubſtance of Hooke's anſwers thereto (26). However, theſe firſt letters diſcover the point in diſpute between them, which being carried to extremity on both ſides, furniſhed fuel for the flame that broke out afterwards. This point was, whether diſtances and altitudes could be taken with plain ſights any nearer than to a minute. Mr Hooke aſſerting they could not, whereas,

(26) See five of theſe letters in Ann. Climact. from p. 39 to 46. Our author ſeems never to have held any direct correſpondence with Hevelius.

new theory of light and colours, with ſomewhat better ſucceſs in regard to his reputation, though

whereas, with an inſtrument of a ſpan radius, by the help of a teleſcope, they might be determined to the exactneſs of a ſecond. Mr Hevelius on the other hand inſiſting, that by the advantage of a good eye and long uſe, he was able with his inſtruments to come up even to that exactneſs; and appealing to experience and facts, ſent by way of challege eight diſtances, each between two different ſtars, to be examined by our Profeſſor (27). Thus the affair reſted for ſome time with ſufficient outward decency, though not without ſome inward grudge on each ſide (28). In 1673, the Conſul publiſhed the firſt part of his *Machina Cœleſtis*, as a ſpecimen of the exactneſs both of his inſtruments and obſervations; and ſending ſeveral copies to be preſented as preſents to his friends in England, left out Mr Hooke. On the other hand the Cutlerian Profeſſor taking occaſion to read ſeveral lectures upon that book and the inſtruments therein deſcribed, printed them in 1674, with the title of *Animadverſions on the firſt Part of the* Machina Cœleſtis *of the learned and deſervedly famous Aſtronomer* Johan. Hevelius, *Conſul of* Dantzick. But now not being able to contain himſelf longer within the bounds of decency, he aſſumed a magiſterial air, and in that ſpirit threw out ſeveral unhandſome reflections upon the Conſul. How this behaviour was reſented, appears from a letter ſent by Hevelius to Mr Oldenburg, Aug. 31, 1675, wherein he writes as follows: Literas tuas, Vir honorande, die 16 Aprilis ſcriptas una cum tranſmiſſis illis libellis—accepi.———' *Inter libros autem* ' *illos—etiam Cl. Hoockii Animadverſiones in Machinam* ' *meam reperi, ſollicite quidem & anxie conſcriptas.——* ' *Quamprimum verſionem* [*in linguam Latinam*] *obtinuero,* ' *omnia debite, ut decet, reſpondebo. Ad hanc autem opellam* ' *credas, Mi Amice, ægre admodum accedo, non quod non* ' *confidam me ſuos nodos Gordios ſolvere, aculeoſque ſuos,* ' *quibus me ſæpius pungere ipſi placuit, minime detegere* ' *atque a me avertere poſſe, haud quaquam ſane! ſed* ' *quod animus meus res tales plane abhorreat, cum primis* ' *cum aliis rixari, verbiſque nudis & otioſis, & qui-* ' *dem contra ſocium ejuſdem Ill. Reg. Societ. conten-* ' *dere, prout etiam, ſicuti puto, ingenuum & cordatum* ' *virum decet. Ego quoque, abſit jactantia, re ipſa* ' *nunquam non luculenter oſtendi, ac ſemper de me meiſque* ' *laboribus atque ſtudiis magis quam de aliorum fui ſollici-* ' *tus, & quidem non tam verbis quam opere ipſo, ut mea,* ' *quouſque liceret, perficerem, lubens lubenſque (niſi co-* ' *actus) aliorum Clariſſ. Virorum operas, utut nonnun-* ' *quam in quibuſdam mecum non convenirent, relinquens;* ' *nullum ſane ad meas partes coëgi, nec perſuadere operoſe* ' *ſum conatus, ut ſuas partes omnino quos veriores eſſe pu-* ' *tarent, deſererent; multo minus ita me geſſi, quaſi in* ' *liberas mentes Dictaturam exercere mihi præſumerem.* ' *Adhæc in opuſculis meis neutiquam alicui nec Poſteritati* ' *leges præſcripſi, ut veſtigia mea omnimode ſequerentur,* ' *& quod ſic, & non aliter negotia illa tractanda forent,* ' *nec rationes meas & inventiunculas eſſe omnium optimas,* ' *ſecuriſſimas & ſubtiliſſimas, quæ unquam excogitari ab* ' *aliquo poſſent, demonſtrari ſum conatus, neutiquam pro-* ' *fecto. Longe aliter ſemper ſenſi & adhuc ſentio, ſicuti* ' *abunde legere eſt in machina mea cœleſti; poſſe nimirum* ' *cum Deo & die abunde præſtantiora, accuratiora, & ſub-* ' *tiliora inveniri, & in lucem protrahi. Ego non niſi* ' *literis ſemper conſignavi quæcunque pro meo modulo à* ' *Deo conceſſo, jam divino adſpirante numine, perfeciſſem,* ' *& quouſque ea ſucceſſiſſent; prout & tota mea machina* ' *non niſi hiſtorica relatio eſt earum ſcilicet rerum, quæ* ' *peractæ à me ope divina eſſent, qua via rem aggreſſus,* ' *nihilque addidi, quod ſciam, quod non per plurimos annos* ' *ad praxin ipſemet deduxiſſem, ut ita ex mea mente feli-* ' *citer ſatis ſuccedere ex ipſa experientia eſſem compertus;* ' *minime vero de rebus futuris, quæ & quomodo fieri de-* ' *berent & poſſent, atque ſic de incertis nulla glorioſa* ' *verba faciendo. At vero Cl. Hoockius, ut video, plane* ' *diverſum habet animum; magis enim circa aliena quam* ' *ſua eſt curioſus; ubi inventa ſua jam factis & obſerva-* ' *tionibus à ſeipſo peractis demonſtrare deberet, ibi nudis* ' *& prolixiſſimis verbis, & ſplendidiſſimis rationibus rem* ' *gerit.——Secundo nihil potius agit, quam ut mihi totique* ' *mundo perſuadeat (mihique paſſim exprobret, quod ipſi* ' *non obtemperem ac ſequar, ac ſi illi aliquod dominium* ' *in me competeret) rationem ſuam obſervandi aſtra eſſe* ' *optimam——quæ in eo genere inveniri poſſet unquam,* ' *cum tamen totum ſuum negotium in nudis ſermonibus &* ' *oſtentationibus conſiſtat.———Deinde pariter indignum* ' *eſt, aliorum optima intentione peractos, & adhuc pera-* ' *gendos labores, quacunque etiam ratione id ſit, protinus* ' *carpere, contemnere, & rejicere, & quidem tales quos* ' *videre Cl. Hoockio nunquam adhuc obtigit, nec videre* ' *ulla ratione potuit.———Satius igitur eſt, ut judicium* ' *ſuum de noſtris qualibus qualibus eo uſque ſuſpendat, donec* ' *noſtra recte viderit, & integerrime abſque omni livore* ' *examinaverit; nobis vero de ſuis obſervationibus cre-* ' *dendum, & ambabus manibus eaſdem amplectendas nihil* ' *obtrudat, donec & ſua coram intueri, & examinare in-* ' *tegrum erit omnibus.———Verum enimvero quomodo in* ' *ſingulis fere animadverſionum ſuarum pagellis mea ob-* ' *ſervata atque opellas ſugillet, perſtringat, ac flocci-* ' *faciat, meque ipſum paſſim carpat, illudat, ac ludi-* ' *brioſe, non ſolum coram ſuis diſcipulis ſed etiam toto* ' *erudito mundo tractet, abunde legere eſt. Nibil enim* ' *recte unquam vel debite à me ex ſua opinione ſuſceptum* ' *vel tranſactum, quod non cenſuram & intempeſtivam* ' *ſuam correctionem mereatur.*——Videri quidem paſſim ' vult, ac ſi mihi admodum ſit addictus, ac me mire ' laudet; ſed quo animo & affectu, quilibet ad rem ' attentus, etiamſi putet ſubtiliſſime rem à ſe eſſe ge- ' ſtum, perſpiciet. Summa ſummarum; dum me laude ' quaſi afficit, ut ex reliquis diverſarum pagellarum ' formulis loquendi manifeſtum eſt, magis magiſque me ' ludit ac pungit (29). *Videtur fere, quod de me in hiſce* ' *pagellis quaſi vindicare ſe voluerit, iramque ſuam ea de* ' *cauſa evomere, quod illum non pariter inter præcipuos* ' *meos Angliæ Fautores & Amicos nuper poſuerim; ſed* ' *ratio hæc nimis eſt leviuſcula; & è contrario reliquæ,* ' *quas adducit, apud me minime valent; ac itaque nulla* ' *fere ſupereſt, quam quod alios reprehendendo & redar-* ' *guendo, ſuaque ad cœlum extollendo, inſignem gloriam* ' *atque famam ſibi acquirere ſtuduerit.———Verum* ' *nolo amplius de Cl. Hoockii conatibus erga me, ne tibi* ' *amico optimo ſim moleſtus, verba facere; ſiquidem no-* ' *lens volens omnimode cogor alio loco hæc omnia fuſius de-* ' *ducere, annectendo, non omnia ab ipſo prolata, mira-* ' *cula & oracula eſſe, & quod in alieno pluſquam in ſuo* ' *videat.———Equidem ipſi longe glorioſius fuiſſet, ut* ' *nudis verbis peperciſſet, remque ipſam ſolummodo in po-* ' *ſterum tractaret, quam ipſe in aliis adeo operoſe carpit,* ' *quo omnes & ſinguli videant, quod talis ſit, qualis videri* ' *& haberi vult, & quod illi æque facile ſit imitari, ac* ' *carpere.——Verum iterum iterumque valde dubito, an* ' *non Nob. Tycho, Illuſtriſſ. Landgravius, aliique, quos in* ' *animo ſuo adeo contemptim habet, plura, majori diligen-* ' *tia, ardore, & multis in rebus (in multis, inquam, non in* ' *omnibus, quippe aberrationi quilibet eſt obnoxius) exquiſi-* ' *tius & correctius, & quidem nudis oculis, illiſque ru-* ' *dioribus pinnacidiis perfecerint, quam ipſe Cl. Hoockius* ' *(de aliis non loquor) adminiculo videlicet omnium ſua-* ' *rum ſubtiliſſimarum inventionum Teleſcopiorum, Mi-* ' *croſcopiorum, Polemoſcopiorum, Speculorumque, utut* ' *ipſi hoc tædioſiſſimum ſit percipere, imo plane abſurdiſ-* ' *ſimum videatur.——Unicum autem peto unice, ne domi-* ' *netur in mentem meam. Nam neque eum, quiſquis etiam* ' *ille ſit, neque ullum aliquem, in meis ſcilicet qualibus qua-* ' *libus ſtudiis, pro Dictatore ac Principe agnoſco.* Vivimus ' in libera Republica literaria, libera Illuſt. Regia So- ' cietate, cujus Symbolum NULLIUS IN VERBA (30).'

In 1679, Mr Halley, at the requeſt of the R. Society, went to Dantzic on occaſion of this diſpute, and after examining ſufficiently both the inſtruments and obſervations made therewith, gave, in a letter to the Conſul, that favourable opinion of both, which has been already related in his article (31). Mr Hevelius having beſides this received other letters ſtill more fully in his favour, took the opportunity of inſerting them among the aſtronomical obſervations in his *Annus Climactericus*, printed in 1685 (32). To which he prefixed a long preface, wherein grounding himſelf upon the ſtrength of theſe teſtimonies, he repeats what he had before wrote to Mr Oldenburg, with more confidence and greater indignation, and particularly exclaims againſt our author's dogmatical and magiſterial manner of aſſuming a kind of dictatorſhip over him. This book being ſent to the Royal-Society, an account was given of it at their requeſt by Dr Wallis, who therein, among other things, took notice, that the Conſul's obſervations had been miſrepreſented, ſince it appeared from this book, that he could diſtinguiſh by plain ſights to a ſmall part of a minute. About the ſame time Mr William Molyneux alſo wrote a letter to the Society in vindication of Hevelius, againſt our author's *Animadverſions*. Mr Hooke drew up an anſwer to this letter,

(27) One of theſe diſtances is that between *Regulus* and *Spica*, mention'd in Dr Halley's article, remark [K], p. 2498.

(28) Mr [illegible] afterwards [illegible] he [illegible] now [illegible]ly [illegible] See the [illegible]ence below at note (38). And Hevelius ſays, that the preference of teleſcopes to the degree here mentioned was inculcated by him in theſe letters *ad nauſeam*. Ann. Climact. in præfat. p. 9.

(29) This paſſage is referred to in note (37).

(30) Ann. Climact. p. 54 to p. 60.

(31) In remark [*K*], p. 2498.

(32) Among theſe there are ſeveral from Mr Flamſtead, who there ſpeaks with great contempt of our author's Aſtronomical merit. See particularly Ann. Climact. p. 65. There is alſo one from Oldenburg, aſſuring Hevelius, that the R. S. were ſtrangers to the publiſhing of Mr Hooke's book, and that it had not in the leaſt prejudiced their eſteem of him. Ibid. p. 95.

(33) Phil. Tranſ. No. 175.

though in respect to the argument he was forced to submit [*M*]. In 1673, he proposed a theory of the variation of the mariners compass, which has been already explained (*b b*). In

(*b b*) Ibid. rem. [*M*], col. b. p. 2500. He also proposed the making of an instrument to observe the variation, and there is a figure of one to that purpose in his Posthumous Works, p. 486.

letter, which was read likewise before the Society; wherein he observes, that he was not the first aggressor in print, as appeared from six pages in the *Machina Cœlestis* itself (34); that in his animadversions, he had no where expressed his doubt whether Hevelius's observations could be made true and always the same to two or three minutes, as Mr Molyneux had asserted (35), nor that an instrument of a span radius might be made that should perform observations sixty times more accurate than could be done with his best instruments (36); that as for any disrespectful or undervaluing sentiments he had of Hevelius or his performances, the contrary appears from the following passage, where he says, that '*he would not be understood by these animadversions, to undervalue the works and performances of a person so highly meriting the thanks of the learned world, for his great expence and vast pains in performing a work so highly useful to astronomy and navagation; that he did not in the least doubt, but that it would be work of perpetual esteem, and much preferable to any thing of the like kind yet done in the world; and that he had gone as far as possible for human industry to go with instruments of that kind, which were as complete and exact as instruments with plain sights could be made; and that Mr Hevelius had calculated them with all imaginable care and skill, and delivered them with the like candour and integrity.* But yet that it was my opinion, that this ought not to discourage others from making use of telescopic-sights, and to make better observations with instruments by that means more exact (37).' Our author concludes this defence in the following words. 'As to my not returning the observations of certain distances of stars which Hevelius desired, it is sufficiently known what inconveniences we lay under in this place after the fire of London; *and had I found conveniences, yet the unkind reception those things found, which I sent him, was enough to deter me from such a compliance* (38), *though he was sensible I had often been ready to gratify his curiosity in many other particulars* (39). But when his *Machina Cœlestis* was published, I was obliged to write those animadversions, in which I hope all unprejudiced readers will justify my procedure; at least, I am ready to prove any thing I have therein asserted.' It is observable, that though the unkind reception of the things sent is here expressly mentioned, yet no notice is taken of the particular reason given for it, which Hevelius had more than once declared to be the haughty imperious manner of obtruding them upon him; a behaviour which we shall see him hereafter charged with shewing to a much greater man than Hevelius.

(34) Viz. from p. 293 to p. 300.

(35) This imputation is often mentioned by Hevelius, though not expressly charged upon the Animadversions. See particularly Ann. Climact. p. 73. & in præf. p. 20.

(36) This is expressly charged upon him in præf. ad Ann. Climact. p. 9.

(37) Mr Hevelius particularly complains of this passage as a piece of mockery upon him, and declares he was reproached more than once in the Animadversions, ironically, with the expence of his useless instruments. Letter to Oldenburg, in Ann. Climact. p. 57, 59, 60.

(38) These are the words referred to in note (28).

(39) Mention is made in his Posthumous Works, p. 498. of a micrometer divider (there described) for Hevelius. And the late Will. Jones, Esq; was possessed of a letter of our author's, containing a description both of his manner of managing large telescopes and of their object-glasses together, with an offer of procuring them at the lowest price for Mr Hevelius.

(40) See remark [*Q*], where this letter is referred to at note (70).

[*M*] *He attacked Sir Isaac Newton's theory of light and colours.*] After what passed in the Transactions upon this subject, the theory gaining ground continually, our author took a contrary method, and instead of opposing, began to assume some part at least of the credit of it to himself; this appears by the following extract of a letter which Mr Newton wrote to Mr Oldenburg in December 1675. 'As to Mr Hooke's insinuation, that the sum of the hypothesis I sent you [on the 7th instant (40)] had been delivered by him in his Micrography. I need not be much concerned at the liberty he takes in that kind. Yet because you think it may do well, if I state the difference I take to be between them, I shall do it as briefly as I can, and that the rather, that I may avoid the savour of having done any thing unhandsome or unjustifiable towards Mr Hooke. But for this end, I must first (to see what it is) cast out what he has borrowed from Des Cartes or others, viz. that there is an æthereal medium. That light is the action of this medium; that this medium is less implicated in the parts of solid bodies, and so moves more freely in them, and transmits light more readily through them; and that after such a manner, as to accelerate the rays in a certain proportion. That refraction arises from this acceleration, and has sines proportional. That light is at first uniform. That it's colours are some disturbance or new modification of it's rays by refraction or reflexion. That the colours of a prism are made by means of the quiescent medium accelerating some motion of the rays on one side where red appears, and retarding it on the other side where blue appears; and that there are but these two original colours or colour-making modifications of light; which by their various degrees, or, as Mr Hooke calls it, dilatings, produce all intermediate ones. This rejected, the remainder of his hypothesis is, that he has changed Des Cartes's pressing or progressive motion of the medium to a vibrating one; the rotation of the globuli to the obliquation of pulses; and the accelerating their rotation on the one hand, and retarding it on the other by the quiescent medium to produce colours, to the like action of the medium on the two ends of his pulses for the same end. And having thus far modified his by the Cartesian hypothesis, he has extended it farther to explicate the phænomena of thin plates, and added another explication of the colours of natural bodies fluid and solid.

'This, I think, is in short the sum of his hypothesis, and in all this I have nothing common with him but the supposition that æther is a medium susceptible of vibrations, of which supposition I make a very different use, he supposing it light itself, which I suppose it is not. This is as great a difference, as is between him and Des Cartes. But besides this, the manner of refraction and reflexion, and the nature and production of colours in all cases (which takes up the body of my discourse) I explain very differently from him; and even in the colours of thin transparent substances, I explain every thing after a way so differing from him, that the experiments I ground my discourse on, destroy all he has said about them; and the two main experiments, without which the manner of the production of those colours is not to be found out, were not only unknown to him when he wrote his Micrography, but even last spring, as I understood in mentioning them to him. This therefore is the sum of what is common to us, that æther may vibrate; and so if he thinks fit to use that notion of colours arising from the various bigness of pulses (without which his hypothesis will do nothing) his will borrow as much from my answer to his objections, as that I sent you does from his Micrography.

'But it may be he means that I have made use of his observations; and of some I did, as that of the inflexion of rays, for which I quoted him; that of opacity arising from the interstices of the parts of bodies, which I insist not on; and that of plated bodies exhibiting colours, a phænomenon for the notice of which I thank him. But he left me to find out, and make such experiments about it, as might inform me of the manner of the production of those colours to ground an hypothesis on; he having given no further insight into it than this, that the colour depended on some certain thickness of the plate; though what that thickness was at every colour, he confesses in his Micrography he had attempted in vain to learn; and therefore seeing I was left to measure it myself, I suppose he will allow me to make use of what I took the pains to find out. And this, I hope, may vindicate me from what Mr Hooke has been pleased to charge me with.' Presently after the writing of this letter, our author persisting in his assertion insinuated the same thing before the Royal-Society, with which Mr Newton being acquainted by the Secretary, returned the following answer in a letter dated January 10, 1675-6. 'I am obliged to you, Sir, for your candour in acquainting me with Mr Hooke's insinuations. It is but a reasonable piece of justice I should have an opportunity to vindicate myself from what he undeservedly cast on me; and therefore since you have been pleased to be my representative there, and I have no means of knowing what is done but by you, I hope you will continue that equitable candour; though I think the present business of no great moment as to me, not imagining that the Royal Society are to be imposed on in a thing so plain, or that Mr Hooke himself will persist in his mistake, when he hears the difference stated. The only thing, I said, he could pretend taken from his hypothesis was, the disposition of æther to vibrate; and yet whilst he grasps at all, he is likely to fall short of this too. That æthereal vibrations are light is his; but that æther may vibrate (which is all I suppose) is to be had from a higher fountain; for that æther is a finer degree of air, and

air

In 1674, he publiſhed the two following books in 4to. (1.) *An Attempt to prove the Motion of the Earth from* Obſervations (*cc*) [*N*]. (2). *Animadverſions on the firſt part of the* Machina Cœleſtis *of the honourable, learned, and deſervedly famous Aſtronomer, Johannes Hevelius, Conſul at Dantzick: together with an explication of ſome inſtruments made by R. H* (*dd*). The Royal-Society having begun their meetings again at Greſham-college, on the 12th of November this year, the Greſham-Committee, December 19 following, allowed him forty pounds to erect a turret over part of his lodgings, for trying his inſtruments, and making aſtronomical obſervations (*ee*). In 1675, he publiſhed *A Deſcription of Helioſcopes, and ſome other inſtruments, made by* R. H. (*ff*), *with a Poſtſcript*, complaining of ſome injuſtice done him by Mr Oldenburg, the publiſher of the Philoſophical Tranſactions, in regard to his invention of pendulum watches. This charge drew him into a diſpute with that gentleman, which ended in a declaration of the Royal-Society in their Secretary's favour [*O*]. During this diſpute, our author publiſhed in 4to. 1667, his *Lampas:*

(*cc*) There is an account of it in Phil. Tranſ. No. 101.

(*dd*) There is an account of this book in Phil. Tranſ. No. 119, probably by himſelf, as Mr Ward thinks, ubi ſupra, p. 191.

(*ee*) Ibid. p. 278.

(*ff*) In this treatiſe he gave a deſcription of a reflecting teleſcope invented by him, which he had produced to the R. S. Feb. 28 preceding. Waller, ubi ſupra. Mr Ward is miſtaken in ſaying there is an account of this treatiſe by Mr Oldenburg, in Phil. Tranſ. No. 48. See below in note (49).

'air a vibrating medium, are old notions, and the 'principles I go upon. I deſire Mr Hooke to ſhew 'me therefore, I ſay not only the ſum of the hypo- 'theſis I wrote, which is his inſinuation, but any part 'of it taken out of his *Micrographia*. But then I ex- 'pect too, that he inſtance what is his own. It is moſt 'likely he will pretend I had from him the application 'of vibrations to the ſolution of the phænomena of 'thin plates; and yet all the uſe I make of vibrations, 'is to ſtrengthen or weaken the reflecting power of the 'æthereal ſuperficies; which is ſo far from being in his 'Micrographia, that the laſt ſpring, when I told him 'of the reflecting power of the æthereal ſuperficies, he 'took it for a new notion, having till then ſuppoſed 'light to be reflected by the parts of groſs bodies. 'To the things that he has from Des Cartes, pray add 'this, that the parts of ſolid bodies have a vibrating 'motion, leaſt he ſhould ſay I had from him what I 'ſay about heat. And his having from Des Cartes 'the reduction of all colours to two, you may, if need 'be, explain further for me thus: that as Des Cartes 'puts every globulus to be urged forward on one ſide 'by the illuminated medium, and impeded on the other 'by the dark one; ſo Mr Hooke puts every vibration 'to be promoted at one end, and retarded at the other 'by thoſe mediums, and thence both alike derive two 'modifications of light on the two ſides of the refract- 'ed beam for the production of all colours (41).'

[*N*] *An attempt to prove the motion of the earth from obſervations*.] He had begun theſe obſervations in 1666, as mentioned in the text; having for that purpoſe opened a paſſage of about a foot ſquare through the roof of his lodgings at Greſham-college (42), and therein fixed a tube perpendicular and upright, of about ten or twelve foot in length, and a foot ſquare, ſo as that the lower end thereof came through the cieling, and was open into the chamber underneath (43). But he had made no more than four obſervations, when he was obliged to deſiſt, partly on account of the weather, and partly by reaſon of his ill health. 'This hindrance in proceeding with the obſervations at 'that time, continues he, has been no ſmall trouble to 'me, having an extraordinary deſire to have made 'other obſervations with much more accurateneſs 'than I was able to make theſe, having ſince found 'ſome inconveniences in the inſtruments, which I have 'now regulated (44). Thus the deſign, like moſt of his, was left imperfect. However, the foundation which he had laid, proved a ſufficient encouragement to build upon. Mr Samuel Molyneux and Mr Bradley (45) reſumed the enquiry, and determined it by purſuing our author's plan, which had been preferred as the beſt for that purpoſe. The account we have in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No 406. is a clear proof of this fact. We ſee there, that the obſervations made by theſe gentlemen, were begun, continued, and repeated, in hopes of verifying thoſe that Mr Hooke formerly communicated to the public concerning the parallax of the fixed ſtars. That therefore the ſame ſtar was made choice of, almoſt the ſame method followed, and the inſtrument conſtructed upon principles nearly the ſame, though indeed greatly exceeding the Doctor's in exactneſs (46).

[*O*] *A diſpute with Mr Oldenburg about pendulum watches*.] As this diſpute gave Mr Hooke an occaſion of aſſerting his right to the invention of theſe watches againſt Mr Huygens, it will be proper to give the following account of it. The diſpute had it's riſe from a letter of Mr Huygens, dated Jan. 30, 1674-5, to the Royal-Society, acquainting them with his invention, and the contrivance whereof he then concealed in an anagram; but explained it fully in a letter of February 20, following. The Society in their letter of thanks intimated to him, that a watch of the like contrivance had been invented ſome years before by Mr Hooke (47). Shortly after there being printed a figure of Mr Huygens's watch, with a deſcription in the Journal des Sçavans; an extract of that journal came out in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, March 12, 1674 (48), wherein no notice was taken of Mr Hooke. This he reſented in the poſtſcript mentioned in the text, and calls it *unhandſome proceedings*, maintaining not only that he was the firſt inventor, but that he had publiſhed the invention to the world long ſince in his Cutlerian lectures upon this ſubject, which were read in the open hall at Greſham-college before a great number of the Royal-Society and many ſtrangers, in 1664, and having alſo cauſed ſome of the ſaid watches to be made in that and the following year; and towards the concluſion, expreſſes his reſentment in the following words: '*I forbear now to mention any farther the 'carriage of the writer of the Tranſactions in this af- 'fair* (49).' Mr Oldenburg preſently returned both the accuſation and the reſentment as follows, 'It is 'certain, ſays he, that the deſcriber of helioſcopes 'ſome years ago, cauſed to be actually made ſome 'watches of this kind, yet without publiſhing a de- 'ſcription of them in print to the world. *And it is as 'true, that none of theſe watches ſucceeded, nor was 'any thing ſince done to amend the invention*, 'till Mr 'Huygens communicated his contrivance to the Society; 'the deſcription of which and figure being produced at 'one of their meetings, were not only ſeen, but a copy 'of the figure was then taken by Mr Hooke, who 'knew that both were deſigned to be publiſhed in the 'Tranſactions, and had he given to the editor of them 'the leaſt intimation that he deſired notice might be 'taken at the ſame time of his invention of the like 'kind, it would certainly have been complied with, as 'had been done on other occaſions. Witneſs ſeveral of 'the ſame tracts, wherein divers diſcoveries of this ac- 'cuſer have been formerly both printed, and vindicated 'from the uſurpation of others.' In proceeding he inſinuates ſtrongly that Huygens hit upon the invention as ſoon as Mr Hooke, and before he knew any thing of what Mr Hooke had done. Thus, concludes he, 'I 'ſhall diſmiſs him, not doubting but all candid readers 'will blame him for the expreſſion in p. 30. of his ſaid 'poſtſcript, which is, that he forbears to mention any 'further the carriage of the writer of the Tranſactions in 'this affair; and only add, that if this writer of mecha- 'nics will think fit to explain what he means by it, he 'ſhall certainly meet with a full anſwer, vindicating the 'integrity of the publiſher in ſuch a manner, that all 'impartial and good men will be abundantly ſatisfied 'therewith.' Our author, highly provoked with this nettling anſwer, made the following reply in his poſtſcript to his *Lampas* the following year. 'The 'publiſher of the Tranſactions, ſays he, in that of Oc- 'tober 1675, endeavours to cover former injuries 'by accumulating new ones—otherwiſe he would not 'have affirmed that *none of my watches ſucceeded*. For 'how could he be ſure of a negative, whom I have 'not acquainted with my inventions, ſince I looked on 'him as *one that made a trade of intelligence?* Next, 'whereas he denies their being publiſhed to the world 'in print, he prevaricates, and would have it believed, 'they were not publiſhed to the world, though they 'were publickly read of in Sir John Cutler's lectures, '——and though they were made, and ſhewn to thou- 'ſands,

(41) Theſe letters were formerly in the library of Will. Jones, Eſq; which is now in the poſſeſſion of George Earl of Macclesfield.

(42) That is in the Aſtronomy Profeſſor's apartments; his proper lodgings, as Geometry Profeſſor, being then taken up for the uſe of the city. Ward, p. 176. In note (*a*), and p. 112.

(43) Attempt to prove the Motion of the Earth, p. 27.

(44) Ibid. p. 24. The four obſervations were made July 6 and 9, Aug. 6, and Oct. 21, anno 1669.

(45) The preſent Aſtronomer royal.

(46) Theſe inſtruments were made by Mr G. Graham, F. R. S. Phil. Tranſ. No. 406.

(47) Phil. Tranſ. No. 118.

(48) No. 112.

(49) In No. 118. for Oct. 1675. under the article entitled, An Account of Mr Hooke's Treatiſe upon Helioſcopes. Which account is expreſsly omitted as needleſs, and this anſwer to the poſtſcript is inſerted in it's ſtead.

Lampas: or Descriptions of some Mechanical Improvements of Lamps and Water-poises. Together with some other Physical and Mechanical Discoveries. The same year he was succeeded in

'sands, both English and foreigners, and writ of to 'many, and lastly in 1666, published to the world in 'print in the History of the Royal-Society *.' To this Mr Oldenburg, by way of rejoinder, published the following advertisement at the end of the Transaction for the months of August and September 1676 (50). 'The publisher of this tract intends to take another 'opportunity of justifying himself against the asper-'sions and calumnies of an *immoral postscript* put to a 'book called Lampas, published by Robert Hooke. ''Till which time, 'tis hoped, the candid reader will 'suspend his judgment.' And to the next Transaction (51), was subjoined the following declaration of the Council of the Royal-Society. 'A declaration of the 'Council of the Royal-Society, passed November 20, '1676, relating to some passages in a late book of Mr 'Hooke, intituled *Lampas*, &c. Whereas the pub-'lisher of the Philosophical Transactions hath made 'complaint to the Council of the Royal-Society, of some 'passages in a late book of Mr Hooke's entituled *Lam-'pas*,&c (52). and printed by the printer of said Society, 'reflecting on the integrity and faithfulness of the said 'publisher in his management of the intelligence of the 'said Society; this Council hath thought fit to declare 'in the behalf of the publisher aforesaid, that they knew 'nothing of the publication of the said book; and fur-'ther, that the said publisher hath carried himself faith-'fully and honestly in the management of the intelli-'gence of the Royal-Society, and given no just cause of 'such reflections.' To this Mr Oldenburg subjoined what follows. 'The Council having justified the publisher, he will only add that part of a letter written to him by Mr Chr. Huygens de Zulichem, 20 Feb. 1675, which relates to the taking out a patent of his the said Mr Huygens's invention, and then let the world judge of the prescriber's accusation about an endeavour to defraud him of his contrivance. The words of the said letter englished, are thus. *For the rest, Sir, if you believe that a priviledge* (so he calls a patent) *in England would be worth something, and that either the Royal-Society or you might make some advantage thereof, I willingly offer you all I there might pretend to.* So that if there was a desire in the publisher to take out a patent of the invention, it was for no other contrivance, but that which was sent by Mr Huygens formerly to the Royal-Society, and was printed in No. 112 of these tracts.' Thus ended this controversy, which Mr Ward observes (53) might have been sooner over, had some warm expressions been forborn on either side. However, there is one expression in it that deserves to be considered, and *that* is, where Mr Oldenburg declares, *that the watches made by our author's directions in* 1665 *and* 1666, *did not succeed, and that nothing was since done to amend the invention, 'till Mr Huygens commucated his contrivance.* Mr Waller thought that this passage proceeded from passion (54), the invention and principle of Hooke's and Huygens's being, says he, the same as are now [in 1705] used (55), but he acknowledges at the same time that he never could learn whether Mr Hooke's watches were succesful or no; and it is observable, that Mr Hooke himself in his answer to Oldenburg does not assert it, but avoids the charge by retorting another, that his antagonist could not know the succes of his watches, to whom he had never shewn any of his inventions. Dr Derham indeed is very positive on the side of Mr Hooke, and having given him for the inventor both of the single and double ballance watches with the spiral spring, proceeds in these terms. 'The time of these inventions was a-'bout the year 1658, as appears from this inscription 'which I saw upon one of the aforesaid double bal-'lance watches presented to King Charles II, viz. '*Robert Hooke inven.* 1658. *T. Tompion fecit* 1675 '(56), and in confirmation of this, Mr Ward acquaints 'us that he had then (viz. in 1740) lately seen a round 'brass plate, which was formerly a cover to the bal-'lance of one of Mr Hooke's watches, that it was cut 'through in the form of sprigs, and had on it this in-'scription, *R. Hooke invenit an.* 1658. *T. Tompion 'fecit* 1675.' That this plate was then in the hands of George Graham, F. R. S. who informed him that he had heard Mr Tompion say, he was employed three months that year by Mr Hooke in making some parts of those watches, before he let him know for what use they were designed; and that Mr Tompion was likewise used to say, he thought the first invention of them was owing to Mr Hooke (57). But here it is obvious to observe, that notwithstanding the invention is placed so high as 1658, yet that date must have been put by Mr Hooke's direction, and that these watches were not made till 1675, that is a year after he had seen the abovementioned figure and description of Mr Huygen's watch. As to Mr Tompion's opinion, that the first invention of these watches was owing to Mr Hooke, it appears that Mr Waller was of the same opinion, and from him we have the foundation upon which it stands, as follows. 'Mr Hooke, says he, told me, that he having shewn a movement regulated by a spiral spring to the Lord Brouncker about the year 1660. Mr Huygens, who had for some time applied himself to invent several ways to regulate time-keepers (58) by the correspondence he held with Mr Oldenburg, among other matters had notice of this, for which there was afterwards an application made to procure a patent [*as abovementioned*]. This is indeed possible, continues Mr Waller, but whether it were so or not, I cannot determine. That Mr Hooke had, many years before Mr Huygens mentioned, discovered the invention is certain, by what is related in the History of the Royal-Society †, among several new inventions in these words: *There have been invented several kind of pendulum watches for the pocket, wherein the motion is regulated by springs, &c.* Now, though this does not mention the springs being spiral, or fastened to the arbor of the ballance, yet it appears it was so, by what is related above; and a passage I have seen in a letter from Sir Robert Moray to Mr Oldenburg, dated Oxon. Sept. 30, 1665, clears it, in which are these words: *You* [meaning Oldenburg] *will be the first that will know when his* [that is Huygens] *watches will be ready; and I will therefore expect from you an account of them, and if he imparts to you what he does, let me know it. To that purpose you may ask him, if he does not* apply a spring to the arbor of the ballance, *and that will give him occasion to say somewhat to you, if it be that, you may tell him what Hooke* HAS DONE IN THAT MATTER, AND WHAT HE INTENDS MORE (59). Although I cannot be sure what Oldenburg wrote to Monsieur Huygens, yet it is probable their intimacy procured what he knew; and it is evident that Huygens's discovery of this was first published in the *Journal des Sçavans*, and thence in the Philosophical Transactions for March 25, 1675, about ten years after that letter of Sir Robert Moray's, and near 15 after Hooke's first discovery of it.' Mr Waller concludes with the concession of Mr Oldenburg (60), to which may be added the attestation of the Royal-Society sent to Mr Huygens, both already mentioned. Upon the whole, there does not appear to be sufficient evidence for absolutely determining this dispute on either side, but it seems most probable that the rudiments of the invention were first laid by Mr Hooke, and that the watch was first perfected † by Mr Huygens. Thus perhaps the prize is divided in the fairest and most candid manner between the English and the Dutch. Yet after all it is observable, that a late French writer gives Mr Hooke's share to a countryman of his own, who deprived Mr Huygens also of all the advantage of his share; it is pleasant enough, what is advanced by him upon the occasion, with all the alertness peculiar to that nation. 'The movement, says 'he, of watches, was formerly regulated only by the 'ballance and the force of a large spring, which by 'the unwinding itself rendered the motion swifter or 'slower. But upon the 7th of July, 1674, the Abbot de Hautefeuille of Orleans, communicated to the members of the Royal-Academy, the method of regulating the motion of the ballance of watches, by means of a small streight spring fixed at one end to the edge of the plate, and at the other end to the edge ‖ of the ballance, and regulated it's motion, performing the office of a pendulum *. After this, Mr Huygens published a letter in the Journal des Sçavans, on the 25th of February, 1675, concerning a new invention of very exact and portable watches, wherein he pretended to be the author of that discovery, and accordingly ob tained a licence from the King to make the advantage of it. But Mr de Hautefeuille having opposed it's being registered, and proved that he was the first inventor, Mr

* Lampas, p. 53.

(50) No. 128.

(51) No. 129.

(52) The date in the title-page of the Lampas is 1667. but that seeming inconsistency with the date of this declaration is owing to the custom of the Printers, in beginning their year at Michaelmas.

(53) Ubi supra, p. 180.

(54) Life of Dr Hooke, p. 7.

(55) That is in the application of the spring to the ballance. But Mr Huygens's had a longer spring, and the beats were much slower, the ballance turning several rounds every vibration; whereas in Dr Hooke's it turned scarce quite round. Artificial Clockmaker, ch. viii. edit. 1734. Mr Hooke's way is that now in use.

(56) Ibid. Where the author informs us, that Dr Hooke had a grant the same year for a patent for these watches, but did not take it out, as thinking it not worth while, by reason the single ballance watches being much easier made and cheaper, were found to answer very well.

(57) Lives of the Gresham Professors, p. 182. note (*a*).

(58) Mr Huygens probably began to carry his thoughts to some other ways of regulating watches, upon the ill success of his pendulum ones, in finding out the longitude at sea, which was in the latter end of the year 1664.

† By Sprat, p. 247.

(59) It is here taken for granted by Mr Waller, that the spring which was then fixed to the arbor of the ballance was a spiral one; whereas Dr Derham intimates, that in Mr Hooke's first invention it was streight. See remark [*C*], sub finem.

(60) Waller's Life of Hooke, p. 6, 7.

† Viz. So far as in some measure to succeed.

‖ If so, then in this particular the Abbot's invention differed from that of Mess. Hooke and Huygens, by whom this other end of the spring was fixed to the arbor or verge of the ballance.

* It is remarkable, that, though the Artificial Clockmaker is abridged by this gentleman, yet he takes no notice of the proofs therein produced, to shew that Mr Hooke invented this spring long before.

in the office of Keeper of the Repository to the Royal-Society, by Mr Richard Shortgrave their Operator. And upon the decease of Mr Oldenburg, in August 1677, Mr Hooke being appointed to supply his place, began to take minutes at the meeting on the 5th of October, but did not publish the Transactions [P]. In 1678 he published in 4to *Lectures de Potentia Restitutiva: or of Springs, explaining the Powers of springing Bodies: To which are added some Collections* (*h h*). And the same year came out his *Lectures and Collections*, intitled, *Cometa & Microscopium* (*i i*) in 4to. Towards the end of this year, in pursuance of an order of the Royal-Society, he assisted in removing their library of books from Arundel-house to Gresham-college, but declined the offer of the Librarian's place, which was erected on the 7th of February ensuing (*k k*). In 1681, came out his *Philosophical Collections* (*l l*) (in seven distinct tracts (*m m*) from 1679 to 1682) in 4to. Not long after this, he grew more reserved than formerly; and though he read his Cutlerian lectures, and often made experiments, and shewed new inventions before the Royal-Society; yet he seldom left any full account of them to be entered in their registers; designing, as he said, to fit them himself and make them public, which he never performed (*n n*). In 1686, he laid claim to Sir Isaac Newton's Discovery concerning the Force and Action of Gravity, which was warmly resented by that great Philosopher [Q]. In the beginning of

(*h h*) There is no account of this book in the Phil. Trans. though Mr Oldenburg was dead.

(*i i*) There is an account of this treatise in the Transactions, No. 139. N. B. Our author stiles himself Secretary of the Royal-Society in both.

(*k k*) Ward, in our author's Life, ubi supra, p. 183.

(*l l*) Probably so called, tho' the plan was different from that of the 1st edition.

(*m m*) Among these were two of his own. *An Optical Discourse, proposing a way for helping short-sighted or purblind eyes*, No. iii, iv. p. 59. *A Mechanical Discourse, containing a description of the best form of horizontal sayls for a mill, and the ground of the inclined sayls of ships.* No. iii, v. p. 61.

(*n n*) Waller, p. 24.

Mr Huygens did not reap any benefit from that licence (61). This writer a little further explains himself to this effect, that the Abbot's streight spring, communicated in 1674, was afterwards improved by Mr Huygens's invention of the spiral one (62).

(61) Traité general des horologes par le R. P. Dom. Jacques Alexandre religieux Benedictin de la congrégation de Saint Maur, p. 24. a Paris, 1734. en octav.

(62) Ibid. p. 243.

[P] *He did not publish the Philosophical Transactions.*] They were published by Dr Nehemiah Grew, who, notwithstanding Mr Hooke's election, being chosen Secretary November 30 1677, begun the publication of those papers with the month of January following, and carried them on to the end of February 1678 (63). After this, the Transactions were omitted till January 1682, and it was during this interval that Mr Hooke published his *Philosophical Collections* mentioned in the text. Upon the 30th of November, 1682, Dr Robert Plot being made Secretary in the room of Mr Hooke, the publication of the Transactions was revived, beginning with the month of January following, in the preface to which it is observed, that they had been discontinued for the four last years.

(63) They had been carried on to the month of June preceding by Mr Oldenburg, who first began them on March 6, 1664.

[Q] *He laid claim to Sir Isaac Newton's discovery, &c.*] We have an account of this matter in the following letters that passed between Sir Isaac and Dr Halley. The first sent by Sir Isaac to the Doctor, is dated from Cambridge, June 20, 1686, and runs thus.

SIR,

'In order to let you know the case between Mr 'Hook and me, I gave you an account of what passed 'between us in our letters, so far as I could remember. 'For 'tis long since they were writ, and I do not 'know that I have seen them since. I am almost confident by circumstances, that Sir Christopher Wren 'knew the duplicate proportion when I gave him a 'visit; and then Mr Hook, by his book *Cometa* (64), 'written afterwards, will prove the last of us three 'that knew it. I intended in this letter to let you 'understand the case fully, but it being a frivolous business, I shall content myself to give you the heads 'of it in short, viz. that I never extended the duplicate proportion lower than to the superficies of the 'earth, and before a certain demonstration I found the 'last year, have suspected it not to reach accurately 'enough down so low; and therefore in the doctrine 'of projectiles never used it, nor considered the motions of the heavens; and consequently Mr Hook 'could not from my letters, which were about projectiles, and the regions descending hence to the 'center, conclude me ignorant of the theory of the 'heavens. That what he told me of the duplicate 'proportion was erroneous, namely, that it reached 'down from hence to the center of the earth. That 'it is not candid to require me now to confess myself 'in print, then ignorant of the duplicate proportion 'in the heavens, for no other reason but because he 'had told it me in the case of projectiles, and so 'upon mistaken grounds accused me of that ignorance. 'That in my answer to his first letter, I refused his 'correspondence, told him I had laid philosophy aside, 'sent him only the experiment of projectiles (rather 'shortly hinted, than carefully described) in compliment to sweeten my answer, expected to hear no farther from him, could scarce persuade myself to answer his second letter, did not answer his third, was 'upon other things, thought no further of philosophical matters than his letters put me upon it, and 'therefore may be allowed not to have had my 'thoughts about me so well at that time. That by 'the same reason, he concluded me ignorant of the 'rest of the duplicate proportion, he may as well conclude me ignorant of that theory I had 'read before in his books. That in one of my papers 'writ (I cannot say what year, but I am sure some 'time before I had any correspondence with Mr 'Oldenburg, and that's) above fifteen years ago, the 'proportion of the forces of the planets to the 'sun reciprocally duplicate to their distances from him, 'and the proportion of our gravity to the moon's 'conatus recedendi a centro terræ is calculated, though 'not accurately enough. That when Huygenius put 'out his *Horol Oscill.* a copy being presented to me (65), in my letter of thanks to him I gave those 'rules in the end thereof a particular commendation 'for their usefulness in computing the forces of the 'moon from the earth, and the earth from the sun, in 'determining a problem about the moon's phase, 'and putting a limit to the parallax; which shews 'that I had then my eye upon the forces of the planets 'arising from their circular motion, and understood 'it; so that a while after, when Mr Hook propounded 'the problem solemnly in the end of his *Attempt to prove the motion of the earth* (66), if I had not 'known the duplicate proportion before, I could not 'but have found it out now. Between ten and eleven 'years ago, there is an hypothesis of mine registered 'in your books, wherein I hinted a cause of gravity 'towards the earth, sun, and planets, with the dependance of the celestial motions thereon; in which the 'proportion of the decrease of gravity from the superficies of the planet (though for brevity sake not there 'expressed) can be no other than reciprocally duplicate 'of the distance from the center. And I hope I shall 'not be urged to declare in print, that I understood 'not the obvious mathematical conditions of my own 'hypothesis. But grant I received it afterwards from 'Mr Hook, yet have I as great a right to it as to the 'ellipsis. For as Kepler knew the orb to be not circular but oval, and guessed it to be elliptical; so Mr 'Hook, without knowing what I have found out since 'his letters to me, can know no more, but that the 'proportion was duplicate *quam proxime* at great 'distances from the center, and only guessed it to be so 'accurately, and guessed amiss in extending that proportion down to the very center, whereas Kepler guessed 'right at the ellipsis; and so Mr Hook found less of 'the proportion, than Kepler did of the ellipsis. There 'is so strong an objection against the accurateness of 'of this proportion, that without my demonstrations, 'to which Mr Hook is yet a stranger, it cannot be believed by a judicious philosopher to be any where accurate. And so in stating this business I do pretend 'to have done for the proportion, as for the ellipsis, 'and to have as much right to the one from Mr Hook 'and all men, as to the other from Kepler; and therefore on this account also he must at least moderate his 'pretences.' Sir Isaac's *Principia* being at this time in the press under the care of Dr Halley, this letter concludes with some particulars upon that business, wherein he declares his intention to suppress the third book

(64) This was published in 1678.

(65) It was printed in 1673.

(66) This book was printed in 1674.

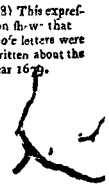
of the year 1687, he loſt his niece Mrs Grace Hooke (oo); who having lived with him many years, the grief for her death hardly ever wore off, being obſerved to be more melancholy

(oo) She was his brother's daughter.

book of that treatiſe, on the account of the trouble he had met with from Mr Hooke. After the concluſion, he goes on in a poſtſcript as follows. 'Since my writing this letter, I am told by one, who had it from another lately preſent at one of your meetings, how that Mr Hook ſhould make a great ſtir, pretending I had all from him, and deſiring they would ſee that he had juſtice done him. This carriage towards me is very ſtrange and undeſerved; ſo that I cannot forbear, in ſtating the point of juſtice, to tell you further, that he has publiſhed Borell's hypotheſis in his own name, and the aſſerting of this to himſelf, and completing it as his own, ſeems to me the ground of all the ſtir he makes. Borell did ſomething in it, and wrote modeſtly. He has done nothing, and yet written in ſuch a way, as if he knew, and had ſufficiently hinted all, but what remained to be determined by the drudgery of calculations and obſervations, excuſing himſelf from that labour by reaſon of his other buſineſs; whereas he ſhould rather have excuſed himſelf by reaſon of his inability: for it is very plain by his words, he knew not how to go about it. Now is not this very fine? Mathematicians that find out, ſettle, and do all the buſineſs, muſt content themſelves with being nothing but dry calculators and drudges; and another that does nothing, but pretend and graſp at all things, muſt carry away all the invention, as well of thoſe that were to follow him, as thoſe that went before. Much after the ſame manner were his letters writ to me, telling me, that gravity in deſcent from hence to the center of the earth, was reciprocally in a duplicate ratio of the altitude, that the figure deſcribed by projectiles in that region would be an ellipſis, and that all the motions of the heavens were thus to be accounted for, and this he did in ſuch a way, as if he had found out all, and knew it moſt certainly. And upon this information I muſt now acknowledge in print, I had all from him, and ſo did nothing myſelf but drudge in calculating, demonſtrating, and writing upon the inventions of this great man. And yet after all, the firſt of thoſe three things, he told me, is falſe, and very unphiloſophical; the ſecond is as falſe; and the third was more than he knew, or could affirm me ignorant of by any thing that paſſed between us in our letters. Nor do I underſtand by what right he claims it as his own; for as Borell wrote long before him, that by a tendency of the planets towards the ſun like that of gravity or magnetiſm the planets would move in ellipſes; ſo Bullialdus wrote, that all force reſpecting the ſun as it's center, and depending upon matter, muſt be in a reciprocally duplicate ratio of the diſtance from the center, and uſed that very argument for it, by which you, Sir, in the laſt Tranſactions (67) have proved this ratio in gravity. Now if Mr Hook by this general propoſition in Bullialdus might learn the proportion in gravity, why muſt this proportion here go for his invention? My letter to Huygenius, which I mentioned above, was directed to Mr Oldenburg, who uſed to keep the originals. His papers came into Mr Hook's poſſeſſion. Mr Hook knowing my hand, might have the curioſity to look into that letter, and there take the notion of comparing the forces of the planets ariſing from their circular motion, and ſo what he wrote to me afterwards about the rate of gravity might be nothing but the fruit of my own garden. And it is more than I can affirm, that the duplicate proportion was not expreſſed in that letter. However he knew it not (as I gather from his books) 'till five years after any mathematician could have told it him. For when Huygenius had told how to find the force in all caſes of circular motion, [in his Horol. Oſcill. publiſhed in 1673] he had told them how to do it in this as well as in others, and ſo the honour of doing it in this is due to Huygenius. For another five years after to claim it as his own invention [in his Cometa printed 1678] is as if ſome mechanic, who had learned the art of ſurveying from a maſter, ſhould after claim the ſurveying of this or that piece of ground for his own invention, and keep a heavy quarter to be in print for it. But what if this ſurveyor be a bungler, and give an erroneous ſurvey? Mr Hook has erred in the invention he pretends to, and his error is the cauſe of all the ſtir he makes. For his extending the duplicate proportion do n to the center (which I do not) made him correct me, and tell me the reſt of his theory as a new thing to me, and now ſtand upon it, that I had all from that his letter, notwithſtanding that he had told it to all the world before, and I had ſeen it in his printed books (68) all but the proportion, and why ſhould I record a man for an invention, who founds his claim upon an error therein, and on that ſcore gives me trouble. He imagines he obliged me by telling me his theory, but I thought myſelf diſobliged by being upon his own miſtake corrected magiſterially, and taught a theory which every body knew, and I had a truer notion of than himſelf. Should a man who thinks himſelf knowing, and loves to ſhew it in correcting and inſtructing others, come to you when you are buſy, and notwithſtanding your excuſes preſs diſcourſes upon you, and through his own miſtakes correct you, and multiply diſcourſes; and then make this uſe of it, to boaſt that he taught you all you ſpake, and oblige you to acknowledge it, and cry out injury and injuſtice if you do not; I believe you would think him a man of a ſtrange unſociable temper Mr Hook's letters in ſeveral reſpects abounded too much with that humour, which Hevelius and others complain of (69), and therefore he may do well in time to conſider, whether after this new provocation, I be much more bound (in doing him that juſtice he claims) to make an honourable mention of him in print, eſpecially ſince this is the third time that he has given me trouble in this kind.

(67) No. 179. See Dr Halley's article in remark [S], p. 2504.

(68) This expreſſion ſhews that tho'e letters were written about the year 1679.



(69) See remark [L].

'For your further ſatisfaction in this buſineſs, I beg the favour you would conſult your books for a paper of mine intituled an Hypotheſis explaining properties of light. It was dated December 7, 1675 (70), and regiſtred in your book about January or February following. Not far from the beginning there is a paragraph ending with theſe words: "and as the earth, ſo perhaps may the ſun imbibe this ſpirit copiouſly to "to conſerve his ſhining, and keep the planets from "receding further from him; and they that will, may "alſo ſuppoſe, that this ſpirit affords or carries thither "the ſolary fewel and material principle of light; and "that the vaſt ætherial ſpaces between us and the ſtars "are for a ſufficient repoſitory for this food of the ſun "and planets. But this of the conſtitution of æthereal "natures by the bye."

(70) See remark [M] at note (40).

'In theſe and the foregoing words, you have the common cauſe of gravity towards the earth, ſun, and all the planets, and that by this cauſe the planets are kept in their orbs about the ſun, and this is all the philoſophy Mr Hook pretends I had from his letters ſome years after, the duplicate proportion only excepted. The preceding words contain the cauſe of the phænomena of gravity as we find it on the ſurface of the earth, without any regard to the various diſtances from the center. For at firſt I deſigned to write of nothing more. Afterwards, as my manuſcript ſhews, I interlined the words above cited relating to the heavens, and in ſo ſhort and tranſitory an interlined hint of things, the expreſſion of the proportion may well be excuſed. But if you conſider the nature of the hypotheſis, you will find that gravity decreaſes upwards, and can be no other from the ſuperficies of the planet than reciprocally duplicate of the diſtance from the center. But downwards that proportion does not hold. This was but an hypotheſis, and ſo only to be looked upon as one of my gueſſes, which I did not rely on; but it ſufficiently explains to you, why in conſidering the deſcent of a body down to the center, I uſed not the duplicate proportion. In the ſmall aſcent and deſcent of projectiles above the earth, the variation of gravity is ſo inconſiderable, that mathematicians neglect it. Hence the vulgar hypotheſis with them is uniform gravity. And why might not I as a mathematician uſe it frequently, without thinking on the philoſophy of the heavens, or believing it to be philoſophically true?' To this Mr Halley returned an anſwer, dated London, 29 June, 1686, wherein he obſerves, that in 1683, Mr Hooke told him he had demonſtrated all the laws of the celeſtial motions by the reciprocally duplicate proportion of the force of gravity, but

lancholy and cynical, and leſs active from that time; and the year following he grew very weak and ill; which hindered his ſtudies; but ſtill he read ſome lectures when he was able

but that being offered forty ſhillings by Sir Chriſtopher Wren, to produce ſuch a demonſtration, his anſwer was, that he had it, but would conceal it for ſome time, that others trying and failing, might know how to value it, when he ſhould make it public; that he then promiſed to ſhew it to Sir Chriſtopher, but never had; that he was acquainted with the entring of Sir Iſaac's demonſtration into the regiſter books of the Royal-Society, and proceeds, Mr Halley, 'according 'to the philoſophically ambitious temper he is of, he 'would, had he been maſter of a like demonſtration, 'no longer have concealed it, the reaſon he told Sir 'Chriſtopher and me now ceaſing. But now he ſays, 'that is but one ſmall part of an excellent ſyſtem of 'nature, which he has conceived, but has not yet 'compleatly made out, ſo that he thinks not fit to pub-'liſh one part without the other. But I have plainly 'told him, that unleſs he produce another differing de-'monſtration and let the world judge of it, neither I 'nor any one elſe can believe it. As to the manner 'of Mr Hooke's claiming the diſcovery, I fear it has 'been repreſented in worſe colours than it ought; for 'he neither made public application to the Society for 'juſtice, nor pretended you had all from him The 'truth is this: Sir John Hoſkins, his particular friend, 'being in the chair, when Dr Vincent preſented your 'book, the Doctor gave it it's juſt encomium both as 'to the novelty and dignity of the ſubject. It was re-'plied by another gentleman, that you had carried the 'thing ſo far, that there was no more to be added; to 'which the Vice-Prefident replied, that it was ſo much 'the more to be prized, for that it was both invented 'and perfected at the ſame time. This gave Mr 'Hooke offence, that Sir John did not at the ſame 'time make mention of what he had, as he ſaid, diſ-'covered to him: upon which they two, who 'till 'then were the moſt inſeparable cronies, have ſince 'ſcarcely ſeen one another, and are utterly fallen out. 'After the breaking up of that meeting, being adjourned 'to the Coffee-houſe, Mr Hooke did there endeavour 'to gain belief, that he had ſome ſuch thing by him, 'and that he gave you the firſt hint of this invention. 'But I found that they were all of opinion, that nothing 'thereof appearing in print, nor on the books of the 'Society, you ought to be confidered as the inventor. 'And if in truth he knew it before you, he ought not 'to blame any but himſelf for having taken no more 'care to ſecure a diſcovery, which he puts ſo much 'value on. What application he has made in private, 'I know not, &c †.' Sir Iſaac's reply to this, dated *July* 14, 1686, was in theſe terms.

† See the reſt of this letter in Dr Halley's article, remark [T].

'SIR,

'....I am very ſenſible of the great kindneſs of the 'gentlemen of your Society to me, far beyond what-'ever I could expect or deſerve, and know how to di-'ſtinguiſh between their favour and another's humour. 'Now I underſtand he was in ſome reſpects miſrepre-'ſented to me, I wiſh I had ſpared the poſtſcript in 'my laſt. This is true, that his letters occaſioned my 'finding the method of determining figures, which I 'then tried in the ellipſis.—But for the duplicate pro-'portion, I can affirm that I gathered it from Kepler's 'theorem about 20 years ago.—There was another 'thing in Mr Hook's letters, which he will think I 'had from him, he told me that my propoſed experi-'ment about the deſcent of falling bodies, was not 'the only way to prove the motion of the earth; and 'ſo added the experiment of your pendulum clock at 'St Helena, as an argument of gravity's being leſſened 'at the æquator by the diurnal motion. The experi-'ment was new to me, but not the notion. For in 'the very paper which I told you was writ ſome time 'above 15 years ago, and to the beſt of my me-'mory was writ 18 or 19 years ago, I calculated 'the force of aſcent at the æquator ariſing from 'the earth's diurnal motion, in order to know what 'would be the diminution of gravity thereby. 'But yet to do this buſineſs right, is a thing of far 'greater difficulty than I was aware of. A third thing 'there was in his letters which was new to me, and I 'ſhall acknowledge it, if I make uſe of it; 'twas the 'deflection of falling bodies to the ſouth-eaſt in our 'latitude (71). And now having ſincerely told you 'the caſe between Mr Hook and me, I hope I ſhall 'be free for the future, from the prejudice of his let-'ters. I have conſidered how beſt to compoſe the 'preſent diſpute, and I think it may be done by the 'incloſed ſcholium to the fourth propoſition *.' After this letter, Sir Iſaac ſent the following.

(71) Mr Hooke ſhewed this by an experiment before the Royal-Society in December 1679. Waller, p. 22. the ſame year that his letters here mentioned were written to Sir Iſaac.

'SIR,

'Yeſterday I unexpectedly ſtruck upon a copy of the 'letter I told you of to Huygenius. 'Tis in the hand 'of one Mr John Wickins, who was then my chamber-'fellow, and is now parſon of Stoak Edith near Mon-'mouth, and ſo is authentick. It begins thus, being 'directed to Mr Oldenburg.

'*SIR*,

'*I received your letter, with Mr Huygens's kind pre-'ſent, which I have viewed with great ſatisfaction, 'finding it full of very ſubtle and uſeful ſpeculations, 'very worthy of the author. I am glad that we are to 'expect another diſcourſe of the* Vis centrifuga, *which 'ſpeculation may prove of good uſe in Natural Philoſo-'phy and Aſtronomy, as well as Mechanics. Thus, for 'inſtance, if the reaſon why the ſame ſide of the moon 'is ever towards the earth, be the greater conatus of 'the other ſide to recede from it, it will follow (upon 'ſuppoſition of the earth's motion about the ſun) that the 'greateſt diſtance of the ſun from the earth, is to the 'greateſt diſtance of the moon from the earth, not great-'er than* 10000 *to* 56, *and therefore the parallax of 'the ſun not leſs than* $\frac{56}{10000}$ *of the parallax of the 'moon; becauſe, were the ſun's diſtance leſs in propor-'tion to that of the moon, ſhe would have a greater 'conatus from the ſun than from the earth. I thought 'alſo ſome time that the moon's libration might depend 'upon her conatus from the ſun and earth compared to-'gether, 'till I apprehended a better cauſe.* Thus far this 'letter concerning the *vis centrifuga* The reſt of it, 'for the moſt part concerning colours, is printed in 'the Philoſophical Tranſactions of July 21, 1673, 'No. 96. Now from theſe words it is evident, that 'I was at that time verſed in the theory of the force 'ariſing from circular motion, and had an eye upon 'the forces of the planets, knowing how to compare 'them by the proportions of their periodical revolu-'tions, and diſtances from the center they move about: 'an inſtance of which you have here in the compariſon 'of the forces of the moon ariſing from her menſtrual 'motion about the earth, and annual about the ſun. 'So then in this theory I am plainly before Mr Hook. 'For he, about a year after, in his attempt to prove 'the motion of the earth declared expreſsly, that 'the degrees by which gravity decreaſed he had not 'then experimentally verified, that is, he knew not 'how to gather them from phænomena; and therefore 'he there recommends it to the proſecution of others.

'Now though I do not find the duplicate proportion 'expreſſed in this letter (as I hoped it might); yet if 'you compare this paſſage of it here tranſcribed, with 'that hypotheſis of mine regiſtered by Mr Oldenburg 'in your book, you will ſee that I then underſtood it. 'For I there ſuppoſe, that the deſcending ſpirit acts 'upon bodies here on the ſuperficies of the earth, 'with a force proportional to the ſuperficies of their 'parts; which cannot be, unleſs the diminution of 'it's velocity, in acting upon the firſt parts of any bo-'dy it meets, be recompenced by the increaſe of it's 'denſity ariſing from that retardation. Whether this 'be true is not material, it ſuffices that it was the hy-'potheſis. Now if this ſpirit deſcend from above 'with uniform velocity, it's denſity, and conſequently 'it's force, will be reciprocally proportional to the 'ſquare of it's diſtance from the center. But if it de-'ſcend with accelerated motion, it's denſity will every 'where diminiſh as much as it's velocity increaſes; 'and ſo it's force (according to the hypotheſis) will be 'the ſquare as before, that is, ſtill reciprocally as the 'ſquares of it's diſtance from the center.

'In ſhort, as theſe things compared together, ſhew 'that I was before Mr Hook in what he pretends to 'have been my maſter, ſo I learned nothing by his let-'ters but this, that bodies fall not only to the eaſt, but 'alſo in our latitude to the ſouth. In the reſt, his correct-'ing and informing me was to be complained of. And

'though

* This was done accordingly in theſe words, Schol. *Caſus Corollarii ſexti obtinet in corporibus cæleſtibus (ut ſeorſum collegerunt etiam noſtrates Wrennius, Hookius, & Hallcius), &c.* The ſixth Coroll. is, *Si tempora periodica ſint in ratione ſeſquiplicata radiorum, & proinde velocitates reciproce in radiorum ratione ſubduplicata; vires centripetæ erunt reciproce ut quadrata radiorum & contra.*

able. At the ſame time a Chancery-ſuit, in which he was concerned with Sir John Cutler, on account of his ſalary for reading the Cutlerian lectures, made him very uneaſy; and increaſed his diſorder; ſo that for ſome years he did little elſe beſides reading his lectures (*pp*). In 1691, he was employed in forming the plan of the hoſpital near Hoxton, founded by Robert Aſk Alderman of London [*R*], who appointed Archbiſhop Tillotſon one of his executors (*qq*); and in December the ſame year, our author was created Doctor of Phyſic, by a warrant from that prelate (*rr*). Upon the 27th of March, 1695, his Chancery-ſuit yet continuing, the Council of the Royal-Society granted him a certificate under their common ſeal, of his full performance of the Cutlerian lecture; and on the 18th of July the enſuing year, it was determined for him to his great ſatisfaction [*S*]. In June the ſame year, 1696, an order was granted to him for repeating moſt of his experiments at the expence of the Royal-Society, upon a promiſe of his finiſhing the accounts, obſervations, and deductions, from them, and of perfecting the deſcriptions of all the inſtruments contrived by him; but his increaſing weakneſs and general decay rendered him unable to perform it (*ss*). And Saturday April 10, 1697, he begun to write the Hiſtory of his own Life, but never finiſhed it (*tt*). He had for ſeveral years been often taken with a giddineſs in his head, which was ſometimes attended with much pain, little appetite, and great faintneſs. About July this year he begun to complain of the ſwelling and ſoreneſs of his legs, and was much torn with the ſcurvy; and about the ſame time being ſeized with a giddineſs, he fell down ſtairs and cut his head, bruiſed his ſhoulders, and hurt his ribs, of which he complained even to the laſt. He continued ſome years in this waſting condition; and, in February 1700, by reaſon of his illneſs (*uu*), Dr Halley drew up an account of his marine barometer, and read it before the Royal-Society (*ww*). For more than twelve months before his death, he was ſo very infirm as to be in a manner helpleſs, though he ſeldom went to bed all the time, but kept in his cloaths, ſo that the ſwelling in his legs broke, and at laſt, for want of care, mortified. Thus languiſhing 'till he was quite emaciated, he died March 3, 1702, at his lodgings in Greſham-college; whence his corpſe was conveyed to St Helen's church in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, and interred there, the funeral being attended by all the members of the Royal-Society then in London (*xx*). He perſiſted to the laſt in affirming, that he knew a certain method of diſcovering the Longitude at ſea [*T*]. Mr Waller has given the following character of him, which ſeems to be drawn with a candid impartiality. He begins with a deſcription of his perſon, which made but a deſpicable figure; being ſhort of ſtature, very crooked (*yy*), pale, lean, and of a meagre aſpect, with dark-brown hair, very long, and hanging neglected over his face, uncut and lank (*zz*). His features were not the moſt regular, but in his younger days he had a ſharp ingenious look, and was very active. Suitable to this perſon, his temper was penurious, melancholy, miſtruſtful, and jealous, which increaſed upon him with his years; and theſe qualities were attended with a ſharpneſs of wit in diſcerning the temper of others, which ſometimes ſhewed itſelf in giving ſhrewd

(*pp*) Waller, ib.

(*qq*) Life of Archbiſhop Tillotſon, p. 241. edit. 1752. Dr Sharp, afterwards Archbiſhop of York, was the other executor.

(*rr*) Ibid.

(*ss*) Waller and Ward, ubi ſupra.

(*tt*) He carried it on no farther than to the death of his father in 1648. Waller, p. 25.

(*uu*) Id. ibid.

(*ww*) It was printed in Phil. Tranſ. No. 269.

(*xx*) Waller, p. 26.

(*yy*) He uſed to ſay he was ſtreight 'till 16 years of age, when being of a thin and weak habit, he firſt grew awry by frequently uſing a turner's lathe, and other inclining exerciſes.

(*zz*) He wore this 'till within three years of his death, when he cut it off and wore a perriwig.

(72) When the experiment mentioned in note (71) was made, our author read a diſcourſe, to prove that the falling body would not deſcribe ſuch a ſpiral, as we ſee here Sir Iſaac then thought; but either an elliptiſpiral, after many revolutions reſting in the center at laſt, or elſe an elliptoid, according as it was or was not reſiſted by the medium. Waller's Life of Hooke, p. 22.

'though his correcting my ſpiral (72), occaſioned my 'finding the theorem, by which I afterward examined 'the ellipſis; yet am I not beholden to him for any 'light into the buſineſs, but only to the diverſion he 'gave me from my other ſtudies to think on theſe 'things, and for his dogmaticalneſs in writing, as if he 'had found the motion in the ellipſis, which inclined 'me to try it, after I ſaw by what method it was to be 'done.

'Sir,

'I am your affectionate friend

July 27, 1686. 'and humble ſervant,

'Is. Newton.'

[*R*] *He drew the plan of Alderman Aſk's hoſpital near Hoxton.*] This has been generally eſteemed a handſome building, but Dr Hooke blamed for exceeding the ſum at firſt allotted for it, and by that means leſſening the revenue. In anſwer to this charge he uſed to ſay, though the fact was true, yet it was not occaſioned by his fault or miſtake; but partly by additions and alterations of the firſt deſign, and chiefly by his not procuring and agreeing with the workmen himſelf (73).

(73) Ibid. p. 24.

[*S*] *It was determined for him to his great ſatisfaction.*] His joy on that occaſion was found in his Diary thus expreſſed, DOMSHLGISSA, that is, *Deo optimo maximo ſit honor laus gloria in ſæcula ſæculorum, Amen.* I was born on this day of July 1635, and God has given me a new birth; may I never forget his mercies to me, whilſt he gives me breath may I praiſe him (74).

(74) Id. ibid.

[*T*] *He perſiſted in it to the laſt, that he knew how to find out the longitude at ſea.*] Not many weeks before his death he told Mr Waller and others, that he knew a certain and infallible method to diſcover the true place of a veſſel at ſea, as to it's eaſt and weſt diſtance from the port departed from; Mr Waller ſuggeſts that this method might be by other time-keepers than watches, or elſe by ſome ſtill different ways; but rather thinks it was by watches, for the improvement of which, our author made many trials and read ſeveral diſcourſes (75). However, 'tis evident that his friends entertained his aſſeveration of the diſcovery with diſtruſt, and how little credit was then given to it in general, appears from Mr Waller's account therof. Mr Hooke, ſays he, 'ſuffering this invention to be undiſcovered to the laſt, 'gave ſome perſons cauſe to queſtion, whether he was 'ever poſſeſſor of it, and to doubt whether what 'in theory ſeemed very promiſing, would anſwer 'when put to the teſt of practice. Others indeed more 'ſeverely judged, that it was only a kind of boaſting 'in him to aſſert that, which had not yet been per-'formed, though attempted by many.' Thus ſtood the opinion of the world at our author's death, and as nothing has appeared ſince to alter it; ſo, to ſay the truth, it needs no other proof than his own account of the matter contained in the poſtſcript to his treatiſe of Helioſcopes (76), eſpecially if it be conſidered how apt he was in other ſubjects to make ſuch kind of affirmations as this concerning the longitude. For inſtance, about the time that Sir Iſaac Newton's reflecting teleſcope begun to gain eſteem, he affirmed, *coram multis*, that in 1664, he made a little tube about an inch long to put in his fob, which performed more than any teleſcope of fifty feet long made after the common manner; but the plague happening, which cauſed his abſence, and the fire, whence redounded profitable employments about the city, he neglected to proſecute the ſame, being unwilling the glaſs-grinders ſhould know any thing of the ſecret (77).

(75) Ibid. p. 61.

(76) See ſome paſſages, ſerving to explain that poſtſcript, in Birch's Hiſt. of the R. S. Vol. II. p. 22.

(77) Gen. Dict. Vol. VI. p. 216. in the notes (*a*).

[*U*] *Many*

ſhrewd gueſſes and ſmart characters. Thus framed, ſetting out in his youth with a collegiate or rather monaſtic recluſeneſs, he afterwards led the life of a cynical hermit, ſcarcely allowing himſelf neceſſaries, notwithſtanding the great increaſe of his fortune after the Fire of London (*a a a*). He declared ſometimes that he had a great project in his head as to the diſpoſal of the moſt part of his eſtate, for the advancement of natural knowledge, and to promote the ends and deſigns for which the Royal-Society was inſtituted; to build a handſome fabrick for the Society's uſe, with a library, repoſitory, laboratory, and other conveniences for making experiments; and to found and endow a Phyſico-mechanic lecture like that of Sir John Cutler. But though he was often ſollicited by his friends to put his deſigns down in writing, and make his Will as to the diſpoſal of his eſtate to his own mind in the time of health; and after, when himſelf and all others thought his end drew near; yet he could never be prevailed with to perfect it; ſtill procraſtinating, 'till at laſt this great deſign proved an airy phantom, and vaniſhed into nothing, and he died without any Will or Teſtament that could be found. In like manner, with reſpect to his philoſophical treaſures, when he firſt became known to the learned world, he was very communicative of his diſcoveries and inventions, but afterwards grew cloſe and reſerved to a fault, alledging for an excuſe, that ſome perſons challenged his diſcoveries for their own, and took occaſion from his hints to perfect what he had not; for which reaſon he would ſuggeſt nothing 'till he had time to perfect it himſelf, ſo that many things are loſt which he affirmed he knew (*b b b*). In the mean time, he was reſtleſs and indefatigable in acquiring theſe poſſeſſions, always contenting himſelf with little ſleep, and that very irregular; for he ſeldom went to bed 'till two or three o'clock in a morning, and frequently not at all, but purſued his ſtudies the whole night, and took a ſhort nap in the day. In the religious part of his character he was ſo far exemplary, that he always expreſſed a great veneration for the Deity, as may be ſeen in a great many paſſages of his writings; and ſeldom received any remarkable benefit from God, without thankfully acknowledging the mercy; he never made any conſiderable diſcovery in nature, invented any uſeful contrivance, or found out any difficult problem, without ſetting down his acknowledgment to God, as many places in his diary teſtified (*c c c*). And he frequently ſtudied the ſacred writings in the originals. For, to proceed to his endowments natural and acquired, he was well acquainted with the ancient languages, as well as with all parts of the mathematics. But that which diſtinguiſhed him was his mechanical genius, and ſagacity in penetrating into the ſecrets of nature. This ſhews itſelf in the great number of experiments made by him, amounting to ſeveral hundred; and in his new and uſeful inſtruments, that were numerous; as alſo in his happy talent of adapting theories to obſervations, and contriving eaſy and plain methods to prove thoſe theories, and confirm them by further trials. Had he been more ſteady in his purſuits, and perfected one diſcovery before he entered upon another, he might perhaps in ſome caſes have done greater ſervice to the public, and prevented what often gave him uneaſineſs, the fear of loſing the credit of them by others, who built upon his foundation (*d d d*). For many of his inventions were never brought to the perfection of which they were capable, nor put in practice 'till ſome other perſon improved upon them [*U*]. However, the various productions of his genius were eſteemed by the moſt learned Philoſophers both at home and abroad; and covering his failures with his merit, he may juſtly claim a place (though not in the front) among thoſe illuſtrious perſons who adorned the Royal-Society in the laſt age. His papers being put by his friends into the hands of R. Waller, Eſq; Secretary to the ſaid Society, that gentleman collected ſuch as were thought worthy of the preſs, and publiſhed them under the title of his Poſthumous Works [*W*] in 1705, to which he prefixed an account of his life, in folio.

(*a a a*) See rem. [*K*].

(*b b b*) In the courſe of this memoir, we have ſeen him frequently apt to carry thoſe pretenſions too far.

(*c c c*) It was often expreſſed in theſe letters, D. O. M. G. M. Deo opt. max. gratias max.

(*d d d*) Life of Dr Hooke, p. 27.

[*U*] *Many of his inventions were never brought to perfection.*] This might poſſibly ariſe from the fertility of his invention, which continually preſenting ſomewhat new to his mind, gave him both leſs time and inclination to attend to one thing long together. This is Mr Ward's remark, who ſupports it, by ſeveral of our author's letters written to Mr Boyle, wherein it was ſurpriſing to find what a number and variety of things he was in purſuit of at the ſame time (78).

(78) Theſe letters, 18 in number, were in the hands of Dr Miles of Tooting in Surrey in 1740. Lives of the Greſham Profeſſors, p. 288.

[*W*] *His poſthumous works.*] Theſe works contain, (I.) *A general ſcheme or idea of the preſent State of Natural Philoſophy, and how it's defects may be remedied by a methodical proceeding in making Experiments and collecting Obſervations, whereby to compile a Natural Hiſtory, as the ſolid baſis of the Superſtructure of true Philoſophy.* (II.) *Lectures of Light, explicating it's Nature, Properties, and Effects*, particularly that of the Sun and Comets. In theſe lectures he gives a mechanical explication of memory, as alſo of our ideas of time and duration. (III.) *A Diſcourſe of the Nature of Comets.* It appears by this diſcourſe that Mr Hooke went into the general miſtake concerning the comet of 1680, in believing it to be two comets from the intermiſſion of it's appearance while twiſting round the ſun. To this is added a *Diſcourſe of Gravity*, containing an hypotheſis of the cauſe of Gravitation and Magnetiſm. (IV.) *Obſervations upon Dr John Dee's Book of Spirits.* (V.) *Lectures and Diſcourſes of Earthquakes and ſubterraneous Eruptions; explicating the Cauſes of the rugged and uneven face of the Earth; and what Reaſon may be given for the frequent finding of Shells, and other Sea and Land petrified Subſtances ſcatterred over the whole terreſtrial Superficies* (79). He aſcribes all theſe phænomena to earthquakes, and as to ſhells, in anſwer particularly to the objection from the *Cornu Ammonis* found in the ſtone-quarries at Portland, which it was obſerved muſt needs contain a much larger fiſh than any found in theſe northern climates; he is even hardy enough to ſuppoſe that this our iſland might once ſtand in the torrid zone, and be removed thence into it's preſent ſituation by an earthquake; he gives the hiſtories of ſeveral remarkable earthquakes, and applies them to the explication of the fables in Ovid's Metamorphoſes, which book he maintains in the ſame humour to be an allegorical account of earthquakes. (VI.) *Lectures concerning Navigation and Aſtronomy.*

(79) Our author here follows Columna's opinion, that theſe ſhells and petrified ſubſtances are the *exuviæ* and parts of animals. He alſo aſſerts the ſame thing in his *Microg.* ch. xvii. and in his lecture *de Potentia Reſtitutiva* he maintains, not only that the race of Teneriffe is the product of an earthquake, but that moſt if not all other hills in the world were thus generated. See more of this ſubject in Dr John Woodward's article.

HOOKER [RICHARD], the celebrated author of *The Lawes of Eccleſiaſtical Politie*, was born in the year 1553 [*A*], at Heavy-tree near Exeter. His parents were more remarkable for their virtue and induſtry than for their extraction and riches (*a*); though ſome of his anceſtors had been Mayors of Exeter (*b*), and his uncle John Hooker (*c*) was then Chamberlain of the ſame, and accounted rich (*d*). He was deſigned by his parents for a trade; but his ſchool-maſter, who admired his modeſty, gravity, ſweetneſs of temper, and quick apprehenſion, perſwaded them to continue him at ſchool, 'till he could find out ſome means to eaſe them of part of the charge of his education. Accordingly, his uncle was prevailed upon to maintain him one year at the univerſity; and Dr Jewel Biſhop of Saliſbury was ſo kind as to allow him a penſion. He got him alſo admitted, in the year 1567, one of the Clerks of Corpus-Chriſti-college in Oxford [*B*]: but his penſion, and his chief hopes of ſubſiſtence, ceaſed with that good Biſhop's life in the year 1571. However, Providence raiſed him two other patrons, in Dr Cole then Preſident of the college, and Dr Edwin Sandys Biſhop of London [*C*], and afterwards Archbiſhop of York (*e*); by whoſe intereſt, on the 24th of December 1573, he was elected ſcholar of his college; which not only incorporated him into that learned body, but alſo afforded him a tolerable maintenance (*f*). On the 23d of February, 1576-7, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts, which he compleated the Act following, and was admitted Fellow of his college the ſame year. Among other parts of learning, being a good maſter of the oriental languages, he was appointed, July 14, 1579, Deputy-Profeſſor of the Hebrew tongue in the univerſity, in the room of Mr Kingſmill, who, by over ſtudy, was become diſordered in his ſenſes (*g*). But in October the ſame year, he and others were expelled the college by Dr John Barefoot, then Vice-Preſident: the cauſe, whatever it could be, was but trifling and inſufficient, for they were reſtored the ſame month. After that, he continued his ſtudies in all quietneſs, and with the utmoſt alacrity and ſucceſs, as may be gueſſed from his writings. He entered into Holy Orders about the year 1581, and ſoon after, being appointed to preach at St Paul's-croſs in London, he was ſo unhappy as to be drawn into a moſt unfortunate marriage, of which an account is given below in the note (*b*) [*D*]. Loſing by that his fellowſhip, he remained without preferment 'till December 9, 1584, when he was preſented by John Cheny, Eſq; to the rectory of Drayton-Beauchamp in Buckinghamſhire; where going to ſettle, he led an uncomfortable life with his

(*a*) The Life of Mr Richard Hooker, by Iſaac Walton, edit. 1675. 8vo. p. 158.

(*b*) See Iſacke's Mem. of Exeter, p. 96, 115. and Wood Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 312.

(*c*) See above, in the article HOLINSHED [RAPHAEL], note [*E*].

(*d*) Walton, p. 159.

(*e*) Idem, p. 160—165.

(*f*) Walton, p. 167.

(*g*) Walton, p. 168, 171. and Wood's Ath. ut ſupra, col. 302, 330.

(*b*) Walton, p. 172—176.

[*A*] *In the year* 1553.] A. Wood ſays, that it was 'about the time of Eaſter, *an.* 1554 (1).'

(1) Ath. Vol. I. edit. 1721. col. 302.

[*B*] *One of the Clerks of Corpus-Chriſti college in Oxford.*] He continued in that ſtation 'till the eighteenth year of his age: about which time he had a dangerous fit of ſickneſs, that had like to put an end to his life. As ſoon as he was perfectly recovered, he took a journey from Oxford to Exeter, to ſee his good mother, being accompanied with a countryman of his, and of his own college, and both on foot; which was then either more in faſhion, or elſe want of money, or their humility, made it ſo. They took Saliſbury in their way, purpoſely to ſee Biſhop Jewel, who made Mr Hooker and his companion dine with him at his own table. At their departure, the Biſhop gave him good counſel, and his benediction, but forgot to give him money: which when the Biſhop had conſidered, he ſent a ſervant in all haſte to call Richard back to him; and at Richard's return, the Biſhop ſaid to him, 'Richard, I ſent for you back to lend you a horſe 'which hath carried me many a mile, and I thank 'God, with much eaſe;' and then delivered into his hand a walking ſtaff, with which he profeſſed he had travelled through many parts of Germany; and he ſaid, 'Richard, I do not give but lend you my horſe; 'be ſure you be honeſt, and bring my horſe back to 'me at your return this way to Oxford. And I do now 'give you ten groats to bear your charges to Exeter; 'and here is ten groats more, which I charge you to 'deliver to your mother, and tell her, I ſend her a 'Biſhop's benediction, and beg the continuance of her 'prayers for me. And if you bring my horſe back to 'me, I will give you ten groats more to carry you on 'foot to the college, and ſo God bleſs you, good 'Richard (2).'

(2) Walton, as above, p. 163, 164.

[*C*] *And Dr Edwin Sandys, Biſhop of London.*] The way Mr Hooker came to be known to this good Biſhop, happened to be thus. He, and his old intimate friend, and fellow-exile Biſhop Jewel, meeting accidentally, the latter gave Biſhop Sandys ſuch a character of Mr Hooker's learning and good behaviour, that though Biſhop Sandys was educated at Cambridge, and had there many friends; yet he reſolved, that his ſon *Edwin* ſhould be ſent to Corpus-Chriſti-college in Oxford, and by all means be pupil to Mr Hooker, (who was then nineteen years of age, and five years ſtanding in the univerſity) though his ſon Edwin was not much younger than Mr Hooker. For the Biſhop ſaid, 'I will have a tutor for my ſon that ſhall teach 'him learning by inſtruction, and virtue by example; 'and my greateſt care ſhall be the laſt; and God wil- 'ling, this Richard Hooker ſhall be the man into 'whoſe hands I will commit my Edwin (3).' This Edwin was afterwards knighted, and wrote *Europæ Speculum*.——Mr Hooker had at the ſame time another conſiderable pupil, namely, *George Cranmer*, eldeſt ſon of Thomas Cranmer, ſon of Edmund, brother to the famous Archbiſhop Cranmer.——And, in proceſs of time, he became a very conſiderable tutor (4).

(3) Walton, p. 165, 166.

(4) Idem, p. 169 and 166.

[*D*] *He was ſo unhappy as to be drawn into a moſt unfortunate marriage.*] The manner in which he was intrapped into that marriage, is thus related by Mr Walton (5). There was then belonging to the church of St Paul's, a houſe called the Shunamite's houſe, ſet apart for the reception and entertainment of the preachers at St Paul's Croſs, two days before, and one day after, the ſermon. That houſe was then kept by Mr John Churchman, formerly a ſubſtantial draper in Watling-ſtreet, but now reduced to poverty. Mr Hooker came thither from Oxford, ſo wet and weary, that he was under the utmoſt anxiety, for fear he ſhould not be able to perform his duty the Sunday following. But Mrs Churchman nurſed him ſo well, that he was enabled by that means to diſcharge well the office of the day. For this he was ſo very thankful, that, as Mr Walton expreſſes it (6), 'he thought himſelf 'bound in conſcience to believe all that ſhe ſaid: ſo 'the good man came to be perſuaded by her, *That he 'was a man of a tender conſtitution; and that it was 'beſt for him to have a wife, that might prove a nurſe 'to him; ſuch an one as might both prolong his life, 'and make it more comfortable; and ſuch a one ſhe 'could and would provide for him, if he thought fit to 'marry.* He fearing no guile, becauſe he meant none, 'gave her a power to chuſe a wife for him; promiſing 'upon a fair ſummons to return to London, and ac- 'cept of her choice. And he did ſo, in that or the 'year following. Now, the wife provided for him 'was her daughter *Joan*, who brought him neither 'beauty nor portion: and, for her conditions, they 'were too like that wife's, which is by Solomon com- 'pared to a dripping houſe.'——Which A. Wood explains, by ſaying, that ſhe was a ſilly clowniſh woman, and withal a meer Xantippe (7).

(5) P. 173, 174, 175.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Ath. ut ſupra, col. 302.

[*E*] *Received*

his wife Joan. In that condition he continued about a year; and in the mean time received a visit from his two former pupils, Mr Edwin Sandys and Mr George Cranmer [*E*], who observed and pitied his unhappy situation. So that, at their return to London, Mr Sandys sollicited his father, who was then translated to the archbishopric of York, to remove him to some more suitable benefice. Accordingly, the mastership of the Temple becoming vacant soon after, the Archbishop made so strong interest in his behalf, that on the 17th of March, 1585, he was by patent fixed in that honourable employment, being then in the 34th year of his age (*i*). A country retirement would have better suited his natural disposition; however, he promised himself here that blessed tranquillity which he always prayed and laboured for. But it was soon impaired, and at length entirely destroyed, by the repeated vexations he met with from Mr Walter Travers, Lecturer of the Temple, and a rigid Puritan. This man being disappointed in his expectation of the mastership, and differing from Mr Hooker in many doctrinal points; his resentment, and their mutual differences, ended at last in a public opposition in their preaching (*k*). So that what Mr Hooker delivered in the forenoon, Mr Travers confuted in the afternoon (*l*). Thus it continued a long time, 'till the opposition became so visible, and the consequences so dangerous, especially in that place, that Archbishop Whitgift caused Mr Travers to be silenced by the High-Commission-Court. Upon that Mr Travers presented his *Supplication to the Privy-Council*; which being ineffectual, he made it public [*F*]. And that

(*i*) Idem, p. 177, 178, 179.

(*k*) Walton, p. 199, &c.

(*l*) Fuller's Church-History, b. ix. p. 216.

[*E*] *Received a visit from his two former pupils, Mr Edwin Sandys, and Mr George Cranmer.*] They found him with a Horace in his hand, tending his small allotment of sheep in a common field; which he told those gentlemen he was *forced* to do, because his servant was gone home, to dine, and assist his wife to do some necessary household business. When his servant returned and released him, his two pupils attended him to his house, where their best entertainment was his quiet company, which was presently denied them; for Richard was called *to rock the cradle*; and the rest of their welcome was so like this, that they staid but 'till next morning, which was time enough to discover and pity their tutor's condition. And having in that time remembred and paraphrased on many of the innocent recreations of their younger days, and by other such like diversions, given him as much present pleasure as their acceptable company and discourse could afford him, they were forced to leave him to the company of his wife Joan, and seek themselves a quieter lodging for next night. But at their parting from him Mr Cranmer said, *Good Tutor, I am sorry your lot is fallen in no better ground as to your Parsonage: and more sorry, your wife proves not a more comfortable companion after you have wearied your thoughts in your restless studies.* To whom the good man replied, *My dear* George, *if Saints have usually a double share in the miseries of this life, I that am none, ought not to repine at what my wise Creator hath appointed for me; but labour, as indeed I do daily, to submit to his will, and possess my soul in patience and peace* (8).

(8) Walton, p. 177.

[*F*] *Mr Travers presented his supplication to the Privy-Council; which being ineffectual, he made it public.*] I cannot find, that it was then made public otherwise than by dispersing written copies of it (9). For I believe it was first printed in 1612; and hath been subjoyned to most of the later editions of Mr Hooker's works, where it may be seen. When it was presented, the members of the council were much divided in their sentiments. All the Archbishop's enemies there were, of course, favourers of Mr Travers; who had, besides, many great and powerful friends at Court. But even their united endeavours could never move the Queen to revoke what the Archbishop had done: she left spiritual matters to his discretion; and, as one humorously expresses it (10), 'Whitgift's finger moved more in Church matters, than the hands of all the Privie Counsellers besides.' ——— From Mr Travers's *Supplication* it appears, that the reasons alledged for silencing him, were, 'That he was not 'lawfully called to the function of the Ministry, nor 'allowed to preach according to the laws of the 'Church of England: that he preached without li'cence: that he inveighed against certain points of 'doctrine taught by Mr Hooker, as erroneous; not 'conferring with him, nor complaining of it to the 'Bishop.'——Contrary to the order made in the 7th of her Majesty's reign, importing, 'that erroneous 'Doctrine, if it came to be publickly taught, should 'not be *publickly refuted*, but that notice thereof should 'be given to the Ordinary, to hear and determine such 'causes, to prevent publick disturbance (11).'——— The *unsound and erroneous Doctrines* charged by him upon Mr Hooker, were, 1. That Mr Hooker 'had 'taught certain things concerning *Predestination*, 'otherwise than the word of God doth, as it is under'stood by all Churches professing the Gospel, and not 'unlike that wherewith *Coranus* sometimes troubled 'his Church; "I [adds Mr Travers] both delivered "the truth of such points in a general doctrine, with"out any touch of him in particular, and conferred "with him also privately upon such articles. In "which conference, I remember, when I urged the "consent of all churches and writers against him that "I knew; and desired, if it were otherwise, what "authors he had seen of such doctrine? he answered "me, *That his best author was his own reason.*" 2. Another Doctrine maintained by Mr Hooker, and censured by Mr Travers, was, 'That the assurance of 'that we believe by the word, is not so certain, as of 'that we perceive by sense.' Upon which Travers observes, "I both taught the doctrine otherwise, "namely, the assurance of Faith to be greater, which "assured both of *things above, and contrarie to all* "*sense and human understanding*, and dealt with him "also privately upon that point." 3. He also highly condemned this other doctrine of Mr Hooker, 'That 'the Church of Rome is a true Church of Christ, and 'a sanctified Church by profession of that Truth, which 'God hath revealed unto us by his Son, though not a 'pure and perfect Church;' and further, 'That he 'doubted not, but that thousands of our fathers, who 'lived and dyed in the superstitions of that Church, 'were saved, because of their ignorance, which excu'seth them;' alledging to that end 1 Tim. i. 13. Or, as Mr Hooker himself reports these last words in his answer, 'I doubt not but God was merciful to save 'thousands of our fathers, living heretofore in the 'Popish superstition, inasmuch as they sinned igno'rantly.' Mr Travers's reflexions upon that point, are as follow. "The matter being of set purpose "openly and at large handled by him, [viz. Hooker] "and of that moment, that might prejudice the faith "of Christ, encourage the ill-affected to continue still "in their damnable ways, and others weak in faith to "suffer themselves easily to be seduced, to the de"struction of their souls; I thought it my most boun"den duty to God, and to his Church, whilst I might "have opportunity to speak with him, to teach the "truth in a general speech in such points of doctrine. "At which time I taught, That such as dye, or have "dyed at any time in the Church of Rome, holding "in their ignorance that Faith which is taught in it, "and namely *Justification in part by Works*, could not "be said by the Scriptures to be saved." 4. He charged likewise Mr Hooker, with 'so setting forth 'in one of his sermons, the agreement of the Church 'of Rome with us, and their disagreement from us, 'as if we had consented in the greatest and weightiest 'points, and differed onely in certain smaller matters.' 5. It appears further from Mr Hooker's answer (12), that Mr Travers found fault with him, for 'Praying 'in the entrance of his sermon only, and not in the 'end; for naming Bishops in his prayer; kneeling 'when

(9) See the beginning of Mr Hooker's Answer.

(10) Fuller's Church-History, book ix. p. 218. See also Strype's Life of Abp Whitgift, p. 235.

(11) See the Supplication, &c. in Mr Hooker's Works, edit. 1666. p. 487, &c. and Fuller, as above, p. 217.

(12) His Works, as above, p. 498.

that obliged Mr Hooker to publiſh an anſwer [G], which he inſcribed to Archbiſhop Whitgift

' when he prayed, and when he received the Commu-
' nion.' — Such was the ſubſtance of Mr Travers's Supplication, and of his accuſations therein laid againſt Mr Hooker; to which, what anſwers Mr Hooker made, will be ſeen in the next note.

[G] *And that obliged Mr Hooker to publiſh an anſwer.*] In that anſwer, he makes a reply to the ſeveral articles of unſound doctrine charged upon him by Mr Travers, which it is not only expedient but alſo neceſſary to lay before the reader. 1. With regard to the firſt article, Mr Hooker explains himſelf in theſe words. ' In the other conference, he queſtioned about ' the matter of *Reprobation*, miſliking firſt, that I had ' termed God a permiſſive and no poſitive cauſe of ' the evil, which the ſchoolmen do call *malum culpæ*. ' Secondly, that to their objection, who ſay, *If I be ' elected, do what I will, I ſhall be ſaved*; I had anſwered, that the will of God in this thing is not abſolute, but conditional, to ſave his elect believing, ' fearing, and obediently ſerving him. Thirdly, that ' to ſtop the mouths of ſuch as grudge and repine ' againſt God for rejecting caſt-aways, I had taught ' that they are not rejected, no not in the purpoſe and ' counſel of God, without a foreſeen worthineſſe of ' rejection going, though not in time, yet in order, ' before. For, if God's electing do in order, as needs ' it muſt, preſuppoſe the foreſight of their being that ' are elected, though they be elected before they be; ' nor onely the poſitive foreſight of their being, ' but alſo the permiſſive of their being miſerable, ' becauſe election is through mercy, and mercy ' doth always preſuppoſe miſery: it followeth, that ' the very choſen of God acknowledge, to the praiſe ' of the riches of his exceeding free compaſſion, that ' when he in his ſecret determination ſet it down, ' *Thoſe ſhall live and not dye*, they lay as ugly ſpectacles before him, as lepers covered with dung and ' mire, as ulcers putrified in their fathers loyns, miſerable, worthy to be had in deteſtation. And ſhall ' any forſaken creature be able to ſay unto God, Thou ' didſt plunge me into the depth, and aſſign me unto ' endleſs torments, onely to ſatiſfie thine own will, ' finding nothing in me for which I could ſeem in thy ' ſight ſo well worthy to feel everlaſting flames? — ' When I was further aſked, what my grounds were? ' I anſwered, that St Paul's words concerning this ' cauſe were my grounds.' — And, with regard to that ſaying of his, alledged by Mr Travers, *That his beſt author was his own Reaſon*; he thus explains himſelf—inſtead of ' the teſtimonies and the ſayings of ' mortal men; I alledged that which might under no ' pretence in the world be diſallowed, namely *Reaſon*, ' not meaning thereby mine own Reaſon, as now it is ' reported, but true, ſound, divine reaſon; reaſon ' whereby thoſe concluſions might be out of St Paul ' demonſtrated, and not probably diſcourſed of onely; ' reaſon, proper to that ſcience whereby the things of ' God are known;—This is the *reaſon* which I intended.' 2. To the ſecond objection, viz. *That the aſſurance of things which we believe by the word, is not ſo certain as of that we perceive by ſenſe*; Mr Hooker thus replies, ' And is it as certain? yea, I ' taught, as he himſelf, I truſt, will not deny, that ' the things which God doth promiſe in his word, are ' ſurer unto us, than any thing which we touch, ' handle, or ſee. But are we ſo ſure and certain of ' them? if we be, why doth God ſo often prove his ' promiſes unto us, as he doth by argument taken from ' our ſenſible experience? We muſt be ſurer of the ' proof, than of the thing proved, otherwiſe it is no ' proof. How is it, that if ten men doe all look upon ' the moon, every one of them knoweth it as certainly ' to be the moon as another; but many believing one ' and the ſame promiſe, all have not one and the ſame ' fulneſſe of perſwaſion? How falleth it out, that men ' being aſſured of any thing by ſenſe, can be no ſurer ' of it than they are; whereas the ſtrongeſt in faith ' that liveth upon the earth, hath always need to labour, and ſtrive, and pray, that his aſſurance concerning heavenly and ſpiritual things, may grow, ' encreaſe, and be augmented.' 3. To the third and and fourth objections; about the *Salvation of the Papiſts*; *and the Church of England's Agreement with them*; he anſwers thus. ' In ſettling the queſtion be-
' tween the Church of Rome and us, about *Grace* and ' *Juſtification*, leſt I ſhould give them an occaſion to ſay, ' as commonly they doe, that when we cannot refute ' their opinions, we propoſe to ourſelves ſuch, inſtead ' of theirs, as we can refute; I took it for the beſt ' and moſt perſpicuous way of teaching, to declare ' firſt how farr we doe agree, and then to ſhew our ' diſagreement: not generally (as Mr Travers his ' words would carry it) but about the matter onely of ' Juſtification; for further I had no cauſe to meddle at ' this time.' ——The Sermon wherein he treated of that point, was a Diſcourſe about Juſtification, Works, &c. printed at the end of his Eccleſiaſticall Politie; where the words to our preſent purpoſe, are theſe.— ' This openeth a way to the underſtanding of that ' grand queſtion which hangeth yet in controverſie between us and the Church of Rome, about the matter ' of juſtifying Righteouſneſs. Firſt, although they ' imagine, that the Mother of our Lord and Saviour ' Jeſus Chriſt were, for his honour, and by his ſpecial ' protection, preſerved clean from all ſinne: yet touching the reſt, they teach as we doe, That infants that ' never did actually offend, have their natures defiled, ' deſtitute of juſtice, averted from God; That in making man righteous, none do efficiently work with ' God, but God. They teach as we do, that unto ' juſtice no man ever attained, but by the merits of ' Jeſus Chriſt. They teach as we do, That although ' Chriſt, as God, be the efficient; as man, the meritorious cauſe of our juſtice: yet in us alſo there is ' ſome thing required. God is the cauſe of our natural life, in him we live: but he quickneth not the ' Body without the Soul in the Body. Chriſt hath ' merited to make us juſt: but, as a medicine, which ' is made for health, doth not heal by being made, ' but by being applied; ſo, by the merits of Chriſt there ' can be no Juſtification, without the application of his ' merits. Thus farr we joyn hands with the Church ' of Rome. Wherein then do we *diſagree?* We diſagree about the nature and eſſence of the Medicine, ' whereby Chriſt cureth our diſeaſe; about the manner of applying it; about the number, and the ' power of means, which God requireth in us for the ' effectual applying thereof to our ſouls comfort—' ——With regard to that aſſertion of his, in particular, That he *doubted not but God was merciful to ſave thouſands of our fathers living heretofore in Popiſh ſuperſtition, inaſmuch as they ſinned ignorantly*; all that he ſays in his own vindication is, ' A man that ' ſhould read this, [Mr Travers's ſevere reflections] ' and not know what I had ſpoken, might imagine ' that I had at the leaſt denied the Divinity of Chriſt. ' But they which were preſent at my ſpeech, and can ' teſtifie, that nothing paſſed my lips more than is contained in their writings, whom, for ſoundneſſe of ' doctrine, learning, and judgment, Mr Travers himſelf doth, I dare ſay, not onely allow, but honour: ' ——and this ſpoken in a ſermon, the greateſt part ' whereof was againſt Popery, they will hardly be able ' to diſcern how *Chriſtianity* ſhould herewith be ſo ' grievouſly ſhaken (13).' The concluſion of Mr Hooker's anſwer breathes a truly charitable ſpirit. ' I ' take no joy, ſays he, in ſtriving. I have not been ' nuzled or trained up in it. *I would* to Chriſt *they* ' *which* have at this preſent enforced me hereunto, ' had ſo ruled their hands in any reaſonable time, that ' I might never have been conſtrained to ſtrike ſo much ' as in mine own defence. —— Sith there can come ' nothing of contention, but the mutual waſte of the ' parties contending, till a common enemy dance in ' the aſhes of them both, I do wiſh heartily that the ' grave advice which *Conſtantine* gave for re uniting of ' his clergy, ſo many times, upon ſome ſmall occaſions ' in ſo lamentable ſort divided; or rather the ſtrict ' commandment of Chriſt unto his, that they ſhould ' not be divided at all; may at the length, if it be his ' bleſſed will, prevail ſo farr, at leaſt in this corner of ' the Chriſtian world, to the burying and quite forgetting of ſtrife, together with the cauſes that have ' either bred it, or brought it up, that things of ſmall ' moment never diſjoyn them, whom one God, one ' Lord, one Faith, one Spirit, one Baptiſm, band of ' ſo great love have linked. —— Finally, that no ' ſtrife may ever be heard of again, but this, Who ſhall ' hate ſtrife moſt, who ſhall purſue peace and unity ' with ſwifteſt paces (14).'

(13) His Workr, p. 506.

(14) Ibid. p. 508, 509.

[H] *He*

Whitgift (*m*). This anſwer procured him great reverence and encouragement from ſome, and as much neglect and hatred from others. In order therefore to undeceive and win theſe, he entered upon his famous work of the Lawes of Eccleſiaſtical Politie, and laid the foundation of it in the Temple. But finding that buſy place not ſo fit for ſtudy and cloſe attention, he earneſtly intreated Archbiſhop Whitgift to remove him to ſome quieter place [*H*]. The Archbiſhop having the diſpoſal of the preferments belonging to the dioceſe of Sarum, during the vacancy of that ſee, preſented him, in 1591, to the rectory of Boſcomb in Wiltſhire; and, on the 17th of July the ſame year, to the prebend of Nether-Haven in the ſaid church of Sarum, of which he was alſo made Sub-dean (*n*). At Boſcomb he finiſhed four books of his Eccleſiaſtical Politie, which were entered into the regiſter-book at Stationers-hall, March 9, 1592, but not publiſhed 'till 1594 (*o*) [*I*]. The year following, quitting Boſcomb, he was preſented, July 7, 1595, by Queen Elizabeth, to the rectory of Biſhops-Bourne in Kent, vacant by the promotion of Dr William Redman to the biſhopric of Norwich. In this living he continued 'till his death, without any addition of dignity or profit, diſcharging all the duties of his function in a regular and exemplary manner (*p*). He uſed to preach once every Sunday, and he or his curate to catechize after the ſecond leſſon in the evening ſervice. His ſermons were neither long nor earneſt, but pronounced with a grave zeal and an humble voice [*K*]; and where he fixed his eyes at the beginning of his ſermon, there they continued 'till it was ended, in order to prevent his imagination from wandering; ſo that he ſeemed to ſtudy as he ſpoke (*q*). Before he had been one year at Bourne, his books, and the innocency and ſanctity of his life, became ſo remarkable, that many turned out of the road (ſcholars eſpecially), on purpoſe to ſee Him whoſe life and learning were ſo much admired (*r*). In this place he compoſed the fifth book of his Eccleſiaſtical Politie, which was publiſhed by itſelf in the year 1597. He finiſhed there alſo the ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth books of that learned work; but whether we have them as left by himſelf hath been much queſtioned (*s*) [*L*].

(*m*) Walton, as above, p. 199—208.

(*n*) Idem, p. 208, 209, 210. and Wood Ath. Vol. I. col. 502.

(*o*) Walton, p. 211.

(*p*) Ibid.

(*q*) Idem, p. 218, 219.

(*r*) Walton, p. 217.

(*s*) See Walton, p. 233, &c.

About

[*H*] *He earneſtly intreated Archbiſhop Whitgift to remove him to ſome quieter place.*] His letter was to this effect.

'My Lord,

'When I loſt the freedom of my cell, which was 'my colledge, yet I found ſome degree of it in my 'quiet country parſonage. But I am weary of the 'noiſe and oppoſitions of this place; and indeed God 'and Nature did not intend me for contentions, but 'for ſtudy and quietneſs. And, my Lord, my parti'cular conteſts here with Mr Travers have proved the 'more unpleaſant to me, becauſe I believe him to be 'a good man; and that belief hath occaſioned me to 'examine mine own conſcience concerning his opinions; 'and, to ſatisfie that, I have conſulted the Holy Scrip'ture, and other laws both humane and divine, Whe'ther the conſcience of him, and others of his judg'ment, ought to be ſo far complied with by us, as to 'alter our frame of Church-government, our manner 'of God's worſhip, our praiſing and praying to him, 'and our eſtabliſht ceremonies, as often as their tender 'conſciences ſhall require it. And, in this examina'tion, I have not onely ſatisfied myſelf, but have be'gun a treatiſe, in which I intend the ſatisfaction of 'others, by a demonſtration of the reaſonableneſs of 'our *Lawes of Eccleſiaſtical Politie*.—But, my Lord, 'I ſhall never be able to finiſh what I have begun, un'leſs I be removed into ſome quiet countrey parſonage, 'where I may ſee God's bleſſings ſpring out of my 'mother earth, and eat mine own bread in peace and 'privacy. A place where I may, without diſturbance, 'meditate my approaching mortality, and that great 'account which all fleſh muſt, at the laſt great day, 'give to the God of all ſpirits—(15).'

(15) Walton, p. 209.

[*I*] *At Boſcomb he finiſhed four books of his Eccleſiaſtical Politie, &c.*] They were finiſhed in the year 1592, and the author ſent a manuſcript copy of them to the Lord Treaſurer Burghley, 'for his favourable 'approbation,' with a letter dated the thirteenth of March, 1592. But they were not publiſhed, as is ſaid above, 'till the year 1594, nor the fifth 'till the year 1597. 'It is, according to Mr Strype's judicious 'obſervation, a juſt Diſcourſe of the Eccleſiaſtical 'State of this Church, built upon great reaſon and 'judgment, managed with admirable clearneſs and 'conviction, and with a ſtrain of great learning and 'modeſty withal: deſigned for a vindication of the 'Church of England, as it ſtood reformed at firſt, and 'eſtabliſhed by law, againſt thoſe that, ſo much and 'ſo intemperately, cried out for another platform of 'government. Which that moſt judicious divine did 'happily refute (16).' It is 'the ſtanding defence of 'the Church of England,' and hath kept its value and reputation better than any other performance of the laſt century. But, as it is in almoſt every one's hands, no further account need be given of it here.

(16) Strype's Life of Abp Whitgift, p. 400, 421.

[*K*] *But pronounced with a grave zeal and an humble voice.*] The deſign of his ſermons, as indeed of all his diſcourſes, was, to ſhew reaſons for what he ſaid: and with theſe reaſons ſuch a kind of rhetoric, as did rather convince and perſwade, than frighten men into piety. Studying not ſo much for matter, which he never wanted, as for apt illuſtrations to inform and teach his unlearned hearers by familiar examples, and then make them better by convincing applications; never labouring by hard words, and then by needleſs diſtinctions and ſubdiſtinctions, to amuſe his hearers, and get glory to himſelf; but glory only to God. Which intention he would often ſay was as diſcernable in a preacher, as an artificial from a natural beauty (17).

(17) Walton, p. 220.

[*L*] *He finiſhed there alſo the 6th, 7th, and 8th, books of that learned work; but whether we have them as left by himſelf, hath been much queſtioned.*] What hath occaſioned any diſpute about the genuineneſs of thoſe books, is, that they contain certain aſſertions concerning the true Nature of the Legiſlative Power, the Original of Government, and the Regal Power as derived from the people; which R. Baxter, and other Puritan authors, have taken an advantage of; and which the writers on the other ſide have imagined and affirmed, could never have dropped from Mr Hooker's pen (18). Mr Walton having ſifted this point to the bottom, we ſhall here give the ſubſtance of what he hath ſaid upon it. He tells us then, that he had been informed 'by one, who very well knew Mr Hooker, 'and the affairs of his family, that about a month af'ter his death, Archbiſhop Whitgift ſent one of his 'Chaplains to enquire of Mrs Hooker for the three re'maining books of Polity, written by her huſband; 'of which ſhe would not, or could not give any ac'count.——That, about three months after that, the 'Archbiſhop procured her to be ſent for to London, 'in order to be examined by ſome of the Privy-Coun'cil, concerning the diſpoſal of thoſe books: but, by 'way of preparation for the next day's examination, 'the Archbiſhop invited her to Lambeth, and, after 'ſome friendly queſtions, ſhe confeſſed to him, *that 'one* Mr Charke, *and another miniſter that dwelt near 'Canterbury, came to her, and deſired that they might 'go into her huſband's ſtudy, and look upon ſome of his 'writings; and that there they two burnt and tore 'many of them, aſſuring her that they were writings 'not fit to be ſeen, and that ſhe knew nothing more con'cerning them.* Her lodging was then in King-ſtreet 'Weſtminſter, where ſhe was found next morning dead 'in her bed, and her new huſband (19) ſuſpected and 'queſtioned

(18) See Wood Ath. Vol. I. col. 304.

(19) She was married again very ſoon after Mr Hooker's death.

About the year 1600, and the 46th of his age, he fell into a long and ſharp ſickneſs, occaſioned by a cold he took in his paſſage by water between London and Graveſend. He continued,

'queſtioned for it; but was declared innocent of her 'death.——The three laſt perfect books being thus 'loſt; Dr John Spencer, who was of the ſame col- 'lege and contemporary with Mr Hooker; (betwixt 'whom there was ſo firm a friendſhip, that they con- 'tinually adviſed together in all their ſtudies, parti- 'cularly about the Books of Eccleſiaſticall Politie) had 'the three imperfect books, or rough draughts of 'them, delivered to him by Archbiſhop Whitgift; to 'be made as perfect as might be, by him, who both 'knew Mr Hooker's hand writing, and was beſt ac- 'quainted with his intentions.' For the truth of this, Mr Walton appeals to an epiſtle, firſt and uſually print- ed before Mr Hooker's five books, and ſigned with J. S. the two initial letters of Dr Spencer's name, but omitted in Dr Gauden's edition of 1662; wherein are theſe paſſages. 'There is a purpoſe of ſetting forth 'the three laſt books alſo, their Father's *poſthumi*.— 'And, though like Rachel, he died as it were in the 'travel of them, and haſtened death upon himſelf by 'haſtening to give them life; yet he held out to behold 'with his eyes theſe *partus ingenii*, theſe Benjamins, ſons 'of his right hand, though to him they were Beno- 'nies, ſons of pain and ſorrow. But ſome evil diſ- 'poſed minds, whether of malice or covetouſneſs, or 'wicked blind zeal, it is uncertain, as if they had 'been Egyptian midwives, as ſoon as they were born, 'and their father dead, ſmothered them, and by con- 'veying away the perfect copies left unto us nothing 'but old unperfect and mangled draughts, diſmembred 'into pieces;——no favour, no grace, not the ſha- 'dows of themſelves almoſt remaining in them.——— 'But ſeeing the importunities of many great and 'worthy perſons will not ſuffer them quietly to dye 'and to be buried, it is intended that they ſhall ſee 'them as they are.' Mr Walton goes on thus,—'the 'reader may note, that this epiſtle of Dr Spencer's 'was writ, and firſt printed, within four years after 'the death of Mr Hooker, in which time, all diligent 'ſearch had been made for the perfect copies; and 'then granted not recoverable, and therefore indea- 'voured to be compleated out of Mr Hooker's rough 'draughts. And I do profeſs by the faith of a Chri- 'ſtian (adds Mr Walton) that Dr Spencer's wife, who 'was my aunt and ſiſter to George Cranmer, told 'me forty years ſince, in theſe or in words to this pur- 'poſe, that *her huſband had made up or finiſht Mr 'Hooker's laſt three books; and that upon her huſband's 'death-bed, or in his laſt ſickneſs, he gave them into 'her hand, with a charge they ſhould not be ſeen by 'any man, but be by her delivered into the hands of the 'then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, which was Dr Abbot, 'or unto* Dr King, *Biſhop of London; and that ſhe did 'as he injoyn'd her* (20).'——Dr Henry King Biſhop of Chicheſter, ſon of this Dr King Biſhop of London, explains this latter part, in the following manner, in a letter to Mr Walton (21);—'My father's knowledge 'of Mr Hooker, was occaſioned by the learned Dr 'John Spencer, who, after the death of Mr Hooker, 'was ſo careful to preſerve his unvaluable ſixth, 'ſeventh, and eighth books of Eccleſiaſtical Polity, 'and his other writings, that he procured Henry Jack- 'ſon, then of Corpus-Chriſti colledge, to tranſcribe 'for him all Mr Hooker's remaining written papers, 'many of which were imperfect; for his ſtudy had 'been rifled or worſe uſed by Mr Clark (22), and an- 'other of principles too like his: but as theſe papers 'were, they were endeavored to be compleated by 'his dear friend Dr Spencer, who bequeathed them as 'a precious legacy to my father; after whoſe death 'they reſted in my hand, 'till Dr Abbot, then Arch- 'biſhop of Canterbury, commanded them out of my 'cuſtody, authoriſing Dr John Barkham (his Lord- 'ſhip's chaplain) to require and bring them to him to 'Lambeth. At which time I have heard they were 'put into the Biſhop's library, and that they remained 'there 'till the martyrdom of Archbiſhop Laud, and 'were then by the brethren of that faction given 'with the library to Hugh Peters, as a reward for his 'remarkable ſervice in thoſe ſad times of the Churches 'confuſion: and though they could hardly fall into a 'fouler hand, yet there wanted not other endeavours 'to corrupt and make them ſpeak that language, for 'which the faction then fought; which was, *To ſub- 'ject the ſovereign power to the people.*'———But to return to Mr Walton,—'he conceives, that from 'Dr Spencer's, and no other copy, there have been 'divers tranſcripts, to be found in ſeveral places; as 'namely in the Bodleian Library, in that of Dr An- 'drews late Biſhop of Wincheſter, in the late Lord 'Conway's, in Archbiſhop Uſher's, and many others; 'and moſt of theſe pretended to be the author's own 'hand, but much diſagreeing, being indeed altered 'and diminiſhed, as men have thought fitteſt to make 'Mr Hooker's judgment ſuit with their fancies, or 'give authority to their corrupt deſigns. For proof 'of a part of which, he gives the following teſtimo- 'nies: 1. Dr Barnard, ſometime Chaplain to Arch- 'biſhop Uſher, in a book of his called *Clavis Trabales*, 'printed in 1661, declared, that, in his ſearch and 'examination of that Archbiſhop's manuſcripts, he 'found the three written books, which were the ſup- 'poſed 6th, 7th, and 8th, books of Mr Hooker's Ec- 'cleſiaſtical Polity; and that in thoſe three books, now 'printed as Mr Hooker's, there are ſo many omiſſions 'that they amount to many paragraphs, and which 'cauſe many incoherencies. The omiſſions are by him 'ſet down at large in that book, to which the reader 'is referred. 2 Mr Fabian Phillips atteſted it under 'his hand, that he was ready to make oath if required, 'that Dr Sanderſon Biſhop of Lincoln did, a little be- 'fore his death, aſſure him, he had ſeen a manuſcript, 'affirmed to him to be the hand writing of Mr 'Richard Hooker, in which there was no mention 'made of the King or Supreme Governors being ac- 'comptable to the people. So that, as Mr Walton 'goes on, there appears to be both omiſſions and ad- 'ditions in the ſaid laſt three printed books. 3. King 'Charles I. declared, *they were not allowed to be Mr 'Hooker's books.*'——Mr Walton concludes his exami- nation in theſe words. 'In this relation concerning 'theſe three doubtful books of Mr Hooker's, my pur- 'poſe was to enquire, then ſet down what I obſerved 'and know; which I have done, not as an engaged 'perſon, but indifferently, and now leave my reader 'to give ſentence for their legitimation, as to himſelf, 'but ſo, as to leave others the ſame liberty of believ- 'ing or diſbelieving them to be Mr Hooker's (23).'— But, notwithſtanding all theſe arguments, Biſhop Gau- den (24), Mr Richard Baxter (25), and others (26), maintain, that thoſe three books are genuine, and not interpolated.

Of theſe three books, the ſixth and eighth were publiſhed at London in 1648, 4to, under this title, 'Of the Lawes of Eccleſiaſtical Politie; the ſixth and 'eighth Books. By Richard Hooker. A work long 'expected, and now publiſhed according to the moſt 'authentique copies.' In an advertiſement to the reader, it is ſaid, that they were then publiſhed, to prevent ſome erroneous, if not counterfeit copies, that were abroad: and that fruitleſs endeavours had been uſed to recover the *Seventh*, that they might have been publiſhed to the world's view at once. It is alſo ſaid, that, before publication, they had been compared with the ſeveral copies abovementioned.———But we are aſſured, that, long before that, even as early as the year 1617, all the *Eight* books, with certain tractates and ſermons, and the author's life, were publiſhed in two volumes folio (27). Nothwithſtanding which, as if they had never before ſeen the light, that enterpriz- ing divine, Biſhop Gauden, put them *out in 1662* fol. under this title, 'The Works of Mr *Richard Hooker*, '(that learned, godly, judicious, and eloquent divine) 'vindicating the Church of England, as truly chriſtian, 'and duly reformed: in eight books of Eccleſiaſtical 'Polity. Now compleated, as with the fifth and 'eighth, ſo with the *ſeventh*, (touching Epiſcopacy, 'as the Primitive, Catholic and Apoſtolick Govern- 'ment of the Church) out of his own Manuſcripts, 'never before publiſhed. With an Account of his 'holy Life, and happy Death, Written by Dr John 'Gauden, now Biſhop of Exeter. The entire edition 'dedicated to the Kings moſt excellent Majeſtie, 'Charls the II. By whoſe Royal Father (near his 'Martyrdom) the former Five Books (then onely ex- tant) were commended to his dear Children; as an 'excellent means to ſatiſfie private ſcruples, and ſettle 'the publique peace of this Church and Kingdom.'

It

(20) Walton, p. 234, 235, 236.

(21) Prefixed to Mr Hooker's Life.

(22) So it is here, though in Mr Walton's Life it is Clarke.

(23) Walton, p. 233, &c.

(24) In his edition of Mr Hooker's Works, 1662.

(25) In Faſciculo Liter. p. 100. Nonconformiſts Plea for Peace; and Chriſtian Directory in ſeveral places.

(26) Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. I. p. 572.

(27) See Wood Ath. Vol. I. col. 305.

continued, notwithſtanding, his ſtudies to the laſt [*M*]. Waſted at length with labour and his lingering illneſs, he expired on the 2d of November 1600 [*N*], and was buried in the church of Biſhops-Bourne, where a monument was afterwards erected to his memory by William Cowper, Eſq; *(t)* [*O*]. His character is given below in the note [*P*]. He left no ſon, only four daughters *(u)* [*Q*], none of which made any conſiderable figure in life. Beſides his Eccleſiaſtical Politie, and Anſwer to Mr Travers, he writ ſome other pieces [*R*], which were publiſhed after his deceaſe.

(t) Walton, p. 225, &c. 231.

(u) Id. p. 231.

It is ſomewhat unaccountable, that Dr Gauden ſhould inſinuate, (as he doth) that the *Seventh* book was now firſt publiſhed, when it had been out ever ſince the year 1617: and that he ſhould ſay, in his dedication to King Charles II, that the works of Mr Richard Hooker (which he preſented to him) were 'now augmented, and I hope [adds he] *compleated with the three laſt books*, ſo much deſired, and ſo long *concealed*,' when the 6th and 8th had been publiſhed by themſelves but thirteen or fourteen years before. Surely his ignorance or confidence was great!——— what he ſays further upon the ſame point, in his Life of Mr Hooker (28), deſerves notice; being as follows. ——Of theſe eight books, 'five have many years been extant in publique; the *laſt three* were thought to have been never finiſhed, and to be ſure they have been for many ages ſuppreſſed; which *are now come to light, after our late long troubles.*———Each of them is by learned criticks judged to be *genuine* or *authentick*, though poſſibly not ſo compleat and exact as the curious author intended: The *Seventh* book, by comparing the writing of it with other indiſputable papers, or known manuſcripts of Mr Hookers, is undoubtedly his *own hand* throughout: the *eighth* is written by *another hand* (as a copy) but interlined in many places with Mr Hookers *own characters*, as owned by him.' In the life of Mr Hooker, prefixed by Biſhop Gauden to this edition of his works, there were *many material Miſtakes, and more Omiſſions*; which to correct and ſupply, Mr Iſaac Walton wrote another life of Mr Hooker, that was publiſhed in 1665.

(28) Prefixed to his edition of 1662. p. 26.

[*M*] *He continued, notwithſtanding, his ſtudies to the laſt.*] He ſtrove particularly to finiſh his Eccleſiaſticall Politie; and ſaid often to Dr Saravia, who viſited him daily, 'That he did not beg a long life of God for any other reaſon, but to live to finiſh his three remaining books of Polity; and then, Lord, let thy ſervant depart in peace,' which was his uſual expreſſion. 'Tis thought he haſtened his own death, by his intenſe application to compleat that work. And how great a value he ſet upon it, appears from the following inſtance. A very few days before his death, his houſe was robbed; of which having notice, he aſked, *Are my books and written papers ſafe?* And being anſwered, *that they were:* his reply was, *then it matters not, for no other loſs can trouble me* (29).

(29) Walton, p. 225, 226.

[*N*] *He expired on the 2d of November,* 1600.] It is amazing how ſome of Mr Hooker's contemporaries ſhould be ſo much miſtaken, as they have been, about the exact time of his death. Mr Camden, from whom greater exactneſs might have been expected, places it under the year 1599 (30). The miſtake is yet greater in his epitaph: for that places it under the year 1603, and in the 50th of his age. But Mr Walton having made proper enquiry, was informed by Mr William Somner, Regiſter for the province of Canterbury, that Richard Hooker's Will bears date October 26, 1600, and was proved the 3d of December following. His death is particularly fixed on the 2d of November, by Archbiſhop Laud; who wrote the following memorandum in the title-page of Mr Hooker's Eccleſiaſtical Polity, then belonging to him, which came afterwards into the hands of the learned Mr William Fulman. *Richardus Hooker, vir ſummis doctrinæ dotibus ornatus, de Eccleſiâ præcipuè Anglicanâ optime meritus, obiit Novemb. 2, circiter horam ſecundam poſtmeridianam, anno* 1600 (31).

(30) Annales Regin. Eliz. Hoc anno animam cœlo reddidit Richardus Hookerus.

(31) Walton, as above, p. 231.

[*O*] *Where a monument was afterwards erected to his memory by William Cowper, Eſq;*] The inſcription upon it is in theſe words; *Richardus Hooker Exonienſis, Scholaris Sociuſq; Collegii Corp. Chriſti Oxon. deinde Londi. Templi interioris in ſacris Magiſter, Rectorq; hujus Eccleſiæ, ſcripſit octo libros Politiæ Eccleſiaſticæ Anglicanæ, quorum tres deſiderantur: Obiit An. Do.* M.DC.III. *Ætat. ſuæ* L. *Poſuit hoc piiſſimo viro monumentum An. Do.* M.DC.XXXV. *Guli. Cowper Armiger, in Chriſto Jeſu quem genuit per Evangelium.* 1 Corinth. iv. 15.

[*P*] *His character is given below.*] Mr Hooker, as to his perſon, was of a mean ſtature, and ſtooping; his face full of heat-pimples, cauſed by his inactivity and ſedentary life: and, though not purblind, he was ſhort or weak ſighted (32). His complexion was ſanguine, with a mixture of choler; his motion and ſpeech ſlow even in his youth, never expreſſing an earneſtneſs in either of them, but an humble gravity, ſuitable to the aged (33).—With regard to the qualities of his mind; he was a man of great humility, meekneſs, and piety (34): ſo baſhful, that as in his younger years his pupils might eaſily look him out of countenance, ſo neither then, nor in his more advanced age, did he ever willingly look any man in the face (35). He was never known to be angry, or paſſionate, or extream in any of his deſires; or ever heard to utter an unſeemly word—By his unwearied application, he attained to perfection in the learned languages; and had made the ſubtilty of all the arts eaſy and familiar to himſelf, and uſeful for the diſcovery of ſuch learning as lay hid from common ſearchers: ſo that, by theſe, added to his ſtrong reaſon, and joined to his reſtleſs induſtry, he did not only know more of cauſes and effects; but what he knew, he knew better than other men (36). Nor was he a ſtranger to Muſic and Poetry. He would often ſay, that God abhors confuſion as contrary to his nature; and that the Scripture was not written to beget diſputations, and pride, and oppoſition to government, but charity and humility, moderation, obedience to authority, and peace to mankind: of which virtues, he would as often ſay, no man did ever repent on his death-bed (37).

(32) Walton, p. 217, 218.

(33) Id. p. 158.

(34) P. 163.

(35) Id. p. 218.

(36) Id. p. 166.

(37) Id. p. 171.

[*Q*] *He left only—four daughters.*] Whoſe names were Alice, Cecily, Jane, and Margaret. One of the eldeſt was married to Mr Chalinor, ſometime a Schoolmaſter in Chicheſter. Margaret, the youngeſt, was married to Ezekiel Clark, B. D. Rector of St Nicolas in Harbledown near Canterbury; and by him had a ſon, Ezekiel, Rector of Waldron in Suſſex, and a daughter. His other daughters died before they were marriageable. He left each of them a hundred pounds; and the inventory of his effects, which were moſtly books, amounted to 1092l. 9s. 2d. Mr Hooker had a ſiſter, named Elizabeth Harvey, which lived to the age of 121 years, and died in September 1663 (38).

(38) Walton, p. 231, 232.

[*R*] *Beſides his Eccleſiaſtical Politie, &c. he writ ſome other pieces.*] Namely, I. 'A Diſcourſe of Juſtification, Works, and how the foundation of Faith is overthrown; on Abak i. 4.' II. 'A Sermon of the Nature of Pride; on Abak. ii. 4.' III. 'A Remedie againſt Sorrow and Feare, delivered in a funeral Sermon, on John xiv. 27.' Theſe three printed at Oxford, 1612, 4to.' IV. 'Of the certaintie and perpetuitie of Faith in the Elect, eſpecially of the Prophet Abakkuk's faith; on Abak. i. 4.' V. 'Two Sermons upon part of St Jude's Epiſtle, viz. ver. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.' Printed at Oxford, 1614, 4to. All theſe ſermons were firſt publiſhed by Mr Henry Jackſon, Fellow of Corpus-Chriſti-college Oxford; and have been ſeveral times ſince reprinted at the end of the Eccleſiaſticall Politie. VI. 'Cauſes of Contention concerning Church-government.' Oxon. 1641. 4to. VII. 'A Sermon on Matth. vii. 7. found in the ſtudy of Dr Andrews Biſhop of Wincheſter, and publiſhed by Iſaac Walton, at the end of his Life of Biſhop Sanderſon (39).'

(39) Wood Ath. Vol. I. col. 305.

HOUGH [JOHN], the good Biſhop of Worceſter, particularly diſtinguiſhed by the ſhare he had in bringing about the Revolution in 1688, was born in the county of Middleſex (*a*) in the year 1650 (*b*); and having acquired a true taſte of literature at the ſchool of Birmingham in Warwickſhire †, he was removed thence to Oxford, and elected Demy of Magdalen college in 1669 (*c*). He took his firſt degree in Arts, April 10, 1673 (*d*), and became Fellow of the college in 1675 *. On the 8th of June the following year, he proceeded Maſter of Arts (*e*), and having entered into Holy Orders, he exerciſed his function for ſome time at a place called North-Aſton in the dioceſe of Oxford (*f*). Upon the breaking out of the popiſh plot, Mr Hough's chamber in the college was ſearched by order of the Vicechancellor in 1679, upon ſuſpicion of his holding a correſpondence with a perſon of that religion [*A*]; but nothing of this kind could be found; and in 1681 he was appointed domeſtic-chaplain to the Duke of Ormond, Chancellor of the univerſity, who being then in Ireland Lord-Lieutenant of that kingdom, Mr Hough croſſed the ſea in February, and waited upon his Grace at Dublin. However, there happening no conſiderable vacancies in the Iriſh Church (*g*), he returned with his patron, in the beginning of May the following year 1682, unpreferred to England (*b*) [*B*]; where he was collated to a prebend in the church of Worceſter in 1685, being inſtalled March 12 the ſame year (*i*); and he was afterwards preſented to the rectory of Temsford in Bedfordſhire (*k*). On the 10th of March the year following he proceeded Bachelor of Divinity (*l*); and on the 15th of the next month, being April 1687, he was ſtatutably elected Preſident of his college by a majority of the Fellows, after they had rejected a *mandamus* from his Majeſty King James II. in behalf of one Anthony Farmer, A.M. of that houſe. Mr Hough's election was regularly confirmed by the Biſhop of Wincheſter, Viſitor of the college, and he was admitted Doctor of Divinity June the 22d following ‖, but the ſame day was removed from his preſidentſhip by the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners, and Dr Samuel Parker Biſhop of Oxford put into his place. That prelate dying before the expiration of the year, was ſucceeded therein by Bonaventure Gifford, a Sorbon doctor and ſecular prieſt of the Romiſh Church; who being inſtalled by proxy on the 31ſt of March 1688, took poſſeſſion of the Preſident's lodgings June the 15th. But ſoon after, upon the Prince of Orange's declaration to come to England, an order paſſed, October 12, for reſtoring Magdalen-college to it's rights, and Dr Hough was reſtored, on the 25th of that month, to the preſidentſhip by the Biſhop of Wincheſter, commiſſioned by the King for that purpoſe [*C*]. After the Revolution, the Doctor was nominated by King William,

(*a*) Willis's Account of the Cathedrals, &c. Vol. III. p. 657.

(*b*) See his age at the time of his death.

† Dugdale's Warwickſhire, 2d edit. 1730. in the dedication to Dr Hough, then Biſhop of Worceſter, by Will. Thomas, D. D. who obſerves further, that Mr Hough acquired alſo a true taſte of gentility and honour from the knightly family of the Holts of Aſton near Birmingham.

(*c*) At the age of 16, as it is (perhaps miſ-) printed for 19 in Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1185.

(*d*) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 290. Hence it may not improbably be collected, that his admiſſion in the univerſity was in Act-Term 1669.

* Athen. Oxon. col. 1185.

(*e*) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 201.

(*f*) Athen. Oxon. col. 1185.

(*g*) Id. ibid.

(*b*) See the Duke of Ormond's article, Vol. II. p. 1068.

(*i*) Willis's Account, &c. ubi ſupra, Vol. III. p. 671. N. B. This account ſhews, that he had the living of Temsford at that time.

(*k*) Id. Vol. II. p. 437. where it is obſerved, that he had this rectory at his election into the ſee of Oxford.

(*l*) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 229.

‖ Id. ibid. col. 230.

(1) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1185.

(2) Ibid. col. 1014.

(3) Mr Wood tells us, that he was ſea-bound (as he terms it) in his voyage, by which means coming not time enough, he loſt preferment there upon the tranſlation and change of eccleſiaſtical places, vacant by the death of certain Biſhops of that country. Ibid. col. 1185.

(4) In the preface to his Life of the Duke of Ormond.

(5) The Duke ſpent two ſummers there, in the time that the Earl of Clarendon was in Ireland, Lord-Lieutenant of that country, in the firſt part of King James II's reign. See the article of Lord Chancellor Clarendon.

(6) In the juſt mentioned preface; where it appears, that the Chaplain had his patron's conſent for this undertaking; by whom, another writer aſſures us, he was juſtly valued and highly eſteemed. Some account of the Right Rev. Dr John Hough, &c. p. 6. 1dit. 1743. 4to.

[*A*] *His chamber was ſearched by the Vicechancellor.*] This perſon with whom he was ſuſpected to hold a correſpondence, was Thomas Kingſley, who had been ſometime his intimate acquaintance, but in 1671, had left the college as well as his country to embrace the Romiſh faith. The Vicechancellor was Dr John Nicholas, Warden of New-college, who, ſays Mr Wood in his uſual rough language, left no ſtone untouched to ſhew his activity againſt Papiſts or well-wiſhers to them, purpoſely to gain the good will of the Parliament then ſitting, and ſo conſequently preferment; but, continues he, the deſign to ſearch his [Mr Hough's] chamber, took no effect (1). This ſame Vicechancellor had alſo one William Joyner ſeized for a Prieſt or Jeſuit, who had been a fellow of the ſame college, and changed his religion (2).

[*B*] *He returned with the Duke to England.*] That he returned at the ſame time with the Duke, ſeems to be clearly inferred from the circumſtance alone of his coming back without any preferment in Ireland (3), and is further confirmed by what Mr Carte obſerves (4), that he lived ſeveral years in the Duke's family, which conſidering the time of his Grace's death, viz. in 1688, could hardly be ſaid with any tolerable degree of accuracy, if he had ſtaid longer in Ireland. The laſt mentioned author informs us, that Mr Hough had projected a deſign of writing the Duke's life, and made a conſiderable progreſs therein. But upon the coming of Sir Robert Southwel to Cornbury (5), in 1685, who claimed the right of performing that taſk to himſelf, the Doctor yielded it to him. A conceſſion which is greatly lamented by Mr Carte, who does not ſcruple to aſſert, that the world thereby loſt the ſight of as fine a pen as ever any age has produced. Mr Carte likewiſe aſſures us, that he had ſeveral particulars concerning the Duke's private life from the Doctor (6), whoſe authority in relating ſome of theſe, he has expreſsly cited. Among others it may not be amiſs to take notice of the following circumſtance, relating to the Duke's third ſon, Lord John Butler, created Earl of Gowram in 1676. 'That 'young nobleman died the ſame year at Paris, having 'gone thither a little before for the recovery of his 'health, much impaired by his irregularities. While 'he was there in a lingering and waſting way, the 'Duke of Ormond in a fatherly and chriſtian concern 'for his future welfare, put him in mind of his exceſſes, which had reduced him to that weak condition, and were like to put a ſpeedy period to his life, 'and ſuggeſted to him thoſe reflections, which perhaps had been too long deferred, though neceſſary 'to fit him for another world. There was ſomething, 'continues Mr Carte, ſo noble, juſt, pious, and chriſtian, in the ſentiments expreſſed in the letter, which 'his Grace wrote upon this occaſion, that I would 'fain have given it a place among others of that ſort 'in the *Appendix*, that the world might have ſeen one 'of the fineſt pieces of the kind that hath been ever 'written. For this is the character which I have of 'it from the preſent Biſhop of Worceſter, *(the beauty 'of whoſe pen renders him an excellent, and indiſputable judge of that of others)* who had preſerved a 'copy of it, but could not eaſily find it among his 'papers.' I am inclined to believe the reader will not think his patience abuſed in giving him the remainder of this narrative as follows. 'The Duke 'laid his ſon's manner of life to heart, but all his remonſtrances could not correct or reſtrain the impetuoſity of his youth. A repartee of his Grace's may 'not improperly be related on this occaſion. Mr 'Cottington of Holme-Patrick, about twelve miles 'from Dublin, had a fine houſe pleaſantly ſituated on 'the ſea ſide, and was often viſited by the Duke of 'Ormond and his ſons, and other great men, who delighted in the place for the pleaſure of it's ſituation, 'and the amuſements which the ſea afforded. He had 'undertaken to build a new chapel on the ruins of an 'old one, and aſked every body that came to his 'houſe, to contribute ſomething towards the building 'and ornament of the chapel. Among others, my 'Lord John Butler being applied to, had promiſed 'him the Ten Commandments to be put over the 'altar. Mr Cottington was much pleaſed with his 'Lordſhip's generoſity, and when he went to Dublin, 'could not forbear extolling the preſent, in a viſit 'which he made to the Duke. As he was making 'great encomiums on Lord John, his Grace replied, 'I could eaſily gueſs at the nature of my ſon's generoſity, 'he can readily part with things he does not care to 'keep himſelf (7).'

(7) Life of the D. of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 450.

[*C*] *He was elected, removed, and reſtored to his Preſidentſhip.*] A tranſaction of ſo great importance

as

William, in April 1690, Biſhop of Oxford (*m*), upon the death of Dr Timothy Hall. He was elected accordingly on the 29th of April, and being conſecrated in the Biſhop of London's chapel at Fulham on Sunday May 11, had then a licence to hold the preſidentſhip *in commendam* (*n*) [*D*] Upon the tranſlation of Mr William Lloyd to the ſee of Worceſter, Dr Hough ſucceeded him in that of Litchfield and Coventry, on the fifth of Auguſt 1699 (*o*). He was not only a conſiderable benefactor to this biſhopric †, but whilſt he continued there, he procured an Act of Parliament for annexing the living of Tattenhill to the deanery of Litchfield, on account of it's inſufficient maintenance; the income of which dignity is ſaid to be doubled by that augmentation (*p*). On the death of Dr Tenniſon, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in 1715, that metropolitical chair was offered to our Biſhop, of which he declined the acceptance out of modeſty (*q*). But upon the deceaſe of Dr Lloyd ſucceeded him in the ſee of Worceſter [*E*], September 29, 1717 (*r*). He was now near ſeventy years of age; yet he lived upwards of twenty-ſix years Biſhop of Worceſter, in a conſtant exemplary reſidence upon his dioceſe, diſcharging all the duties of the epiſcopal function. In 1722 he buried his lady, Letitia, eldeſt daughter of Sir Thomas Fiſher of Parkington in Warwickſhire, Bart. and widow of Sir Charles Lee of Billeſley in the ſame county, Knight *. A little before his death, he wrote a remarkable letter to the Lord Digby, an extract of which ſhall be inſerted below [*F*]. The even temper of his mind bore ſo juſt a proportion to his well tempered conſtitution of body, as by an happy reſult of both, to extend his age to the beginning of his ninety-third year, and almoſt to the completion of the 53d year of his epiſcopate. His lamp of life burnt clear, if not bright, to the laſt; and though his body was weak, he had no pain or ſickneſs, as he himſelf acknowledged, not only on ſeveral occaſions, at a conſiderable diſtance of time from his death, but even a few minutes before he expired. It may well be doubted whether he felt the agonies that are uſual at the ſeparation of ſoul and body; but it is certain that he died very ſedately and with a quiet mind. His *end was peace*, and *he enjoyed* tranquillity *at the laſt*. The eaſineſs of his death ſeems to have been as much derived from the ſerenity of his mind and a good conſcience, as from his inſenſibly exhauſted ſpirits; or rather, by a concurrence of both, in the ſcripture language, he gently *fell aſleep*. He died March 8, 1743, *ſatisfied with a long life*, equally *full of days and honour*, and with a pleaſing proſpect of that *ſalvation* which God had ſhewed him (*s*) [*G*].

(*m*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1185 and 814. and Faſti, col. 229. and Salmon's Chronol. Hiſtorian, under the year 1687.

(*n*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. ubi ſupra, and Willis, Vol. II. p. 437.

(*o*) Willis, Vol. III. p. 657.

† See the next rem. [*E*].

(*p*) Some Account of the Right Rev. Dr John Hough, &c. p. 9, 10. Lond. 1743. 4to.

(*q*) Ibid. p. 19, 20. ad finem.

(*r*) Willis, where laſt cited.

* Dugdale's Warwickſhire, ubi ſupra, Vol. II. p. 989, 990. She died in the year of her grand climacteric, being baptized Aug. 31, 1659.

(*s*) Some Account, &c. p. 17, 18.

as this was to the kingdom, has been largely related in our general hiſtories, to which we refer the reader (8); and ſhall only inſert what is obſerved of it in relation to Dr Hough's memorable courage and conduct therein by a late writer (9). 'I willingly haſten, ſays he, to that critical juncture in the reign of King James II, when at the head of a ſociety, perhaps of the beſt endowed foundation in Europe (10), *St Mary Magdalen College* in *Oxford*, he made that noble ſtand in behalf of our reformed religion and our civil liberties, which contributed ſo much to the ſucceſs of our happy revolution. It is diſputable indeed whether he ſhewed greater courage and conſtancy, or prudence and temper, in the management of ſo important a conteſt with the miſguided Crown; and whether he diſplayed a greater love of the liberties of his country in baffling the inſtruments of an illegal eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, or integrity and conſcience in adhering ſo firmly to the ſtatutes of his college, and his own oath, in oppoſition to all the artifices as well as menaces of an arbitrary Court; in his engaging by his weighty influence the members of that learned body to act unanimouſly, and in confirming by his own example their reſolutions to ſacrifice their intereſt to their duty on that great occaſion. Under this article I ſhall only add, that his Lordſhip equally retained the ſame inviolable love of his country in all publick exigencies, whilſt he ſat in Parliament, and during his retirement from buſineſs on account of the infirmities of his advanced age, even to the laſt moments of his life.'

(8) See particularly Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. 2d edition. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, Vol. I. and eſpecially the State-Trials, Vol. IV.

(9) Some Account of the Life of Dr John Hough, p. 6, 7.

(10) Biſhop Burnet obſerves, that though the reſerved rents make up no more than 5000 l. yet the extended value amounts to 40000 l. a year. Hiſtory of his own times, ubi ſupra. To which it may be added, that the whole town of Calais in France, when in the hands of the Engliſh, was a part of it's endowment. Wood's Hiſt. and Antiq. of Oxford, in the ſection relating to Magdalen college.

[*D*] *He held his preſidentſhip in commendam.*] He always retained a very particular regard and affection for his college, of which that ſociety received ſeveral valuable atteſtations. For beſides what he expended in repairing and ornamenting the lodgings of the Preſident while he enjoyed that ſtation, he afterwards gave the ſum of one thouſand pounds, as his own grateful contribution towards the new buildings of that place of his education, as well as ſcene of his government for ſeveral years (11). In that capacity he endeavoured to encourage learning in the moſt obliging manner; he both diſtinguiſhed ſtudious and ſober young men by his own favour, and recommended thoſe of a more promiſing genius to the favour of their ſuperiors, that by the intereſt of great men, they might meet with ſuitable rewards of their ſeveral ſtudies (12).

(11) He held it as long as he continued in the ſee of Oxford.

(12) Some Account of the Life &c. p. 8.

[*E*] *He ſucceeded Biſhop Lloyd in the ſee of Worceſter.*] When his Lordſhip removed from the ſee of Oxford to that of Litchfield and Coventry, he did not merely repair, but almoſt rebuild as well as adorn the epiſcopal houſe at Eccleſhall; and made ſuch alterations in what was left by his predeceſſor in an imperfect ſtate [upon his tranſlation to the ſee of Worceſter] as to render it a commodious and agreeable ſeat. Biſhop Lloyd had cauſed the ruins of the old epiſcopal caſtle at Eccleſhall, a ſeat that had not been inhabitable from the times of the confuſion, to be removed; and erected a houſe on the ſite of part of them, though not finiſhed in ſo ample a manner as he propoſed to do, nor with that elegant taſte, that was ſhewn by his ſucceſſor Biſhop Hough, in the reformation of his plan, which however was carried on at a very conſiderable expence of them both. But the moſt beneficial inſtance of Biſhop Hough's public generoſity, was given upon his tranſlation to the See of Worceſter, when he rebuilt ſo great a part of the epiſcopal palace at Worceſter, and made ſuch improvements in his other ſeat [the caſtle] at Hartlebury, that (as is aſſerted by good hands) he expended upon both thoſe houſes, at leaſt ſeven thouſand pounds. And theſe ſchemes were executed with ſo nice a judgment, that his Lordſhip has left little to be ſuperadded by any of his ſucceſſors towards perfecting both thoſe epiſcopal ſees (13).

(13) Ibid. p. 8—10. and Willis's Account of the Cathedrals, Vol. III. p. 657.

[*F*] *An extract of his letter to the Lord Digby given below.*] That Lord was a perſon eminently diſtinguiſhed by his goodneſs and piety (14), and there had been a long friendſhip between them, after an acknowledgement of which, and of his own ſincere regard for Lord Digby's noble family and relations, the Biſhop uſes theſe memorable words of himſelf. '*I am weak and forgetful——In other reſpects I have eaſe to a degree beyond what I durſt have thought on, when years began to multiply upon me: I wait contentedly for a deliverance out of this life into a better, in humble confidence, that, by the mercy of God through the merits of his Son, I ſhall ſtand at the reſurrection on his right hand. And when you, my Lord, have ended thoſe days that are to come (which I pray may be many and comfortable) as innocently and exemplarily as thoſe that are paſſed, I doubt not of our meeting in that ſtate, where the joys are unſpeakable, and will always endure* (15).'

(14) See ſeveral letters to a perſon of this family by Mr Pope, in the volumes of his Work containing his letters.

(15) Some Account, &c. p. 15, 16.

[*G*] *A pleaſing proſpect of that ſalvation which God had ſhewed him.*] The author of Some Account of the Biſhop's Life, has given his character at length, an extract of which we ſhall lay before the reader as follows. Having ſpoken of his Lordſhip's public benefactions, he proceeds in theſe terms. 'As for his more

' private acts of charity, there is good reaſon to be-
' lieve (from ſeveral proper intimations) that they con-
' ſtantly ran very high, and were very extenſive. And
' with regard to his occaſional charities, it is well
' known to thoſe that were more particularly acquain-
' ted with his Lordſhip, and the numerous objects of
' them, that they were diſtributed with a very liberal
' hand, and in an uncommon proportion. With re-
' ſpect to his uſual manner of living, it was very a-
' greeable to his function; hoſpitable without profuſe-
' neſs, and adjuſted ſuitably to his own circumſtances,
' and to thoſe with whom he had any buſineſs or cor-
' reſpondence. His converſation with all perſons was
' full of humanity and candour, as well as it was pru-
' dent and inſtructive. And as he treated all ſorts of
' perſons, and of what party ſoever in ſecular affairs
' with courteouſneſs and affability; ſo he ſhewed a
' great equality of temper, and a largeneſs of ſoul, to-
' wards ſuch as differed from him in religious mat-
' ters. Indeed I know but of one exception in his
' conduct towards the latter ſort of men; namely,
' that he had formed ſo juſt an idea of the groſs abuſes
' of the Church of Rome,—that if ever he expreſſed a
' more than ordinary warmth, or rather ſome degree of
' indignation, it was ſhewn in expoſing thoſe doctrines
' and practices of that Church.——But his kindneſs to
' his particular friends ſhone moſt brightly in the en-
' tertainments of his converſation with them, in his
' affectionate correſpondence with the abſent part of
' them, in his readineſs to uſe all opportunities of
' ſerving them, and in the firmneſs and conſtancy of
' his profeſſions of friendſhip throughout the courſe of
' ſo long a life. He mixed the gentleman and the bi-
' ſhop on all proper occaſions, and eſpecially with re-
' gard to his own clergy, whom he treated with ſuch
' a brotherly condeſcenſion, and in ſo obliging a man-
' ner, as to be intirely beloved by them, and at the
' ſame time he well knew how to preſerve the dignity
' of his ſtation, and the reverence due to the epiſcopal
' character; a behaviour that equally procured him
' the affection and veneration of the clergy, and the
' reſpect and honour of the moſt diſtinguiſhed part of
' the laity. It would be inexcuſable if I omitted here
' to take notice of that peculiar happineſs of his
' Lordſhip's compoſitions, which is ſo very conſpicu-
' ous not only in his more elaborate diſcourſes from
' the pulpit, but in the gentlemanly, polite, and
' friendly manner of his epiſtolary correſpondence; in
' which latter kind of writing, he muſt be allowed to
' have excelled.' The author having recommended a well choſen collection of theſe letters, as very worthy of the public view, proceeds thus. ' But how much
' ſoever that valuable accompliſhment, of which his
' Lordſhip was ſo great a maſter, may be admired by
' the beſt judges, it muſt at the ſame time be allowed
' to admit of no manner of compariſon with the more
' ſolid ornaments of his moral excellencies, that were
' raiſed to ſo high a degree of perfection, and of ſo
' genuine and unaffected a piety as he was endued
' with. Of theſe his more exalted qualities, all that
' had the honour of his friendſhip and correſpondence
' in any part of his life, are irrefragable witneſſes.
' But more eſpecially his heavenly temper of mind,
' his contempt of the world, and his indifference for
' life, were moſt viſible in the latter period of his own.
' His aſpirations after a better ſtate, as founded upon
' chriſtian principles, appeared clearly on many for-
' mer occaſions; but his firm faith in the promiſes of
' the goſpel, exerted itſelf moſt remarkably in his de-
' clining years, as well in converſation with ſome
' of his friends about his hopes of a better ſtate, and
' even his own private thoughts of the nature of that
' ſtate, as in ſeveral letters to others of them about the
' gradual decays of his body, the juſt ſenſe he had of
' his approaching diſſolution, and his intire reſignation
' to the will of God.' This writer concludes his account in the following words. ' Though his [the Biſhop's] friends might have been for ſome time pre-
' pared for his final change, by the infirmities that
' muſt be ſuppoſed to attend a life ſpun out to ſo un-
' common a length; yet the loſs of ſo good a man is as
' much lamented by all that knew him, as if they had
' been deprived of him in his earlier years, and the
' more active part of his life. But their greateſt con-
' ſolation is, that his whole life here, though compa-
' ratively long, was but a ſhort education for that in-
' conceivably happy ſtate, of which, without doubt,
' he is now in as full poſſeſſion, as can be expected
' antecedently to the joyful re-union of ſoul and body
' at the conſummation of all things (16).

' June 29, 1743.'

(16) Ibid. p. 10—19.

p

HOWARD [CHARLES], of the moſt noble Houſe of Norfolk, an able Stateſman, an experienced Seaman, and moſt loyal Courtier, which raiſed him ſucceſſively, from his hereditary honour of Baron of Effingham, to thoſe of Lord-Chamberlain of the Houſhold, Knight of the Garter, Lord High-Admiral of England, Earl of Nottingham, and Lord Chief-Juſtice in Eyre of all the foreſts, &c. ſouth of Trent. He was born in the year 1536 (*a*), in the latter end of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, his father having then the title only of Lord William Howard. His mother's name was Margaret, the daughter of Sir Thomas Gamage of Glamorganſhire. Lord William being by letters patent, dated March 11, 1553, in the firſt year of the reign of Queen Mary, raiſed to the title of Baron of Effingham (*b*), and, on the 20th of the ſame month, declared alſo Lord High-Admiral, his ſon ſerved under him in ſeveral expeditions, 'till the acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth (*c*), when he was about twenty-two years of age. His father coming into great favour with that princeſs, he enjoyed a conſiderable ſhare of it, and in 1559 was ſent over into France, to compliment Charles the Ninth (*d*), who had juſt aſcended that throne. Nine years afterwards he was appointed General of the Horſe, in the expedition made by the Earl of Warwick againſt the Earls of Northumberland and Weſtmorland, who had taken arms in the North; and in cruſhing which rebellion he was very active (*e*). In the following year he commanded a ſquadron of men of war, which the Queen was pleaſed to direct to eſcort Anne of Auſtria (*f*), daughter to the Emperor Maximilian, to the coaſt of Spain. Upon this occaſion the Spaniſh fleet were obliged to take in their flags, while they continued in the Britiſh ſeas, having been ſufficiently inſtructed in that point of ceremonial, in their paſſage to Flanders, by Sir John Hawkins (*g*). In 1571, he was choſen to repreſent the freeholders in Parliament as Knight of the Shire for the county of Surry; and very ſoon after ſucceeded his father in his title and eſtate, who died January 12, 1573 (*b*), in the great office of Lord Privy-Seal, and very highly in the Queen's favour [*A*]. Her

(*a*) Baronagium Angliæ, p. 34. MS. Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. II. p. 278.

(*b*) Pat. 1 Mar. P. 7.

(*c*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 278.

(*d*) Camden. Annal. p. 54.

(*e*) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 583, &c.

(*f*) Camden. Annal. p. 220, 221.

(*g*) See his article in this Dictionary.

(*b*) Stowe's Chronicle, p. 674. Holinſhed's Chronicle, p. 1257.

[*A*] *And very highly in the Queen's favour.*] There are ſeveral circumſtances that determined us to give theſe memoirs a place in this collection, ſuch as his being the great author of this nation's ſafety in the defeat of the Spaniſh Armada, the high character he bore in the Court of Queen Elizabeth, and his being at the head of thoſe, who formed an oppoſition to the Earl of Eſſex. Without this life, many of thoſe already given had remained incompleat, and the lights thrown upon that reign, one of the moſt memorable in our hiſtory, had been imperfect and obſcure. That the reader may enter into it the more perfectly, it will be requiſite to ſay ſomething in this note concerning his father, that a ſhort ſketch of his character, alliances, and connections

Her Majeſty, with good reaſon, diſtinguiſhed the ſon as ſhe had done the father, by promoting him to the greateſt offices in the kingdom, not haſtily, but, as her manner was, by a due progreſſion. He became firſt Chamberlain of the Houſhold, an office which his father had alſo enjoyed; and on the 24th of April, 1573, he was elected Knight of the Garter (*i*). Some of the writers of thoſe times ſay, that he was raiſed to check (*l*) Leiceſter's greatneſs; which is thus far probable, that they were certainly the moſt oppoſite people in the world in their tempers. For whereas Leiceſter was, at leaſt if the beſt authors of thoſe times deſerve credit, a deep diſſembler, exceſſively ambitious, and one who ſought to govern all things; the Lord-Chamberlain, on the other hand, was an open, generous, public ſpirited man, in the good graces of the Queen from his known affection to her perſon, and exceedingly popular, as well on account of his hoſpitality, affability, and other good qualities, as for the ſake of his moſt loyal and heroic family. When therefore the Earl of Lincoln died in 1585, the Queen immediately determined to raiſe the Lord Effingham to the poſt of High-Admiral (*m*), which ſhe did with the general approbation of her ſubjects, and much to the ſatisfaction of the ſeamen, by whom he was ſo deſervedly beloved [*B*]. After the Spaniards had ſpent three years in preparing their Armada, and ſent it, in their own opinion, to the aſſured conqueſt of the kingdom of England, the Queen willingly intruſted the care of herſelf and the nation to this noble Lord, of whoſe conduct ſhe had the higheſt opinion, and of whoſe fortune ſhe had equal hopes. As ſoon as he knew that the Spaniſh fleet was ready to ſail, he put to ſea, and continued cruizing for ſome time; 'till the Court having received advice that the Spaniards would be unable to make any attempt that year, and the lateneſs of the ſeaſon rendering this intelligence probable, Secretary Walſingham wrote to him, directing that four of the largeſt ſhips ſhould be ſent into port, and the ſeamen diſcharged, to ſave expence. The Admiral wrote back, to excuſe his not obeying this direction, and in the cloſe of the letter deſired, 'That if his reaſons were thought inſufficient, the ſhips might remain at his 'expence

(*i*) Aſhmole's Hiſtory of the Order of the Garter, p. 715. Camden. Annal. p. 285.

(*l*) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 736.

(*m*) Stowe's Chronicle, p. 709. Holinſhed's Chronicle, p. 1413.

nections may appear, which will illuſtrate ſeveral paſſages that are but very briefly mentioned in this life of the ſon.

This Lord William Howard, was the ſon of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, and Lord High-Treaſurer of England, by his ſecond wife. He was half brother to Elizabeth Counteſs of Wiltſhire and Ormond, mother to Queen Anne, and grand-mother to Queen Elizabeth (1). He was alſo half brother to Lord Edmund Howard, whoſe daughter Katherine was conſort to Henry the Eighth, and had a ſhare in her misfortunes, being condemned with his wife to perpetual impriſonment, to the forfeiture of his goods, and of the profit of his lands for life, but was quickly pardoned. He was Governor of Calais in the reign of Edward the Sixth, Lord High-Admiral in that of Queen Mary, Lord-Chamberlain, and afterwards Lord Privy-Seal in the time of Queen Elizabeth, to whom by the mother's ſide as we have ſeen, he was nearly related (2). His firſt wife Katherine, was the daughter of John Broughton, Eſq; by whom he had an only daughter, Agnes, who eſpouſed William Powlett Marquis of Wincheſter (3). But by his ſecond wife Margaret, daughter to Sir Thomas Gamage of Glouceſterſhire, he was the father of Charles, of whom in this article, and of Sir William Howard of Lingfield in Surry, and five daughters (4). Douglas, who was firſt the wife of John Lord Sheffield, afterwards of Robert Earl of Leiceſter, by whom ſhe became mother of Sir Robert Dudley, and being diſowned by her huſband, was obliged to marry in his life-time for her own ſafety, Sir Edward Stafford, Knight. Mary, who firſt eſpouſed Edward Lord Dudley, and afterwards Richard Mompeſſon, Eſq; Frances, who became the wife of Edward Earl of Hertford. Martha, who eſpouſed Sir George Bourchier, third ſon to the Earl of Bath, and Katherine, who died young (5). He directed by his laſt will and teſtament, that a tomb ſhould be built for him in the chancel of the church at Rygate, which was accordingly performed (6). This being then, and for ſome generations after, the chief reſidence of his family, one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed branches of the moſt illuſtrious houſe of Howard (7).

(1) Baronagium Angliæ, fol. 34. b.

(2) Godwin. Annal. Strype's Annals. Camdeni Annal. Eliz. Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. xiv. Stowe's Annals.

(3) Brook's Catalogue, p. 243.

(4) Baronagium Angliæ, ubi ſupra.

(5) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 278.

(6) Natural Hiſtory and Antiquities of Surry, Vol. IV. p. 179.

(7) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 278.

[*B*] *By whom he was deſervedly beloved.*] There had been ſo many of the family of Howard honoured with this high office, they had ſerved with ſo much reputation, had ſhewn ſuch indulgence to the ſeamen, and ſo high a regard to the honour of the Engliſh flag, that it was no wonder this nobleman ſtood in ſo high credit with all the ſeafaring part of the nation. But beſides theſe, there were ſome very peculiar circumſtances that operated in his favour. His father had been Lord High-Admiral, and had vindicated the honour of the Engliſh flag, when he eſcorted King Philip, for which he was adored by the ſeamen (8). He was one of the adventurers in, as well as patrons of, the Ruſſia company at it's firſt inſtitution, which made him very acceptable to the merchants (9). This Lord himſelf, though very young, had behaved, while he bore a public character in France, with that dignity and ſpirit which did honour in thoſe times to this nation. Yet all theſe conſiderations together, were nothing when put in balance with a ſingle act of his own in the character of the Queen's Admiral in the narrow ſeas, which perhaps the reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee in the words of that worthy collector of voyages and diſcoveries Mr Hakluyt, who ſpeaks of it thus to this nobleman himſelf (10). 'When the Emperor's ſiſter, 'the ſpouſe of Spain, with a fleet of an hundred and 'thirty ſail, ſtoutly and proudly paſſed the narrow 'ſeas, your Lordſhip, accompanied with ten ſhips only 'of her Majeſty's navy royal, environed their fleet in 'moſt ſtrange and warlike ſort, enforced them to 'ſtoope gallant, and to vaile their bonnets for the 'Queen of England, and made them perfectly to underſtand that old ſpeech of the prince of poets.

'Non illi imperium pelagi ſævumque tridentem,
'Sed tibi ſorte datum.

'Yet after they had acknowledged their duty, your 'Lordſhip, on her Majeſty's behalf, conducted her 'ſafely through our Engliſh channel, and performed 'all good offices of honour and humanity to that 'foreign princeſs. At that time all England beholding your moſt honourable carriage of yourſelf in that 'ſo weighty ſervice, began to caſt an extraordinary 'eye upon your Lordſhip, and deeply to conceive that 'ſingular hope, which ſince, by your moſt worthy and 'wonderful ſervice, your Lordſhip hath more then fully 'ſatisfied.' It was not much the cuſtom of thoſe times, more eſpecially in diſcourſes of this kind, to be very particular either in reſpect to facts or dates; in order to ſupply theſe, it is proper to acquaint the reader, that this event happened in 1570, and that the Princeſs herein mentioned, was the Archduchеſs Anne, daughter to the Emperor Maximilian, who paſſed from Zealand into Spain to eſpouſe Philip the Second (11). We ſhall ſee in another place, that this did not proceed from any extraordinary heat or impetuoſity in Lord Effingham's temper, which prompted him to raſh actions to gratify his own humour, which, in reference even to the Flag, was ſo cool and temperate (except with regard to foreigners) that he could willingly ſhare any honours even with his rivals (12); ſo that from hence we may collect, he looked on this act of vigour as a thing of neceſſity.

(8) Sir W. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 365.

(9) See the Charter to the Ruſſia Company by Philip and Mary.

(10) See the Epiſtle Dedicatory, prefixed to the firſt volume of his Works.

(11) Camdeni Annal. p. 220, 221.

(12) See this more particularly explained in the note.

[*C*] *Should*

'expence (*u*).' When he received intelligence from Captain Fleming of the approach of the Spaniſh fleet, and ſaw of what mighty conſequence it was to get out what few ſhips were ready in the port of Plymouth, he, to encourage others, not only appeared and gave orders in every thing himſelf, but wrought alſo with his own hands, and with no more than ſix ſhips got the firſt night out of Plymouth; and the next morning, having no greater force than thirty ſail, and thoſe the ſmalleſt of the fleet, attacked the Spaniſh Navy (*o*). He ſhewed his conduct and prudence, by diſpatching his brother-in-law Sir Edward Hobby to the Queen, to inform her of the great diſproportion between the enemy's force and his own, to deſire her to make the proper diſpoſition of her land forces for the ſecurity of the coaſts, and to haſten as many ſhips as poſſible to his aſſiſtance (*p*). His valour was conſpicuouſly diſplayed in the repeated attacks he made on a ſuperior enemy; and the coolneſs of his temper, a quality, though leſs ſhining, yet no leſs uſeful, appeared in his paſſing a whole night in the midſt of the Spaniſh fleet, and retiring as ſoon as he had light enough to diſcover his own without loſs (*q*). It was owing to his magnanimity and prudence that the victory was ſo great; and ſuch as have ſuggeſted that it might have been ſtill greater, readily acknowledge that this did not happen through any fault of the Admiral's, who always ſhewed the utmoſt alacrity in his country's ſervice (*r*). The Queen expreſſed her ſenſe of his merit in the moſt honourable terms, and, though naturally extremely frugal, beſtowed upon him a penſion for life, and, at his requeſt, granted a pardon and a penſion likewiſe to Captain Fleming the Pyrate (*s*), who firſt brought the news of the Spaniſh fleet's being on our coaſts; which ſhews how careful this great man was, that the merits of meaner perſons ſhould not paſs unrewarded or be overlooked [*C*]. In 1596, he commanded in chief at ſea, as the Earl of Eſſex did by land, the forces ſent againſt Spain (*t*), and was at very great expence out of his own private fortune in providing for that expedition. His prudence and moderation, as well as his great experience and reputation with the ſeamen and ſoldiers, were amongſt the principal cauſes of the ſucceſs the Engliſh met with in that great and glorious enterprize (*u*); and his conduct throughout the whole was ſo wiſe and fortunate, that upon his return home, the Queen, on the 22d of October the next year, advanced him to the dignity and title of Earl of Nottingham (*w*), the reaſons of which are inſerted in his patent [*D*]. To this mark of favour,

(*n*) Camden. Annal. p. 571.

(*o*) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. chap. xvi. Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 591.

(*p*) Stowe's Annals, p. 747.

(*q*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 597. Strype's Annals, Vol. III. c. xv. Camden, Stowe.

(*r*) See Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, in the 3d volume of Churchill's Collection of Voyages and Travels, p. 173.

(*s*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 596. Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 172. Stowe's Annals.

(*t*) Camden. Annal. p. 720. Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 607.

(*u*) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 186. Stowe's Annals, p. 773.

(*w*) Pat. 39 Eliz. p. 3.

[*C*] *Should not paſs unrewarded or be overlooked.*] It is not intended in this note, to enter into a long hiſtorical account of that great action which belongs properly to our hiſtories. It is ſufficient to ſay, that it was the greateſt and moſt important naval victory that this or perhaps any other nation ever gained; beſides, our principal buſineſs here, ſhall be to point out ſome particular circumſtances that eſpecially relate to the perſonal hiſtory of the Lord High-Admiral Howard, which could not be ſo conveniently inſerted in the text. He was always ready to hear whatever could be offered in council, and from thence formed his reſolutions; but having once deliberated, he was quick and determined in execution, and not to be driven from his own mature thoughts by the haſty conceptions and bold undertakings of others (13). On the twentieth of July, the Spaniſh Armada paſſed by Plymouth, when the Admiral having gained the wind, ſtood after them and engaged them very briſkly with the ſhips he had with him. He carried his flag on board the Ark Royal, which was a veſſel of eight hundred tons burthen, her complement four hundred men, of which thirty-two were gunners, and continued to chace and fight that mighty fleet 'till the 28th of the ſame month, when he ſent in twelve fire ſhips amongſt them (14). He engaged the enemy again the next day with equal courage and ſucceſs before Graveline; and at length having forced them, contrary to all probability, and even to his own expectation, to place their ſafety in a general and ill ordered flight, he continued the purſuit to the 4th of Auguſt, and then returned to Harwich (15). In the courſe of this fight, he reſiſted the intreaties of the braveſt and boldeſt officers in his fleet, who perſwaded him to board them. But he conſidered that they had numbers of regular troops, and he none, that their ſhips were larger, better built, and higher moulded, ſo that this would have given them great advantages, and have expoſed his own people extremely. By this forbearance he kept the advantage of wind and tide, and thereby preſerved the ſuperiority which he had gained, by the ſame ſkill and prudence ſo much improved it, that he ſunk, took, and ſpoiled many, and loſt of his own, only one ſmall pinnace (16).

They might perhaps in this have been purſued further, and with yet greater advantage; that they were not, proceeded not at all from any fault in the Lord High-Admiral, but his fleet was ill furniſhed with proviſion, and his ammunition all ſpent (17). This likewiſe put it out of his power to detach a ſquadron to the Weſt of Ireland, which would have prevented even the ſorry remains of that fleet from getting home; as it was, of one hundred thirty-four ſail, of which the Spaniſh Armada was compoſed when the Admiral left Portugal; there returned but fifty three (18), and thoſe in a very ſhattered and deplorable condition. It was univerſally acknowledged, that the honour gained in ſo unequal a conteſt, was entirely due to the vigilance, prudence, and wiſe reſolution of the Admiral, and to his care in keeping the Duke of Parma's forces blocked up by Lord Henry Seymour, with his ſquadron of ſmall ſhips on the coaſt of Flanders (19). But after all, this wonderful victory was chiefly to be attributed to Providence, ſince, if the Engliſh fleet had not been driven into Plymouth by foul weather, the Duke de Medina Sidonia had never been tempted by the arguments of Don Diego Flores de Valdes, in breach of his maſter's orders, to bear away for that port, in hopes of burning and deſtroying (20) them, which he might likewiſe have performed, if Thomas Fleming had not brought the Admiral news of their being at ſea. If they had prevailed, their deſign was to have ſailed up the Thames with their lighter ſhips, and to have attempted London. But if inſtead of this they had followed their King's orders and proceeded to Calais, which they might have done without the knowledge of the Engliſh fleet, and detached from thence a ſquadron ſtrong enough to have forced the Engliſh and Dutch ſhips from before Dunkirk, the Duke of Parma might have joined them, and the expedition conducted according to his original intention (21). In this caſe the whole order of things had been changed, and the Queen muſt have put her cauſe entirely upon her army, which though numerous and well provided, commanded by the flower of her nobility and gentry, was compoſed chiefly of new raiſed men, and muſt have diſputed with a ſuperior force of veteran troops, commanded by the greateſt Captain of that age, and who was himſelf ſuſpected of having particular views on, and conſiderable intelligence in, this iſland.

[*D*] *The reaſons of which are inſerted in his patent.*] While preparations were making for the voyage to Cadiz, one great deſign of which was to prevent a new invaſion, by the deſtruction of the force the Spaniards were preparing for that purpoſe, the Queen received advice that Calais was beſieged by the Spaniards; the Earl of Eſſex was ſent to the coaſt to command ſome land forces raiſed upon that occaſion, but being of a very active and generous ſpirit, he with ſeveral other young noblemen

(13) Camden, Stowe, Holinſhed, &c.

(14) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 597—601.

(15) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. chap. xv.

(16) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 603.

(17) Stowe's Annals, p. 748, 749. Sir W. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 173.

(18) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 604. Strype's Annals, Vol. III. ch. xv.

(19) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 603.

(20) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 172.

(21) Camden's Annal. p. 563. Sir W. Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 173.

favour, the Queen ſhortly added another, making him Juſtice Itinerant of all the foreſts ſouth of Trent for life (x). But as there cannot be a more ſlippery ſituation than in a Court, the

(x) Pat. 39 E liz. p. 1.

noblemen and perſons of diſtinction (22), embarked on board the Rainbow, commanded by Sir William Monſon. The Lord High-Admiral haſtened alſo into the Downs on board the Vanguard, and on the ſight of his flag, Sir William Monſon took in that which he bore. The Admiral upon this, ſent his boat with orders to carry his flag in the top equal with his own, which out of modeſty the Earl of Eſſex oppoſed, but Sir William Monſon (23), notwithſtanding, obeyed; which ſufficiently ſhews this noble Peer was not ſo ambitious of rank, or ſo deſirous of ſhewing ſuperiority, as men frequently are in ſuch high ſtations. But the news coming that Calais was ſurrendered, the Earl and the Admiral returned to the proſecution of their firſt deſign, towards which they contributed largely out of their private fortunes. The Engliſh fleet, commanded jointly by theſe two Lords, having upwards of ſeven thouſand land troops on board, and being joined by a Dutch ſquadron of twenty-four ſhips, ſailed from Plymouth on the firſt of June 1596, and arrived before Cadiz on the 20th of the ſame month. The iſſue of that expedition is well known, and has been already repreſented in another place; however we ſhall inſert part of a letter (24) from the Lord Admiral to the Lord Hunſdon his father in-law, who did not live to receive it, to ſhew his ſenſe of things, and in a particular manner his candour with reſpect to Eſſex.

(22) Stowe's Annals, p. 770. Camden. Annal. p. 719, 720.

(23) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 366.

(24) Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, by Dr Birch, Vol. II. p. 54, 55.

'My Lord,

'I can aſſure you there is not a braver man in the 'world than the Earl is, and I proteſt in my ſimple 'poor judgment, a grave ſoldier, for what he doth is 'in great order and good diſcipline performed. The 'number of gentlemen in the town was great, for the 'principal men of Xeres, and thoſe parts of Andaluſia 'neareſt hereabouts, did put themſelves in. For we 'were deſcried from Cape St Mary (which we could 'no ways avoid) yea, and I think from Cape St Vin-'cent. This gentleman, Sir Anthony Aſhley, the 'bearer, who hath behaved himſelf both wiſely and 'valiantly, will ſhew you all the particulars, which it 'is not poſſible for me to write. But I muſt not forget 'to let your Lordſhip know, that all men did generally well, but the chiefeſt for the ſervice done by ſea, 'beſides the Earl, were the Lord Thomas Howard, 'Sir Walter Ralegh, and my ſon Southwell, who had 'the leading, and performed it notably. The place 'was ſo narrow, that although many ſhips would have 'come up to them, yet they could not poſſibly, ſince the 'preſs was ſo thick, that one of our ſhips was aboard 'another. The while that the ſhips fought, the town 'and the forts played upon us at their pleaſure. This 'was all performed, and all things quieted in twenty-'four hours, to God's glory and her Majeſty's honour 'and renown, which will ſpread over all theſe parts of 'the world. The King's loſs is thus great: firſt, the 'loſs of his ſhips, which was a great part of his 'ſtrength. Then the goods laden into them for the 'Indies, which were burned, confeſſed to be worth 'eleven millions, the like whereof was never ſeen at 'one time before. If they had not been burned that 'night, by the expreſs commandment of the Duke of 'Medina, we ſhould have had two millions of the 'merchants, for ſo it was agreed upon. Beſides this, 'the town is of wonderful importance, ſtanding as it 'doth, and of great ſtrength, which we cauſed to be 'burned on Sunday laſt, the day before we came away 'from thence, which was the fifth of this preſent July. 'The mercy and clemency which hath been ſhewed, 'will be ſpoken of through thoſe parts of the world. 'No cold blood touched, no woman defiled, but have 'been with great care embarked and ſent to St Mary port. 'All the ladies, which were many, and all the nuns, 'and other women and children, which were likewiſe 'ſent thither, have been ſuffered to carry away with 'them all their apparel, money, and jewels, which 'they had about them, and were not ſearched. 'Having ended our buſineſs in Cadiz by Saturday 'the third day of July, the next day being Sunday 'aforeſaid, we ſhipped our men, and ſet fire to the 'town of Cadiz and the forts, reſerving nothing from 'the fire but the churches, and on Monday the fifth of 'July we ſet ſail out of the port in a very circumſpect 'order, to keep our ſmall men, and ſuch fly-boats as 'carried ſoldiers, and were ill able to make defence, 'might be ſafely protected from any attempt that the 'gallies in any calm weather might make againſt them; 'ſince which time we have made ſail with ſlender 'winds and leſs adventures, as high as Cape St 'Mary.'

As in moſt conjunct expeditions, ſo in this, there was much diſagreement between the chiefs, though no public falling out. We find not that the Admiral charged Eſſex with any thing; but that Earl, after admitting that the whole project of the voyage was laid by his collegue, makes four capital objections to the manner in which it was executed (25), viz. that they did not poſſeſs the Indian fleet; that they did not leave a garriſon in Cadiz; that they did not wait for the homeward bound ſhips; and that they did not viſit and ranſack the reſt of the ports of Spain in their return. The two former he aſcribes to the Lord-Admiral, and the two laſt to Sir Walter Ralegh. One may with juſtice, even at this diſtance of time, acquit the Admiral of the firſt, becauſe taking the Indian fleet would have turned chiefly to the advantage of the ſeamen. Sir William Monſon, who was the Earl of Eſſex's Captain, ſays very impartially, that it was his own fault, through his eagerneſs in landing and attacking the city, which put the Admiral under the neceſſity of doing the ſame (26). *In reſpect to the ſecond*, the fleet could not furniſh proviſions ſufficient for a garriſon of four thouſand men. On the whole, it ſeems highly probable that both the Earl and the Admiral were very public ſpirited men, and had nothing in view but the common good, though they differed about the means of promoting it. The Earl thought, that keeping of the city and iſle of Cadiz, would diſcredit the power of Spain, and diſtract the King's meaſures; the Lord Admiral thought there was danger in this, and that the end would be more effectually accompliſhed by deſtruction, and for this reaſon he delayed the treaty for the ranſom of the ſhips, though offered two millions, that he might give the Spaniards time to take and execute their own purpoſe of burning them. At their return, the Earl of Eſſex took every meaſure to ſet his own conduct in a fair light, and to obtain the applauſe of the people at leaſt, if not the approbation of the Court. The Queen, as her cuſtom was, did not appear entirely ſatisfied, becauſe on the foot of the account exactly ſtated, ſhe was ſixty-four thouſand pounds out of pocket by this Cadiz expedition (27). An outward reconciliation at leaſt was procured between the two Lords; but the Earl going the next year upon the iſland voyage, the Admiral, as we have mentioned in the text, procured himſelf to be created Earl of Nottingham, with this clauſe in the patent (28).

(25) Cenſure of the Cadiz Expedition, addreſſed to Mr Bacon.

(26) Naval Tracts, p. 186.

(27) Ex Computo deliberat. Domin. Theſaurar. Burleigh.

(28) Pat. 39 Eliz. p. 3.

'That by the victory obtained, anno 1588, he had 'ſecured the kingdom of England from the invaſion of 'Spain, and other impending dangers; and did alſo, 'in conjunction with our dear couſin Robert Earl of 'Eſſex, ſeize by force the iſle and ſtrongly fortified 'city of Cadiz, in the fartheſt part of Spain; and did 'likewiſe entirely rout and defeat another fleet of the 'King of Spain, prepared in that port againſt this 'kingdom.'

The title of Nottingham had belonged to the Mowbray's, Dukes of Norfolk (29). John Lord Mowbray, in the life time of his father, was created Earl Warren and Surry, by the virtuous King Henry VI, after his death became Duke of Norfolk, Earl of Nottingham, and Earl Marſhal of England; he married Elizabeth, daughter to John Talbot, the firſt Earl of Shrewſbury, and by her had iſſue an only daughter, Anne, eſpouſed to Richard Duke of York, who in her right was created Earl of Nottingham (30). But they both dying without iſſue, as her father likewiſe did, all the eſtates and titles of the Mowbray's came to the Howards and the Berkeleys. William Lord Berkely, was created Earl of Nottingham and Earl Marſhal of England by Richard the Third, and was advanced to the title of Marquis Berkeley by Henry the Seventh, to whom, dying without iſſue, he left moſt of his eſtate (31). Henry the Eighth beſtowed the title of Nottingham, with other high titles, upon his natural ſon, whom he married to Mary, daughter of Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk (32), ſo that the Admiral affected this honour, as being deſcended from the Mowbray's, it's ancient

(29) Baronagium Angliæ. M.S.

(30) Brooke's Catalogue, p. 167.

(31) Brooke, Vincent, Dugdale, &c.

(32) Godwin, Lord Herbert, Dugdale.

the Earl of Eſſex, at his return from that which was ſtiled the Iſland Voyage, though coolly received at firſt, quickly after gained ſuch an aſcendancy over the Queen his miſtreſs, as to procure what he had long ſought, the poſt of Earl-Marſhal; which giving precedence of the Earl of Nottingham, his Lordſhip reſigned (*y*) his white ſtaff, and for ſome time remained at Chelſey, rather through chagrin than in diſgrace [*E*]. It was not long before the Queen recalled and reſtored him to her favour in as high a degree as ever, notwithſtanding all the practices of the oppoſite faction. In demonſtration of his loyal gratitude, the next eminent ſervice in which his Lordſhip engaged was in 1599 (*z*), when the State was in very great danger. On one ſide, the Spaniards ſeemed to meditate a new invaſion, and ſome intelligence was received they were on the very point of executing it, having aſſembled a great fleet at the Groyne, on board of which many Engliſh fugitives were directed to repair. On the other hand, the Earl of Eſſex, who was then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, acted in a ſtrange manner, treating with the rebels, more eſpecially the Earl of Tyrone, whom he was ſent to reduce, and forming ſome deſigns of employing the troops, with the command of which he was intruſted by the Queen, to the diſturbance of her government. Her Majeſty, who always placed her ſafety in being too quick for her enemies, iſſued her orders to the city of London, to furniſh immediately ſixteen ſhips for the reinforcement of the navy, and ſix thouſand men for her ſervice by land. The like directions being ſent into other parts of the kingdom, ſuch a fleet and ſuch an army were drawn together in a fortnight's ſpace, as took away all appearance of ſucceſs from foreign and domeſtic enemies; and to ſhew the confidence ſhe had in the Admiral's fidelity and capacity, ſhe was pleaſed to repoſe in him the ſole and ſupreme command both of fleet and army, with the high title of LORD-LIEUTENANT-GENERAL of all ENGLAND (*a*), an office unknown to ſucceeding times, and which he held with almoſt regal authority for the ſpace of ſix weeks; being ſometimes with the fleet in the Downs, and ſometimes on ſhore with the forces. In the mean time, the reſtleſs and unfortunate Earl of Eſſex having taken a ſudden reſolution to leave his command in Ireland and return to England, the Queen thought fit to puniſh this contempt with a ſhort reſtraint, and afterwards ſeemed inclined to have received him again into favour; but he, either hurried on by his own raſh diſpoſition, or inſtigated thereto by ſome deſperate perſons about him, attempted to raiſe a force ſufficient to compel the Queen to do what he thought expedient; and failing in this, after an irruption from thence, and traverſing the city, retired with ſuch as were about him to Eſſex-houſe in the Strand, where he fortified himſelf, and confined the Chancellor, the Chief-Juſtice of England, and other Privy-Counſellors, ſent by the Queen to enquire into the grievances he pretended had compelled and authorized his extraordinary conduct. This was on the 8th of February (*b*), 1600, when the Queen ſaw herſelf in the decline of her life, and, after ſhe had triumphed over foreign foes, in the utmoſt danger of being impriſoned or depoſed. In this perilous ſituation,

(*y*) Sydney's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 77.

(*z*) Stowe's Annals, p. 788. Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 195.

(*a*) Camden. Annal. p. 794. Stowe's Annals, p. 788. Pat. 42 Eliz. p. 24. in dorſo.

(*b*) See the article of DEVEREUX] Robert] in this Dictionary.

ancient poſſeſſors. Yet he did not think proper at this time to inſiſt upon that topic, or to claim any precedency, for reaſons which the reader will find in the next note: in the enſuing reign however he availed himſelf of his deſcent, and procured a grant from King James, by which his ſeat in the Houſe of Peers, as Earl of Nottingham, was aſſigned him, according to the original creation in the time of Richard the Second, and not from this new patent (33); and this is a ſtrong confirmation that the grounds mentioned in the next notes, were the true ſources of the animoſity between the two Earls.

(33) Camden's Annals of King James.

[*E*] *Rather through chagrin than in diſgrace.*] The Lord Admiral had ſcarce received his new dignity, before his rival the Earl of Eſſex returned from the Iſland Voyage, and on account of ſome miſcarriages therein, was at firſt a little under a cloud; from whence, however, it was not long before he emerged with greater ſplendor than ever. It was then that he began at leaſt openly to expreſs great reſentment in reference to the Earl of Nottingham's patent; which though at this time it may ſeem very extraordinary, and not the leſs ſo, conſidering the times in which it happened, yet, as we have ſhewn elſewhere, it was not altogether groundleſs or without colour of juſtice (34). The Earl of Eſſex, in virtue of his title, had the precedence of the Admiral; but in conſequence of his being created Earl of Nottingham, the great offices he enjoyed, gave him precedence before all Earls, except the Earl of Oxford, and conſequently of the Earl of Eſſex, who thought this hard, becauſe, in the preamble of the patent, the motive of creating mentioned, was his ſervice at Cadiz, in conjunction with the Earl of Eſſex; who having the precedence then, and loſing it by this creation, conſidered this new honour as injurious to himſelf, and as expreſſive of ſuperior merit in the new Earl over him. According to his uſual warmth he carried this very high, talking ſometimes of demanding a commiſſion to examine the patent; ſometimes of challenging the Earl of Nottingham, or any of his ſons; and at others, of referring what he took to be a grievance to the Queen's pleaſure (35). But in all probability there was another cauſe unnoticed by any writer of thoſe times, which might augment his uneaſineſs; ſince there is nothing improbable in ſuppoſing that he ſuſpected the new Earl in taking the title of Nottingham, had in view the obtaining the office of Earl Marſhal, which his anceſtors with the ſame title had borne. However this is certain, that on the 18th of November, his abſence in the Houſe of Peers was excuſed on account of indiſpoſition, the Earls of Worceſter and Southampton teſtifying his ſickneſs (36). The Queen directed Sir Walter Raleigh to interpoſe for the accommodation of this high diſpute, during which the Earl ſtill continued to abſtain from appearing in the Houſe (37). At length it was in ſome meaſure adjuſted by the grant of that high office which the Earl of Eſſex ſo much deſired, and in all probability it was to give room for that, that by the Queen's expreſs command, the Houſe was adjourned from Tueſday the 20th of December to Wedneſday the 11th of January following, when the Earl of Eſſex took his ſeat as Earl Marſhal of England, and thereby recovered his precedency (38). But with reſpect to the Earl of Nottingham's reſigning his white ſtaff in diſguſt, it ſeems not to be true, ſince, on the day beforementioned, he likewiſe took his ſeat immediately after the new Earl Marſhal as Lord High Steward of the Queen's houſhold, and continued to enjoy that office during the remaining part of this reign, as appears clearly from the Journal of Parliament (39). It is alſo evident that this victory of the Earl of Eſſex, was not gained ſo much over the Earl of Nottingham, as over the Queen herſelf, who granted it with a kind of conſtraint, and with viſible marks of reluctance, which, as ſigns of his triumph, the Earl of Eſſex was pleaſed with at the time, though it proved afterwards his ruin (40).

(34) See the article of DEVEREUX [Robert], Earl of Eſſex, in this Dictionary.

(35) Sidney's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 77.

(36) See Sir Simond Dewe's Journal, p. 529.

(37) Sidney's State Papers, ut ſupra.

(38) Dewe's Journal, p. 535. Camdeni Annal. Mareſchal. Angliæ Catalog.

(39) Dewe's Journal, p. 599.

(40) See his article in this Dictionary.

[*F*] *With*

tion, ſhe had recourſe to the loyalty of her people, and to the courage and conduct of her nobility, giving the command of all to the Lord-Admiral, who ſhe often ſaid (c) was born to ſerve and to ſave his country. He performed on this occaſion, as on all others, the utmoſt the Queen could expect; for he reduced the Earl of Eſſex to ſuch diſtreſs, that he was content to yield himſelf without terms; and when he had ſo done, the Lord High-Admiral treated him with all the lenity and kindneſs poſſible (d) [F]. The Earl of Nottingham was one of the peers ſummoned to ſit in judgment on that unhappy Earl, February 19, 1600, and ſhewed an earneſt deſire to come at the truth of that myſterious and melancholy affair. The Earl of Southampton, who was condemned at the ſame time, applied himſelf particularly to the Earl of Nottingham to intercede for him with the Queen; and he did it ſo effectually, that he was for the preſent reprieved (e), and afterwards pardoned. The ſame year his Lordſhip was appointed one of the Commiſſioners for executing the office of Earl-Marſhal of England (f), and immediately added this poſt to his title, as we ſee in the Journal of the enſuing Parliament (g). In the Queen's laſt ſickneſs he was abſent from Court for ſome time, by reaſon of his conſort's indiſpoſition and death; concerning which, whatever ſecret hiſtory may report, we muſt be ſtrangely credulous to believe it was owing to the Queen's reproaches about the death of Eſſex (h) [G]; more eſpecially if we conſider he was ſent for when ſhe was in extremity, to

(c) Stowe's Annals, p. 792. Camden Annal. p. 844. Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 79

(d) Stowe's Annals, p. 792. Memoirs of the Sydneys, by Arthur Collins, Esq; Vol. II.

(e) Camden. Annal. State Trials, Vol. I. p. 207.

(f) Pat. 44 Eliz. p. 14. in dorſo.

(g) Sir Symonds Dewe's Journals of Parliament, p. 599.

(h) Birch's View of Sir Thomas Edmond's Negotiations, p. 206.

[F] *With all the kindneſs and lenity poſſible.*] It does no ſmall honour to the memory of the Earl of Nottingham, that when the Queen and kingdom was in danger, he was ever called, and came to their relief. On the inſurrection of the Earl of Eſſex, which threw the Court into the greateſt conſternation, he was immediately choſen to command thoſe who ſtill remained attached to their duty. His courage was equal and his ſkill and popularity not inferior to thoſe of the Earl of Eſſex. But though on this and ſome other occaſions, he ſtood as it were the head of the oppoſite faction, yet in reality it was Eſſex who had declared againſt Nottingham, rather than the latter againſt him. In another place it has been ſhewn, that Earl was driven into rebellion, partly through the violence of his own temper, but chiefly through the arts of his enemies, from the number of which, however, the Earl of Nottingham is juſtly excluded (41). The blame is commonly laid upon Sir Robert Cecil and Sir Walter Ralegh, never upon the Earl of Nottingham, who was not called upon to act his part 'till the very laſt ſcene, and then acted, as he always did, with great openneſs and honour. He inveſted Eſſex-houſe; he procured the liberty of the Privy Counſellors confined there; he abſolutely refuſed either hoſtages or terms to the Earl of Eſſex, and gave his reaſons plainly, that rebels had no title to either; but of his own accord he offered courteouſly to ſuffer the ladies to go out; and when the Earl demanded two hours time to fortify the paſſage through which the Counteſs of Eſſex and Lady Rich went out, he conſented to that too; and when Eſſex, before that time expired, propoſed three things, firſt, that they ſhould be civily treated, that the Lord Admiral poſitively promiſed; next, that their cauſe ſhould be juſtly and lawfully heard, he ſaid that was not to be doubted; and laſtly, that Mr Aſhton the miniſter might attend him in priſon; the Lord Admiral engaged to intercede with the Queen, and it was accordingly granted (42). On this they ſurrendered at ten at night, February the 8th, 1600, when the Lord Admiral carried the Earls of Eſſex and Southampton, not to the Tower, but to the Archbiſhop's palace at Lambeth. There is a curious letter of Secretary Cecil's, afterwards Earl of Saliſbury, written immediately after the thing happened, addreſſed to the then Lord Preſident of Munſter, which the reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee. It is conceived in the following terms, and, though ſhort, contains the beſt account of this ſtrange affair (43).

(41) Camden, Naunton, Stowe.

(42) Camdeni, Annal. p. 845, 846.

(43) Birch's Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, Vol. II. p. 468, 469.

' Sir GEORGE CAREW,

' Becauſe I am not ignorant that greateſt accidents are moſt ſubject to be miſreported by ſuch as ' are either in paſſion or ignorance. I have thought ' very fit, with all convenient ſpeed, to acquaint you ' with a moſt dangerous attempt which hath happened ' on Sunday laſt, wherein both her Majeſty's own perſon, and the uſurpation of this kingdom, was openly ' ſhot at. By this Proclamation, the proceedings of ' the Earl of Eſſex will appear, and therefore I ſhall ' only need ſay this unto you, that I think by that ' time my letters ſhall come unto you, both he and the ' Earl of Southampton, with ſome others of the principals, ſhall have loſt their heads. I ſend you the ' note of moſt of them that were in open action with ' them. If the Queen had not put herſelf in ſtrength ' that very morning, and barricaded Charing-croſs and ' other places of the back parts of Weſtminſter, their ' reſolution was to have been at Court by noon; whereof, when they underſtood, they put themſelves into ' London, and from thence, hoping to have been followed by the city, they reſolved to come back; but ' being repulſed at Ludgate by a ſtand of pikes, and ' the city holding faſt for the Queen, they and ſome ' fifty of their complices ran to the water and put ' themſelves into Eſſex-houſe, which the Earl had furniſhed with all manner of warlike proviſions, and ' then defended themſelves 'till towards ſix o'clock in the ' evening, at which time the Lord Admiral ſent unto ' them, that if they would not yield, he would blow ' up the houſe, which he might have done ſooner, ' but that the Lady Eſſex and the Lady Rich were ' within it. Whereupon, notwithſtanding their great ' batteries, they all yielded to her Majeſty's mercy. ' Thus you have a true relation of this dangerous acci' dent, unto which I will only add this, that even ' when a falſe alarm was brought to the Queen that ' the city was revolted with them, ſhe never was more ' amazed, than ſhe would have been to have heard of ' a fray in Fleet-ſtreet. And thus much for this time, ' I thought good to let you know, 'till further oppor' tunity, committing you to God's protection.

Your loving

From the Court at Whitehall, Feb. 10, 1600. and aſſured friend,

RO. CECIL.

The commanders of our little army were:

The Lord-Admiral, Lord-General,
Earl of Cumberland, Lord-Lieutenant,
Lord Thomas Howard, Marſhal,
Lord Grey, General of the Horſe,
Lord Burghley, Colonel-General of the Foot,

' who with ſome ten horſe went into London and pro' claimed the Earl of Eſſex a traitor, with all his adhe' rents, by the mouth of the King of Arms, notwith' ſtanding that my Lord of Eſſex with all his complices ' were in the city.'

After his condemnation, the Earl of Eſſex, who began to change his opinions, and to ſee that he had acted very raſhly, and had aſperſed many who had done him no wrong, thought it his duty with great humility to aſk their pardon, and amongſt the reſt, of the Earl of Nottingham, who went frequently to ſee him in the Tower, but was not preſent at his execution, or ſo far as any authentic hiſtory records, any way inſtrumental in his death (44). His credit with the Queen and with the nation was not in danger of ſuffering if the Earl had been ſpared.

(44) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 300, 301.

[G] *That it was owing to the Queen's reproaches about the death of Eſſex.*] There are always marvellous traditions floating in the minds of men upon remarkable events, and after paſſing from hand to hand, without ever being brought to public view during the age to which they belong, ſtart up ſometimes in the next,

to perſwade her to thoſe things which were requiſite in her condition, particularly to go into and remain in bed, which none could do but himſelf, and in which he ſucceeded (*i*). It was to him ſhe ſaid, when near her end, *My throne has been held, in the way of* ſucceſſion, *by* princes, *and ought not to go to any but my next and immediate* heir. This being by him reported to the Privy-Council, they appointed him, in conjunction with the Lord-Keeper and the Secretary, to deſire a more expreſs deſignation of the ſucceſſor; and upon this, ſhe named the *King* of *Scots*, her neareſt kinſman (*k*). He farther provided with all poſſible prudence for the peaceable coming in of the ſucceſſor, by cauſing a ſtout ſquadron, commanded by Sir Richard Leviſon and Sir William Monſon, to be ſtationed in the Downs during the Queen's illneſs, which awed the Arch-Duke and the French; and, on the Admiral's order, King James was proclaimed, with all imaginable alacrity, on the 25th of March, the day after the Queen's death (*l*). This ſervice at that juncture, when, as it afterwards appeared by Lord Cobham's and the powder plot, there wanted not ſome who meditated public confuſion, could not but be repreſented and received in the moſt favourable light, by a prince, to whom, as a Howard, this noble peer was remarkably agreeable; all that family having been conſtantly attached to his title, and Lord Henry Howard (*m*) the principal correſpondent his Majeſty had in England. Upon the acceſſion of King James, he not only retained his great office, and was honoured with a large ſhare of that prince's confidence, but, as a ſignal mark of favour, was likewiſe made choice of to officiate as Lord High-Steward at the ceremony of the Coronation (*n*). Soon after this, he was named Ambaſſador to the Court of Spain, for the concluſion of a ſtrict intercourſe

(*i*) Hiſtorical View of the Negotiations between the Courts of England and France, by Dr Birch, p. 208.

(*k*) Camden. Annal. p. 912.

(*l*) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 206. Camden, Stowe.

(*m*) Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, by Dr Birch, Vol. II. p. 501, 514.

(*n*) Pat. 1 Jac. I. p. 18.

next, and paſs for authentic hiſtory. We have in another place given the reader that account of this matter, which an eminent French writer had from Sir Dudley Carleton; we will here produce another from an eminent writer of our own, whoſe indefatigable reſearches have thrown great lights upon this period of our hiſtory (45). 'I ſhall add, ſays he, as the beſt 'commentary upon the Earl of Monmouth's memoirs, 'a ſtory which was frequently told by his great-grand-'daughter the late Lady Elizabeth Spelman, whoſe 'father, John Earl of Middleton, married Martha, 'daughter of Henry Earl of Monmouth, eldeſt ſon of 'Earl Robert, author of the Memoirs. When Katherine Counteſs of Nottingham, wife of the Lord 'High-Admiral, and ſiſter of the Earl of Monmouth 'was dying, as ſhe did according to his Lordſhip's own 'account, about a fortnight before the Queen, ſhe 'ſent to her Majeſty to deſire that ſhe might ſee her, 'in order to reveal ſomething to her Majeſty, without 'the diſcovery of which ſhe could not die in peace. 'Upon the Queen's coming, Lady Nottingham told 'her, that while the Earl of Eſſex lay under ſentence 'of death, he was deſirous of aſking her Majeſty's 'mercy in the manner preſcribed by herſelf during the 'height of his favour, the Queen having given him 'a ring, which being ſent to her as a token of his di-'ſtreſs, might entitle him to her protection. But the 'Earl, jealous of thoſe about him, and not caring to 'truſt any one of them with it; as he was looking out 'of his window one morning, ſaw a boy, with whoſe 'appearance he was pleaſed, and engaging him by 'money and promiſes, directed him to carry the ring, 'which he took from his finger, and threw down, to 'Lady Scroope, a ſiſter of the Counteſs of Nottingham, and a friend of his Lordſhip, who attended 'upon the Queen, and to beg of her that ſhe would 'preſent it to her Majeſty. The boy by miſtake carried to Lady Nottingham, who ſhewed it to her huſband the Admiral, an enemy of Lord Eſſex, in order 'to take his advice. The Admiral forbad her to carry 'it or return any anſwer to the meſſage, but inſiſted 'upon her keeping the ring. The Counteſs of Nottingham having made this diſcovery, begged the 'Queen's forgiveneſs, but her Majeſty anſwered, God 'may forgive you but I never can, and left the room 'with great emotion. Her mind was ſo ſtruck with 'this ſtory, that ſhe never went into bed, nor took 'any ſuſtenance from that inſtant; for Camden (46) 'is of opinion, that her chief reaſon for ſuffering the 'Earl to be executed, was his ſuppoſed obſtinacy in 'not applying to her for mercy.' This ſtory differs remarkably in one particular from that of Sir Dudley Carleton; for whereas here it is made an accident that the ring fell into the hands of the Counteſs of Nottingham; in that account it is expreſsly ſaid, the Earl ſent it to her as being his relation. There are ſome other circumſtances which impeach the credit of this ſtory. In the month of June in the year preceding, her Majeſty, in a converſation with the Count de Beaumont, Ambaſſador from France (47), after owning herſelf to be weary of life, with ſighs and tears in her eyes, touched upon the ſubject of the Earl's death, and ſaid, that having been apprehenſive, from the impetuoſity of his temper and his ambition, that he would precipitate himſelf into deſtruction by ſome ill deſign; ſhe had adviſed him above two years before, to content himſelf with pleaſing her on all occaſions, and not to ſhew ſuch an inſolent contempt for her as he did, but to take care not to touch her ſcepter, leſt ſhe ſhould be obliged to puniſh him according to the laws of England, and not according to her own, which he had found too mild and favourable for him to fear any ſuffering from them; but her advices, however ſalutary and affectionate, could not prevent his ruin. It is very clear from hence that the Queen was melancholy, and melancholy on the account of Eſſex, nine months before her death, and when it was impoſſible ſhe ſhould have heard of this ſtory. It appears alſo from the letters of the ſame miniſter, that the Counteſs of Nottingham died almoſt a month before the Queen, and which is ſtill more extraordinary, the Queen declined giving him audience on account of her great grief and concern for the death of that lady. But what ſhocks the credibility of this tale moſt of all, are thoſe marks of confidence ſhewn by the Queen, to the very laſt, towards the Earl of Nottingham himſelf, who if it had been true, was infinitely more culpable than his Counteſs. Her words about the ſucceſſion (48) are very remarkable; ſhe ſaid, ſhe deſired no other ſucceſſor than the King of Scots, and not that her kingdom ſhould fall into the hands of raſcals. It is well enough known, that Sir Robert Cecil, then Secretary of State, and thoſe of his faction, were fallen into ſuſpicion with the Queen, and in ſome degree into her diſpleaſure, and this chiefly becauſe ſhe ſaw them exerciſe a power which ſhe was no longer able to controul. A very little before, they had compelled her to pardon the Earl of Tyrone againſt her judgment, which ſhe reſented exceedingly, and this was the true cauſe of her regretting the Earl of Eſſex, and lamenting his death as ſhe did, becauſe ſhe ſaw, that with him ended that balance which with great dexterity ſhe had maintained for ſo many years, and that her miniſters were now become her maſters. This accounts ſo thoroughly for all the publick and private narratives of that long and great diſquiet, which brought upon her her laſt ſickneſs, is ſo natural a commentary on her laſt words; and, if it was neceſſary, might be ſupported and illuſtrated by ſo many uncontroverted paſſages in the hiſtory of theſe times, that there is no need to have recourſe to ſuch kind of traditional reports. It may be, the circumſtance of the ring might be taken from Lady Scrope's ſending one to King James as a token, by her brother, that the Queen was really dead. The name of this lady was Philadelphia, youngeſt ſiſter of Katherine Counteſs of Nottingham, and wife of Thomas Lord Scrope of Bolton (49). What adds ſome weight to this conjecture is, that this ring ſent by the Lady Scrope to King James, was alſo thrown out of a window (50).

(45) Birch's View of Sir Tho. Edmond's Negotiations, p. 206.

(46) Annal. p. 803.

(47) Birch's Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, Vol. II. p. 505.

(48) Ibid. p. 508.

(49) Baronagium Angliæ, MS. fol. 19.

(50) Birch's Hiſtorical View of the Negotiations between the Courts of England, France, and Bruſſels, p. 212.

intercourſe of friendſhip with that Crown, in purſuance of the treaty made at London the eighteenth of Auguſt, 1604 (*o*), wherein alſo his Lordſhip was an acting Commiſſioner. It was very requiſite that extraordinary ſtate ſhould be kept up in this embaſſy, and therefore the Miniſtry fixed upon the Earl of Nottingham, not as a nobleman of very great fortune, but from his high birth, eſtabliſhed reputation, and from the known generoſity of his temper and the number of his dependants, who were content, at their own expence, to accompany him in this voyage. Accordingly he ſet out for Spain, with a retinue, wherein were four Lords and twenty-ſix knights (*p*); and, for the ſupport of this great train, he had an appointment of fifteen thouſand pounds, which fell, however, very far ſhort of his expences. He left England in the latter end of March, having three men of war and four other veſſels for himſelf and his retinue; he landed at Corunna on the 16th of April, and, after making his public entry into Madrid with all poſſible marks of deference and reſpect, had his firſt audience of his Catholic Majeſty on the 18th of May (*q*). Sir Charles Cornwallis, who accompanied him, and who was left Ambaſſador in Ordinary, reports the Earl's conduct to have been ſuch, as was highly honourable for himſelf, his maſter, and the Engliſh nation; and that the Spaniards exceedingly admired and reverenced (according to the honourable diſpoſition of that people) the hero, whoſe courage and conduct had overcome their Invincible Armada. He took the Spaniſh King's oath for the due obſervation of the treaty, and obtained an aſſurance, that the ſecret articles conſented to by the Conſtable, ſhould be as punctually obſerved as if inſerted in the treaty, according to the tenor of his inſtructions [*H*]. He had his audience of leave, to which he

(*o*) Grimeſton's Hiſtory of Spain, p. 1326. Stowe's Annals. p. 846.

(*p*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 67. Wilſon's Life of King James, in the Compleat Hiſtory of England, Vol. II. p. 673.

(*q*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 68, 69.

[*H*] *According to the tenor of his inſtructions.*] We have mentioned in the text, the motives which induced the Court to make choice of the Earl of Nottingham for this extraordinary embaſſy, on which the eyes of Europe were fixed, and in regard to which, it imported the King and his Miniſters extremely, that it ſhould be conducted with equal diſcretion and dignity. The inſtructions given him upon this occaſion, are of like importance to our public and to his perſonal hiſtory, and for this reaſon we thought it abſolutely neceſſary to inſert them (51). They were conceived in the following terms.

(51) Bibl. Cott. Veſpaſian. c. ix.

'You are ſo well acquainted with the ſtate and condition of our affairs ſince our coming to this Crown of England, and with the reaſon and particular carriage in our late treaty with our good brethren the King of Spain and the Arch-Dukes, as we ſhall not need to make any larger deduction thereof, ſeeing you have been both a principal commiſſioner in debating and concluding of the ſaid treaty, and have ſince aſſiſted in all the conferences ſucceeding thereupon about the due execution of the ſame. And therefore leaving all theſe particular to the recognition of your own judgment and memory, we will now only repreſent unto you, that where we ſtand bound already by our oath, which we have taken for the ſatisfaction of the ſaid Princes, before the Conſtable of Caſtile and the Ambaſſadors of the Arch-Dukes, being thereunto ſpecially authoriſed for the due obſervation of all and every particular contained in the ſaid treaties of peace, wherein, by the aſſiſtance of God, we never intend for our part to be defective; we have now thought fit according to the ſaid treaties, to require the like oath and obligation at the hands of the ſaid Princes with whom we have contracted that amity. Wherein, when we obſerve how careful the King of Spain was to ſend to us a perſonage of great birth and qualitie about him, we likewiſe reſolve to requite our ſaid brother with the like proportion of honour, by ſending ſome ſuch perſon, as for his quality and birth, may diſcharge that ſervice to our both contentments: of the which ſort, having none more eminent or proper in all reſpects, in regard of your birth, place, and antiquity in council, or the great commandments you have had of the armies of this kingdom both by land and ſea, joined with the aſſurance we have, as well of your ancient affection to our perſon and title, as of your duty and loyalty to us (ſince we became your ſovereign) than we do eſteem and acknowledge you to be. We having made election of you for this employment, and no other, you ſhall therefore, upon receipt of our commiſſion and diſpatch, repair from hence into Spain, to ſuch place where you ſhall underſtand that our good brother is abiding: and for your better paſſage, we have appointed certain of our ſhips to attend you for your tranſportation by ſea, leaving it to your own choice and election, to take ſuch way by land or ſea as your knowledge and judgment of the places will direct you unto. After your arrival there, you ſhall preſent to our good brother the King of Spain, our kindeſt ſalutation, with offer of friendſhip, and princely offices towards him and his, and then preſent our letters of credence. After all which, you may ſignifie unto him in our name, that as ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year hath permitted, we would no longer defer to ſend you unto him, as well to make demonſtration of our gratitude and thankful accepting of the honour and kindneſs he hath done; as firſt, in ſending the Count Villa Mediana, to congratulate our coming to the Crown, with expreſſing of his deſire to revive and continue the kind amity which of long time hath been entertained between us, our kingdoms and eſtates; as afterwards, then reaſons of ſtate and other dependencies of diſcord between him and this our realm of England, required a further treaty for reconciling and taking away all former differences, and eſtabliſhing of an abſolute and perfect amity between us; that then he ſent unto us the Conſtable of Caſtile, a perſonage ſo near unto him, and of ſo great honour, ſufficiency, and truſt, by whoſe care and orderly conduct, things have been facilitated and brought to ſuch a happy and deſired iſſue as now we ſee they are, to the glory of Almighty God, and the peace and tranquillity, not only of his and our kingdoms and dominions, greatly hazarded and entangled by the calamity of the former war, but alſo to the whole repoſe of Chriſtendom, which by participation was not a little embarraſſed and diſtracted thereby. Next, you may confidently report unto him, that as before our coming to this Crown, there never paſſed any other but friendly offices and correſpondency between him and us; ſo now, ſeeing it hath pleaſed God not only to ſettle us peaceably in the poſſeſſion of this Crown (which our undoubtful right hath caſt upon us) but by our treaties of peace, to take away alſo all future occaſions to revive the former troubles that were depending between him and theſe our realms of England; ſo there is nothing more religious unto us, and next to our duty to God, nothing more acceptable in this world, than to maintain firmly and inviolably, all good correſpondence with him, according to the true conſtruction of the treaties, accounting it one of the greateſt bleſſings that God hath endowed us with all to be in perfect peace and amity with all the princes and eſtates in Chriſtendom; the conſervation whereof, ſhall ever be highly recommended unto us.

'For proof and confirmation whereof, as alſo to give teſtimony to the world of the love and reſpect we bear to him, we have ſent you expreſsly to viſit him in our behalf, and to receive reciprocally in our name, the oath which is to be taken by the ſaid King, for the preſerving of the ſaid peace and concord between us, wherein you ſhall refer the time and order to his preſcription; only we forewarn you, that in the performing of that ceremony, which is likely to be done in the King's chapel, you have eſpecial care, that it be not done in the forenoon, in the time of maſs, to the ſcandal of our religion, but rather

he was conducted by the Conſtable on the 7th of June (r), when the King put on his finger a diamond ring of the value of three thouſand pounds, and on the 15th he embarked at the port of St Andero for England. During the whole time that he reſided at the Court of King Philip the Third, he was treated with the utmoſt diſtinction and regard, maintained, to the admiration of the Spaniards, his dignity, and did the higheſt credit to the nation. At his departure, the King of Spain made him preſents, which amounted to twenty thouſand pounds (s). On his return, he was not ſo well received at Court as he had the ſtrongeſt reaſons to expect, which was by no means owing to his ill conduct, or to any fault of the King's, himſelf being injured, and his maſter abuſed by falſe reports, that the Admiral, while employed in this embaſſy, had aſſumed more ſtate, and acted with leſs precaution, than became him (t). However, he quickly recovered his maſter's good graces, attended on the Lady Elizabeth when ſhe was married to the Elector Palatine, and afterwards, as Lord Admiral, eſcorted her with a ſquadron of the royal navy to Fluſhing (u). This was the laſt ſervice he did his country in that capacity; for being now grown very old and infirm, it was thought expedient by ſome of his beſt friends, that he ſhould reſign his office to the new favourite, Villiers, at that time Earl, and afterwards Marquis and Duke of Buckingham. Some of the memoir writers (w) of thoſe days treat this matter in a way highly prejudicial to the King's memory, exceedingly diſgraceful to Buckingham, and not much for the reputation of the Earl of Nottingham. It appears, however, upon due enquiry and impartial and ſerious conſideration, that moſt of theſe ſtories are very ill founded, and that, in reality, the Earl of Nottingham's laying down his poſt, after he had enjoyed it with great honour thirty-two years, was not either uneaſy to him, or in the manner of it capable of fixing any diſgrace on his maſter. The propoſition came firſt from himſelf, without any knowledge of the Marquis, and was very eaſily agreed to. His eſtate was not great; and, at the beginning of the King's reign, he had married a young wife, the daughter of the Earl of Murray, for whom he was deſirous of providing as well as for her children. The terms, therefore, on which he conſented to reſign, were theſe, that a debt of eighteen hundred pounds, due from him to the Crown, ſhould be remitted (x); that he ſhould have an annual penſion of a thouſand pounds (y); and that, as Earl of Nottingham, he ſhould take place in the Houſe according to the deſcent of his anceſtors, and not according to the date of his patent (z). Theſe terms were quickly adjuſted. The Marquis went in perſon to ſee him, and to return him thanks for reſigning, as of his own motive he did, and by recommending him for his ſucceſſor did it in his favour; at the ſame time, the Marquis made the young Counteſs a preſent of extraordinary value, that is, three thouſand pounds, as we have reaſon to believe. He carried his reſpect to this venerable old man as far, and preſerved it as long, as poſſible, calling him always father, and bending his knee whenever he approached him, to the day of his death (a). The true cauſe of the Earl's inclination to reſign his employment was, his being ſenſible of a decay in his abilities, which becoming prejudicial to the King's intereſts, might in time have tarniſhed his former ſervices; and that upon his reſignation he might be honourably and kindly treated, he was deſirous of having the King's favourite for his ſucceſſor. It may not be amiſs to remark upon this, that, to prevent the Marquis's youth and inexperience from being as detrimental to the Crown as the

(r) Grimeſton's Hiſtory of Spain, p. 1337. Stowe's Annals, p. 871.

(s) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 89. Grimeſton's Hiſtory of Spain.

(t) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 91, 92.

(u) Stowe, p. 1005, 1007. Wilſon's Hiſtory of King James, p. 690, 691.

(w) Court and Character of King James, by Sir Anthony Weldon, p. 123, 124.

(x) Camden's Annals of King James, p. 651, 652.

(y) Aulicus Coquinariæ, p. 169.

(z) Camden's Annals of King James, p. 653.

(a) By comparing the different accounts of this buſineſs.

'rather in the afternoon, at what time their ſervice is 'more free from note of ſuperſtition.

'Then you may addreſs yourſelf to the Queen our 'ſiſter, if occaſion be ſo offered, and preſent the like 'ſalutations to her from us and our dear wife the 'Queen, with aſſurance of our kind affections towards 'her; aſſuring them both, that it was one of our eſpecial charges to you, to adverтiſe us of their good 'health immediately after your arrival.

'At the next acceſs to the King, and before the performance of the ceremony of the oath, our pleaſure 'is, that you preſent unto the King, our ſervant Sir 'Charles Cornwallis, Knight, with this declaration, 'that foraſmuch as we have appointed him our Ambaſſador reſident with the ſaid King, we do deſire him 'to receive him in charge, and on all occaſions to give 'him favourable acceſs and hearing, as one of whom 'we have made eſpecial choice to uſe in that employment, for his integrity and ſufficiency to do us ſervice, and for the confidence that we repoſe in him, 'that he will carefully diſcharge his duty in the entertaining of the good amity between us and the ſaid 'King, our countries and ſtates.

'Theſe things being thus performed, you are to require an inſtrument in authentic form, of the King's 'ratification of the ſaid treaties of peace, ſigned with 'his hand, and ſealed with his Great-Seal, as we already delivered the like to the Conſtable of Caſtile; 'and as it is requiſite by the preſcription of the treaties, wherein you muſt be careful, that the private 'articles be not omitted, which the Conſtable condeſcended unto after the ſigning of the treaty, and undertook to procure the ratification thereof by the 'King his maſter. You are likewiſe to require an inſtrument of the King's oath, ſigned by him, and atteſted by his Secretary, reciting the names of ſuch 'principal perſons of the nobility as were preſent at 'the ſwearing thereof, according as we have given the 'like here to the Conſtable.

'For all other things which by diſcourſe or complement may occur, either with the King, the Queen, 'the Princes their children; the grandees, or the Ambaſſadors of other princes that reſide in that Court, 'and ſhall come to viſit you; we hold it needleſs further to inſtruct you, who are ſo well experienced in 'all things belonging to matters of honour and affairs.'

We have a very large and diſtinct account of this embaſſy printed, the very title of which will convince the reader in what point of light it was conſidered at that time, and how much honour was ſuppoſed to reſult therefrom, to the King and kingdom. Thus it run:

'A Relation of ſuch Things as were obſerved to 'happen in the Journey of the Right Honourable 'Charles Earl of Nottingham, Lord High-Admiral of 'England, his Highneſs's Ambaſſador to the King of 'Spain: Being ſent thither to take the oath of the 'ſaid King, for the Maintenance of Peace between the 'two famous Kings of Great-Britain and Spain, according to the ſeveral Articles formerly concluded on 'by the Conſtable of Caſtile in England in the Month 'of Auguſt, 1604. Set forth by Authority. By 'Rob. Treſwell, Eſq; Somerſet Herald, London, '1605, 4to.'

the old age and infirmities of the Earl, and to put the navy under a better regulation than ever; it was reſolved that the new Lord High-Admiral ſhould have an experienced Council placed about him, without whoſe advice he was to do nothing. Theſe, for their names are ſtill preſerved, were Meſſieurs Forteſcue, Oſborn, Gaughton, Sutton, and Pits, on whom, upon this occaſion, the King conferred the honour of knighthood; and this regulation had very good effects (*b*). All theſe meaſures ſeem to have been concerted before the reſignation, which made Buckingham ſhew ſo much reverence and affection for the Earl of Nottingham, and ſpeak of him always, and upon all occaſions, as one to whom he was under the higheſt obligations (*c*). Beſides all this, Sir Robert Manſel, who though of a very honourable and ſince noble family, yet being a younger brother, had been once the Earl of Nottingham's menial ſervant, but was then Vice-Admiral during pleaſure, by the favour of the Duke had that office confirmed to him for life by patent; which exerciſe of his influence in favour of Sir Robert, his old maſter took ſo kindly, that aged and infirm as he was, he made Buckingham a viſit to return him thanks (*d*). On the whole, therefore, there ſeems to be nothing diſhonourable in this tranſaction; for all parties were gratified in their particular views, and all ſeem to have been perfectly content. What is ſaid to the contrary, flows evidently from a deſire of prejudicing the world againſt the memory of men from ſurmiſes and conjectures, a method of all others the moſt deſtructive of the end and fruit of hiſtory, which ought to diſcover the truth, and inſtruct thereby ſuch as peruſe it. As for the few remaining years of his life, they were ſpent by the Earl of Nottingham in honourable eaſe and retirement to the time of his deceaſe, which happened on the 14th of December, 1624, when he was in his eighty-ſeventh year (*e*). He was a perſon extremely graceful in his appearance, of a juſt and honeſt diſpoſition, incapable either of doing bad things, or ſeeing them done without expoſing them. His ſteady loyalty to the Crown preſerved his reputation unſtained, and his fortune unhurt, when the reſt of his family were in the utmoſt danger (*f*). Queen Elizabeth knew and valued his integrity, and preferred his candour to the policy of ſome of her greateſt favourites. She had a peculiar felicity in ſuiting the employments of men to their capacities, and this never appeared more clearly than on thoſe occaſions wherein ſhe made choice of this nobleman, whoſe courage no danger could daunt, whoſe fidelity no temptation could impeach, much leſs corrupt. In public employments he affected magnificence, as much as he did hoſpitality in private life, keeping ſeven ſtanding houſes, as Dr Fuller phraſes it (*g*), at once. It is true, we meet with oppoſite accounts of this Lord's character and conduct, eſpecially in the latter part of his life; but as theſe are only in private letters, written by one (*h*) apparently prejudiced againſt him of whom he ſpeaks; and as the rough ſoldier-like behaviour of Elizabeth's active times, ſuited little with the ſtiff and ſolemn air of the Stateſmen in King James's Court, we need not wonder that among theſe the Earl of Nottingham met with ſome detractors His actions are ſufficient to ſilence envy, and to deſtroy the credit of all ſuch malicious cenſurers. He who beat the Spaniſh Armada, equipped a fleet, ſufficient to aſſert the ſovereignty of the ſea, in a fortnight's time, and, by his preſence alone, diſpirited the Earl of Eſſex's adherents, muſt have been a very extraordinary man, though we ſhould grant his enemies, that he was not very learned, expreſſed himſelf a little bluntly, and, though a perſon of ſo high quality, had little or no tincture of thoſe arts, which, peculiar as they are, do no great honour to a Court [*I*]. The corpſe of this noble lord was interred on the 23d of December, in the year beforementioned, in the family vault under the chancel in the church of Ryegate in Surry (*i*), and John Taylor, the famous water poet, celebrated his memory in a long elegy (*k*). His Lordſhip, as we have before had occaſion to mention, was twice married, firſt to Catherine, daughter to Henry Cary Lord Hunſdon, by whom he had iſſue two ſons, William, who was ſummoned by writ to ſeveral Parliaments during his father's life-time, and eſpouſed Anne, daughter and ſole heir to John Lord St John of Bletſho; which Lady Anne died 11 June, 1638, and was buried at Weſtminſter (*l*). He deceaſed in his father's life-time, leaving Elizabeth, his ſole daughter and heir, married to John Lord Mordaunt (*m*), afterwards Earl of Peterborough; ſo that his ſecond ſon, Charles, was his ſucceſſor in his honours (*n*); alſo three daughters, Elizabeth, married to Sir Robert Southwell of Wood-Riſing in Norfolk, Knight, and afterwards to John Stuart Earl of Carrick

(*b*) Camden's Annals of King James's Reign.

(*c*) See the Duke of Buckingham's Anſwer to the 2d article of his Impeachment.

(*d*) Aulicus Coquinariæ, p. 170.

(*e*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 279.

(*f*) Sir Robert Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia. Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 736.

(*g*) Worthies of England, in Surry, p. 84.

(*h*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 92.

(*i*) Aubrey's Natural Hiſtory and Antiquities of Surry, Vol. IV. p. 193.

(*k*) See his Works, p. 326, 327, 328, 329.

(*l*) Brook's Catalogue, p. 168.

(*m*) Vincent's Diſcovery of Errors in Brook's Catalogue, p. 394.

(*n*) Brook's Catalogue, p. 168.

[*I*] *Do no great honour to a Court.*] Though theſe memoirs have ſwelled to a greater length than we originally intended, yet we cannot forbear mentioning ſome particulars in this note, which ſerve to diſtinguiſh this great man, and ſhew his fortunes in a very ſingular point of light; he lived under five reigns, that is, from the 28th of Henry the Eighth, to the twenty-ſecond of James the Firſt, in a conſtant ſtream of proſperity, and with ſcarce any eclipſe of his ſovereign's favour. He was upwards of half a century Privy-Counſellor and Knight of the Garter; he ſerved in great ſtations from the firſt to the laſt year of Elizabeth, which can ſcarce be ſaid of any nobleman beſide. At the demiſe of that princeſs, he had the three greateſt offices in his hands, that of Earl Marſhal of England, Lord High-Steward of the Houſhold, and Lord High-Admiral of England. In the laſt Parliament of that Queen, he had eight proxies, and amongſt them thoſe of the Earl of Rutland and Lord Sandes, who had been both dipped in the unhappy affair of the Earl of Eſſex (52). We may from hence pronounce, that few, very few, noblemen have ever ſtood ſo high in this kingdom, without meeting either with fall or reproach. His fidelity was never ſo much as ſuſpected by Queen Elizabeth, who heaped employments upon him, which ſhe gave ſo ſparingly to others. With all his favour he was never envied by the nobility, and through his whole life he was exceedingly popular. The only cenſure paſſed upon him was, that he took too much ſtate in Spain, and even this, though it gave offence to ſome of the flatterers at Court, endeared him to the nation.

(52) Sir Simond Dewe's Journal of the Parliaments in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, p. 598.

[*K*] *And*

Carrick in Scotland (o); Frances, firſt to Henry Fitzgerald Earl of Kildare in Ireland, and ſecondly to Henry Brook Lord Cobham (p); and Margaret, to Sir Richard Leviſon of Trentham in the county of Stafford, Knight, Vice-Admiral of England (q). His ſecond counteſs was Margaret, daughter to James Stuart Earl of Murray in Scotland, in right of his wife Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter and coheir to James Earl of Murray, natural ſon to King James the Fifth of Scotland (r). And by her, who was naturalized in Parliament the firſt of James the Firſt, he had iſſue two ſons, James, who died young, and Sir Charles Howard, Knight, ſucceſſor to his brother in the title of Earl of Nottingham (s). This lady ſurviving him, became the conſort of Sir William Monſon, Knight, Viſcount Caſtlemain in Ireland (t). The laſt mentioned Sir Charles Howard ſucceeding to the title, died April 26, 1681, and was alſo buried at Ryegate (u). In him the earldom extinguiſhed, but the title of Baron of Effingham devolved on Francis Howard, Eſq; great-grandſon of Sir William Howard of Lingfield in the county of Surry (w), brother to Charles Earl of Nottingham, to whom this article belongs; whoſe lineal deſcendant, Francis Baron of Effingham (x), was raiſed to the rank of Earl, by the ſame title, by letters patent bearing date December 8, 1731 (y), being at the ſame time Deputy Earl-Marſhal of England (z).

(o) Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland, p. 73. Brook's Catalogue, p. 163.

(p) Vincent, p. 394.

(q) Brook's Catalogue, p. 168.

(r) Crawfurd's Peerage of Scotland.

(s) Collins's Peerage, Vol. III. p. 258.

(t) Peerage of Ireland.

(u) Aubrey's Natural Hiſtory and Antiquities of Surry, Vol. IV. p. 193.

(w) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. III. p. 258.

(x) See Creations of Peers, in order to judge of the expediency of a Law, &c.

(y) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. III. p. 260.

(z) MS. in the Heralds Office.

It may not be amiſs to add here, in the nature of an appendix to this life, that this noble perſon's ſurviving, ſo long as he did, the reign of his glorious miſtreſs, was of ſome conſequence to the Church of England. The Papiſts in Queen Elizabeth's time affected to diſpute the validity of Dr Matthew Parker Archbiſhop of Canterbury's conſecration, on a ſuppoſition, that, becauſe none of the Biſhops who adhered to the fee of Rome aſſiſted thereat, it could not be valid (a). But in proceſs of time, and when it was apprehended that all who could contradict directly ſo ill digeſted a ſtory, it was very boldly aſſerted, that Archbiſhop Parker was never conſecrated at all; to countenance which, this fable was deviſed, of which one Neale, Chaplain to Dr Bonner Biſhop of London, was alledged to be the author. He pretended, that his maſter having required the Biſhop of Llandaff not to do any thing in his dioceſe, he refuſed to obey the Queen's mandate, or to be preſent at the conſecration. Upon this, the Biſhops elect met at the Nag's-Head Tavern in Cheapſide, and Neale, who had watched them thither, peeping through the hole of the door, ſaw them in great diſorder, on account of the Biſhop of Llandaff's being intractable. At length, Biſhop Scorey bid them all kneel, and then laid the Bible upon every one of their heads or ſhoulders, ſaying, *Take thou authority to preach the Word of God ſincerely*; and ſo, according to Neale's report, they all roſe up Biſhops (b). In order to refute this tale, the Lambeth regiſters were cited, by which it clearly appeared, that Dr Matthew Parker was conſecrated, with the uſual ceremonies, in the chapel at Lambeth-palace, on the 17th of December, 1559 (c). But the Papiſts having once publiſhed ſuch an invention as this, thought themſelves obliged to maintain it; and in order to this, they gave out that theſe records were forged, inſinuating, that if they had been authentic, they would have been produced before; whereas the old diſpute turned upon quite another point, and therefore it had been to no purpoſe to produce them [K]. The Papiſts

(a) See the Writings of the two Doctors, Harding and Stapleton.

(b) Fitzherbert, Sanders, Parſons, &c.

(c) Maſon de Miniſt. Eccleſ. Anglic. lib. iii. cap. 8, 9.

[K] *And therefore it had been to no purpoſe to produce them*] The controverſy between Papiſts and Proteſtants ran ſo very high within a few years after the conſecration of Dr Parker, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, that it is impoſſible to doubt this tale of the Nag's-head Conſecration, if it had been invented, would have been then publiſhed; it goes therefore as we have obſerved in the text, not a little againſt the credit of this ſtory, that it was never heard of publickly, 'till it appeared difficult, if not impoſſible to refute it; but when it did appear, Mr Maſon, who undertook to refute it, gave a full, clear, and circumſtantial narrative of whatever regarded the electing, confirming, and conſecration of the Archbiſhop, and as the moſt authentic evidence that could be produced in ſuch a cauſe, cited Archbiſhop Parker's regiſter (53). The modern Papiſts, following the examples of their predeceſſors, have again taken the advantage of the diſtance of time, and have very warmly inveighed againſt that learned writer, as if he had either forged thoſe records himſelf, or had made uſe of them, though he knew they were forged by others (54). In this, as they tread in the ſteps, ſo they are equally unlucky with thoſe who invented the original calumny; for their ſpirit and conduct being well known, Dr George Abbot, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſent for Alexander Faircloth, Thomas Laithwaite, alias Scot, both Jeſuits; John Colleton, who, after the death of Birkhead, had the title of Arch-Prieſt; and Thomas Leake a Prieſt, then priſoners in the Clink for religion; and on the 12th of May, 1613, in the preſence of the Biſhops of Ely, Lincoln, and Rocheſter, produced to them the very original regiſter of Archbiſhop Parker, remarkably fair and clean, as having been carefully kept amongſt the public records; and after allowing them to turn it over and examine it at leiſure, procured a certificate under their hands, which was ſent by Dr Kelliſon, ſuperior of the Engliſh college at Douay, to Father Thomas Fitzherbert, then at Rome; teſtifying to him, and to all the Catholicks in general, that this regiſter was a true genuine record (55). This ſilenced the diſpute at that time, but the famous Mr Thomas Ward, either not knowing this fact, or concealing it, has attempted to revive the old thread bare tale of the Nag's-head Ordination, and to revive the calumny of Maſon's forging records to refute it. However, zealous and conſcientious Catholicks have long ago given up this point (56), as indeed they well might; for conſidering the regiſter of the Archbiſhop thus ſingularly proved, the authentic inſtrument of his conſecration at the chapel of Lambeth, and the then living teſtimony of the Earl of Nottingham preſent at the ceremony, and at the feaſt which followed it in the palace, and not at the tavern, we may ſafely affirm this is, if any point of ſuch a nature can be, put beyond all doubt. As to the other cavils that have been raiſed about the venerable prelates who aſſiſted at this conſecration, and the reaſons why it was ſo long poſtponed, the curious reader may find abundant ſatisfaction in our Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians, who by a diligent ſearch into, and collating of our old records, have ſet every thing in the cleareſt and moſt ſatisfactory light, more eſpecially one of them, who has very plainly opened the political motives which were the great impediments to Archbiſhop Parker's entering into the full poſſeſſion of his dignity (57). It is true, that in this he pays no great complement to the ſpirit that then prevailed in the government, and may in that perhaps have done the Papiſts a pleaſure; but by ſo doing, he has utterly overturned all their objections, and aſſigned a probable and

(53) De M'niſt. Eccleſ. Anglic. lib. iii. cap. 8.

(54) Errata in the Proteſtant Bible, by Thomas Ward, author of England's Reformation, p. 92.

(55) Godwin de Præſulibus, p. 152, 153.

(56) See the learned Dr Courayer's Diſcourſes on this ſubject.

(57) Heylin's Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 292, 293, 294.

Papiſts likewiſe endeavour to avail themſelves of the ſilence of John Stowe, and to help out this lame argument, pretended that hiſtorian had privately told ſome friend of his the tale of the nag's-head ordination *(d)*; but all theſe dreams were clearly refuted by the declaration of Charles Earl of Nottingham; that being invited by his relation Dr Parker, he was preſent at his conſecration, deſcribed all the circumſtances of it, and dined afterwards in the palace of Lambeth with thoſe who aſſiſted at it. The Lord Chancellor Egerton likewiſe told Biſhop Williams, that the ſtory of the nag's-head ordination aroſe from hence, that whenever biſhops came to be confirmed at Bow-church, it was uſual to cauſe a dinner to be provided, for the civilians who aſſiſted at that ceremony, at the nag's-head tavern, as being in the neighbourhood *(e)*. The very original inſtrument of the Archbiſhop's conſecration is at this time preſerved in the library of Corpus-Chriſti-college in the univerſity of Cambridge *(f)*, and is the moſt authentic proof that can be deſired of the ſolemnity of this conſecration, and of the falſhood of this ridiculous ſtory, upon which the Papiſts, however, to this hour, inſiſt as if it had never been enquired into and refuted *(g)*.

(d) Champney, p. 501.

(e) Heylin's Hiſtory of the Reformation, p. 293. Fuller's Church Hiſtory.

(f) Accurately printed by Collier in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.

(g) Thomas Ward's Errata to the Proteſtant Bible, 4to. 1737. p. 89, 90, 91.

and adequate cauſe for an event, which for want of knowing that cauſe, the Papiſts have repreſented as full of inconſiſtencies and abſurdities, and from thence deduced an argument in favour of their own inventions, as if the fact as before ſtated by Proteſtant writers, was not only improbable, but could not poſſibly happen. This ſhews how much better it is to tell the naked truth on all occaſions, than by endeavouring to hide it, furniſh pretences at leaſt to thoſe, who, though they endeavour to ſerve another cauſe, are very attentive in the peruſal of what regards the Hiſtory of our Church, and have a wonderful faculty of twiſting and diſtorting whatever they find there, to their own advantage.

E

HOWELL [JAMES], ſon of Thomas Howell, Clerk, Miniſter of Abernant in Caermarthenſhire, was born upon the Brynn of Llangammarch near Brecknock in Wales, about the year 1596 [*A*]. At a proper age he was ſent to the free-ſchool at Hereford, under *a learned but laſhing maſter (a)*; from whoſe rugged diſcipline he removed to Oxford, and entered of Jeſus-college in the beginning of the year 1610, his elder brother, Thomas Howell, being a Fellow of that ſociety [*B*]. Our author, though very young, brought with him a ſingular appetite for learning to the univerſity, and having alſo a ready wit, he had made a good progreſs in his academical ſtudies, when he commenced Bachelor of Arts, December 17, 1613 *(b)*. But he left the college without taking any other degree, and removed to London. He was a cadet of a numerous family *(c)*, and obliged to puſh his fortune; and being not ſo much inclined to a ſedentary as to an active life, this ſituation placed him more in the eye of ſuch of *his friends as could be of ſervice to him in that* way. The firſt employ he got was that of *Steward to a glaſs-houſe in Broad-ſtreet (d)*, which was procured for him by Sir Robert Manſel *(e)*, who was principally concerned therein [*C*]. Our young cadet had not been a great while in this ſtation *(f)*, when the proprietors

(a) They are his own words in a letter to his father. Famil. Let. Vol. I. ſect. i. No. 2, 2d edit. 1750.

(b) Wood's Faſti, Vol. I. col. 194.

(c) There was 15 children in it. Fam. Letters, ubi ſupra.

(d) Ibid.

(e) Mr Howell's friend with Sir Robert was probably his brother Dr Francis Manſel, twice Principal of Jeſus-college. Hiſt. & Ant. Oxon. Univ. lib. ii. p. 102.

(f) He takes notice to Dr *Manſel that he had ſupervised the glaſs-houſe a ſmall time.* Letter 3 in Familiar Letters.

[*A*] *Was born upon the Brynn near Brecknock, about* 1596.] Mr Wood declares (1), he could not preciſely tell what year he was born in, though he found him entered in the Matriculation book at Oxford in the beginning of 1610, aged ſixteen years. He ſeems therefore to ſuſpect the accuracy of that entrance, eſpecially as he takes notice of an expreſſion in a letter of Mr Howell (2), where he ſays, *his aſcendant was that hot conſtellation of Cancer about the midſt of the Dog-days*; ſince in the ſame letter, dated in 1645, it is obſerved by our author, that *he had then paſſed nine luſtres of years, and ſome winters more.* Whence allowing theſe winters to be four (which is the moſt they could be), it follows, that he was not more than fourteen years of age in 1610, and therefore could not be born before 1596; nor is the authority of the date to this letter infringed by Mr Wood's remark, that no time is kept with the dates of theſe letters; for that obſervation (of which more hereafter) is no ways applicable to the letter here mentioned, which is inſerted in the firſt volume of the letters publiſhed in 1645. Thus the preciſe time of our author's birth is matter of conjecture only; neither is the place of it any better aſcertained. Mr Wood ſpeaks doubtfully in relation to Abernant (3), and the elder brother Thomas, he ſays, was born at a place called the Brynn, or (as James Howell informed Dr Fuller) at Llangammarch in Brecknockſhire, near Brecknock town (4); that is (the word Brynn in the Welſh language ſignifying a hill or mountain) at the Brynn of Llangammarch near Brecknock, and as our author in the letter abovementioned teſtifies that the ground whereon himſelf was born, was the belly of a huge hill. It ſeems moſt probable that the two brothers had the ſame birth place.

(1) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 381.

(2) Epiſt. or Familiar Letters, Vol. I. ſect. 6. No. 60.

(3) Ubi ſupra.

(4) Ibid. col. 1138.

[*B*] *Thomas Howell, a fellow of that ſociety*] This gentleman, to whom ſeveral of our author's letters are inſcribed, after taking the degrees in Arts, went into orders, and preached about Oxford for ſome time. Afterwards he became King's chaplain, Rector of Weſt-Horſley in Surry, and of St Stephen's in Walbrook near London, D. D (5), and an. 1636 Canon of Windſor. In the beginning of the Civil Wars, being ſequeſtred from his livings by the Parliament, he was nominated to the ſee of Briſtol by the King, in July 1644, and afterwards conſecrated by Primate Uſher and other Biſhops. He died in 1646, and was buried in the cathedral at Briſtol, near the entrance out of the ſouth iſle into the choir, a plain ſtone being laid over him with only this word upon it, *Expergiſcar*. Mr Wood (6) tells us he was a good preacher and of a meek diſpoſition, and that his Majeſty promoted him to the biſhopric, promiſing himſelf good effects from his great candour, ſolid judgment, ſweet temper, and good repute, and accordingly it was ſaid of him, that like Gregory Thaumaturgus, who found but fifteen Chriſtians in his dioceſe, and left but fifteen heathens, he found at Briſtol few affected to the Church, and left but few diſaffected; upon which account the city in gratitude took care of the education of his children, of whom he had eleven. Mrs Katharine Philips, Orinda, brought up one of his ſons, Charles Howell, who was her godſon. One of his ſons called Griffith, was a great Herald; another, George, was fellow of All-Soul's college, took his maſter's degree in 1662, and lived near Chicheſter, where his ſon Robert Howell was living in 1695.

(5) In Letter 16, Vol. I. ſect. i. dated 1628, James writes thus. Brother, I have ſent you here incloſed warrants for 4 brace of bucks and a ſtag, the laſt procured of the King, towards keeping your act. I have ſent you alſo a warrant for a brace of bucks out of Whaddon-chace; beſides, you ſhall receive by this carrier a great wicker-hamper with two geouls of ſturgeon, ſix barrels of pickled oyſters, three barrels of Bologna olives, and ſome other Spaniſh commodities. Hence it appears how expenſive and ſumptuous the entertainments were at that time on this occaſion.

(6) Ubi ſupra.

[*C*] *A glaſs work, in which he had the principal concern.*] Sir Robert had for his partners in the patent, the Earl of Pembroke Lord Chamberlain, and ſeveral others of the prime nobility and courtiers (7). Nor is it any wonder to find the chief of our nobility giving a particular attention to the manufacture of glaſs in thoſe times. Mr Howell informs us, that the art was then in ſo great eſteem at Venice, that all of the profeſſion were gentlemen *ipſo facto* (8); and 'tis well known that the French made an arret, whereby it was provided, that the working of glaſs ſhould not only not derogate from the nobility, but even that

(7) Familiar Letters, No. 2.

(8) Ibid. No. 29.

proprietors of the work, to ſave the expence of wood-fuel, obtained the ſole patent of making all ſorts of glaſs with pit-coal; and being intent to improve the manufactory, they came to a reſolution to ſend an agent abroad, who ſhould procure the beſt materials and workmen that could be got. Their Steward was pitched upon as a fit perſon for this agency; and a warrant being accordingly procured for him from the Lords of the Council, to travel for three years any where, Rome and St Omers excepted (*g*), he left England about the end of March in the beginning of the year 1619, and viſited ſeveral of the principal places in Holland, Flanders, France, Spain, and Italy (*b*). Mr Howell made all the improvement in his perſonal qualifications that the opportunity of theſe travels afforded him, and particularly acquired that maſterly knowledge in the modern languages (*i*) which directed the ſubſequent courſe of his fortune. In the mean time he did not neglect the immediate buſineſs of his agency, in the execution of which we find him ſupplying the glaſs-work with the beſt Barillia at a cheap rate from Alicant [*D*], and engaging

(*g*) Ibid. No. 2. Notwithſtanding this, we find one of his letters during theſe travels dated from Rome, viz. No. 39.

(*b*) See his Letters, in Vol. I. § 1. which contain a particular account of the ſeveral ſteps throughout the whole rout.

(*i*) Thank God, ſays he, I have this fruit of my foreign travels, that I can pray unto him every day of the week in a ſeparate language, and upon Sunday in ſeven. Vol. I. § 6. No. 37. of his Fam. Letters.

none beſides noblemen ſhould be allowed to work therein *.

[*D*] *He ſent Barillia from Alicant*] Mr Howell gives the name of Barillia to the plant, and ſays it grows no where in ſuch perfection as at Alicant. 'The Venetians, continues he, have it hence, and it is a commodity whereby this maritime town (he was then at the place) partly ſubſiſts, being an ingredient in the beſt Caſtile ſoap. 'Tis a round thick ſhrub, that bears berries like barberries betwixt blue and green. It lies cloſe to the ground, and when it is ripe, they dig it up by the roots, and put it together in cocks like hay; then they make a pit of a fathom deep in the earth, and taking the tufts with a prong ſet them on fire, which diſſolves the berries into an azure liquor. This falling into the pit, when that is full, they dam it up; and in the ſpace of four days the juice turns to a blue ſtone ſo hard, that it is ſcarce malleable. It is ſold at one hundred crowns a tun, but I had it for leſs. There is alſo a ſpurious flower called *Gazul*, that grows here, but the glaſs that is made of it, is not ſo reſplendent and clear.' Thus far our traveller (9), but the art is greatly improved ſince his time. *Barillia*, now uſually called *Polverine* or *Rochetta*, is not the name of the plant (for that is called Kali) but of the ſalt, or rather powder obtained by burning the plant upon a hot iron, and is brought at preſent chiefly from Alexandria and Tripoli; and in theſe countries the art of glaſs making was firſt invented, at leaſt according to Pliny, who gives this account of it. There is a part of Syria, ſays he (10), called Phœnicia, bordering upon Judea, near the foot of mount Carmel, the ſhore of which yields very good ſand for making glaſs, and it was for many ages eſteemed the only ſand in the world for that purpoſe, concerning the diſcovery of it the ſtory is, that formerly a trading veſſel laden with nitre, touching upon the coaſt, the ſailors went a-ſhore to regale, where inſtead of raiſing their pillows with ſtones, they made uſe of lumps of nitre, which mixing with the ſand took fire, and produced certain ſtreams of a noble tranſparent liquor, whence is derived the origin of glaſs. Hence Sidon, the capital city of that country, celebrated by Homer (11) for many excellent arts, is alſo ſaid to be famous for it's glaſs-works, and to be the inventreſs of glaſs ſpecula (12). As to the antiquity and eſteem of theſe veſſels, it is certain they were uſed as great delicacies by the Perſians before the time of Alexander the Great; this appears from a paſſage in a play of Ariſtophanes (13), where ſome Ambaſſadors are introduced as lately returned from Perſia, who, extolling the luxury and magnificence of that prince, give it for a proof, that *he drank ſweet wine out of gold and glaſs cups*. Moreover two glaſs cups, or rather two cup-boards of them, are mentioned by Athenæus (14), to be produced to the people out of the royal treaſury of Ptolemy Philadelphus by way of pomp at Alexandria; and the ſame author informs us from an ancient epigram, that there were in the ſame age glaſs ſhops at Leſbos, and that the Grecians in their feaſts made uſe of a glaſs cup, to which they gave the name of *Leſbium* (15). However this art flouriſhed in later times chiefly in Egypt, where Strabo tells us (16), he *had heard the* Alexandrian glaſs-workers ſay, that a kind of glaſſy earth was found there, without which it was impoſſible to make any cups of value, or ſuch as were variouſly coloured. From Alexandria this luxury was brought to Rome (17), and particularly became more general there *after the reduction of Egypt into* a Roman Province, but was ſtill in the higheſt eſteem; upon which account we find, that when a ſervant of Vedius Pollio happened to break a glaſs at a ſupper where Auguſtus was his gueſt, Vedius immediately ordered him to be taken and thrown into his fiſh pond, to be devoured by the murenæ; this was reckoned a vulgar kind of death, and the boy having the good luck to make his eſcape, threw himſelf at Cæſar's feet, not begging his life, but only that he might die ſome other way, and not be made a bait for fiſh. Cæſar ſtruck with indignation at this new ſpecies of cruelty, did not only order the boy to be diſmiſſed, but commanded all the glaſs veſſels to be broken, and the fiſh pond to be filled up (18). In the reign of Tiberius the art, we are told, was brought to that perfection, that glaſs was made flexible and even malleable; concerning which, the following remarkable ſtory is told by Petronius (19). 'There was an artificer, ſays he, who made glaſs veſſels of ſuch a tenacity, that there was no breaking of them any more than thoſe made of gold or ſilver; having finiſhed a phial of this rare metal, he reſolved to preſent it to Cæſar as worthy of the Emperor alone.' Accordingly he was admitted with his preſent to Tiberius; when both the ſpecies of the gift and the ingenuity of the artiſt were highly extolled, and the devout reſpect of the giver graciouſly accepted. The man ſeeing this, in order to raiſe the admiration of the beholders into amazement, begged the phial again, and taking it from Cæſar's hand, threw *it* againſt the pavement with a force capable of bruiſing the firmeſt and moſt ſolid braſs. The Emperor was more than aſtoniſhed; the thing ſtruck a terror into *him* of the conſequences of ſuch an art. But the artiſt proceeds, and taking up the phial which was only bruiſed, he pulls a mallet from his boſom, and beats out all the bruiſes very exactly, as if it had been made of braſs. Plumed with the ſucceſs, he now concluded himſelf ſecure of Cæſar's higheſt favours, and even began to think of chuſing his own ſeat among the gods, when the event miſerably deceived him. For the Emperor enquiring if any one elſe was poſſeſſed of this ſecret, and being told not, preſently condemned our artiſt to loſe his head; alledging this for a reaſon, that if ſuch an art ſhould once come to be commonly known, gold and ſilver would be looked on as meer dirt. Whatever reception this ſtory may meet with, which, to ſpeak the truth, is but little credited by Pliny (20), yet it is certain that glaſs was in the higheſt eſteem after theſe times. We are told it was commonly ſaid of the Emperor Claudius, that he would reward any perſon with the privilege of a Roman citizen, who ſhould bring him any glaſs veſſels, even tho' they were broken (21); and Pliny (22) relates, that in the time of Nero an improvement was made in the art, which raiſed it's value ſo much, that two moderately ſized cups called pterotæ (23), were ſold for 6000 ſeſterces, that is about fifty pound ſterling. At that time the manufacture appears to be wrought in the ſame manner as it is at this day. For Seneca (24) contending againſt Poſidonius, who maintains that none of the arts which are uſeful to life were the produce of philoſophy, wiſhes that he could have ſhewn Poſidonius one of the workers in glaſs, forming that ſubſtance with his breath into various figures ſo curiouſly faſhioned, that the ſkilfuleſt hand might almoſt deſpair of equalling them. *Cuperem Poſidonio vitriariun aliquem oſtendere, qui ſpiritu vitrum in habitus plurimos format, qui vix diligenti manu effingerentur. Hæc inventa ſunt, poſtquam ſapientem invenire deſtivimus.* Theſe words ſeem to indicate, that this way of making glaſs was then recent at Rome, being unknown to Poſidonius, who flouriſhed in the time of Pompey. But Pliny

* See Chambers's Dictionary, under the word *Glaſs*.

(9) Ibid. No. 25.

(10) Hiſt. Nat. lib. xxxvi. c. 26.

(11) Iliad Z. v. 289. Ψ. 743. Odyſſ. O. 115.

(12) Sidon Artifex Vitri. Plin. l. v. c. 19. item l. xxxvi. 26.

(13) Acarn. Act. I. Sc. ii. v. 74.

(14) Καὶ κυλικεῖα δύο, ᾗ ἐκάλουν διάχρυσα δύο. Athenæus, l. v. c. 7.

(15) Λέσβιον ἐξ ὑάλου. Ibid. l. xi. c. 11.

(16) Lib. xvi. p. 758.

(17) Among the commodities brought to Rome from Egypt, Cicero mentions paper, linnen, and glaſs. Pro. Rabir. Poſthum. c. 14. and this perhaps is the firſt time glaſs is taken notice of by any Roman author. Accordingly it hath been remarked, that the great Auguſtus Cæſar had neither glaſs in his windows nor a ſhirt to his back. Arbuthnot's Tables of Coins, &c. Lond. 1727. 4to.

(18) Seneca de Ira, lib. iii. c. 40. Vid. item Dio, lib. liv. p. 537. Item Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. ix. c. 23.

(19) Sat. p. 189. edit. varior.

(20) Lib. xxxvi. 26. *Famam ejus crebriorem quam certiorem* fuiſſe dicit. And it is told otherwiſe by Dio, viz. that the glaſs was actually broken, but pieced ſo artfully, as to be reſtored to it's original perfection. l. lvii. p. 617. E.

(21) Id. l. lx. p. 676. D.

(22) Ubi ſupra.

(23) That is two-eared cups; the art of making and joining ears to cups being probably then newly diſcovered.

(24) Epiſt. 90.

Pliny

ging the beſt workmen he could pick up every where, eſpecially at Venice [*E*]. About Chriſtmas 1621 he returned to London, and not long after was welcomed with the good news of being appointed Fellow of Jeſus college upon the new foundation by Sir Eubule Theloall (*k*). But finding his friend and patron Sir Robert Manſel, who was Vice-Admiral of England, abroad with the fleet in the Mediterranean, and ſeeing no good proſpect of doing any thing for himſelf in the glaſs buſineſs (*l*), he turned his views a different way, and ſought how to make the beſt advantage of his newly acquired merit [*F*]. He had taſted the delights of travelling, and reſolved if poſſible to continue them. The firſt attempt he made of this kind was to go Secretary to Sir John Ayres to Conſtantinople, but coming too late for that poſt (*m*), Sir James Crofts preſently after recommended him to travel with two ſons of the Lord Savage in quality of governor, and with this view he was taken into that family, and handſomely entertained by his Lordſhip; but his ſtay there was ſhort (*n*), for being young and of a different religion, he declined the charge intended, and cloſed with an offer that was made him by a young gentleman of his acquaintance, to attend him as a companion in making the tour of France (*o*) [*G*]. He paſſed the year 1622

(*m*) Ibid.

(*n*) Ibid. No. 7 and 12. He ſeems to have parted honourably with this family, and he afterwards kept a correſpondence from France with his Lordſhip at his requeſt. He alſo taught Spaniſh to one of the young ladies. See No. 19. and ſeveral others. Beſides No. 14. § 4.

(*o*) Ibid. No. 16 and 12.

(*k*) He had taken care to cultivate his intereſt there all along, as appears by ſeveral letters before this of thanks in Vol. I. § 2. No. 6. to Sir Eubule Theloall, to whom his expreſſion is, that he will reſerve it [the fellowſhip], and lay it by as a good warm garment againſt rough weather, if any fall on him. And in this he was followed by Mr Prior, who alledged the like reaſon for keeping his fellowſhip at Cambridge, ſee his article. Concerning Sir Eubule's benefaction, ſee Wood's Antiq. Oxon. l. 2.

(*l*) Fam. Letters, Vol. II. § 2. No. 5.

Pliny informs us (25), that a few years after this, the uſe of glaſs cups drove out thoſe of gold and ſilver.

(25) Ubi ſupra.

[*E*] *Eſpecially at Venice.*] He ſent one Signior Antonio Miotti from Middleburgh in Zealand, where he had been maſter of a glaſs furnace a long time, and was reckoned one of the ableſt men in that way in Chriſtendom (26). From Venice, he mentions the ſending of two Italians, who by report there, were the beſt gentlemen workmen that ever blew cryſtal, one of them allied to *Antonio Miotti*, the other to *Mazalao* (27). 'I have met, continues he to Sir Robert Manſel, with Camillo your conſaorman, and could he be ſure of entertainment, he would return to ſerve you again, and I believe for leſs ſalary.' In the ſame letter he relates that he had been at Murano, where the Venetians made their glaſs, a little i[illegible] from Venice, about the diſtance of Vaux-hall from Lond[illegible] Theſe people finding they could not hinder their beſt workmen from going, when ſufficiently encouraged, into other countries; in order to prevent [illegible] loſs of their trade, induſtriouſly ſpread it about, tha[illegible] you ſhould tranſplant a glaſs furnace from Mur[illegible] herſelf, or any of the little iſlands abou[illegible] y other parts of the earth, and uſe all [illegible] the ſame workmen, the ſelf ſame [illegible] every way, yet you cannot make make cryſtal gl[illegible] n that perfection for beauty and luſtre as at Murano. This they then took care to impute to ſome ſecret quality in the air of that iſland, and our novice ſeems to be the dupe of ſuch an idle ſtory, but neither did this nor any other ſhift prove effectual. The art was firſt got from them by the French, who afterwards found out the ſecret of caſting *large* table-glaſs, which was propoſed by the Sieur Theodart in 1688 *. But this hath been ſince improved by the Engliſh, and is now made at Vaux-hall in greater perfection than any where elſe in the world.

(26) Lett. Fam. Vol. I. § i. No. 11.

(27) Ibid. No. 28.

* Chambers's Dictionary, ubi ſupra.

[*F*] *His newly acquired merit.*] Viz. His ſkill in the languages, and his knowledge of the policies and manners of the ſeveral ſtates through which he paſſed. With regard to the firſt, beſides what is already mentioned, it was of ſervice to him afterwards towards his ſubſiſtance, qualifying him to write the following books. (1.) *Lexicon Tetraglotton, An Engliſh, French, Italian, Spaniſh Dictionary*, Lond. 1660, fol. To which is added, *A particular Vocabulary, or Nomenclature, in Engliſh, Italian, French, and Spaniſh, of the proper Terms belonging to ſeveral Arts and Sciences. to common Profeſſions and Callings, both liberal and mechanic, &c. and likewiſe Proverbs, or old ſayed ſawes and adages in Engliſh, or the Saxon Tongue, Italian, French and Spaniſh, whereunto the Britiſh for their great Antiquity and Weight are added* (2.) *A French Grammar, and a Dialogue conſiſting of all Galliciſms, with Additions of the moſt uſeful and ſignificant Proverbs, printed at London twice, the laſt time in* 1673. *fol.* (3.) *A French and Engliſh Dictionary, compiled by* Mr Randal Cotgreve: *With another in Engliſh and French; whereunto are added, Animadverſions, with Supplements of many hundreds of Words never before printed*, by James Howell, Eſq; Lond. 1650, fol. (4.) *A new Engliſh Grammar for Foreigners to learn Engliſh, with a Grammar for the Spaniſh or Caſtilian Tongue, with ſpecial Remarks on the Portugueſe Dialect, for the Service of her Majeſty, London,* 1662, 8*vo*. He likewiſe applied this ſkill to tranſlate ſeveral pieces, as (1) *St Paul's late Progreſs upon Earth, about a Divorce 'twixt Chriſt and the Church of Rome, by Reaſon of her Differences and Exceſſes, &c. London*, 1644, 8*vo*. The author of this book publiſhed it about the year 1642, and being obliged to fly from Rome on that account, in the company, and under the conduct, of one who pretended friendſhip to *him*, was betrayed at Avignon, and there hanged, and then burnt. (2.) *A Venetian Looking-Glaſs: Or a Letter written very lately from London to Cardinal* Barberini *at Rome, by a Venetian Clariſſimo, touching the preſent Diſtempers in England*, 1648, 3 ſheets 4to. (3.) *An Exact Hiſtory of the late Revolutions in Naples, and of their monſtrous Succeſſes, not to be paralled by any ancient or modern Hiſtory. Lond.* 1650, 8*vo* (28). (4.) *A Letter of Advice ſent from the Prime Stateſmen of Florence, how England may come to herſelf again, dated at Florence, March* 12, 1659. Theſe were all tranſlated from the Italian: he rendered alſo from the French into Engliſh, *The Nuptials of Peleus and Thetis, conſiſting of a Maſk and a Comedy, or the Great Royal Ball, acted lately in Paris ſix times, &c.* Lond. 1654. 4to. and from Spaniſh into Engliſh, *The Proceſs and Pleadings in the Court of Spain upon the Death of Anthony Aſcham, Reſident for the Parliament of England, and of John Baptiſta Riva his Interpreter, &c.* Lond 1651, fol. This Aſcham was deſcended from a genteel family, and bred at Eaton ſchool and King's college in Cambridge, where he took the degree of A. M. and in the Civil Wars ſiding with the Parliament, he was by their authority made tutor to James Duke of York In 1648, he publiſhed *A Diſcourſe wherein is examined what is particularly lawful during the Confuſions and Revolutions of Government, &c* (29) He was appointed reſident to Spain in the latter end of 1649, and arriving at Madrid in June following, had an apartment in the palace, where he was murthered. Six Engliſh gentlemen, viz. John Guillim, William Spark, Valentine Progers, Jo. Halſal, William Arnet, and Henry Progers, went to his chambers, and two of them ſtaying at the bottom of the ſtairs, and two others at the top, the remaining two entered the room, of whom Spark being the firſt, drew up to the table where Aſcham and his interpreter were ſitting, and pulling off his hat, ſaid, Gentlemen, I kiſs your hands, pray which is the Reſident; upon which the Reſident riſing, Guillim took him by the hair, and with a dagger gave him a thruſt that overthrew him; then came Spark and gave him another, and to make ſure work they gave him five ſtabs, of which he inſtantly died. Whereupon his interpreter thinking to retire to his own chamber, the other four gave him four wounds whereof he preſently expired. Five of the Engliſh took ſanctuary, whence they were haled, impriſoned, and condemned, and Spark † ſuffered The ſixth, Henry Progers, fled to the Venetian ambaſſador's houſe, and ſo eſcaped (30).

(28) This book was written in Italian by Alexander Giraffi.

(29) The reſt of the title is; or how far a Man may lawfully conform to the Power and Commands of thoſe, who with various Succeſſes hold Kingdoms divided by civil and foreign Wars, &c. Likewiſe whether the Nature of War be inconſiſtent with the Precepts of the Chriſtian Religion. Lond. 1648. 8vo. in 3 parts. This book was anſwered by Biſhop Sanderſon. See his article.

† He was the only Proteſtant among them. Hiſt. of the Rebellion. &c. p. 291. by Lord Clarendon, who was then Ambaſſador in Spain from King Ch. II. The reſt being re-delivered to the ſame church, had proviſions ſent to them by perſons of quality, 'till they found an opportunity of making their eſcape. Thurloe' State Papers. Vol. I. p. 189 & alibi.

(30) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 385. According to the account in Thurloe, Aſcham was murdered at an inn, before the others came for his removal into the palace.

[*G*] *He went to France with a young gentleman*] Viz. Mr Richard Altham, a younger ſon of Baron Altham, Mr Howell became acquainted with him at Stains while his brother Howell was there. Our author ſpeaks of him as a nonpareil. 'I hold him, ſays he (31), to be one of the hopefuleſt young men of this kingdom for parts and perſon; he is full of excellent ſolid knowledge, the mathematicks, the law, and other

(31) Vol. I. § 2. No. 12. ibid. No. 18.

1622 greatly to his ſatisfaction with this friend abroad, and not many months after his return kiſſed the King's hand for an agency to the court of Spain, where he went to ſollicit the recovery of a rich Engliſh ſhip, which had been ſeized by that King's Viceroy at Sardinia upon a pretence of carrying contraband goods [*H*]. Three Ambaſſadors had been already employed in negotiating this affair, yet Mr Howell brought the matter nearer to a ſucceſsful iſſue than had been done before [*I*]; but when he was juſt upon the point of completing it to the ſatisfaction of both parties, the Prince of Wales (afterwards King Charles I.) coming to Madrid on account of the Infanta, firſt put a ſtop to Mr Howell's proceeding; and the breaking of the Spaniſh match afterwards broke the neck of the whole buſineſs, and of all our agent's proſpects of advantage thereby [*K*]; and he returned

other material ſtudies;' in ſhort, he was evidently Howell's white boy, molded exactly to his heart's wiſh. In his company he was completely bleſt, and ſays, he envied no man's happineſs (32). He ſeems to have had the ſame warmth in his temper with our cadet, which not long after their return drew them into a rencounter (33) with the Sergeants in Lombard ſtreet. But in this tour Mr Howell was in great danger of loſing his life by too cloſe an application to his ſtudies. For having retired with his comrade to Poiſſy for privacy, and ſole converſe with the nation, he there taſked himſelf to read ſo many books in ſuch a compaſs of time, and to perform it, he frequently watched many nights together in the depth of winter. Whereupon returning to Paris he was ſeized with an impoſthume in his head, whereof he lay ſick above forty days, being eighteen of them without any ſleep, except ſuch ſhort imperfect ſlumbers as were procured by potions; at laſt a tumour ſettled in his throat, ſo that he could hardly fetch his breath; but after cauterizing it, an iſſue was made in his cheek, which, he ſays, ſaved his life. It is obſervable that he was much ſubject to this diſtemper, a defluxion fell into his throat while he was at Oxford, which diſtilling upon the uvula impeached his utterance a long time after; he found the ſame diſorder again at Venice in his firſt travels, where he had an iſſue made in his left arm for it: on his return homewards, he fell ſick again at Rouen of a pain in the head, which, with the iſſue he brought to England. Here Dr Harvey, whom he conſulted, apprehending it might turn to a conſumption, ſtopped his iſſue, telling him *There was no danger, in regard he had not worn it a full twelve month*. After which he quickly recovered by the aſſiſtance of that celebrated Phyſician (34).

(32) See his Letter to him, Vol. I. § 1, No. 2 and 18. and § 2, No. 30, 32.

(33) Ibid. § 3. No. 8 and 10. Our author had ſuch another ſcuffle as that mentioned here, at Paris, of which he gave this friend an account in a letter from that city. Ib. No. 17. § 1.

(34) Ibid. No. 1 and 22. § 2.

[*H*] *Seized for carrying contraband goods.*] Mr Howell gives the following account of this affair. There was a large Turkey ſhip called the *Vineyard*, which ſailing through the Streights for Conſtantinople, was forced by ſtreſs of weather into a little port called Milo in Sardinia; here the ſearchers came on board, and finding her richly laden (her cargo of broad-cloth at prime coſt being worth 300001. ſterling), they cavilled at ſome ſmall quantity of lead and tin, which though only for the ſhip's uſe, they alledged to be *Ropa de contrabando*, prohibited goods (35); and the Vice roy of Sardinia accordingly ſeized the ſhip and cargo, and landed the maſter and men in Spain (36).

(35) By an article of peace with Spain, nothing was to be carried to Turky that might arm and victual.

(36) Fam. Lett. Vol. I. § 3. No. 6.

[*I*] *Three Ambaſſadors had been employed, but Mr Howell did more than all.*] The Ambaſſadors were Sir Ch. Cornwallis once, and Lord Digby twice, in that character. The firſt of theſe being Ambaſſador in Spain when the maſter and men were put aſhore there as abovementioned, they immediately addreſſed themſelves to him, but finding him able to do them little good, they came to England and complained to the King and Council. Whereupon his Majeſty ſent a particular commiſſion in his own name to demand reſtitution and juſtice upon the Vice-roy. Sir Ch Cornwallis (together with Sir Paul Pindar a while) laboured the buſineſs and commenced a ſuit in law, but was called home, before he could do any thing to purpoſe. To him ſucceeded Sir John (afterwards Lord) Digby, in the ſame character, and being inveſted with the ſame commiſſion, diſpatched Mr Walſingham Greſsley to Sardinia, who happened to be taken priſoner by ſome Turkiſh men of war, and carried into Algiers. Lord Digby being remanded home, left the buſineſs in the hands of Mr Cottington, then an agent at Madrid, but reſumed it at his return; yet it proved ſuch a tedious intricate ſuit, that his Lordſhip went back to England again without finiſhing the work; and going now Ambaſſador extraordinary upon the buſineſs of the Spaniſh match and the reſtitution of the Palatinate, deſired this particular commiſſion might be given to another, whom he promiſed to aſſiſt to the utmoſt of his power, having himſelf alſo a good round ſhare in the buſineſs (37). His Lordſhip's declining it was the ſtep which helped Mr Howell to the employ; who, meeting with the like delays his predeceſſors had done in the law-courts, preſented a memorial, that a particular junta of ſome of the Council of State and War might be appointed to determine the buſineſs. Upon this referees were accordingly nominated, who paſſed ſentence in favour of the complainants, by virtue of which he got an execution againſt the goods of the Vice-roy, and afterwards obtained a royal cedule with a power to arreſt his perſon, ſuch as he was told by his lawyers, had never been granted in Spain before (38).

(37) Ibid.

(38) Id. § 3. No. 10 and 14.

[*K*] *Broke the neck of the whole buſineſs, and of all his proſpects therein.*] He had been in Sardinia, and brought the Vice-roy to offer a compoſition, and finding him unable to ſatisfy the debt, he had framed another memorial and preſented it to the King, deſiring that, as the ſaid Vice-roy was inſolvent, his Majeſty would be pleaſed to grant a warrant (for the relief of both parties) to lade ſo many thouſand ſterills or meaſures of corn out of Sardinia and Sicily cuſtom free, as ſhould be equivalent to the debt. He had gone far towards obtaining ſuch a warrant, when Sir Francis Cottington, Secretary to the Prince of Wales, ſent for him, and required him in the Prince's name to proceed no further herein 'till his Royal Highneſs was departed from Spain (39). After the breach, Mr Howell had acceſs to Olivarez the Prime-Miniſter, once or twice, and likewiſe to the King, to whom he now preſented a memorial, that intimated letters of mart, unleſs ſatisfaction was had in his affair. The King gave him a gracious anſwer, but Olivarez, ſays he, told me, that *when the Spaniards had juſtice in England, we ſhould have juſtice here* (40). This was plain dealing, and put a compleat end to our agent's negotiation. He had undertaken this affair upon what he calls very good terms. For beſides all his expences borne, he was to have 3000 l. ſterling reward, if he ſucceeded. And that, which no doubt, ſweetned the employ more, was the company of his dear friend Mr Richard Altham (41), who went with him to Madrid, and probably had a great hand in procuring it for him, being a near relation to Captain Leat, a principal perſon concerned. Mr Howell having liquidated the whole ſum, principal and intereſt upon intereſt (the uſage in thoſe times) with all ſorts of damages and proceſſal charges, found it to amount to upwards of 250,000 crowns, of theſe Captain Leat's ſhare came to above 40,000, a ſum, which the commiſſioner obſerves, might ſerve him for a good Alderman's eſtate (42).

(39) Ib. No. 17.

(40) Ibid. No. 33. Mr Howell afterwards applied to Lord Cottington, on his going Ambaſſador Extraordinary to Spain in 1629, who did ſomething in it, but with what ſucceſs does not appear. § 5. No. 28 and 35.

(41) He returned home a year before Mr Howell, on account of his brother's death, whom he did not ſurvive a great many years. Ib. No. 23 and 45. § 6.

(42) Ibid. No. 8 and 10.

Our author as ſervant of the Crown, had his paſſage home in company of Mr (afterwards Sir) Peter Wych, in the convoy of the Prince of Wales's jewels, which, he ſays, were valued at above 100,000 l. and among others there was a great table diamond for Olivarez of eighteen carats weight, but the richeſt preſent was to the Infanta, being a chain of great orient pearl to the number of 276, weighing 9 oz (43). Our author alſo relates ſeveral curious particulars in the Prince's courtſhip, hardly elſewhere to be met with. As firſt, that in a poem of Lope de Vegas upon this occaſion, there was this excellent ſtanza).

Carlos Eſtuardo Soy
Que fiendo Amor mi guia,
Al cielo d'Eſpana voy
Por ver mi Eſtrella Maria (44).

(43) Ibid. § 4. No. 1.

(44) It is no wonder to find our author approving this ſtrain of the Spaniard, when we read the following lines of his own.
Could I thoſe whitely ſtars go nigh,
Which make the milky way in ſky,
I'de poach them, and at moon-ſhine dreſs,
To make my Delia a curious meſs.
Ibid. Vol. II. § 1. No. 22.

2. That the comedians came once a week to the palace, where under a great canopy the Queen and the Infanta ſat

returned to England toward the latter end of the year 1624 (p). This unexpected diſappointment put him again to his ſhifts for a ſupport. In this exigence he made his court to the Duke of Buckingham as the ſole diſpoſer of all preferments †, and he received many noble reſpects from his Grace; but finding after two years attendance that he was thought to be too much Digbyfied to have any place of truſt under that minion, who was then at high enmity with the Earl of Briſtol, he liſtened to a propoſal that was made to him in 1626 by Lord Conway then Secretary of State; which was to go into Italy in quality of a moving agent for the King (q). But the demand of 100 l. a quarter, which he thought that ſervice deſerved, not being complied with, he miſſed likewiſe of this employ. However, the loſs was in a ſhort time abundantly made up to him; for the ſame year he was appointed Secretary to Emmanuel Lord Scrope (afterwards Earl of Sunderland), who was made Lord-Preſident of the North (r). This poſt brought Mr Howell to York; and while he reſided there, the corporation of Richmond, without any application from himſelf, and againſt ſeveral competitors, choſe him one of their repreſentatives to ſit in the Parliament which began in 1627 (s). The following year Lord Scrope fell into a languiſhing diſorder (t), and reſigning his poſt the year after, was ſucceeded therein by the Lord-Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford (u), who at his entrance into that office, out of regard to Mr Howell, and in conſideration of his loſs, gave him the diſpoſal of the next Attorney's place that became vacant at York *. This grant was of ſome advantage to him [L], and he continued in the ſervice of his old maſter 'till his Lordſhip's death [M]. In 1632, he went Secretary to Robert Earl of Leiceſter, appointed Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the court of Denmark, on occaſion of the death of the Queen

(p) See Ibid. § 4. No. 1. dated Dec. 10. 1624. when newly returned from Spain.

† He was recommended by ſome noblemen his friends, that had intimacy with the Duke, 'About whom, 'ſays he, though 'he hath 3 Se- 'cretaries alrea- 'dy, I hope to 'have ſome em- 'ployment.' Ib. and No. 10.

(q) No. 24.

(r) Id. ibid. and No. 25, 26.

(s) Ibid. § 5. No. 3, 4.

(t) Id. ibid. No. 30 and 34.

(u) See his article.

* Howell's Letters, § 6. No. 18.

ſat in the middle, the Prince of Wales and Don Carlos on the Queen's right hand; the King and the little Cardinal on the Infanta's left hand. 'I have ſeen, ſays he, the Prince have his eyes immoveably fixed upon the Infanta half an hour together in a thoughtful ſpeculative poſture;' upon which part of his behaviour, Olivarez made the unhandſome compariſon, that he watched her as a cat does a mouſe. 3. That the Prince being informed the Infanta uſed to go ſome mornings to the *Caſa de campo*, a ſummer-houſe of the King's on the other ſide of the river of Madrid to gather May-dew, he roſe early and went thither, taking Mr Endymion Porter with him. They were let into the houſe and into the garden, but the Infanta was in the orchard, and there being a high partition wall between, and the door doubly bolted, the Prince got on the top of the wall and ſprung down a great height and ſo made towards her, but ſhe, ſpying him firſt of all the reſt, gave a ſhriek, and ran back; the old Marquis that was then her guardian, came towards the Prince, and fell on his knees, conjuring his Highneſs to retire, in regard he hazarded his head, if he admitted any to her company; ſo the door was opened, and the Prince came out under that wall over which he had got in. I have ſeen him, continues our author, watch a long hour together in a cloſe coach in the open ſtreet to ſee her as ſhe went abroad (45).

(45) Ibid. § 3. No. 18.

[L] *This grant was ſome advantage.*] One of theſe places became vacant the ſame year, and he was offered 300l. for it: but herein, it ſeems, he met with a conſiderable diſappointment, *for 'ſome*, ſays he, *got betwixt 'me and home, ſo that I was forced to go away 'contented with one hundred pieces* Mr Ratcliffe *deli- 'vered me in his chamber at Gray's-Inn, and ſo to part 'with the legal inſtrument I had, which I did rather 'than conteſt* (46).' This grant is an inſtance of his Lordſhip's noble diſpoſition, ſince he had never liked his predeceſſor Lord Scroop (47) [afterwards Earl of Sunderland]; and beſides, Mr Howell had been choſen Member of Parliament for Richmond, againſt his Lordſhip's couſin and particular favourite Mr Chriſtopher Wandſford (48). The inſtrument for the attorney's place, was returned to his Lordſhip with the following letter.

(46) Ibid. § 5. No. 24. The truth is, this was not a ſeaſon fit for conteſting it, that court itſelf being then become one of the grievances univerſally complained of, and two years afterwards, it was aboliſhed as illegal. See the Earl of Clarendon's article.

(47) See the Earl of Strafford's article.

(48) Ibid. and Howell's Letters Vol. I. § 5. No. 4.

To the Lord Viſcount Wentworth, Lord Preſident of the North.

'*My ever honoured good Lord,*

'*Herewith I ſend your Lordſhip the inſtrument you 'pleaſed to paſs unto me for the reverſion of the next 'Attorney's place in York, for which, by your Lord- 'ſhip's appointment, Mr Ratcliffe hath given me ſatiſ- 'faction. I was always, and ſhall ever continue ſo 'ſenſible of ſo free and noble a favour, that in the 'whole courſe of my life, I ſhall endeavour to make 'expreſſions of my thankfulneſs, and how much I 'am,*

My Lord,

your Lordſhip's

St Martin's-lane, May, 5, 1629. *moſt true and humble ſervant,*

JA. HOWELL.

This letter has been lately printed among the State Papers and Letters of the Earl of Strafford (49), where there are twelve more from Mr Howell to his Lordſhip, wrote monthly, during the courſe of the year 1635*, all upon the ſame ſubject of public news and occurrences with thoſe three to his Lordſhip, printed by Mr Howell himſelf in his familiar letters (50), and written antecedently to that year, if we may rely upon their dates, which are partly confirmed by the beginning of his firſt monthly letter in 1634, printed in the State Papers, &c. where he intimates, that he had paid this tribute of his obſervance, though not regularly before. This circumſtance is mentioned in the view of vindicating the authenticity of Mr Howell's Familiar Letters from the aſperſion thrown upon them by Mr Wood, who tells us, 'that many of the ſaid letters were never written 'before the author of them was in the Fleet as he pre- 'tends, only feigned, no time being kept with their 'dates (51).' But ſome inaccuracy in the dates, is no good argument againſt their genuineneſs, ſince in ſuch letters, as many or moſt of theſe are, 'tis not unuſual in the copy (there being no neceſſity for it) to omit the dates, which therefore (as the originals were then out of his hands) muſt be often ſupplied by memory alone †; and hence probably it is, that we find the year frequently omitted.

(49) In two vols fol. 1739. Vol. I. p. 50.

* The firſt is dated Feb. 1, 1634-5. and the laſt March 15, 1635-6.

(50) Sect. 5. No. 31. and § 6. No. 12 and 25.

(51) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 382. N. B. In the firſt edition the letters had no dates, and that want was ſupplied in the ſecond. See the title-page to that edition in 1650.

† For inſtance, the letter in Vol. I. § 6. No. 31 containing our author's *deceaſe* on the death of Ben. Johnſon, is dated May 1, 1636, whereas that Poet did not die 'till Aug. 16, 1637. Yet that the letter with the deceaſe was actually ſent, appears from it's being in the collection entituled *Johnſonus Virbius*, printed in 1638. 4to.

[M] *He continued in the ſervice of his old maſter 'till his Lordſhip's death.*] The profits of his Secretary's office had been very conſiderable; not long after his ſettlement in it, he writes to a friend from York thus. 'For this preſent condition of life, I thank 'God I live well contented, I have a fee from the 'King, diet for myſelf and two ſervants, livery for a 'horſe, and a part of the King's houſe for my lodg- 'ing, and other privileges which I am told no Secre- 'tary before me had.' He alſo mentions his having built himſelf a new ſtudy (52). My Lord gave him next year, 1628, the patronage of the living of Hambledon near Henley upon Thames, a rectory worth 500 l. a year (53). However, after his Lordſhip's reſignation, he complains, that the perquiſites of his place, taking the King's fee away, came very ſhort of what his Lordſhip promiſed him at his firſt coming to him, in regard of his non reſidence at York; he therefore hoped his Lordſhip would conſider it ſome other way, in which view he ſtill continued in his ſervice (54). But we find at laſt, he had met with ſome difficulty in

(52) Fam. Lett. Vol. I. § 5. No. 1.

(53) Ibid. No. 16.

(54) Ibid. No. 34.

Queen-dowager, who was grandmother to King Charles I. [*N*]. Our author gave ſome proofs of his oratorical talents in ſeveral Latin ſpeeches before the King of Denmark and other princes of Germany (*w*). He alſo was very ſerviceable in procuring a grant of ſome privileges to our Eaſtland company, which never could be obtained before [*O*]. Soon after his return to England, he received the unwelcome news of his father's death [*P*], a loſs which muſt needs be more ſenſibly felt by him, as his fortune proved afterwards more unſtable than ever. For except an inconſiderable affair, upon which he was diſpatched to Orleans in France by Secretary Windebank in 1635 (*x*), he was deſtitute of any employment for ſome years, meeting with the not uncommon lot of thoſe who are thrown into a life of dependency (*y*). Under theſe difficulties he ſet his face at laſt towards Ireland, where Lord Wentworth being Deputy was then reſident. He had received many warm profeſſions of kindneſs from his Lordſhip, and was now determined to put his ſincerity to the trial (*z*). With this reſolution he went in 1639 to Dublin, where he was well received; and finding one of the Clerks of the Council moſt opportunely very aged and bed-rid, he applied for the reverſion of the place, and obtained a grant thereof. In the interim, the Lord-Deputy employed him as an Aſſiſtant-Clerk upon ſome buſineſs to Edinburgh, and afterwards to London (*aa*); but all his riſing hopes were ruined in the unhappy fate which the Earl of Strafford met with ſoon after. However, in 1640 he was diſpatched upon ſome buſineſs to France (*bb*), whither he carried a French tranſlation of his poem called Dodona's Grove, or the Vocal Foreſt, which was publiſhed that year [*Q*]; and upon New-Year's-day following, he preſented to his Majeſty a poem entitled THE VOTE [*R*]; and the ſame year, Sir Edward Nicholas being promoted to be Secretary

(*w*) His ſpeech to the Dutcheſs of Holſtein drew tears from her. Fam. Lett. Vol. I. § 6. No. 2.

(*x*) Ibid. No. 19.

(*y*) It is very probable that he laid the plan at this time of his *Dodona's Grove*, that poem being finiſhed in 1639. See his Letters, No. 39.

(*z*) No. 34.

(*aa*) No. 36, 38.

(*bb*) What this was is not known, but he was introduced to Cardinal Richelieu, who made him ſuch propoſitions, as, he ſays, it were a vanity in him to mention. Ibid. No. 44. In this letter he gives ſome remarkable inſtances of the groſs flatteries addreſſed by the French to that Miniſter in verſe. One of theſe is the following diſtich,

Richleio intranti Rupellæ [*Rupellæ*] porta pateſcit
Chriſto infernales ut patuere fores.

in ſettling his accounts with Lady Sunderland, as appears from the letter cited in the margin (55), addreſſed to her Ladyſhip, which begins thus:

(55) Ibid. § 6. No. 18.

'*Madam,*

'*Here incloſed, I ſend your Ladyſhip a letter from the Lord-Deputy of Ireland, wherein he declares, that the diſpoſal of the Attorneyſhip in York, which he paſſed over to me, had no relation to my Lord at all, but it was merely done out of a particular reſpect to me: your Ladyſhip may pleaſe to think of it accordingly touching the accounts.*'

From this paſſage her Ladyſhip ſeems to have made the value of that attorneyſhip an article in her favour, grounding it probably upon the anſwer ſent by Lord Wentworth to the following letter from the Earl of Sunderland on that occaſion.

'*My very good Lord,*

'*I underſtand your Lordſhip hath beſtowed the next Attorney's place in reverſion at York, upon James Howell my Secretary. I muſt thank you for it, and the rather, becauſe he hath deſervingly and faithfully ſerved me in that place, wherein I bear your Lordſhip hath ſucceeded me. I wiſh you much happineſs in it, and reſt very faithfully,*

St Martyn's lane, Dec. 15, 1628.

Your humble ſervant,

E. SUNDERLAND †.'

† Strafford's State Papers and Letters, &c. Vol. I.

[*N*] *Grandmother to King Charles I.*] She was the Duke of Mecklenburgh's daughter, her huſband Chriſtian III. dying young, her portion, which was 40,000l. was reſtored to her, and living a widow forty-four years after, ſhe grew to be ſo great a houſe-wife (ſetting three or four hundred people at work) that ſhe died worth near two millions of dollars, ſo that ſhe was reputed the richeſt Queen in Chriſtendom. By the conſtitution of Denmark, this eſtate was diviſible amongſt her children, whereof ſhe had five, the King of Denmark, the Ducheſs of Saxony, the Ducheſs of Brunſwick, Queen Anne, conſort to King James I. and the Ducheſs of Holſtein. The King being male was to have two ſhares, and King Charles I. then our King and his ſiſter the Princeſs Palatine were to have their mother's ſhare divided between them (56), which amounted to 160,000l. ſterling. This the Ambaſſador aſked for, but the King not complying, by reaſon of ſome demands he had upon the Crown of England; my Lord Leiceſter then deſired, in regard he was to paſs through the Hague, that part which belonged to my Lady Elizabeth, becauſe his Majeſty knew well what croſſes and afflictions ſhe had ſuffered, and what a numerous iſſue ſhe had to maintain; and his Lordſhip ſaid, he would engage his honour and all the eſtate he had in the world, that this ſhould no way prejudice the accompts. The King of Denmark highly extolled the nobleneſs of this motion, but proteſted his coffers were empty: hereupon my Lord was feaſted, and that was all he could get (57).

(56) Fam. Lett. § 5. No. 40.

[*O*] *He procured ſome privileges for the Eaſtland Company.*] The ſhips of that company in paſſing through the Sound, had been forced to ſtay there ſeveral days on account of taking up money at high intereſt to pay diverſe tolls for the merchandizes, before they could expoſe them to vent; but it was now granted, that it ſhould be ſufficient for the merchant to regiſter an invoice of his cargo in the Cuſtom-houſe book, and give his bond to pay all duties at his return after he had made his market, which no Ambaſſador had been able to obtain before. There had been likewiſe a new toll demanded of late from the Hamburgh merchants at Luckſtadt, a fort commanding the entrance into the Elbe, which at the Ambaſſador's ſuit was now taken off (58).

(57) Ibid. § 6. No. 5.

(58) The old toll was a roſe noble for every ſhip, which had been of late interpreted to be for every ſail. Ibid. Nos. 4 and 5.

[*P*] *He received the news of his father's death.*] This was ſent to him by Dr Field, Biſhop of St Davids, and he obſerves, that it was the heavieſt news that ever was ſent him. 'But, continues he, when I recollect myſelf, and conſider the fairneſs and maturity of his age, and that it was rather a gentle diſſolution than death. When I contemplate the infinite advantage he hath got by this change and tranſmigration, it much lightens the weight of my grief. For if ever human ſoul entered Heaven, ſurely his is there; ſuch was his conſtant piety to God, his rare indulgence to his children, his charity to his neighbours, and his candour in reconciling differences; ſuch was the gentleneſs of his diſpoſition; his unwearied courſe in actions of virtue, that I wiſh *my* ſoul no other felicity, when ſhe has ſhaken off theſe rags of fleſh, than to aſcend to his, and co-enjoy the ſame bliſs (59).' Such an amiable inſtance of filial piety was thought worthy of a place in theſe memoirs.

(59) Ibid. No. 7.

[*Q*] *Dodona's Grove, or the Vocal Foreſt, publiſhed in* 1640, *in* 4*to.*] The Engliſh poem was publiſhed in reality at the latter end of 1639 (60), and the author having tranſlated it into French, carried it to be reviſed at Paris; after which he ſent a copy from that city to Lord Herbert of Cherbury, with this recommendation, that it was done in the neweſt French; for though the verſion was his own, yet he had got one of the *Academie des beaux Eſprits* there to run it over, to correct and refine the language, and reduce it to the moſt modern dialect. It took ſo here, continues he, that the Academy of Wits have given a far higher elogium of it than it deſerves (61).

(60) Ibid. No. 39.

(61) No. 44. It went through ſeveral editions; and being ſo well received, he made uſe of it to carry off other pieces, as *His Parables*, &c. in the 2d edit. in 1644, 4to. and in the 3d, at Cambridge, in 1655, 12mo. were added *England's Tears*, &c. and *The Preheminence and Pedigree of Parliaments*, &c. together with his *Vindication* againſt Mr Prynne.

[*R*] *The Vote.*] The whole title is, *The Vote; or a Poem preſented to his Majeſty for a New-Year's-Gift by Way of Diſcourſe betwixt the Poet and his Muſe. Kal.* January 1641, 4to. The method he took of prefixing it to the ſecond volume of his familiar letters has preſerved it, otherwiſe it muſt have periſhed long ago, being indeed a very indifferent performance. Our author exerciſed his poetical talent in verſe on other occaſions. As in a piece intituled, *Ah, Ha*, Tumulus, Thalamus; *Two Counter Poems, The firſt an Elegy upon*

Secretary of State, Mr Howell ſucceeded him in the Clerkſhip of the Council (*c c*). This poſt was the moſt fixed in point of reſidence, and the moſt permanent in it's nature, of any he had ever enjoyed. But the reſidence of theſe Clerks was now rendered very unſettled upon the King's departure from his palace at Whitehall, and the permanency in their office became thereby ſo precarious, that it was not in the power of his royal maſter to ſecure his continuance long in it. For in 1643, being come to London upon ſome buſineſs of his own, all his papers were ſeized by a committee of the Parliament, his perſon ſecured, and in a few days after committed cloſe priſoner to the Fleet [*S*]. He had before this time, partly through want of employment, and partly by bad œconomy, run himſelf conſiderably in debt (*f f*), ſo that he had now nothing to truſt to but his pen (*g g*). He applied himſelf therefore wholly to write and tranſlate books, which buſineſs he managed ſo well, that it brought him in a comfortable ſubſiſtence during his long ſtay in that priſon, where he was confined 'till ſome time after the King's death; and as he got nothing by his diſcharge thence beſides his liberty, he was obliged to continue the ſame employ afterwards. His numerous productions are an undeniable proof of the readineſs of his wit, and in the light of criticiſm they ought to be looked on as works of neceſſity more than of choice. Preſently after his impriſonment, Mr Prynne, in a piece entitled *The Popiſh Royal Favourite*, charging him with *being no friend to Parliaments, and a malignant*, our author publiſhed a vindication of himſelf in 1644 [*T*]; and the ſame year, being informed that the King was diſpleaſed at ſome things publiſhed in his name ſince his confinement, as ſhewing an indifference to his Majeſty's ſervice, he took the liberty of addreſſing a letter (*b b*) to his Majeſty then at Oxford, wherein he makes uſe of the ſtrongeſt terms to purge himſelf from that imputation, and expreſſes a warm zeal for the royal cauſe; yet at the ſame time he makes free to beſeech the King to return to his parliament

(*c c*) Ibid. No. 46. and Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*f f*) Wood, ib.

(*g g*) Before this he publiſhed, Inſtructions for Travel, ſhewing by what Courſe, and in what Compaſſe of time, one may take an exact Survey of the Kingdomes and States of Chriſtendome, and arrive to the practicall Knowledge of the Languages to good purpoſe. Lond. 1642. 12mo. dedicated to Prince Charles

(*b b*) Vol. 2. No. 65.

upon Edward late Earl of Dorſet; the ſecond, an Epithalamium to the L. Marquis of Dorcheſter; with an Hymenæum, or bridal Sonnet of four Stanzas, according to a choice Air ſet thereunto, by Mr William Webb, Lond 1653, two ſheets quarto. Alſo another poetical piece called, *The Parley of Beaſts, or Morphandia Queen of the enchanted Iſland, &c.* Tom. I. Lond. 1660. And in 1663, there came out in octavo, written by him, *Poems on ſeveral choice and various Subjects, occaſionally compoſed by an eminent Author, collected and publiſhed by Serjeant-Major, P. F.* [Payne Fiſher, ſometime Poet-Lauret to Oliver Cromwell] who obſerves in the preface, that Mr Howell may 'be called 'the prodigy of the age for the variety of his volumes; 'for from his Δενδρολογία, or parley of trees, to his 'Θηριολογία, his parley of beaſts, not inferior to the 'other, there has paſſed the preſs above forty of his 'works on various ſubjects, uſeful not only to the preſent times, but to all poſterity. And it is to be obſerved, that in all his writings there is ſomething ſtill 'new either in the matter, method, or fancy, and in 'an untrodden track.' Of the poetical kind, may be reckoned alſo, (1.) His Winter Dream, though written in proſe, Lond. 1649, in three ſheets, 4to (2.) *A Trance; or News from Hell, brought firſt to Town, by Merc. Acheronticus*, Lond. 1649, two ſheets and a half. (3.) A Viſion, or Dialogue between the Soul and Body, Lond 1651, 8vo. (4.) *A Nocturnal Progreſs; or a Perambulation of moſt Countries in Chriſtendom, performed in one Night by ſtrength of Imagination*, Lond. 1645.

[*S*] *Committed cloſe priſoner to the Fleet.*] The circumſtances of it were, that one morning there ruſhed into his chamber five armed men with ſwords, piſtols, and bills, and told him they had a warrant from the Parliament for him, which though they refuſed to ſhew for a while, yet at laſt one of them pulled a greazy paper out of his pocket and ſhewed him only three names ſubſcribed and no more. So they ruſhed into his cloſet, and ſeizing all his papers, letters, and manuſcripts, beſides ſeveral printed books, they carried them away. Having taken phyſic that morning, they ſuffered him (yet not without much ado) to ſtay in his chamber with two guards upon him 'till the evening, when he was carried before the committee for examination, where he was well uſed, and being brought up to the cloſe committee, was ordered to be forth-coming, 'till his papers were peruſed by Mr Corbet, who was appointed to do it. Some days after he came to Mr Corbet, who told him he had peruſed them accordingly, and could find nothing that might give offence. 'Hereupon, continues our author, I deſired him to make his report to the Houſe, which (as I was told) he did very fairly; yet ſuch was my hard hap, that I was committed to the Fleet, where I am now under cloſe confinement.' This account Mr Howell gives (62) of the cauſe of his impriſonment. But Mr Wood inſinuates that he was thrown into priſon for debts contracted through his own extravagancy (63). And indeed ſome of our author's letters give room enough to ſuſpect it (64). And in one he ſeems to impute the apprehending of him to the indiſcretion of one of his acquaintance, who diſcovered his abode (65). But whatever was either the firſt occaſion of his impriſonment, or of his detention ſo long there, he was certainly very cheerful under it; of which, among others, the following epitaph upon himſelf is an inſtance.

Heer lies entomb'd a walking thing,
Whom Fortune (with the States) did fling
Between theſe walls. Why? Aſk not that,
That blind whore doth ſhe knows not what (66).

(62) Ibid. No. 47.

(63) Ubi ſupra, col. 381.

(64) Ibid. Vol. 1. § 6. No. 55 and 60. In the firſt he ſays, he has good hopes he ſhall at laſt overcome all his preſſures, ſurvive his debts, and ſurmount his enemies.

(65) Vol. 2. No. 77.

[*T*] *A vindication of himſelf in* 1644.] This defence likewiſe contained a *Clearing of ſome Occurrences in Spain at his Majeſty's being there, cited by the* ſaid Mr Prynn out of the Vocal Foreſt; by J. H. Eſq; one of the Clerks of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy-Council. Publiſhed by ſpecial order, Lond, 1644. In it he declares (67), that Mr Prynn had traduced him in the charge abovementioned, and is confident it never could be proved againſt him from any action, words, or letters (though ſeveral of his had been intercepted), or any other miſdemeanour, though ſome things had been fathered upon him which never dropped from his quill. 'Alas, continues he, how un-'worthy and uncapable am I to cenſure the proceed-'ings of that great Senate, that high Synedrion where-'in the wiſdom of the whole Senate is epitomized.' Before this, our author had publiſhed ſeveral pieces upon the times; the firſt of which was written preſently after the battle of Edge-hill, and was the firſt book that came out on the King's ſide, entitled, *Caſual Diſcourſes and Interlocutions between* Patricius *and* Peregrin, *touching the Diſtractions of the times.* (2.) Mercurius Hibernicus, *or a Diſcourſe of that horrid Inſurrection and Maſſacre which happened lately in Ireland*, written in the Fleet, 1643. Briſtol, 1644. in two ſheets and a half, 4to. (3.) *Parables reflecting upon the Times*, Lond. 1644. in two ſheets, 4to. ſubjoined to the ſecond edition of *Dodona's Grove.* (4.) *England's Tears for the preſent Wars* (68), *which for the Nature of the Quarrel, the Quality of the Strength, the Diverſity of Battles, Skirmiſhes, Encounters, and Sieges, happened in ſo ſhort a compaſs of time, cannot be parallelled in any preceding Age*, Lond. 1644. in two ſheets and a half, 4to. (5.) *Preheminence and Pedigree of Parliaments*, in two ſections, Lond. 1644. 12mo. To this was ſubjoined his *Vindication*, &c. mentioned in the beginning of this remark.

(66) Ibid. No. 40.

(67) P. 16.

(68) This was tranſlated into Latin, and publiſhed under the title of Angliæ Suſpiria & Lachrymæ, &c. Lond. 1646. 4to.

[*U*] *He*

ment and palace at Whitehall [U]. It is true, he appears to be no friend to the meaſures purſued by Buckingham, Laud, and Strafford, and was far from approving the impoſition of ſhip-money, and the policy of creating and multiplying monopolies (*i i*). Yet the ſenſe of his own ſufferings, and the miſery brought upon the nation during the civil wars, by the unbridled inſolence and outrage of the commonalty, gave him an utter diſlike to any kind of popular ſway in England; in which view he was not diſpleaſed, when Oliver aſſumed the ſovereign power in the ſpecious title of Protector, and in this light it was that he addreſſed the Uſurper in a fair ſpeech on that occaſion [W]. If his circumſtances requiring it, he (as well as many others of unqueſtionable loyalty) yielded prudentially to the neceſſity of the times under Cromwell's tyranny, yet at the Reſtoration this conduct was judged not inexcuſable. King Charles II. thought him worthy of his notice and favour, and his former poſt under the Council being otherwiſe diſpoſed of, a new place was created, by the grant of which he became the firſt Hiſtoriographer Royal * in England [X]. In

(*i i*) Ibid. No. 28. and Vol. 1. § 4. No. 18. alſo § 6. No. 16.

* The ſalary of this place is 200 l. per annum.

[U] *He beſeeches the King to return to his Parliament.*] In this letter he confeſſes that ſome of his things were more moderate than others, yet alledges (under favour) that there were none of them but diſplayed the heart of a conſtant, true, loyal ſubject; and takes notice that he had been informed by ſome of the moſt zealous in his Majeſty's ſervice, that they had the good ſucceſs to rectify multitudes of people in their opinion of ſome things. Mr Howell always thought it moſt adviſable for his Majeſty to be reconciled to his Parliament. In his vindication againſt Mr Prynn, mentioned already, he obſerves that 'the principal 'fountain whence the King derives his happineſs and 'ſafety is his Parliament (69).' And in another place he enforces his opinion as follows, having lamented the ſtrange ſpirit of the people. 'I remember, ſays he, 'to have read a tale of the ape in Paris, who having 'got a child out of the cradle, and carried him up to 'the top of the tiles, and there ſat with him upon the 'ridge, the parents beholding this ruthful ſpectacle, 'gave the ape fair and ſmooth language, ſo he gently 'brought the child down again, and replaced him in 'the cradle (70). Our country is in the ſame caſe this 'child was in, and I hope there will be ſweet and 'gentle means uſed to preſerve it from precipitation.' Our author ſeems to have formed himſelf, with regard to this part of his conduct, upon the example of the Earl of Dorſet (71) his maſter, to whom he afterwards dedicated the 3d volume of his Letters in 1650, and alſo wrote an elegy upon his Lordſhip's death in 1653, as abovementioned.

(69) P. 13.

(70) Fam. Lett. Vol. 1. § 6. No. 50. it is dated in 1643. N. B. This ſtory of the ape is borrowed and altered for his purpoſe by Dean Swift in Gulliver's Travels to Brobdignag.

(71) See his article.

[W] *He addreſſed the Protector in a fair ſpeech.*] This was in the following piece, *Some ſober Inſpections made into the Carriage and Conſults of the late Long-Parliament, whereby occaſion is taken to ſpeak of Parliaments in former times, and of Magna Charta, with ſome Reflections upon Government in general.* Lond. 1653. 12mo. It is dedicated to his Highneſs the Lord Protector, whom he compliments upon his diſſolving the Long-Parliament. 'Thereby, ſays he, your 'Highneſs, Hercules like, may be ſaid to have quelled 'a monſter with many heads, ſuch a monſter, that 'was like to gormandize and devour the whole nation.' So far is conſiſtent enough with the Royaliſt; but in comparing the Protector to Charles Martel, the flattery is manifeſtly cooked to his patron's palate. 'There 'is a remarkable ſaying, continues he, of Charles 'Martel, in that mighty revolution in France, when 'he introduced the ſecond race of Kings, that in the 'purſuit of all his actions he uſed to ſay, that he fol-'lowed not the ambition of his heart ſo much as the 'inſpiration of his ſoul, and the deſigns of Providence. '*This may be applied to your Highneſs in the conduct of 'your great affairs and admirable ſucceſſes.*' In the ſame ſtrain of flattery in the work itſelf (72), having condemned Ariſtocracy and Democracy as unconſtitutional, and even not ſo agreeable to the mind of the Bible, he goes on to ſhew the neceſſity of having but one pilot to ſit at the helm of the State, and 'It is requi-'ſite alſo, adds he, that this ſingle perſon ſhould be at-'tended with a viſible ſtanding veteran army, to be 'paid well, and puniſhed well if there be cauſe, to 'awe as well as to ſecure the people; for there is not 'ſuch a wavering windy thing, nor ſuch an humerſome 'and croſs-grained animal in the world, as the com-'mon-people.' The fourth edition of this piece was publiſhed with ſeveral additions in 1660.

(72) P. 182.

(73) So 'tis ſtiled by Mr Cowley in his Viſion. See his Works, Vol. III.

[X] *Hiſtoriographer's place created for him.*] Notwithſtanding Mr Howell's ſacrifice of adulation offered to the omnipotent (73) power of Oliver, one reaſon for which, beſides the abovementioned, doubtleſs was the ſame with that given by the Indians for worſhiping the Devil. He ſeems to be very far from ſiding with the Commonwealth's men (as Mr Wood intimates (74)) to the prejudice or diſparagement of the royal cauſe, as far as can be judged by his writings. Which before the Reſtoration, beſides thoſe already mentioned, are, (1.) *Epiſtolæ Ho-Elianæ, or Familiar Letters*, &c. ſo often quoted in theſe memoirs by reaſon they contain (as he expreſſes it) a legend of his life *; and the method of caſting it into the form of letters is no mean inſtance of his ingenuity. For by that means he has introduced likewiſe the hiſtory of his own times, and the whole is interſperſed with ſo many pleaſant ſtories, adagies, &c. appoſitely applied, as to be very entertaining. Accordingly, the work has paſſed through ſeveral editions ſince it's firſt appearance in 1645. Another collection being publiſhed in 1647, both theſe with the addition of a third came out in 1650. A few additional letters appeared in ſome ſubſequent editions, of which the 11th was printed in 1754 †. It cannot be denied he has given way frequently to very low witticiſms (75); but this may be ſaid in his excuſe, that he was led into it by the humour of the times. He endeavours to introduce a new orthography by cutting off (what he calls) the ſuperfluous vowels, ſo as to make the Engliſh write as they ſpeak: and in leaving out the Dutch *k* in the words *Phyſic, Logic*, &c. he has been followed; but to retrench all, was a reformation that exceeded the reach of his authority to compaſs; at which we cannot be ſurprized, ſince Dr Sprat (76), in a more polite age, attempted the like in ſome inſtances only with no better ſucceſs (2.) Luſtra Ludovici, *or the Life of Lewis XIII. King of France, and of his Cardinal de* Richelieu. Lond. 1646. fol. divided into 7 luſtres, and dedicated to Prince Charles at his court in the iſle of Jerſey. (3.) *An Account of the deplorable and deſperate Condition that England ſtands in anno* 1647, *in a Letter to Francis Cardinal Barberini*, written from the Fleet in 1647. (4.) *A Letter to the Earl of Pembroke concerning the Times and the ſad Condition both of Prince and People.* Printed 1647. in 2 ſheets, 4to. (5.) *Bella Scot Anglica. A Brief of all the Battles and martial encounters which have happened 'twixt England and Scotland, from all times to this preſent, printed in* 1648. *as alſo a Corollary, declaring the Cauſes whereby the Scot is come of late Years to be ſo heightened in his Spirits.* Theſe two are in three ſheets, 4to. (6.) *The Inſtruments of a King; or a Short Diſcourſe of the Sword, Scepter, and Crown*, Lond. 1648. in two ſheets, 4to. (7.) *Inquiſition after Blood to the Parliament* in ſtatu quo nunc, *and the Army Regnant*, printed in 1649. in two ſheets, 4to (77) (8) *A Survey of the Signory of Venice, of her admired Polity, and Method of government*, Lond. 1651. in a thin folio. To this is added, *A Diſcourſe of the Intereſts of the Republic of Venice, with the reſt of the States of Italy*, printed with the Survey. (9.) *Hiſtory of the Wars of Jeruſalem epitomized*, 8vo. (10.) *The German Diet: or the Ballance of Europe, wherein the Power and Weakneſs, Glory and Reproach, Virtues and Vices, &c. of all the Kingdoms and States, &c. of Chriſtendom, are impartially poiſed*, Lond. 1653. folio. The author's picture at full length is prefixed to the title. (11.) *Parthenopœia, or the Hiſtory of the moſt renowned Kingdom of Naples, with a Liſt of her Kings*, &c. Lond. 1654. folio. The ſecond part only was compiled by our author, the firſt part of it being written by Scipio Mazzella, and tranſlated into Engliſh from the Italian by Sampſon Lennard, Herald of Arms. (12) Londinopolis: *An Hiſtorical Diſcourſe*

* Vol. 2. No. 43.

† An imperfect edition was printed at Aberdeen in 1753.

(74) Ubi ſupra, col. 381.

(75) The moſt unpardonable inſtance of this is his remark upon King Charles I's death, where he ſays, I will attend with patience how England will thrive, now that ſhe is let blood in the baſilical vein, and cured, as they ſay, of the King's-evil. Vol. 3. No. 24. And the moſt pardonable is his motto, *Seneſco non ſegneſco.*

(76) In his Hiſtory of the R. S. publiſhed in 1667. 4to.

(77) The ſame year he alſo publiſhed the late King's Declaration in Latin, French, and Engliſh; as he did likewiſe *Cottoni Poſthuma*, Divers choice Pieces of that renowned Antiquary Sir Robert Cotton, Knt. and Bart. in 1651, 8vo.

In 1661 he published a piece, intitled, *A Cordial for the Cavaliers*, which being attacked by Mr (afterwards Sir) Roger L'Estrange, occasioned a controversy between them (*k k*); but that being presently concluded, our author printed the same year *The second part of Casual Discourses and Interlocutions between* Patricius *and* Peregrin, &c. (*l l*); besides *Twelve Treatises of the late Revolutions*, 8vo. and in 1663 he published a *Treatise concerning the Precedency of Kings*, folio. As also the following year, *A Treatise concerning Ambassadors* [Y], and another *concerning the surrender of Dunkirk, that it was done upon good grounds*; both in 8vo. He died in the beginning of November 1666, and was interred in the north side of the Temple church London, where a monument was erected to his memory with the following inscription upon it, *Jacobus Howell Cambro-Britannus Regius Historiographus (in Anglia Primus) qui post varias peregrinationes tandem naturæ cursum peregit satur annorum & famæ, domi forisque, huc usque erraticus, hic fixus* [Z] 1666 (*m m*).

(*k k*) Sir Roger's answer is intitled *A Caveat for the Cavaliers*; to which our author replied in *Some Sober Inspections* [illegible] *composition of a late Cordial for the Cavaliers*. Upon this Sir Roger animadverted at the close of *A Modest Plea both for the Caveat and Author of it.*

(*l l*) It was printed in a book intituled, *Divers Historical Discourses of the late popular Insurrections in Great-Britain and Ireland.* To which is added, *An Apology of Fables mythologized.*

(*m m*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 385. This monument was taken down when the church was repaired in 1683, and has not been since replaced.

Discourse or Perlustration of the City of London and Westminster, with the Courts of Justice, Antiquities, and new Buildings, Lond. 1657. folio. (13.) *A Discourse of the Empire, and of the Election of the King of the Romans*, &c. Lond. 1658. 8vo. Mr Howell also wrote a recommendatory letter to William Sanderson, Esq; which is prefixed by that author to his History of King Charles I. Lond. 1658. folio. It was wrote at the author's request to stamp a credit upon his book, and is therefore here mentioned as being an undeniable proof of Mr Howell's reputation and merit as an Historian, before he was appointed King's Historiographer.

[Y] *A Treatise concerning Ambassadors.*] This was translated into Latin by John Harman of Magdalen-college in Oxford. Our author had before published, with a dedication by himself to Lord Lisle, a piece upon the same subject, entitled, 'Fineti Philoxenis: Some choice Observations touching the Reception and Precedency, the Treatment and Audience, the Punctilios and Contests, of Foreign Ambassadors in England.' Lond. 1656. 8vo. This treatise was written by Sir John Finet, Knight, who was the son of Robert Finet of Soulton near Dover in Kent, and great grandson to John Finet of Siena, of an antient family in Italy; who coming to England in the train of Cardinal Campejus, Legate a lateré from the Pope, married one Martell's daughter, Maid of Honour to Queen Katharine, King Henry VIIIth's consort. Sir John was always bred in the Court, where by his wit, innocent mirth, and great skill in composing songs, he was much in the favour of King James I. who sent him into France upon some affair of public concern in 1614, and knighted him the year after; about which time he was made assistant to the Master of the Ceremonies, with a grant of the reversion of that post; and upon the death of Sir Lewis Lewknore, Master, had the office conferred upon him March 12, 1626, being then in good esteem with King Charles I. Besides the piece already mentioned, he translated from French into English, *The Beginning, Continuance, and Decay, of Estates*, &c. Lond. 1606. 4to (78). He died July 12, 1641; and was buried in the north side of St Martin's-church in the Fields, Westminster, by the body of Jane, some time his wife, daughter of Henry Lord Wentworth of Nettlestead in Suffolk, and sister to the Earl of Cleaveland (79).

[Z] *An inscription, &c.*] It seems to have been drawn up, or at least intimated, by himself. In one of his letters from the Fleet, speaking of a sickness he had lately lain under in that prison, he writes (80), That having a lucid interval therein, he fell a thinking how to make his last Will; and running over the several particulars thereof, he concludes with the following directions concerning his burial. 'This little sack-full 'of bones, says he, I thought to bequeath to West'minster-abbey, to be interred in the cloyster within 'the south side of the garden, close to the wall, where 'I would have desired Sir H. F. (my dear friend) to 'have inlayed a small piece of black marble, and cau'sed this motto to have been insculped upon it, *Huc 'usque peregrinus, heic domi*; or this, which I would 'have left to his choice, *Huc usque erraticus, hic fixus.*' That ingenious author was in the like humour, when he started the following epitaph on the death of the celebrated Dr Byfield, who invented the *sal volatile oleosum*, and was not less distinguished in his time by a kind of rambling volatility of wit. *Hic jacet Dr Byfield, diu volatilis, tandem fixus.* P

(78) The original was written by R. de Lusing.

(79) Wood's Fasti, Vol. I. col. 270.

(80) Vol. 2. No. 29.

HUDSON [Henry], a skilful English navigator in the beginning of the last century, who gave name to a bay in the northern parts of America, from whence one of our mercantile companies receive their denomination. It is but just and decent, that those brave and industrious adventurers, who brought so much honour and advantage to this nation, should have their memories preserved, and transmitted to posterity: therefore, we shall endeavour here, as far as we can, to do that justice to Captain Hudson. Where he was born and educated, we have no certain account: but, by his name, it seems to have been in the north parts of England. The laudable custom of discovering foreign countries for the benefit of trade, which had been so zealously pursued during Queen Elizabeth's reign not dying with that glorious princess; Mr Hudson, among others, attempted to find out a passage by the north to Japan and China. His first voyage was in the year 1607, at the charge of some London Merchants: and his first attempt was for the north-east passage. He departed therefore from Gravesend May 1, 1607, with a small company, his ship's crew consisting only of ten men and a boy, besides himself: on the 26th of that month, they were six leagues to the eastward of Shetland, in 60 deg. 12 min. north latitude. The 11th of June steering north-north-west, they discovered (two days after) a promontory before them, which they named *Young's Cape*, and a very high mountain near it, the *Mount of God's Mercy*. Their sails and shrouds were then frozen: and, from the second to the twentieth of June they did not see the sun. The 21st they saw part of the coast of Groenland, which they named *Hold with hope.* They kept a north-easterly course, meeting with many fogs and calms, and much ice driving in the sea, and on the 27th discovered Greenland. The ice lay very thick along the shore, which they coasted, having no ground at 100 fathoms, four leagues from the coast. They found themselves, the next day, between the land and the ice, *Vogel hook* bearing east. On the first of July, by their own observation, they were in 78 deg. 42 min. latitude, whereby they imagined that they were over against *the great Indraught*: but it clearing up in the evening, they found themselves a good way into the inlet, being almost a bay encompassed with very high mountains, and had no ground at 100 fathoms. To the southward they found an open sea, and proceeded as far as 78 deg. 56 min. of latitude: but, instead of advancing

advancing further north, were, on the ſixth, in 77 deg. 30 min. when they entered firſt into a green, and then into a black ſea [*A*], which laſt proved to be an open paſſage (*a*). On the 11th they were advanced to 79 deg. 17 min. latitude; and, the two next days, proceeded as far as 80 deg. and 80 deg. 23 min. But the ice ſtopping them, they were forced to alter their courſe, and ſteer ſouth-eaſt and by eaſt. The 14th of July, they had land on the eaſt, and diſcovered a bay open to the weſt [*B*]. At the mouth of it, they called a high but ſmall iſland *Collins's Cape*, from their boatſwain's name, who firſt ſaw it. They had then thirty fathoms water, afterwards 26, and, further in, had no ground at 100 fathoms; therefore judged it rather a ſound than a bay. The next day, clear weather, and the ſun ſhining warm, they could ſee the high land of Greenland, 20 leagues from them to the north-eaſt, ſtretching, by their account, into 81 degrees of latitude. The day following, being July the 16th, they were encompaſſed with ice; and having now run toward the furtheſt part of the land diſcovered by them, which for the moſt part lay north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt, they could diſcern more land joining the ſame, ſtretching far north into 82 degrees of latitude, and by the bowing and appearance of the ſky, or horizon, much further. When they firſt ſaw it, they hoped to find an open ſea between the land and the ice, and intended to have returned by the north of Greenland to Davis's ſtreights, and thence into England. But finding it impoſſible ſo to do, by reaſon of the great quantity of ice that lay to the north of them; and plainly perceiving, that there is no paſſage that way, between the 78th deg. 30 min. and the 82d degree of latitude, they ſhaped their courſe for England, and arrived in the Thames the 15th of September (*b*).—The year following, 1608, Mr Hudſon undertook a ſecond voyage for diſcovering a paſſage to the Eaſt-Indies by the north-eaſt. Accordingly he ſet ſail from St Catherine's, with fifteen perſons only, on the 22d of April; and by the 20th of May they were in 64 deg. 52 min. northern latitude. The 3d of June they had ſight of the north cape, on the coaſt of Finmark, bearing ſouth-weſt, eight leagues from them. And, on the 7th, being in 75 deg. 29 min. latitude, came to the firſt ice they had ſeen this voyage. They entered into it, with hopes of getting through, keeping on their courſe to the north-eaſt: but when they were got four or five leagues in, they found the ice before them ſo thick, that they were forced to return (*c*) [*C*]. On the 18th and 21ſt of June, they perceived there was a current ſetting to the north, which gave them ſome encouragement. But when they came into 72 deg. 52 min. latitude, they loſt all hopes of a paſſage that way, by reaſon of their nearneſs to Nova Zembla, and the great quantities of ice. However, ſome of the company went on ſhore, and viewed the country [*D*]. And the ſhip anchoring near a bay, the Captain diſpatched five of his men to ſearch a ſound or river in the bottom of the bay, that ſent out a great ſtream to the northward, againſt the tide which came from thence. This ſtream was ſo ſtrong, that it carried away the ice or any thing elſe againſt the flood: and flows from the north three hours, and ebbs nine. At their return, they informed him, that the great river or ſound was two or three leagues broad; had no ground at twenty fathom; that the ſtream did ſtrongly ſet out of it; was of the colour of the ſea, and very ſalt. But, upon further examination, and after having gone ſix or ſeven leagues up the ſtream, they found that it ended in a ſhallow of four feet. Had it continued as it firſt appeared, it might have yielded an excellent paſſage to a more eaſterly ſea. Full of grief and diſappointment, and being now void of all hopes of a north-eaſt paſſage, they reſolved to ſail to the north-weſt, and to make trial of the place called *Lumley's-Inlet*, and the furious over-fall mentioned by Captain Davis. But meeting with contrary winds, and having ſpent more than half the time before they had gone the ſhorteſt part of the way, they returned homewards, and arrived at Gravefend Auguſt 26, 1608.—Not diſheartened by his two former unſucceſsful voyages, Captain Hudſon undertook again, in 1609, a third voyage to the ſame parts, for further diſcoveries. But, whether his former patrons and ſupporters were dead or diſcouraged, or for what other reaſons, is

(*a*) Purchas, his Pilgrimes, Part. iii. ed. 1625. p. 567, &c. and Harris's Collect. of Voyages, Vol. I. ed. 1705. p. 564, &c.

(*b*) Purchas and Harris, as above.

(*c*) Purchas, as above, p. 575.

[*A*] *Into a green, and then into a black ſea.*] Capt. Hudſon obſerves, that where the ſea looked *green*, it was freeſt from ice: but when it appeared with a deep azure or blue, next to black, it was very icy (1).

(1) Purchas, as above, p. 571.

[*B*] *And diſcovered a bay open to the weſt.*] Mr Lediard is very much out, when he ſuppoſes this bay to be the ſame as is now called Hudſon's Bay. His words are theſe, 'The fourteenth of July they came 'into the bay, which has ſince bore his name.'——(2) For this bay was many degrees, both of longitude and latitude, diſtant from that which was afterwards called Hudſon's Bay; and this latter was not diſcovered by Mr Hudſon, till his fourth and laſt voyage in 1610.

(2) Naval Hiſt. of Eng. ed. 1735, fol. p. 419.

[*C*] *That they were forced to return.*] The next occurrence after that, mentioned in Captain Hudſon's journal, was the ſight of a Mermaid; of which take the account in his own words. 'The 15th [of June] 'one of our company looking over-board ſaw a Mer 'maid, and calling up ſome of the company to ſee her, 'one more came up, and ſhe was then come cloſe to 'the ſhip's ſide, looking earneſtly on the men: ſoon 'after a ſea came and overturned her. From the 'navel upwards her back and breaſts were like a 'woman's, her body as big as one of us, her ſkin very 'white, and long black hair hanging down behind. 'In her going down they ſaw her tail, like the tail of 'a porpus, and ſpeckled like a mackarel (3).'

(3) Purchas, p. 575. and Harris, as above, p. 566.

[*D*] *And viewed the country.*] They found graſs on the ſhore of the laſt year's growth, and young graſs come up amongſt it. It was very hot; the ground boggy: and they ſaw the footing of many bears, deers, and foxes. There was a croſs ſtanding on the ſhore, much drift wood, and ſigns of fire that had been made there.——Generally, all the country of Nova Zembla they ſaw, was pleaſant to the eye; much high land, with no ſnow on it, looking in ſome places green, and deer feeding thereon. 'Tis no wonder there is ſo much ice in the ſea towards the pole, there being ſo many ſounds and rivers in Nova Zembla, Greenland, Groenland, Tartary, Ruſſia, and Lapland, to produce it: from whence he concluded there could be no navigable paſſage that way (4)

(4) Purchas, as above, p. 579.

[*E*] *The*

is unknown; he was this time fitted out by the Dutch East-India Company. They furniſhed him with a fly-boat, equipped with all neceſſaries and proviſions, and with twenty men Engliſh and Dutch. He ſailed from Amſterdam March 25, O. S. and on the 25th of April doubled the north cape of Finmark in Norway (*d*). He kept going along the coaſts of Lapland towards Nova Zembla, but found the ſea ſo full of ice, that he had no hopes of going through it that year. Some of his ſailors who had been in the East-Indies could not endure the cold, and therefore quarrelled with the reſt. Captain Hudſon propoſed two things to them: firſt, to go towards the coaſts of America, in 40 deg. latitude; truſting to ſome maps ſent him from Virginia by one Captain Smith, in which was marked down a ſea, affording a paſſage round about the Engliſh plantations, and from thence into the South-Sea; though it was a miſtake. The other thing he propoſed to his men, was to find a paſſage through the ſtreight of Davis; which was generally approved. So, the 14th of May, they ſailed that way, and the 29th of the ſame month arrived at the iſlands of Ferro [*E*], where they ſtayed about a day and a half to take in freſh water. Afterwards, they kept on their courſe weſt-north-weſt, 'till the 18th of July, and came upon the coaſt of New-France, where they landed to get a new maſt, having loſt their fore-maſt ever ſince the 15th of June (*e*). The place was very proper to catch cods and lobſters in, and to traffick ſkins and furrs with good advantage [*F*]: but the ſailors treated the people of that country very ill, and took away their goods by force [*G*], which cauſed many quarrels. The Engliſh, who were not the ſtouteſt, had a mind to go further: accordingly, July the 26th, coming out again to ſea, they proceeded forward 'till the third of Auguſt, when they landed near Cape-Cod in New-England, in 41 deg. 45 min. latitude, and found good grapes and roſe-trees (*f*). The natives ſeemed glad of their arrival; and one came on board, and ate and drank with them. They went over the bar of Virginia, the 18th of Auguſt, being the entrance into the river of Virginia; now better known by the name of the bay of Cheſeapeak. Getting into that bay, on the 28th, they kept ſailing up into it, and ſome of the rivers that diſcharge themſelves into the ſame, for about five weeks: during which time, they had frequent communication with the ſavage natives that dwelt on or near the banks; ſome of which they ſeem to have well uſed, and ſome otherwiſe (*g*). They came out again the fourth of October, and ſtood to ſea; but would have done their buſineſs better, if the ſailors had been well affected to it, and had not wanted neceſſaries. When they were at ſea, they conſulted what to do, but were of different opinions. The Maſter's mate, a Dutchman, was for wintering in Newfoundland, and ſeeking out Davis's paſſage to the north-weſt. Captain Hudſon oppoſed it, fearing that his ſhip's company, which had threatned him before, would take an opportunity to mutiny again, and that the cold weather would conſume their proviſions, and put them into an impoſſibility of returning into Holland, many of the ſeamen being then ſick. Purſuing therefore their voyage homewards, they arrived, the 7th of November, N. S. at Dartmouth in Devonſhire; and gave advice of it to the Directors in Holland, ſending them alſo a journal of their voyage. Captain Hudſon offered to go again to diſcover the paſſage through the north-weſt, provided they would give him 500 livres in money, more proviſions than he had before, and the ſame wages. And he propoſed to ſail from Dartmouth the firſt of March, ſpend the month of April, and half of May, in killing whales and other creatures near the iſland of Panar; after that ſail to the north-weſt; ſtay there 'till the middle of September, and then return to Holland by the north of Scotland (*b*): but, it ſeems, his propoſal was not accepted.—For, in his fourth and laſt voyage, in 1610, he was fitted out by Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Dudley Digges, Mr John Woſtenholme, and ſome of their friends, in a bark named the Diſcovery. His commiſſion was, to try if through any of thoſe inlets which Captain Davis ſaw but durſt not enter, on the weſtern ſide of Davis's ſtreights, any paſſage might be found to the South-Sea (*i*). They ſailed from St Catherine's April 17, and fell in with the eaſtern part of Iceland on the 11th of May. Endeavouring to ſail round the north of that iſland, and being ſtopped by the ice, they plyed round the ſouth of the ſame, and came into a good harbour, which they named *Louſy Bay*; where they found a Bath, of which the water was ſo hot that it would ſcald a fowl. The fourth of June, they came within ſight of Groenland: that night the ſun, according to their obſervation, went down due north, and roſe the next morning north-north-eaſt. The ninth they were off Forbiſher's ſtreights, and keeping on ſouth-weſtward, came on the fifteenth in ſight of Cape Deſolation (*k*). Thence

(*d*) Voyages undertaken by the Dutch East-India Company, tranſlated into Engliſh, edit. Lond. 1703. 8vo. p. 68.—and Purchas, as above, p. 581, &c.

(*e*) See Purchas, p. 583.

(*f*) Purchas, as above, p. 587. and Voyages of the Dutch East-India Company, p. 69.

(*g*) See Purchas, as above, p. 588—594.

(*b*) Voyages undertaken by the Dutch East-India Company, as above, p. 70.

(*i*) Purchas, Vol. V. ed. 1626. p. 817, &c. The ſhip's company conſiſted this time of 23 men. See Purchas, Vol. III. p. 609.

(*k*) See the articles FORBISHER, and Capt. JOHN DAVIS, in Vol. III. of this work.

[*E*] *The iſlands of Ferro.*] The iſlands of Ferro, or Farro, are ſeventeen in number, and lye between the north of Scotland and the iſle of Iceland, from 61 to near 63 degrees of northern latitude. They are ſubject to the King of Denmark.

[*F*] *And to traffick ſkins and furrs with good advantage,*] The natives brought to them many beaver-ſkins, and other fine furrs, which they would have changed for red gowns. For the French did even then trade with them for red caſſocks, knives, hatchets, copper, kettles, trivets, beads, and other trifles (5).

(5) Purchas, as above, p. 586.

[*G*] *And took away their goods by force.*] They often mention, in their journal, that they *ſtood upon their guard*; which may be a neceſſary caution amongſt thoſe ſavage and barbarous people. But, no real cauſe is aſſigned, for our ſailors treating thoſe poor people ſo ill. Theſe are the words of the journal, upon that occaſion. 'The 25th [of July]——wee manned our 'ſcute with foure muſkets, and fixe men, and tooke 'one of their ſhallops and brought it aboord. Then 'we manned our boat and ſcute with twelve men and 'muſkets, and two ſtone pieces or murderers, and 'drave the ſalvages from their houſes, and tooke the 'ſpoyle of them, *as they would have done* of us (6).' But it is not ſaid that they actually attempted ſo to do.

(6) Purchas, ibid.

[*H*] *Among*

Thence they proceeded north-weſtward, among great quantities of ice [*H*], until they came to 60 deg. latitude, being the mouth of the *ſtreights* that bear *Hudſon*'s name. The land that he firſt diſcovered there, he named *Deſire provoketh*. They advanced in thoſe ſtreights weſterly, as the land and ice would permit, 'till the 11th of July; when fearing a ſtorm, they anchored on the north ſide of the ſtreights, by three rocky iſlands, which he named the *Iſles of God's Mercies*. As they went on, a point of land, on the oppoſite ſouthern ſide of the ſame ſtreights, he called *Hope advanced*: and an iſland, a little weſt of the ſame, *Hold with hope*. Keeping weſt, on the ſouth ſide of the ſtreights, along the weſtern point of North America, that ſhoots into thoſe ſtreights and the adjoining bay, he named three promontories there, *Prince Henry's Cape*, *King James's*, and *Queen Anne's Capes*: and to the country itſelf he gave the name of *Magna Britannia* (*l*). After having thus ſailed *three hundred* leagues weſt, in the ſtreights now called Hudſon's Streights; he came Auguſt 2 to a narrower paſſage, about two leagues over, and very deep (*m*), having two head-lands; of which he called that on the ſouth, *Cape Woſtenholme*, the oppoſite one on the north-weſt, *Digges's Iſland*; another promontory in a neighbouring iſle, *Cape Saliſbury*; and a high hill to the ſouth-weſt upon the main land, *Mount Charles*. This narrow paſſage brought them into the bay, which has ever ſince been honoured with the brave but unfortunate diſcoverer's name, and is to this day called HUDSON's-BAY. He ſailed above 100 leagues ſouth into this bay, being confident that he had found the deſired paſſage. But finding at length that it was only a bay, he imprudently reſolved to winter in the moſt ſouthern point of it, with an intention of purſuing his diſcoveries the following ſpring; little conſidering how unprovided he was with all manner of neceſſaries to ſupport himſelf during a ſevere winter in that deſolate place. However, they drew their ſhip, on the third of November, in a ſmall creek; where they would all infallibly have periſhed, if they had not met with unexpected and providential ſupplies of proviſions (*n*) [*I*]. In the ſpring, when the ice began to waſte, one of the ſavages came to viſit them; and, for a knife, looking glaſs, buttons, and a hatchet, gave them in exchange three deer-ſkins and three beaver-ſkins. After making ſeveral ſigns that there were many people to the north and ſouth, and that after ſo many *ſleeps* he would come again, he went his way, but never returned (*o*). Captain Hudſon, being bent upon compleating his diſcovery; as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, he furniſhed his ſhallop with eight or nine days proviſions, and ſailed about to the ſouth and ſouth-weſt of the bay. But, notwithſtanding his utmoſt endeavours, he could meet with none of the natives, nor induce them to come to him, though they were very near him, and frequently ſet the woods on fire in his ſight. Finding himſelf now abſolutely neceſſitated to abandon his enterprize, and to make the beſt of his way home, he diſtributed to his men, with tears in his eyes, all the bread he had left, which was only a pound to each [*K*]: and very little fiſh they could catch. In his deſpair and utmoſt uneaſineſs, having let fall ſome threatning words, of ſetting ſome of his men on ſhore; a few of the ſturdieſt of them (who before had been very mutinous) entered his cabin in the night, tied his arms behind him, and expoſed him in his own ſhallop, at the weſt end of his ſtreights; with eight of the moſt ſick and infirm of his men [*L*]. There they turned them adrift, and 'tis thought

(*l*) Purchas, as above, Vol. III. p. 596, 597. 598, 599.

(*m*) It had no ground at 100 fathoms. Ibid. p. 597.

(*n*) Purchas, p. 600, 602.

(*o*) Ibid, p. 602.

[*H*] *Among great quantities of ice.*] In time they became ſo well acquainted with the ice, that when night, or foggy, or foul weather took them, they would ſeek out the broadeſt iſland of ice, and there come to anchor, and run, and ſport, and fill water that ſtood on the ice in ponds, both ſweet and good (7).

(7) Purchas, as above, p. 598.

[*I*] *If they had not met with unexpected and providential ſupplies of proviſions.*] The account of it is given by Abacuc Pricket, one of the ſhip's crew, in the following words. 'I muſt not forget to ſhew, 'how mercifully God dealt with us in this time; for 'the ſpace of three moneths wee had ſuch ſtore of 'fowle of one kinde (which were partridges as white 'as milke) that wee killed above an hundred dozen; 'beſides others of ſundry ſorts. The ſpring coming, 'this fowle left us, yet they were with us all the ex'treme cold. Then in their places came divers ſort 'of other fowle, as ſwanne, geeſe, duck, and teale, 'but hard to come by. Our maſter hoped they would 'have bred in thoſe broken grounds, but they doe not: 'but came from the ſouth, and flew to the north, fur'ther than we were this voyage: if they be taken 'ſhort with the wind at north, or north-weſt or north'eaſt, then they fall and ſtay till the winde ſerve 'them, and then flye to the north. Now in time 'theſe fowles are gone, and few or none to be 'ſeene. Then wee went into the woods, hilles, and 'valleyes, for all things that had any ſhew of ſubſtance 'in them, how vile ſoever: the moſſe of the ground, 'than the which I take the powder of a poſt to 'bee much better, and the frogge (in his ingendring 'time as loathſome as a toade) was not ſpared. But 'amongſt the divers ſorts of buds, it pleaſed God that 'Thomas Woodhouſe brought home a budde of a tree, 'full of a turpentine ſubſtance. [It bloſſomed in De'cember, and had leaves green and yellow, of an 'aromatic ſavour, and being boyled, yielded an oily 'ſubſtance, which proved an excellent ſalve; the de'coction being drunk, was an effectual cure for the 'ſcurvy, ſciatica, cramp, convulſions, and other diſ'eaſes occaſioned by the coldneſs of the climate.] 'Of this our Surgeon made a decoction to drinke, and 'applyed the buddes hot to them that were troubled 'with ach in any part of their bodies; and for my 'part, I confeſſe, I received great and preſent eaſe of 'my paine.——The ice being out of the ſounds, ſo 'that our boat might go from one place unto another, 'a company of men were appointed by the Maſter to 'go a fiſhing with our net. Theſe men, the firſt day 'they went, caught five-hundred fiſh, as big as good 'herrings, and ſome trootes: which put us all in 'ſome hope to have our wants ſupplied, and our com'mons amended: but theſe were the moſt that they 'ever got in one day, for many dayes they got not a 'quarter ſo many (8).'

(8) Purchas, as above, Vol. III. p. 602. See alſo Vol. V. p. 817, &c.

[*K*] *Which was only a pound to each.*] But the men that afterwards ran away with the ſhip, upon ranſacking it, found, one veſſel of meal whole, and the other half ſpent; for they had but two. They found alſo two firkins of butter, 27 pieces of pork, half a buſhel of peaſe: and, in the cabin, 200 of biſket cakes, a peck of meal, and of beer to the quantity of a butt (9).

(9) See Purchas, Vol. III. p. 605.

[*L*] *With eight of the moſt ſick and infirm of his men.*] The perſons thus cruelly expoſed, were, Captain Henry Hudſon, his ſon John Hudſon, Thomas Widowes or Woodhouſe, Arnold Ludlo, Sidrach Faner,

thought they all miſerably periſhed, being never heard of more. Such was the unhappy end of the brave Captain Hudſon. As for the reſt of his rebellious crew, they proceeded with the ſhip for England. But going on ſhore, July 29, near the Streights mouth, four of the ſtrongeſt of them were ſet upon and cut off by the ſavages. The reſt, after enduring the greateſt hardſhips [*M*], arrived at Plymouth in September 1611 (*p*).

(*p*) Purchas, as above, Vol. III. p. 602—608.

Faner, Adam Moore, Henry King, Michael Bute, and the carpenter Philip Staffe of Ipſwich, who voluntarily choſe to undergo the ſame fate with his worthy maſter Captain Hudſon, rather than conſort with barbarous rebels (10).

(10) Purchas, as above, Vol. III. p. 604, 605.

[*M*] *The reſt enduring the greateſt hardſhips.*] They killed ſome quantities of wild fowl in Hudſon's Streights, which ſupported them a while. At length, they were reduced to hard allowance; as half a fowl a day, with the pottage, or liquor, they were boiled in. Being further preſſed with hunger, they tried every thing; and having flea'd their fowls, (for they would not pull,) they made uſe of their ſkins by burning off the feathers; ſo they became a great diſh. And as for the garbage it was not thrown away. In proceſs of time, their cook made a meſs of the bones of the fowls, frying them with candle-greaſe till they were criſp, and with vinegar put to them, made what they thought a good diſh of meat. Their vinegar was ſhared, and to every man a pound of candles delivered for a week, as a great dainty. The men became ſo weak, that they could not ſtand at the helm, but were forced to ſit or lye. One died for mere want. In that diſtreſſed condition they continued above a month or ſix weeks: and of the twenty-three men that went out, not above ſix or ſeven at moſt reached England again (11).

(11) Purchas, Vol. III. p. 606, 608.

C

HUDSON [JOHN], a very learned critic, and editor of many valuable books, was born at Widehope near Cockermouth in Cumberland, in the year 1662 [*A*]. After having been educated in grammar-learning by Mr Jerom Hechſtetter who lived in the neighbourhood, he was admitted, in the year 1676, and at the age of fourteen, into Queen's-college in Oxford; where he made a very great progreſs in Philoſophy, and more eſpecially in polite literature, under the tuition of Mr Thomas Croſthwaite (*a*). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts July 4, 1681 (*b*), and that of Maſter Feb. 12, 1684 (*c*). Soon after having taken the laſt degree, he removed to Univerſity-college, of which he was choſen Fellow March 29, 1686 (*d*) [*B*], and became a moſt conſiderable and eſteemed tutor. On the 5th of June 1701, he accumulated the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in Divinity (*e*): having been, the April before, elected Head-keeper of the Bodleian Library [*C*], in the room of the learned Dr Thomas Hyde, who had reſigned (*f*). With it he kept his fellowſhip, 'till June 14, 1711, when, according to the ſtatutes of the college, he was obliged to reſign it; having juſt before married Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Harriſon, Knight, an Alderman of the city of Oxford, and a Mercer (*g*). In 1712, he was appointed Principal of St Mary-hall by the Chancellor of the univerſity, through the intereſt and ſollicitations of the famous Dr John Ratcliffe (*h*). And to Dr Hudſon is the univerſity of Oxford obliged for the moſt ample benefactions ſhe received from Dr Ratcliffe; who was always expreſſing his deſigns of doing ſomething very great, but undetermined in what way, 'till his reſolutions were fixed at length by Dr Hudſon's advice and perſwaſion (*i*). In the mean time, our learned author obliged the world with curious editions of many of the beſt ancient writers, of which an account is given in the note below [*D*]. The laſt he employed his learned pains about, was

(*a*) A. Hall Præfat. ad Joſephum, edit. J. Hudſon.

(*b*) Wood Faſti, edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 217.

(*c*) Ibid. col. 225.

(*d*) From the College-Regiſter.

(*e*) From the Univerſity-Regiſter.

(*f*) A. Hall, ubi ſupra. See his preface to Edm. Bolton's Hypercritica.

(*g*) From Memoirs communicated to us.

(*h*) A. Hall, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) From the foreſaid Memoirs.

[*A*] *In the year* 1662.] Mr A. Hall ſays only, in general, that he was born ſoon after the Reſtoration, *paulo poſt inſtauratam apud Britannos Monarchiam.* But, from A. Wood, who affirms, that he was aged fourteen years, in 1676, at his admiſſion in the Univerſity (1); and from his age at the time of his death, as mentioned below, it plainly appears that he was born in the year 1662.

(1) Wood Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 940.

[*B*] *Of which he was choſen Fellow, March* 29, 1686.] That he was choſen *unanimouſly*, is atteſted, in their Election-book, by the famous Obadiah Walker, then Maſter.

[*C*] *Having been, the April before, elected Head-keeper of the Bodleian Library.*] Mr Hudſon met with a more ſtrenuous oppoſition than he at firſt expected. His competitor was Mr Wallis of Magdalen-college, afterwards Profeſſor of Arabic, a man well known at that time for his great parts and ingenuity, though he never publiſhed any thing.

[*D*] *In the mean time, our learned author obliged the world with curious editions of many of the beſt ancient writers.*] They are as follows, according to the order of time in which he publiſhed them. I. *M. Velleii Paterculi quæ ſuperſunt: Cum variis Lectionibus optimarum Editionum; doctorum Virorum conjecturis & caſtigationibus; et indice locupletiſſimo*, Oxon, 1693, 8vo. It was printed through the incouragement, and at the charge of Arthur Charlet, D. D. Maſter of Univerſity-college, to be given to his ſcholars and friends at New-year's-day 1692-3. And, beſides the expence of the impreſſion, he gave Mr Hudſon ten pounds (2). A ſecond edition was publiſhed in 1711, wherein the notes are inlarged. II. *Thucydidis de Bello Peloponneſiaco Libri VIII.* Oxon. 1696, fol. This is a neat and beautiful edition, and well diſpoſed: the years of the Peloponneſian war, of the Olympiads, and of the foundation of Rome, as calculated by the learned Mr H. Dodwell, are placed at the top of every page. But this edition has been ſomewhat eclipſed by the ſubſequent one of Meſſieurs Duker and Waſſe. III. *Geographiæ Veteris Scriptores Græci minores, Græce & Latine, cum diſſertationibus & annotationibus Henrici Dodwelli: accedunt Geographica Arabica cum notis*, Oxon. in four volumes, 8vo. publiſhed at different times; the firſt in 1698, the ſecond in 1703, and the third and fourth in 1712. The ſeveral pieces which thoſe volumes contain, will appear by this liſt of them. The contents therefore of the firſt volume, are, 1. *Hannonis Carthaginienſis Periplus.* It is allowed not to have been written by the famous Carthaginian General of that name. 2. *Scylacis Periplus Maris habitabilis Europæ, Aſiæ, Lybiæque.* 3. *Agatharcides de Mari Rubro.* 4. *Arriani Periplus Ponti Euxini.* 5. *Periplus Maris Erythræi.* 6. *Nearchi Periplus, ex Arriani Indicis.* 7. *Marciani Heracleotæ Periplus, cum fragmentis Artemidori & Menippi.* 8. *Anonymi Periplus Maris Euxini.* The ſecond volume contains. 1. *Dicæarchus de Statu Græciæ.* 2. *Ejuſdem fragmentum de Monte Pelio.* 3. *Iſidorus Characenus de Manſionibus Parthicis.* 4. *Scymni Chii Periegeſis.* 5. *Ejuſdem fragmenta a Luca Holſtenio collecta.* 6. *Plutarchus de Fluminibus.* 7. *Agathemeris Compendiarium Geographiæ expoſitionum Libri duo.* 8. *Strabonis epitome.* The contents of the third volume, are, 1. *Dionyſius Byzantinus de Boſphoro Thracio.* 2. *Deſcriptio Ponti Euxini.* 3. *Excerpta ex Chryſococca.* 4. *Ptolemæi Tabula Urbium inſignium.* 5. *Anonymi à Gothofredo editi Expoſitio totius Mundi.* 6. *Variæ Lectiones Geographi Ravennatis.* 7. *Ptolemæi Arabia.* 8. *Abulfedæ Arabis Deſcriptio Choraſmiæ.* 9. *Abulfedæ Arabia.* 10. *Ta-*

(2) From a note prefixed to the title-page of one of thoſe books, in Dr Charlet's own hand-writing.

was Josephus; whom he just finished, but did not live to publish [E]. His studious and sedentary way of life, and too great abstemiousness withal, brought him into an ill habit of body; which turning to a dropsy, kept him about a year in a very languishing condition. At last he died, November 27, 1719, at St Mary-hall, and was buried in the chancel of St Mary's-church: where there is no monument erected, nor so much as any particular stone laid over him; only upon one of the little squares of the pavement there is an inscription, given in the note below [F]. He left one daughter [G]; and his widow was married again afterwards to the learned Dr Antony Hall (k). Such, to the great loss of learning, was the too early end of this truly learned man. If he had lived to dispose of Josephus, he would have gone on to publish the Catalogue of the Bodleian Library; in order to which he had caused it to be fairly transcribed in six large volumes in folio. He was likewise a great assistant to several editors in Oxford; particularly to Dr Gregory in his edition of Euclid's Works; and to the industrious Thomas Hearne [H], in his new editions of Pliny's Epistles, Eutropius, Justin, and Livy: the latter especially owes its correctness to the Doctor's care and inspection (l). He assisted also, and corresponded with, many of the most eminent men in foreign parts [I]; namely, Lud. Antonio Muratori, Joh. Maria Salvini, and Francisco Bianchini, in Italy; John Boivin, Lewis Kuster, and Michael Lequien, in France; Godefrid Olearius, Joh. Burchard Menckenius, Joh. Christopher Wolfius, Henry Lewis Schurtzfleisch, Joh. George Eccard

(k) From Memoirs, as above, &c.

(l) From the said Memoirs. See also A. Hall's Preface to Edm. Bolton's Hypercritica.

10. *Tabulæ Geographicæ Nassir Edini, & Ulug Beigi.* 11. *Catalogus Stellarum fixarum Ptolemaicus.* And the *fourth volume contains, 1. Dionysii Descriptio Mundi. 2. Rufi Festi Avieni Descriptio Orbis terræ. 3. Prisciani Periegesis. 4. Rufi Festi Avieni Ora maritima. 5. Anonymi Paraphrasis in Descriptionem Dionysii. IV. Dionysii Halicarnassensis Opera omnia, Græce & Latine cum Annotationibus*, Oxon. 1704, 2 tomes in folio, a beautiful and valuable edition; enriched with the various readings of an ancient copy in the Vatican Library, and of several MSS. in France. The learned editor has interspersed among the various readings, several notes of Sylburgius, Portus, Stephens, Casaubon, Valesius, and some of his own. V. *Dionysii Longini de Sublimitate Libellus, cum Præfatione de Vita & Scriptis Longini, notis, indicibus, & variis lectionibus*, Oxon. 1710, 4to. and 1718, 8vo. a very beautiful edition. VI. *Moeris Atticista de Vocibus Atticis & Hellenicis. Gregorius Martinus de Græcarum Literarum pronuntiatione*, Oxon. 1712, 8vo. VII. *Fabularum Æsopicarum Collectio quotquot Græce reperiuntur. Accedit Interpretatio Latina*, Oxon. 1718, 8vo. —He published also, *Introductio ad Chronographiam: sive ars Chronologica in epitome redacta*, Oxon. 1691, 8vo. 'An Introduction to Chronology,' extracted from Dr Beveridge's Treatise on that subject, for the use of his pupils. And had the oversight of a new edition of *Erasmi Dialogus Ciceronianus*; adding some Letters of Erasmus, and other things relating to the same subject (3).

(3) See Wood Ath. Vol. II. col. 940, 941.

[E] *The last he employed his learned pains about, was Josephus, whom he just finished, but did not live to publish.*] He had proceeded as far as the third index, when finding himself unable to go quite through, he recommended the work to his intimate friend Mr Antony Hall, who published it in 1720, in two vols. fol. 'Tis a neat and beautiful edition, and superior, both with respect to the paper and the largeness and elegancy of the types, to the subsequent one of Mr Havercamp. But the latter surpasses it with regard to the number and value of the notes; for Dr Hudson's notes, in his editions of books, are all very short. The learned editor did not meet with suitable encouragement in this work, and therefore was ready to faint under the burden both of the labour and expence of it; when he received a seasonable and unexpected cordial from the munificence of that truly generous 'encourager of liberal arts,' the Earl of Caernarvon afterwards Duke of Chandos, 'the greatness of whose soul was always 'superior to his great fortune (4).' And the occasion of it was thus. His Lordship enquiring of some Oxford gentlemen, at his table, what learned performances were then on foot, and who were the persons of most distinguished abilities in the University, Dr Hudson was mentioned to him, together with the great and expensive work which he was then engaged in (5): and it was not many days after, that the Doctor received a letter from his Lordship, with a note inclosed in it of two hundred guineas, which he desired he might have leave to present him with, as a token of the regard he had to his merit, and for the furtherance of his most useful undertaking (6). This generous benefaction the Doctor thankfully acknowledges, in the dedication to Æsop's Fables, which he published soon after, and inscribed to the Earl's eldest son, the Lord Viscount Wilton: but he more thankfully and particularly acknowledges it, in the dedication of his Josephus to that noble Earl, then newly created a Duke. His words are these. *Cum post multorum annorum laborem improbum, & magnos sumptus Josepho impensos, pene languerem, Tu solus, Vir ill. strissime, benignitate Tua me labantem excitasti, & munificentia Tua effecisti, ut Operi tam difficili & laborioso par essem perficiundo.*——After Dr Hudson's decease, several sets of his Josephus were disposed of by his widow at *twelve shillings* a set, the booksellers refusing to give more; but when they had got them into their own hands, they immediately raised the price to 25 s. Our learned author had been long conversant with Josephus; for he revised Sir Roger L'Estrange's translation of that author with the original Greek, and added critical remarks here and there at the bottom of the page: and also digested and finished Dr Willes's two discourses prefixed to the same (7).

(4) As is justly observed in the patent for creating him a Duke.

(5) Viz. his Josephus.

(6) From the Memoirs, as above.

(7) See the Preface.

[F] *There is an inscription.*] Which is in these words.

Mr S.
Viri Doctissimi
Johannis Hudsoni S. T. P.
Aulæ B. M. V. Principalis,
Et
Protobibliothecarii Bodleiani.
Obiit Nov. 26. A. D. 1719.
Ætatis 57.

[G] *He left one daughter.*] Named Margaret, after her mother's name. One John Goole Vicar of Eynsham, and school-master at Whitney, both in Oxfordshire, an old fellow of fifty and upwards, drew her, or pretended to have drawn her, into a contract of marriage, and sued for half her fortune; publishing some letters that had passed between them: wherein he made it appear, that he had no more wit, and less discretion, than the young lady. She was married July 29, 1731, to the Reverend Mr John Boyce, Rector of Saintbury in Gloucestershire, son of Sir John Boyce, Alderman of Oxford, and Mayor of that city at the time of his present Majesty's coronation.

[H] *And to the industrious Tho. Hearne.*] Mr Hearne was, from his youth, intimate with the Doctor, and in effect his pupil. He it was, that first put Mr Hearne upon critical studies, and was his constant guide and assistant in the prosecution of them (8).

(8) From the abovesaid Memoirs.

[I] *And corresponded with many of the most eminent men in foreign parts.*] Several letters from his correspondents abroad, with copies of his answers to them, were lately in the possession of his son-in-law Mr Boyce, who hath transmitted them to Dr Rawlinson, in order to inrich his additions to Wood's *Athenæ*.

card, and, whom he chiefly eſteemed, Joh. Albert Fabricius, in Germany; Eric Benzel in Sweden; Frederic Roſtgard in Denmark; James Pezron, Hadrian Reland, and John Le Clerc, in Holland, &c (*m*). In a word, he was in ſo great repute abroad, that he uſed frequently to complain of the expence of foreign letters, and ſeemed to look upon this as too ſevere a tax for being eminent. If not leſs known at home, he appears at leaſt to have been leſs regarded, having never been poſſeſſed of any eccleſiaſtical preferment: and he uſed to make frequent and heavy complaints upon that ſubject (*n*). He was a man of great probity, of a ſanguine complection, a handſome and agreeable countenance, a moderate ſtature, and a very good conſtitution, 'till he impaired it by inceſſant ſtudy and application (*o*).

(*m*) A. Hall Præfat. ad Joſephum, ut ſupra.

(*n*) From the foreſaid Memoirs.

(*o*) A. Hall Præfat. ad Joſephum.

C

HUGHES [JOHN], an excellent poet, a candid critic, and a very agreeable writer in proſe, whoſe memory will do honour to the preſent century, in the beginning of which he flouriſhed. He was the ſon of a very worthy citizen of London, by Anne, the daughter of Iſaac Burgeſs, Eſq; of an antient family and a competent fortune in Wiltſhire, where, in the town of Marlborough, our author was born January 29, 1677 (*a*). He was early brought to London, received the firſt rudiments of letters in ſome of the leſſer ſchools of this metropolis, and, by the extraordinary care of his maſter, invited by his own diligence, his various acquiſitions, and the manner in which they were applied, did no ſmall honour to a private education (*b*). He became early and thoroughly acquainted with the Antients, which gave him a true taſte and a correct judgment, at an age when, by many who yet are intended for ſcholars, thoſe terms are ſcarce underſtood. He had a weak or at leaſt a delicate conſtitution, which perhaps diverted him from ſeverer ſtudies, and inclined him to ſeek in the company of the ſiſter arts, of Deſigning, Poetry, and Muſic, that amuſement, which his valetudinary ſtate of health rendered one of the greateſt bleſſings of life (*c*). At nineteen he drew the outlines of a tragedy, and about the ſame time turned into Engliſh one of the moſt celebrated, but at the ſame time one of the moſt difficult, odes in Horace, in a manner and with a facility that indicated true genius [*A*]. His acquaintance with the Muſes did not render him averſe to buſineſs; he

(*a*) An Account of the Life and Writings of John Hughes, Eſq; by William Duncombe, Eſq; prefixed to his Works, p. 1.

(*b*) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 81.

(*c*) MS. Memoirs, communicated by Mr Duncombe.

[*A*] *That indicated true genius.*] The firſt ſtrokes of genius, like the firſt bloſſoms of a tree, inſtruct us what kind of fruit we are to expect. It is true, that ſubſequent culture, may alter both; but it is alſo true, of ſome genii, as of ſome trees, that from a natural excellence, they produce a very high flavoured fruit at firſt, very little inferior, to what all the art and care poſſible, can afterwards bring them to yield. The following tranſlation is a proof of this (1). In it our young writer propoſes not barely to render, but to expand and amplify the thoughts of his author, without extenuating, or varying his ſenſe (2). It is a ſingular method of putting an ancient poet into Engliſh, and together with the verſion of his language, comprehends a commentary upon his ſentiments; at leaſt, ſuch are our notions (3). The reader, upon a ſerious peruſal, will decide how far we have done Horace, or Mr Hughes juſtice.

(1) Originally publiſhed in the tranſlation into Engliſh of the Odes, &c. of Horace, by ſeveral hands.

(2) Hughes's Works, Vol. I. p. 113.

(3) See our author's own ſenſe in note [*C*].

Horace, Book I. Ode XXII.

Imitated in Paraphraſe.

I.

Hence ſlaviſh fear! thy Stygian wings diſplay!
Thou ugly fiend of Hell away!
Wrapp'd in thick clouds, and ſhades of night,
To conſcious ſouls direct thy flight!
There brood on guilt, fix there a loath'd embrace,
And propagate vain terrors, frights,
Dreams, goblins, and imagin'd ſprights,
Thy viſionary tribe, thy black and monſtrous race.
Go haunt the ſlave that ſtains his hands in gore!
Poſſeſs the perjur'd mind, and rack the uſurer more,
Than his oppreſſion did the poor before.

II.

Vainly, you feeble wretches, you prepare
The glitt'ring forgery of war;
The poiſon'd ſhaft, the Parthian bow and ſpear
Like that the warlike Moor is wont to wield,
Which pois'd and guided from his ear
He hurls impetuous thro' the field:
In vain you lace the helm, and heave in vain the ſhield;
He's only ſafe, whoſe armour of defence
Is adamantine innocence.

III.

If o'er the ſteepy Alps he go,
Vaſt mountains of eternal ſnow,
Or where fam'd Ganges and Hydaſpes flow.
If o'er parch'd Libya's deſert land
Where, threatning from afar,
Th' affrighted traveller
Encounters moving hills of ſand;
No ſenſe of danger can diſturb his reſt,
He fears no human force, nor ſavage beaſt;
Impenetrable courage ſteels his manly breaſt.

IV.

Thus late within the ſabine grove,
While free from care and full of love
I raiſe my tuneful voice, and ſtray
Regardleſs of myſelf and way,
A grizly wolf, with equal eye
View'd me unarm'd, yet paſs'd unhurtful by.
A fiercer monſter ne'er in queſt of food
Apulian foreſts did moleſt;
Numidia never ſaw a more prodigious beaſt;
Numidia mother of the yellow brood
Where the ſtern Lion ſhakes his knotted mane,
And roars aloud for prey, and ſcours the ſpacious plain.

V.

Place me where no ſoft breeze of ſummer wind
Did e'er the ſtiffen'd ſoil unbind,
Where no refreſhing warmth e'er durſt invade,
But winter holds his unmoleſted ſeat,
In all his hoary robes array'd,
And rattling ſtorms of hail, and noiſy tempeſts beat.
Place me beneath the ſcorching blaze
Of the fierce ſun's immediate rays,
Where houſe or cottage ne'er were ſeen,

Nor

he had a place in the Office of Ordnance, and was Secretary to ſeveral Commiſſions under the Great Seal for purchaſing lands, in order to the better ſecuring the royal docks and yards, at Portſmouth, Chatham, and Harwich (*d*). He continued, however, to purſue his natural inclination to letters, and added to his thorough knowledge of the learned as intimate an acquaintance with the modern languages. The firſt public teſtimony he gave of his poetic vein, was in a poem on the treaty of Ryſwick, which appeared in 1697, and was received with an approbation rarely beſtowed, and indeed very rarely deſerved by a young poet of twenty (*e*). It is barely rendering juſtice to his character, to ſay that it was at once an elegant and a ſprightly performance, exhibiting thoſe qualities that are but ſeldom united, and in which, however, conſiſt the great merit of his writings, eaſe and exactneſs [*B*]. The ſucceſs that attended this poem encouraged him to write again, and in 1699 he publiſhed his Court of Neptune, on the return of King William from Holland, which he addreſſed to Charles Montague, Eſq; afterwards Earl of Halifax, the then diſtinguiſhed patron of the Muſes. By this poem he not only maintained, but added to the reputation he had acquired. Strength of ſentiment, and an eaſy verſification, added luſtre and ſweetneſs to the charms of a poetic fancy, that might alone have ſecured the ſucceſs of his poem (*f*). He wrote the ſame year a ſong upon the Duke of Glouceſter's birth-day (*g*). It ſometimes happens, that thoſe who excel in verſe are not equally happy in proſe compoſitions; but this was not the caſe of our author, he had a great turn to contemplation, ſtudied the faculties of the human mind, and made ſuch deep and curious reflections on the diſorders to which it is liable, as give him a title to be conſidered as one of the ableſt, as well as one of the moſt entertaining, eſſay writers in our language. This which probably was the firſt, or at leaſt one of the firſt, of his performances in this kind, conſidering he was but twenty-four when he wrote it, is really ſurpriſing, and is entitled, 'Of the Pleaſure of being deceived (*b*).' In 1702 he publiſhed, on the death of King William, a Pindaric ode, entitled, 'Of the Houſe of Naſſau,' which he dedicated to Charles Duke of Somerſet. At the cloſe of this truly poetic performance, there is a very fine and a very prophetic complement to Queen Anne (*i*). He continued to employ his leiſure hours in tranſlations and imitations of the Antients, and particularly of Horace, whoſe genius he juſtly admired, and whoſe writings he perfectly underſtood (*k*). His ſentiments, as to the propereſt manner of tranſlating him, are ſo judicious, and, withal, ſo modeſtly expreſſed in a letter to a friend, that we could not avoid giving them a place in the notes [*C*]. In 1703, his 'Ode in praiſe of Muſic' was performed at Stationers-Hall, with

(*d*) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 81.

(*e*) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Eſq; p. 6.

(*f*) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 82.

(*g*) Poems on ſeveral Occaſions, with ſome ſelect Eſſays in proſe, by J. Hughes, Eſq; 2 vols, Lond. 1735. 12mo. Vol. I. p. 93.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 256.

(*i*) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 82.

(*k*) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Eſq; p. 9.

Nor rooted plant or tree, nor ſpringing green;
Yet, lovely Lalage, my generous flame
Shall ne'er expire; I'll boldly ſing of thee,
Charm'd with the muſic of thy name,
And guarded by the gods of love and poetry.

[B] Eaſe and exactneſs.] This poem opens with an invocation to the muſe, who, at the author's earneſt requeſt, having wrapped him high above the world, he firſt diſcerns in looking down an obſcure diſturbed and troubled ſcene, which being diſperſed by the bright effulgence of an eaſtern light, diſcovers clearly Europe to his view (4). He then proceeds thus,

(4) Hughes's Works, Vol. I. p. 12, 13.

Of various ſtates, the various bounds appear;
There wide Hiſpania, fruitful Gallia here;
Belgia's moiſt ſoil, conſpicuous from afar,
And Flandria, long the field of a deſtructive war.
Germania too with cluſter'd vines o'erſpread
And lovely Albion from her wat'ry bed,
Beauteous above the reſt, rears her auſpicious head.
Beneath her chalky cliffs, ſea nymphs reſort,
And awful Neptune keeps his reedy court;
His darling Thames rich preſents in his hand
Of bounteous Ceres traverſes the land;
And ſeems a mighty ſnake whoſe ſhining pride
Does thro' the meads in ſinuous volumes glide.
Ah charming iſle! faireſt of all the main!
Too long thou doſt my willing eye detain.
For ſee a heroe on the adverſe ſtrand,
And lo! a blooming virgin in his hand!
All hail, celeſtial pair!——a goddeſs ſhe,
Of heav'nly birth conſeſt, a more than mortal he
Victorious laurels on his brows he wears;
Th' attending fair a branching olive bears;
Slender her ſhape, in ſilver bands confin'd;
Her ſnowy garments looſely flow behind,
Rich with embroider'd ſtars, and ruffle in the wind.
But once ſuch diff'ring beauty met before,
When warrior Mars did Love's bright Queen adore;
E'en Love's bright Queen might ſeem leſs winning fair,
And Mars ſubmit to his heroic air.
Not Jove himſelf, imperial Jove, can ſhow
A nobler mien, or more undaunted brow,
When his ſtrong arm, thro' Heav'n's ætherial plains
Compels the kindled bolt, and awful rule maintains.
And now embark'd they ſeek the Britiſh iſles,
Pleas'd with the charge, propitious ocean ſmiles.
Before, old Neptune ſmooths the liquid way;
Obſequious tritons on the ſurface play;
And ſportful dolphins, with a nimble glance,
To the bright Sun their glitt'ring ſcales advance.
In oozy beds profound, the billows ſleep,
No clamorous winds awake the ſilent deep;
Rebuk'd, they whiſper in a gentle breeze,
And all around is univerſal peace.
Proceed my muſe! the following pomp declare;
Say who, and what the bright attendants were!
Firſt Ceres, in her chariot ſeated high,
By harneſs'd dragons drawn along the ſky;
A cornucopia fill'd her weaker hand,
Charg'd with the various off-ſpring of the land,
Fruit, flowers, and corn; her right a ſickle bore;
A yellow wreath of twiſted wheat ſhe wore.
Next father Bacchus with his tigers grac'd
The ſhow, and, ſqueezing cluſters as he paſs'd,
Quaff'd flowing goblets of rich flavour'd wine
In order, laſt ſucceed the tuneful Nine;
Apollo too was there; behind him hung
His uſeleſs quiver, and his bow unſtrung;
He touch'd his golden lyre, and thus he ſung.

[*C*] *In the notes.*] In a former note, we have taken ſome pains to explain our author's manner of tranſlating Horace, one of the moſt agreeable, and for that

with great applauſe (*l*). He was allowed by the beſt judges to have been wonderfully happy in this, which is one of the moſt difficult kinds of compoſition; and as his merit in this way was great, ſo he may be juſtly eſteemed fortunate, in having his pieces ſet by the greateſt maſters this country has produced, ſuch as the famous Daniel Purcell, the celebrated Dr Pepuſch, Mr Galliard, Mr Handel, and others (*m*). We ſhall the leſs wonder at his ſucceſs in this kind of poetry, if we conſider the rational and judicious theory which he has laid down in the preface to thoſe ſix cantata's, ſet to muſic by Dr Pepuſch; and publiſhed, but without our author's name; in which he gives ſo conſpicuous; and at the ſame time ſo ſuccinct, an account of the true grounds of this kind of poetry, that we cannot have a better ſpecimen of his abilities as a critic, or a ſtronger inſtance of that candour with which he communicated to the public, what a poet of a more contracted mind would have reſerved to himſelf as the great myſtery of his art (*n*) [*D*]. His great delight in

(*l*) Hughes's Works, Vol. I. p. 163.

(*m*) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 82. Hughes's Works, Vol. I. p. 125, 144, 146, 148, 149, 151, 155, 161, 168, 176. Vol. II. p. 7, 64, 66, 69, 93, 107, 121.

(*n*) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 82.

that reaſon, one of the Latin Poets, moſt difficult to render into any other language than that in which he wrote. In this, our author ſhall give the reaſons which induced him to adopt this looſe open manner of tranſlating; from which it will appear, that he did not therein conſult ſo much his own eaſe, as the ſatisfaction of his reader, by making, not the ſenſe only, but the manner of his author perfectly underſtood. To the friend to whom he addreſſes the ode in verſe, he writes thus in proſe (5).

(5) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of Mr Hughes, p. 10—15.

SIR, 26 Dec. 1702.

I am ſorry I could not wait on you yeſterday as I intended; when I ſee you next, you ſhall know the reaſon, in the mean time I ſend this to beg your pardon, and have incloſed what I ſpoke to you of. That incomparable Ode which Horace has addreſſed to his friend Groſphus (6), I have choſen to preſent to one of the beſt of my friends in as good an Engliſh dreſs as I am capable of giving it. The original is one of thoſe pieces in which Horace has ſhewn himſelf ſo great a maſter of human life, and given us at once, a view of his good ſenſe and good humour. And this addreſs is uſual to him, for in the graveſt of his odes, he does not ſeem to make his remarks on life like a pedant, to make you out of love with it, or to fright you from pleaſure, but to invite you to the true enjoyment of it, and thus far he was certainly in the right, though in the choice of his pleaſures he was often irregular (7). In this, as well as in all other reſpects, his moral odes infinitely exceed the chorus's in Seneca's tragedies; for in the firſt, you have the free and unaffected morality of a Gentleman, but in the latter, the ſplenetic air of a ſevere Stoic. This ode has been in Engliſh before, more than once, but whether well or ill tranſlated, I leave others to judge; I ſhall only ſay, that I have ſeen very few tranſlations of Horace that I can be pleaſed with, for moſt have copied only his thoughts, without any thing of his diction, which is his principal beauty: 'tis that vivacity in his ſtile, and particularly in his epithets, which Petronius Arbiter calls a curioſa felicitas, and in which no man ever (in my opinion) reſembled him ſo much as Petronius himſelf, whoſe proſe is as inimitable as Horace's poetry. Indeed in the time of Pope Urban VIII. (who was a poet himſelf) Caſimire, a Polander and a jeſuit, writ ſeveral odes in imitation of Horace, in which there appears a good genius, but his Latin is not pure, and, beſides the diſadvantage of writing in a dead language, he is defective in judgment, and his fancy is not always well governed. Thoſe who have ſucceeded beſt in their attempts on Horace in Engliſh, have choſen the way of paraphraſe as the moſt proper; for his ſenſe is cloſe wrought, and would appear ſtiff and obſcure in a literal tranſlation (if ſuch a one could be made) and there are many good hints in him worth purſuing. None have pretended to copy his numbers for the Pindaric, which ſeems the fitteſt for us, and gives us a greater liberty, and variety does not anſwer the Latin meaſures. Yet I remember, I once ſaw an attempt to write Engliſh ſapphicks (but it never was printed), and Sir Philip Sidney has compoſed hexameters and other verſes after the Latin meaſure, but they are unnatural to our language for this reaſon, chiefly, becauſe we abound ſo much in monoſyllables. The ſapphic meaſure is indeed very muſical, and what Horace ſeems beſt to have practiſed, but methinks it is too ſoft, and fit only to be employed on love and pleaſant eaſy ſubjects; it ſeems too much confined, like the uſual meaſure of our ſongs, and the lofty ſenſe of ſome of his odes is above it. Our Engliſh Pindaric is undoubtedly more muſical if it be well contrived; and the various length and ſhortneſs of the lines, as well as the mixture and returns of the rhime well choſen; and therefore, as I ſaid before, it is the moſt proper for ſuch odes as have any thing of the ſublime in them: I wonder Horace did not introduce ſomething like it into his language, being ſo great an admirer of Pindar, and having in other reſpects imitated him ſo finely, notwithſtanding his declaration Pindarum quiſquis, &c. that Pindar was inimitable, in which ode he commends him in theſe words.

(6) Horat. lib. i. carm. 16.

(7) Hughes's Works, Vol. I. p. 216.

Laureâ donandus Apollinari,
Seu per audaces nova dithyrambos
Verba devolvit, numeriſque fertur
Lege ſolutis. Lib. IV. Ode II.

Thus tranſlated by Mr Cowley,

So Pindar does new words and figures roll
Down his impetuous dithyrambick tide,
Which in no channel deigns t' abide,
Which neither banks nor dikes controul.

But this does not anſwer to the numeris lege ſolutis, by which Horace means only that Pindar's numbers were unlimited, and not confined to any ſet meaſure in thoſe odes that were called dithyrambick, which had the moſt heat and fury, being firſt invented in honour of Bacchus. And methinks Horace might ſometimes have attempted this dithyrambick meaſure, eſpecially in that ode, Quo me, Bacche, rapis, &c.

But to return to the ode which I have here endeavoured to imitate; I have taken a liberty in the paraphraſe, the firſt ſtanza is added, and a ſimile or two, but nothing more than what is agreeable to his ſenſe, and what I thought would make him appear to the beſt advantage. Such as it is, Sir, I ſubmit it entirely to your judgment, ſince it was firſt attempted for your pleaſure. 'Tis upon an agreeable ſubject, viz. Tranquillity, and if it fails giving you any entertainment, I will readily acknowledge it to be my own fault, for I know you to be maſter of ſo much ſenſe, ſo good a taſte, and ſuch juſt notions of human life, that I am ſure Horace muſt pleaſe you, if he be not murthered in an ill tranſlation. You may perceive, Sir, that as I cannot think the time long which I ſpend in your company, ſo neither can I think a letter long which I am writing to you; but I may be tempted to treſpaſs upon you in one as well as the other, therefore I would do as perſons ſhould, after a tedious viſit, uſe a ſhort ceremony and withdraw.

I am, &c.

[*D*] *As the great myſtery of his art.*] The following extract, from our author's preface, contains abundance of curious and ſenſible reflections, which are not to be met with any where elſe, and for this reaſon chiefly, have had a place aſſigned them here. His criticiſm is clear and candid; he was at great pains to acquire knowledge before he ventured to write, and yet parts with that knowledge, though ſo hardly attained, with that eaſe and freedom, which is natural to a great and good mind, delighting no leſs in the propagation of ſcience, than in the poſſeſſion of it (8).

(8) Ibid. p. 127.

'It may be proper to acquaint the public, ſays he, that theſe are the firſt *Eſſays* of this kind, and were written as an experiment of introducing a ſort of *Compoſition*

in muſic led him to a cloſe acquaintance with the Italian writers, which induced the proprietors of a new tranſlation of the celebrated work of Boccalini, to apply themſelves to him to review that tranſlation, and to give them his paſſport to the public; which he was prevailed upon to do; and the reader will ſee, within the compaſs of a ſhort preface, as true and judicious a repreſentation of that very ſingular, and in many reſpects valuable, performance, and as juſt and impartial an account of the author, as can be deſired (*o*). Pieces of this kind are, generally ſpeaking, of little importance; but, to the honour of our author, it muſt be obſerved, that, whatever he condeſcended to do, bore the genuine and indiſputable marks of genius and ſcience; ſo that this character of Boccalini, and his book, may be conſidered as a detached piece, expreſſive of our author's ſkill, in a very peculiar kind of critical learning (*p*) [*E*]. This excellent diſpoſition being generally known

(*o*) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Eſqj p. 29. 30.

(*p*) Prefixed to the two editions in folio, 1706, 1719.

poſition which had never been naturalized in our language. Thoſe who are affectedly partial to the *Italian* tongue, will ſcarce allow muſic to ſpeak any other. But if reaſon may be admitted to have any ſhare in theſe entertainments, nothing is more neceſſary than that the *words* ſhould be underſtood; without which, the end of *vocal* muſic is loſt. The want of this, occaſions a common complaint, and is the chief if not the only reaſon that the beſt works of SCARLATI, and other *Italians*, except thoſe performed in *Opera's*, are generally but little known or regarded here. Beſides it may be obſerved, without any diſhonour to a language which has been adorned by ſome writers of excellent genius, and was the firſt among the moderns, in which the art of poetry was revived and brought to any perfection, that in the great number of their *Operas*, *Serenatas*, and *Cantatas*, the words are often much inferior to the *compoſition*; and though by their abounding in vowels, they have an inimitable aptneſs and facility for notes, the writers for muſic have not always made the beſt uſe of this advantage, or ſeem to have relied on it ſo much as to have regarded little elſe; ſo that Mr *Waller*'s remark on another occaſion may be frequently applied to them,

Soft words with nothing in them make a ſong.

Yet ſo great is the force of *ſounds* well choſen and ſkilfully executed, that as they can hide indifferent *ſenſe*, and a kind of aſſociated pleaſure ariſes from the words, though they are but mean; ſo the impreſſion cannot fail of being in proportion much greater when the thoughts are natural and proper, and the expreſſions unaffected and agreeable.

Since therefore the *Engliſh* language, though inferior in *ſmoothneſs*, has been found not incapable of *harmony*, nothing would perhaps be wanting towards introducing the moſt elegant STILE of *muſic* in a nation which has given ſuch generous encouragements to it; if our beſt poets would ſometimes aſſiſt this deſign, and make it their diverſion to improve a ſort of verſe in regular meaſures purpoſely fitted for muſic, and which of all the modern kinds, ſeems to be the only one that can now properly be called LYRICK.

It cannot but be obſerved on this occaſion, that ſince POETRY and MUSIC are ſo nearly allied, it is a misfortune that thoſe who excel in one, are often perfect ſtrangers to the other. If therefore a better correſpondence were ſettled between the two *Siſter* ARTS, they would probably contribute to each other's improvement. The expreſſions of harmony, *cadence*, and a *good ear*, which are ſaid to be ſo neceſſary in *poetry*, being all borrowed from *muſic*, ſhew at leaſt, if they ſignify any thing, that it would be no improper help for a poet to underſtand more than the *metaphorical* ſenſe of them. And on the other hand, a *compoſer* can never judge where to lay the *accent* of his *muſic*, who does not know, or is not made ſenſible, where the words have the greateſt *beauty* and *force*.

There is one thing in compoſitions of this ſort, which ſeems a little to want explaining, and that is the RECITATIVE muſic, which many people hear without pleaſure, the reaſon of which is, perhaps, that they have a miſtaken notion of it. They are accuſtomed to think that all muſic ſhould be AIR, and being diſappointed of what they expect, they loſe the beauty that is in it of a different kind. It may be proper to obſerve therefore, that the *recitative* ſtile in compoſition, is founded on that variety of *accent* which pleaſes in the pronunciation of a *good Orator*, with as little deviation from it as poſſible. The different *tones* of the *voice* in aſtoniſhment, joy, ſorrow, rage, tenderneſs in affirmations, apoſtrophes, interrogations, and all the other varieties of ſpeech make a ſort of natural muſic, which is very agreeable, and this is what is intended to be imitated with ſome helps by the *compoſer*, but without approaching to what we call a TUNE or AIR; ſo that it is but a kind of *improved elocution*, or pronouncing of the words in *muſical cadences*, and is indeed wholly at the *mercy* of the *performer* to make it agreeable or not, according to his ſkill or ignorance; like the *reading* of *verſe*, which is not every one's *talent*. This ſhort account may poſſibly ſuffice to ſhew how properly the RECITATIVE has a place in compoſitions of any length to relieve the *ear* with a variety, and to introduce the AIRS with the greater advantage.'

[*E*] *Of critical learning.*] The light in which our author has been hitherto conſidered in the world, is almoſt ſolely as a poet, whereas he ought to be looked upon in the light of a general ſcholar, an able critic, and an excellent writer in proſe as well as verſe. To juſtify this character in it's full extent, and in ſome meaſure to revive that of Boccalini, far leſs known and regarded than it deſerves, or than it was at the beginning of this century, we have made an extract from Mr Hughes's preface, which will effectually anſwer both the points we had in view.

'The deſign of this book, as the author declares in his own preface, was to make a happy mixture of the pleaſant and the profitable, and in this 'twill be allowed by all good judges, that he has ſucceeded to admiration. Whatever can be expected from a moſt fruitful and facetious wit; from a great variety of ſolid and polite learning, an improved converſation, and an accurate diſcernment in human affairs, is to be found aſſembled in this diverting and uſeful miſcellany, which has long had the reputation of a maſter-piece in Italian, and is ſo well known by the many tranſlations of it into the beſt languages of Europe, that few who are converſant with books and learning, can be wholly unacquainted with it's merit.

It is a new invented kind of fable, very different from any thing which had ever been written before, and therefore it may juſtly be eſteemed an original, a character which Boccalini boldly aſſumes to himſelf in his preface, 'and in the twenty-eighth of his advices, though a concealed witling would lately have robbed him of that honour. It is very plain that this happy Italian genius is no copier, but that his project is *his* own, for he is the firſt that erected a Secretary's office in Parnaſſus, and gave advices from thence of what paſſed among the Virtuoſi of that place; and therefore, for the novelty of his invention, he compares himſelf to Chriſtopher Columbus, the diſcoverer of a new world.

But this ſimile being liable to ſome exception, may perhaps with more advantage to him be changed Parnaſſus was not indeed firſt diſcovered by Boccalini, for the Antients touched upon the coaſt long before, and placed there Apollo, the nine Muſes, and Pegaſus. But our author adventured further into the country, and was the firſt that planted, peopled, improved it with laws, and gave us that entertaining deſcription of it, and thoſe excellent leſſons of inſtruction from thence, which are contained in the following ſheets.

There is no need to inſiſt upon the uſefulneſs of this way of conveying truth by allegory, which employs at once the utmoſt judgment and fancy of the writer, and is obſerved to make more lively impreſſions on the reader, than reaſon in it's undreſs can do, though it have ever ſo many native charms.

But there is one thing which ſhould particularly recommend our author to Engliſhmen, and that is his zeal for liberty, and his generous abhorrence of thoſe wicked politics which have ſo much diſturbed the peace of the world, and the happineſs of nations. It is no wonder

known in the literary world, our author was frequently applied to (though he ſeldom liſtened to ſuch applications) upon like occaſions. Amongſt the few that merited his attention, one was, the compoſing a moſt admirable preface to the great collection of the Hiſtory of England, by various hands, called the Complete Hiſtory of England, and becauſe the third volume was written by Dr Kennet, more frequently ſtiled Kennet's Hiſtory. This preface was, on it's publication, very much eſteemed, and certainly gives as clear, as ſatisfactory, and as impartial an account of the Hiſtorians there collected, as can be deſired, and that in a ſtile and manner very pleaſing and natural; but at the ſame time ſo particular to Mr Hughes, that it would be difficult to name any introduction of this ſort that could be put in competion with it. The ſucceeding year, on the demiſe of William Duke of Devonſhire, Auguſt 18, 1707, our author compoſed an ode ſet to muſic in honour of his memory, in the manner of a dialogue between Britannia and Auguſta; the part of the former performed by Signiora Margarita, and the latter by the famous Mrs Toſts (*q*). It is eaſy to apprehend how difficult it muſt have been to ſucceed in a compoſition almoſt without a precedent, and of which, no queſtion, there was the higheſt expectations; and yet, whoever reads our author's performance, will have little doubt of it's giving full ſatisfaction. The ſucceſs which had attended the tranſlation of Boccalini, brought a new application, in favour of one of the beſt received pieces of the celebrated Mr Fontenelle, which our author had tranſlated for his amuſement, and which, after it had lain by him ſix years, he permitted to ſee the light (*r*). In this tranſlation, the ſenſe of the author is clearly and happily expreſſed, and with ſuch a degree of freedom and ſpirit, that if the fame of Mr Fontenelle had been leſs extenſive, it might have paſſed for an original [*F*]. His numerous performances in verſe and proſe, his unblemiſhed reputation, and

(*q*) Hughes's Works, Vol. I. p. 178.

(*r*) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Eſq; p. 19. Hughes's Works, Vol. II. p. 79.

wonder if this afforded him a large ſubject for that matchleſs vein of juſt and well directed ſatire, which at laſt proved as fatal to this modern Roman, as the gift of eloquence did to that famous antient one Cicero; ſo dangerous it is to poſſeſs any extraordinary talent which keeps the vices of men in awe, and will not ſuffer them to do miſchief ſecurely.

And this brings us to give ſome account of Boccalini's life, all that is left us remarkable of him, may be diſpatched in a few lines, which let the reader take as follows.

He was born at Rome about the latter end of the ſixteenth century: his father was an architect, and probably not very illuſtrious in his profeſſion, for it ſeems he wanted wherewithal to encourage his ſon in his ſtudies; but Boccalini's way was to be made purely by his own merit, and though he ſet out into the world under great diſadvantages, he ſoon met with conſiderable friends, who were charmed with his ingenious and entertaining qualities. The Italian academies received him with the greateſt pleaſure imaginable, and honoured him with marks of their eſteem. He had a large ſhare of wit and humour, which early took an unlucky turn towards ſatire, and the applauſe he met with for ſome curious pieces of that kind, which he communicated in manuſcript to his familiars, drew him on to further attempts; ſo that thinking himſelf ſecure under the protection of his illuſtrious patrons, and particularly the Cardinals Borgheſe and Cajetan, he publiſhed his Advices from Parnaſſus, and afterwards his Political Touchſtone. Both theſe pieces met with extraordinary applauſe, but the latter was very bold and ſevere, and as our ingenious Lord Bacon expreſſes it, He that follows truth too cloſe at the heels, may have his brains kickt out; ſo it fared with Boccalini, for the Spaniards who were chiefly laſhed in that ſatire, complained againſt him and purſued their revenge. This drove him in a fright to Venice, where he found new patrons, and there he employed his hours of ſtudy in writing political diſcourſes on Tacitus, which how well he could have performed, the reader may judge by ſeveral paſſages in the following advices. But this work was cut ſhort by a bad accident, for while his friend with whom he lodged was gone out early one morning, and left Boccalini in bed, four bravo's ruſhed into his chamber and beat him to death with ſand bags: diligent enquiry was made after the contrivers of this villainy, but they were never diſcovered. Thus died Trajano Boccalini, much regretted among men of the beſt learning and principles.'

We have mentioned in the text, that the proprietors of this new tranſlation, relied very much upon the credit which the reviſion of it by Mr Hughes would give it in the learned world. This ſhocked the natural modeſty of our author to ſuch a degree, that he excuſed it in the following manner, which will certainly endear him to every candid reader.

'The perſons concerned in this tranſlation, having thought that my reviewing the ſtile might be uſeful to them, I was prevailed with to do ſomething in this kind, of which I have given ſome account in the preface. I wiſh the advantage the book may have received by this ſmall aſſiſtance, were at all proportionable to the pleaſure with which it entertained my leiſure hours. I cannot think the prefixing my name any recommendation of it; but ſince they deſired it, I thought it not worth while to refuſe ſo ſlight a gratification.'

J. HUGHES.

[*F*] *It might have paſſed for an original.*] The title of our author's tranſlation runs at large thus:

Fontenelle's *Dialogues of the Dead, in* three *Parts*. I. *Dialogues of the* Antients. II. *The* Antients *with the* Moderns. III. *The* Moderns; *tranſlated from the* French, *with a Reply to ſome* Remarks *in a* Critique *called*, The Judgment of *Pluto*, &c. *and two* Original Dialogues. London: *Printed for* Jacob Tonſon, *within* Gray's-Inn-Gate, *next* Gray's-Inn-Lane, 1708.

This work is dedicated to Thomas Earl of Wharton, and in that dedication he has in a ſingle paragraph done juſtice to his patron, his author, and himſelf. It runs thus, 'I appeal to all the World who knows my author's character, whether I could have made a more proper application. His wit, his learning, his knowledge of mankind, his exquiſite taſte in all that is polite; the fire of his imagination; the uncommon felicity of his eloquence, and the ready turn of his expreſſion, are reaſons which the public will think very natural to direct me in this addreſs to your Lordſhip. And ſince my particular obligations have made it a duty, I could not omit any opportunity of acknowledging your Lordſhip's favours, which are attended with all the circumſtances proper to leave the moſt grateful impreſſions.'

The diſcourſe prefixed to the dialogues in defence of his author, is equally ſhining and ſolid, but in a manner ſo very different from the reſt of Mr Hughes's works, that it gives one a very high idea of his capacity of ſuiting his thoughts and his language, exactly to what ever ſubject employed his care. The tranſlation is at once both lively and correct, and therefore we need not wonder, that it met with a very unuſual honour abroad (9), being mentioned in the French Literary Journal, as extremely well wrote, and very exact. Indeed he entered ſo thoroughly into the ſpirit of his author, that we find at the cloſe of his performance, two dialogues entirely in his manner; and it is very much to be regretted, that he did not give us at leaſt a volume. The *firſt* of theſe dialogues is between *Lucius Junius Brutus*, and *Auguſtus Cæſar*; to ſhew that the greateſt characters may be criticized. The *other* between *Empedocles*, and *Lucilio Vanini*, to prove that multitudes have been martyrs to folly.

(9) Journal des Sçavans, Tom. XLI. p. 214.

Some

and his exemplary candour and modeſty, had by this time introduced him, not only to the moſt conſiderable members of the Republic of Letters, ſuch as Mr Addiſon, Mr Congreve, Mr Pope, Mr Southerne, Mr Rowe, and many others (*s*); but alſo to ſome of the greateſt men in the kingdom, and amongſt theſe, to Thomas, Earl, and afterwards Marquis, of Wharton, who, to expreſs his regard for Mr Hughes, offered to carry him over, and provide for him, when appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. But depending on the promiſes of another great man, who had undertaken to diſpoſe of him more agreeably at home, he declined that obliging offer, which brought upon him a diſappointment that gave him ſome uneaſineſs, though he had nothing in him of a narrow or ſelfiſh ſpirit (*t*). He amuſed himſelf about this time with the tranſlation of one of Moliere's plays, which he performed with equal judgment and ſpirit, and entertained ſo great a liking for that excellent comic writer, that at his leiſure hours he turned ſeveral ſcenes of his into Engliſh; one of which, that deſerves the public notice, the reader will meet with in the notes (*u*) [G]. His friend Mr, afterwards Sir Richard, Steele, having ſet up that agreeable paper

(*s*) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Eſq; p. 5.

(*t*) From the information of a friend of Mr Hughes's.

(*u*) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Eſq; p. 16. Hughes's Works, Vol. I. p. 221.

Some years after he tranſlated Mr *Fontenelle*'s diſcourſe concerning the *Antients* and *Moderns*, with which Sir William Temple was ſo highly offended, which was printed with Mr Glanville's tranſlation of the ſame author's *Converſations* with the *Lady* on the *Plurality* of *Words*, which Sir William has as highly applauded. The publick is alſo indebted to Mr Hughes for another tranſlation, which from the nature of it's ſubject, as well as the beauties beſtowed upon it by his pen, has been better received than the reſt, and ran through many editions. The title at large runs thus.

Letters of Abelard *and* Heloiſe, *to which is prefixed, a particular Account of their Lives, Amours, and Misfortunes, extracted chiefly from Monſieur* Bayle.

[G] *In the notes*] The Miſanthrope, or Man Hater, which is by many of the beſt critics eſteemed the moſt perfect of Moliere's performances, was tranſlated and publiſhed by Mr Hughes in the month of May 1709, with an excellent preface. This play has been ſince reprinted in the compleat collection of Moliere's plays in Engliſh, but without any notice of the tranſlator, and the preface omitted, which is the reaſon that we have preſerved it here, ſcarce any copies of the original edition being to be met with, and this piece become as rare as if it was a MS.

'Though that variety of thought and humour, which is uſual in free governments, has been generally obſerved to furniſh the Engliſh writers of comedy, with advantages above thoſe of any other nation; yet ſince the chief of them have not ſcrupled to borrow ſometimes from Moliere, they have by thus acknowledging his merit, made it unneceſſary to offer any thing in excuſe of the following tranſlation. In which the original is followed as ſtrictly as poſſible, which perhaps it muſt not have been, if intended for the ſtage.

The French Drama is indeed very different from ours. Our writers chooſing to neglect the mechanic beauties, have commonly introduced more perſons than were neceſſary; divided the action by under-plots; multiplied the incidents, lengthened the time beyond a due proportion, and ſhifted the ſcene frequently in the ſame act and to very diſtant places: yet they ſhine wonderfully in the dialogue and raillery, and depending wholly on the force and ſpirit of their writing, have thought it no defect not to be eſteemed the moſt regular builders.

The French on the other hand chiefly valuing themſelves upon criticiſm, in which they are allowed to excel, have been very regular in the ſtructure of their plots: that of the following comedy is formed with an open plainneſs and ſimplicity, which when there is no genius wanting in the execution, has certainly a proper grace. There are but three perſons introduced in the firſt act; two of them continue the whole time. The place is not changed throughout the whole play; and what they call the Liaiſon des Scenes, is obſerved ſo ſtrictly, that the ſtage is not once left by all the perſons together, except at the end of an act.

But theſe it muſt be owned are beauties of an inferior rank. What makes this piece much more conſiderable, is the remarkable vein of good ſenſe and genteel converſation that runs through it, without any mixture of low humour, and eſpecially the part of Alceſtes, which one may almoſt venture to ſay, would have been ſpoiled in any hand but Moliere's. It required a judgment of the fineſt diſtinction, to repreſent in ſuch lively colours, the infirmity of a man of the juſteſt ſenſe, who is always angry without brutality, and a bold ſpeaker without malice or ill manners. There is beſides in this and the part of Celimene, if I may be allowed to borrow a word from painting, the fineſt contraſt or oppoſition of character that could poſſibly have been invented. Her wit, which is her only good quality, needs a pardon, while his faults are beautiful; and that too great ſeverity of taſte which unfits him for the world, qualifies him to make the trueſt reflections upon it imaginable: for which too the poet has judiciouſly prepared him by a law-ſuit, to keep him conſtantly out of humour, and ſhew him in the ſtrongeſt lights.

It is certain that the author deſigned this for the entertainment of the better ſort of judges, and he ſucceeded in it accordingly: for Rapin, the exacteſt critic of his nation, and who frequently treats his countrymen with the utmoſt ſeverity, declares, that in his opinion, the Miſantrope is the moſt finiſhed, and yet the moſt ſingular character that was ever brought upon the ſtage. And the beſt of their poets, Boileau, even when he cenſures Moliere for too much humouring the people in ſome of his farces, marks out this comedy as a model of the beſt kind.

Dans ce ſac ridicule au Scapin s'enveloppe
Je ne reconnois plus l'auteur du Miſantrope.

When in his ſack I ſee poor Scapin toſt,
The author of the Miſanthrope is loſt.

On the other hand, the crowd of the audience were very little entertained at the firſt three repreſentations of it. They looked for no pleaſure, but the groſs diverſion of laughing, and were diſappointed in meeting with ſomething too refined for their taſte; ſo that at the fourth time of it's acting, the author was forced to give them what they liked better, one of his worſt farces at the end of it. By that means however they were brought to be acquainted with it by degrees, and had learned to like it ſo well, that the next time there was no need of the farce, but the Miſantrope was received with the general applauſe of the town, as it had before gained that of the Court and the beſt judges.

And this may ſerve to excuſe the author's trifling a little in that ſhort ſcene at the end of the fourth act, where Alceſtes's footman delivers a meſſage to his maſter. The ſaucy pertneſs of a French valet de chambre, may make it ſeem not unnatural; and the lightneſs of the humour, was probably intended to relieve the gravity of the ſcene immediately preceding it.

When I mentioned the difference between the French ſtage and ours, I ought to have taken notice that this comedy is entirely written in rhyme. But though cuſtom may have eſtabliſhed that effeminate practice among them, and Moliere has ſhewn a facility in it, which is indeed wonderful, there was no reaſon why it ſhould be followed in a tranſlation. It was therefore thought a more likely way of doing juſtice to his thoughts, to turn them into proſe, with ſuch an air as ſhould appear more natural for dialogue and converſation.

There is one thing, which I hope every reader will obſerve, that notwithſtanding the juſt cenſure dramatic poetry has frequently incurred by the looſeneſs of ſome writers, who in their plays have tranſcribed their own manners; there is nothing in this comedy but what is decent, moral, and inſtructive. I wiſh we had no occaſion to be taught by our neighbours in this.

But

paper the Tatler, Mr Hughes contributed his aſſiſtance, as he likewiſe did in the Spectator (*w*). If the reader has a mind to be acquainted with the particular papers he wrote, which were as well received as any, in either of thoſe celebrated collections, he will meet with the neceſſary informations at the bottom of the page [*H*]. In 1712, he tranſlated the

(*w*) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Eſq; p. 24, 25.

But ſince we have often appeared ſo fond of learning their follies, why may we not without offence, recommend the imitation of their virtues? and as our beſt writers excel moſt of theirs in wit, they may at a very cheap rate, if they pleaſe, equal them in regularity and decorum.'

Our author afterwards tranſlated the firſt Act of the Miſer, but how he came not to finiſh that play, is not come to our knowledge. The following ſcene may be conſidered as a detached piece, admirable in it's kind, and elegantly tranſlated; from whence the Engliſh reader may be convinced, that if there be any thing flat, dry, or unpleaſant, in any of the comedies of this author, they are not to be placed to the account of Moliere, but to his who attempted to put them into Engliſh, which certainly is no eaſy taſk, and therefore the greater praiſe is due to him whoſe verſion has the air of an original.

(10) Communicated by Mr Duncombe to the author of this article.

Buffle and *Frankly* meeting (10).

Buff. Dear Mr Frankly, you are well met. I was going to look for you.

Frank. Upon what occaſion pray?

Buff. You muſt know I have an affair upon my hands, a matter, I aſſure you, of conſequence; and it is always prudent upon ſuch occaſions, to take the advice of ſome ſolid and judicious friend.

Frank. I'm obliged to you. Pray what is it?

Buff. I'll tell you. But firſt you ſhall ſwear not to flatter me. Don't imagine I am to be put off with a complement: I muſt have your real opinion.

Frank. You ſhall.

Buff. I know the way of the world; ſincerity is ſcarce. But I deſpiſe the man who calls himſelf my friend and will not ſpeak freely.

Frank. Well, you are in the right. But to the affair.

Buff. You promiſe me then, upon the faith of a friend, that you'll be very ſincere with me.

Frank. I do. But your affair?

Buff. Why, what do you think if I ſhould marry.

Frank. Who! You marry! What my friend Mr Buffle marry!

Buff. Yes, I; I myſelf, in my own proper perſon; your friend and ſervant Jeffrey Buffle.

Frank. I can't tell. You muſt anſwer me a queſtion or two before I can adviſe you——In the firſt place how old are you?

Buff. How old am I?——I don't know——How old?——Why what ſignifies age? I am ſound, as you ſee, and hearty,——troth, I can't very well tell how old?

Frank. No! That's ſtrange. Pray how old were you when we firſt became acquainted?

Buff. I don't know——twenty, I believe; it could not be more.

Frank. I think we were eight years together at Rome.

Buff. Well.

Frank. Seven years I have heard you ſay you were in France.

Buff. Well.

Frank. How long did you ſtay afterwards in Holland?

Buff. Five years and a half.

Frank. Do you remember in what year you came home to England?

Buff. In the year 1695.

Frank. From 1695, to 1713, is eighteen years I take it; and five years in Holland, is three and twenty. Seven in France, makes thirty. Eight at Rome, is thirty-eight, and twenty is fifty-eight, ſo that by your own account, Mr Buffle, you muſt be now about your fifty-eighth or fifty-ninth year. Is not this true?

Buff. True! No. 'Tis impoſſible. You are miſtaken, Mr Frankly; you are out in your reckoning.

Frank. Pardon me, I'm not out in my reckoning. Look you, Mr Buffle, you have made me promiſe to be ſincere with you; and therefore in plain terms, marriage, in my opinion is not your buſineſs. It is a matter on which young people ſhould think deliberately before they enter upon it, and old ones not at all; and if it ſometimes happens to be a folly, how inexcuſable would that folly be, at an age in which we are expected to be wiſe? I ſpeak my naked thoughts. Marriage is honourable, but for a man of your years to think of marrying! Come, come, you are well as you are at preſent, and why will you venture a change which may prove for the worſe?

Buff. Hark you, Frankly, I am reſolved to marry d'ye ſee? I have not told you yet who the dear creature is: look you, Sir, I ſhall not be ſo ridiculous as you imagine.

Frank. O that alters the caſe, you did not tell me that.

Buff. Such a woman, Mr Frankly, ſo fine a woman! In ſhort I am in love with her.

Frank. You are in love you ſay?

Buff. Poſitively, and I have ſettled matters with her father.

Frank. With her father!

Buff. Moſt certainly. You muſt know we are to be marry'd to-morrow morning.

Frank. O your humble ſervant, marry by all means.

Buff. Why aye——I can't do better, I think my age quoth'a? Why what ſignifies my age? I am no cripple, you ſee I can walk; I don't want either a coach or a chair. I have a ſtomach like a ploughman ——I deſpiſe your young dogs of thirty. Look in my face, I am hale, freſh, and ſtrong, and have all my teeth in my head as ſound as a Blackamoor's—My age quoth'a?——Ha, Mr Frankly, what d'ye ſay to me now.

Frank. Marry.

Buff. I will. You muſt know I had once a great averſion to matrimony; but I have altered my opinion, I would be loth the race of the Buffles ſhould be loſt.

Frank. O by no means.

Buff. Then you adviſe me to marry?

Frank. Adviſe you! you muſt, you ſhall marry, I'll never forgive you if you don't; you loſe time, diſpatch your affair as ſoon as poſſible.

Buff. Is that your opinion?

Frank. Certainly.

Buff. Dear Mr Frankly, let me embrace you. Well a faithful friend is a jewel.

Frank. One word more. Pray who is to be the happy Lady?

Buff. Arietta.

Frank. Arietta! What, the young, the bright, the gay Arietta?

Buff. The ſame.

Frank. Bleſs me! What Trapwell's fine daughter?

Buff. Aye.——What, you know her? Ha, what do you ſay to it Mr Frankly?

Frank. O marry, marry her by all means. You'll be finely marry'd.

Buff. D'ye think ſo? Well, you've charmed me: I am infinitely obliged to you for your advice. Pray come to my wedding.

Frank. I will——The young, the gay, the beautifull Arietta! to Mr Jeffrey Buffle, who is but fifty-eight!——A moſt agreeable match! A delicious match! Mr Buffle, I kiſs your hands.

Buff. Honeſt Frankly, fare thee well——Hark ye, beſure you don't fail to come——I don't know how it happens, but all the world is merry that hears of this match; I ſhall be prodigiouſly happy. Well, I am now the moſt ſatisfied of mortals.

[*H*] *At the bottom of the page.*] Theſe admirable papers, which, in point of invention, do honour not barely to this age, but to this nation, afforded every genius an opportunity of exerting itſelf, and of taking the ſenſe of the public on the performance, without appearing in perſon at the bar of that tribunal, before which the ableſt writers do not come without concern. Mr Hughes, as we have already obſerved, had an early turn to eſſay writing; could vary his ſtile according to his

'the Abbé Vertot's Revolutions in Portugal,' and thereby gratified the Engliſh reader with a very curious piece of hiſtory, written in a very peculiar manner, and with equal vivacity of ſtile and ſentiment; to which he did ſo much juſtice, that the tranſlation was as well received in England as the work itſelf had been in France (*x*). The celebrated Mr Addiſon, whoſe character was equally reſpected as an excellent poet and a judicicious critic, had a ſincere regard for, and a high opinion of, our author's merit; and being ſenſible of his too great diffidence, preſſed him extremely to publiſh an Ode to the Creator of the world, compoſed from the fragments of Orpheus, and which he thought very capable of inſpiring the minds of his readers with a rational and elevated piety (*z*). In deference to that great man's opinion, Mr Hughes accordingly gratified the public with that admirable performance, and his friend joined his public applauſe, which had a juſt weight with the world in favour of a piece which he had privately approved (*a*) [*I*]. The ſame year he brought upon the ſtage his Opera of Calypſo and Telemachus; in favour of which, under the patronage of Duke Hamilton, for Mr Hughes's merit and modeſty procured him friends with all parties, he raiſed a conſiderable ſubſcription. The Italians were alarmed at this; and when it was on the point of being acted at the theatre in the Haymarket, they obtained from the then Lord-Chamberlain, the Duke of Shrewſbury, an order either to act at common prices, or not to act at all (*b*). Under this diſcouragement, however, it was performed, and performed with applauſe; juſtifying fully the ſenſe of it's author, that the Engliſh language, though not ſo ſoft, is nevertheleſs as capable of harmony as the Italian (*c*). He had the honour to find, beſides the approbation of the public, the judgment of the moſt able critics on his ſide, and, which muſt have given him ſingular ſatisfaction, the open teſtimony of Mr Addiſon in his favour (*d*) [*K*]. We learn from

(*x*) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Eſq; p. 31. Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 81.

(*z*) Hughes's Works, Vol. II. p. 34.

(*a*) Spectator, No. 339.

(*b*) See the author's Dedication to the Ducheſs of Hamilton.

(*c*) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Eſq; p. 18. Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 82.

(*d*) Spectator, No. 405.

his ſubject, and a very general fund of knowledge, as well in men as books, ſo that there is nothing ſtrange in his ſucceeding ſo well in theſe ſmall pieces.

In the TATLER, he wrote:

No. 64. A Letter ſigned *Joſiah Couplet.*
No. 73. A Letter againſt *Gamſters*, ſigned WILLIAM TRUSTY.

Mr *Tickell* alludes to this letter, in a copy of verſes addreſſed to the *Spectator*. No. 532.

From Felon Gameſters *the raw* 'Squire *is free,*
And Britain *owes her reſcu'd* Oaks *to Thee.*

No. 113. The Inventory of a Beau.

In the SPECTATOR, the following papers were his:

No. 33. A Letter on the Art of improving Beauty.
53. A Second Letter on the ſame Subject.
66. Two Letters concerning fine Breeding.
91. The Hiſtory of *Honoria*: Or the *Rival Mother*.
104. A Letter on Riding Habits for Ladies.
141. Remarks on a Comedy entitled, The *Lancaſhire Witches*.
210. On the Immortality of the Soul.
220. A Letter concerning Expedients for Wit.
230. All, except the laſt Letter.
231. A Letter on the Awe of appearing before Public Aſſemblies.
237. On Divine Providence.
252. A Letter on the Eloquence of Tears and fainting fits.
302. The Character of *Emilia*.
311. A Letter from the Father of a great Fortune.
375. A Picture of Virtue in Diſtreſs.
525. On Conjugal Love.
537. On the Dignity of Human Nature.
541. Rules for Pronunciation and Action, chiefly collected from *Cicero*.
554. On the Improvement of *Genius*, illuſtrated in the Characters of the Lord *Bacon*, Mr *Boyle*, Sir *Iſaac Newton*, and *Leonardo da Vinci*.

[*I*] *Which he had privately approved.*] In a very ſhort introduction prefixed to this ode, our author obſerves, that whether thoſe fragments from which it was compoſed, were indeed written by that celebrated father of poetry and muſic, who preceded Homer, or by Onomacritus, who lived about the time of Piſiſtratus, and only contain ſome of the doctrines of Orpheus, is a queſtion of little uſe or importance. This ode conſiſts of ten ſtanza's, and Mr Addiſon at the cloſe of one of his criticiſms upon Milton, gives it the following character (11). 'I cannot conclude this book upon the Creation, without mentioning a poem which has lately appeared under that title. The work was undertaken with ſo good an intention, and is executed with ſo great a maſtery, that it deſerves to be looked upon as one of the moſt uſeful and noble productions in our Engliſh verſe. The reader cannot but be pleaſed to find the depths of philoſophy enlivened with all the charms of poetry; and to ſee ſo great a ſtrength of reaſon, amidſt ſo beautiful a redundancy of the imagination. The author has ſhewn us that deſign in all the works of nature, which neceſſarily leads us to the knowledge of it's firſt cauſe. In ſhort, he has illuſtrated by numberleſs and inconteſtable inſtances, that divine wiſdom which the ſon of Sirach has ſo nobly aſcribed to the Supreme Being in his formation of the world, when he tells us, that he created her, and ſaw her, and numbered her, and poured her out upon all his works.'

(11) Spectator, No. 339.

[*K*] *Of Mr Addiſon in his favour.*] The provocation which our author had received from the meaſures taken to embarraſs, or even to defeat, the performance of his opera, might have excuſed at leaſt, his revenging himſelf from the preſs for the injury he had ſuſtained in the theatre. But ſuch was the habitual calmneſs of Mr Hughes, ſuch the natural candour of his temper, that without taking notice how ill he had been uſed, the point he principally labours in his preface, is to ſhew that he was in the right; that it was not the affectation merely of introducing foreign diverſions, that brought the Italian opera here into ſuch credit; that this rather aroſe from the refined taſte, and correct judgment of the Engliſh nation, always deſirous of having the moſt perfect models before them, not barely to gaze at, but to work from; that therefore the encouraging Engliſh opera's, was the natural and proper conſequence of bringing Italian performances into faſhion; and that it was falſe and pedantic, to believe the Italian tongue had an excluſive privilege of being aptly and ſucceſsfully ſet to muſic. 'He owns, that from the frequency of vowels, it is ſmooth and melodious; but he likewiſe obſerves, that the redundancy of them makes it ſo open and looſe, as to border on effeminacy. He inſiſts, that conſonants are ſometimes neceſſary to bind the language; and that Engliſh words, artfully diſpoſed, are capable in every reſpect, of conveying the moſt delightful harmony. ——— Having eſtabliſhed theſe principles, he proceeds thus (12).

'But what is certainly of much more conſequence in dramatical entertainments, is, that they ſhould be performed in a language underſtood by the audience. One would think there ſhould be no need to prove this. The great pleaſure in hearing vocal muſic, ariſes from the aſſociation of the ideas raiſed at the ſame time by the expreſſions and the ſounds. Where theſe ideas are ſeparated, half the impreſſion is wanting; and where they are improperly joined, it is imperfect.

(12) Hughes's Works, Vol. II. P. 13.

from the preface prefixed to the Guardian, that Mr Hughes, amongſt the other great wits and able writers of thoſe times, contributed not a little to the ſupport of that agreeable as well as uſeful work; but we have no account of the particular papers that he wrote, except one, which contains very judicious remarks upon the tragedy of Othello, in which the beauties and the blemiſhes of that affecting play are critically and candidly repreſented. Amongſt the other projects formed by Mr Tonſon, in conſequence of his acquaintance with the moſt conſiderable wits of the age, was an Engliſh tranſlation of the works of Lucan, and, as was very natural, he applied himſelf to Mr Hughes, who at his requeſt tranſlated the tenth book with great elegance; but by ſome means or other this deſign was then laid aſide, and Mr Rowe afterwards undertook and accompliſhed the tranſlation of the whole, though he died before it was publiſhed. It is the more neceſſary to ſet this little tranſaction in a true light, to prevent an apprehenſion that either of theſe gentlemen had ever an intention to interfere with the other in a matter of this nature, which had been inconſiſtent with that friendſhip which they profeſſed for each other, and which, as we have ſhewn in the text, ſubſiſted 'till the death of Mr Rowe without interruption or coolneſs. As the world was obliged to Mr Addiſon for the ſublime ode beforementioned, we are aſſured, that it owed to Mr Hughes the prevailing upon his friend, contrary to the judgment of others, and amongſt them one of the moſt able and eſteemed critics of of that time, the bringing his tragedy of Cato upon the ſtage (*e*). The hiſtory of this tranſaction is curious, and the conduct of Mr Hughes throughout, ſo perfectly conſiſtent with the character he had eſtabliſhed in point of probity and candour, that we have given it a place in the notes, for the ſatisfaction of the inquiſitive reader (*f*) [*L*]. His next performance

(*e*) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Eſq; p. 20, 21.

(*f*) See the note.

'imperfect. It is probable too, that the pleaſure we 'receive from the moſt pathetical ſtrains of inſtrumental muſic, is in part aſſiſted by ſome ideas, which we 'affix to them of paſſions, which ſeem to be expreſſed 'by thoſe ſtrains. If the airs in opera's may be heard 'with delight; for the ſame reaſon, even when the 'words are not underſtood, yet it is impoſſible the recitative ſhould give pleaſure which can raiſe no ſuch 'ideas, this being not ſo poperly ſinging, as ſpeaking 'in muſical cadences. And the uſe of it ſeems to be 'introduced, for the very ſame reaſon which is given 'by Ariſtotle for the eſtabliſhing the uſe of the Iambick verſe in the Greek tragedy, which is that, 'though it has not the charms of ſome other kinds 'of verſe, yet it is more proper for action and 'dialogue, as it approaches nearer to common 'ſpeech.'

(13) Spectator, No. 405.

Mr Addiſon opens one of his Spectators thus (13). 'I am very ſorry to find by the Opera bills for this 'day, that we are likely to loſe the greateſt performer 'in dramatic muſick that is now living, or that 'perhaps ever appeared upon a ſtage. I need not acquaint my reader, that I am ſpeaking of Signior 'Nicolini. The town is highly obliged to that excellent artiſt, for having ſhewn us the Italian muſic 'in it's perfection, as well as for that generous approbation he lately gave to an opera of our own country, in which the compoſer endeavoured to do juſtice 'to the beauty of the words, by following that noble 'example which has been ſet him by the greateſt 'foreign maſters in that art.'

This opera was that of *Calypſo* and *Telemachus*, and the compoſer Mr *Galliard*, to whom alſo our author in his preface makes the higheſt acknowledgments, and is even ſo modeſt to ſay, that he had offered a much more prevailing argument than any himſelf could urge, to ſhew, that the Engliſh language is capable of the moſt agreeable graces of harmony.

[*L*] *Of the inquiſitive reader.*] We ſhall give this ſingular piece of poetical hiſtory in the very words of the author, who from his own knowledge relates it (14). 'It has been often ſaid, by very good judges, that Cato was no proper ſubject for a dramatic poem: that the character of a Stoic philoſopher is inconſiſtent with the hurry and tumult of action and paſſion, which are the ſoul of tragedy. That the ingenious author miſcarried in the plan of his work, but ſupported it by the dignity, the purity, the beauty, and the juſtneſs of the ſentiments.

(14) Eſſay on Criticiſm, Lond. 1728. p. 6.

This was ſo much the opinion of Mr Maynwaring, who was generally allowed to be the beſt critic of our time, that he was againſt bringing the play upon the ſtage, and it lay by unfiniſhed many years. That it was played at laſt was owing to Mr Hughes. He had read the four acts which were finiſhed, and rightly thought it would be of ſervice to the public to have it repreſented at the latter end of Queen Anne's reign, when the old Engliſh ſpirit of liberty was as likely to be loſt, as it had ever been ſince the Conqueſt. He endeavoured to bring Mr Addiſon into his opinion, which he did ſo far, as to procure his conſent that it ſhould be acted, if Mr Hughes would write the laſt act, and he offered him the ſcenary for his aſſiſtance, excuſing his not finiſhing it himſelf, on account of ſome other avocations. He preſſed Mr Hughes to do it ſo earneſtly, that he was prevailed on and ſet about it. But a week after ſeeing Mr Addiſon again, with an intention to communicate to him what he had thought of it, he was agreeably ſurprized at his producing ſome papers, where near half of the act was written by the author himſelf, who took fire at the hint, that it would be ſerviceable; and upon a ſecond reflexion, went through with the fifth act. Not that he was diffident of Mr Hughes's ability, but knowing that no man could have ſo perfect a notion of his deſign as himſelf, who had been ſo long and ſo carefully thinking of it. I was told this by Mr Hughes; and I tell it to ſhew, that it was not for the love-ſcenes that Mr Addiſon conſented to have his tragedy acted, but to ſupport the old Roman and Engliſh public ſpirit, which was then ſo near being ſuppreſſed by faction and bigotry.'

Soon after the Tragedy of Cato was acted, Mr Hughes ſent the author a copy of verſes in praiſe of it, which were afterwards printed before it, with ſeveral other copies. On this occaſion, and a reſolution taken not to publiſh it immediately, Mr Addiſon wrote the following letter (15).

(15) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of John Hughes, Eſq; p. 22, 23.

Dear Sir, 24 April, 1713.

'This is to acquaint you, that I am forced to practiſe a great piece of ſelf-denial. In ſhort, I muſt 'deprive my play of the noble ornament you deſigned 'for it. My friends, who all of them concur with me 'in admiring your beautiful copy of verſes, are however 'of opinion, that it will draw upon me an imputation 'of vanity; and as my play has met with an unexpected reception, I muſt take particular care not to aggravate the envy and ill-nature that will riſe on courſe 'upon me. Beſides, to tell you truly, I have received 'other poems upon the ſame occaſion, and one or two 'from perſons of quality, who will never pardon me, 'if I do not give them a place at the ſame time that I 'print any other.

'I know your good ſenſe and friendſhip towards me, 'will not let you put a wrong interpretation on this 'matter; and I am ſure I need not tell you, with how 'much ſincerity and eſteem, I am,

SIR,

Your moſt obliged, and moſt faithful humble ſervant,

To Mr Hughes. J. Addison.

To this Mr Hughes returned the following modeſt reply.

Dear

performance which attracted the attention of the public, was his edition of Spenſer's Works, which the lovers of Engliſh hiſtory, as well as poetry, had long wiſhed, and which, as our author carefully and judiciouſly performed, ſo it was perfectly well received (g). There was, indeed, no man of his time more equal to the taſk; and, on the other hand, there was probably no taſk that could have proved more acceptable to him. Spenſer and Hughes ſeem to be allied by genius. Both great poets, both remarkable for their ſtrict morals, both public ſpirited men, both well received by the great, and yet neither of them much indebted to fortune (b). It was happy for the memory of Spenſer, that the revival and illuſtration of his writings were committed to a perſon of ſuch candour and capacity. It muſt have been a very pleaſing labour to Mr Hughes, to reſtore the ſenſe, to revive the honour, to repair and deck with freſh garlands, the monument of ſo worthy a man. The ſpirit and elegance with which he diſcharged his truſt as an editor, are inconteſtable proofs of all that we have advanced (i) [M]. The ſame year his Apollo and Daphne appeared upon the ſtage, in the fate of which his friend Sir Richard Steele intereſted himſelf very much (k). Their acquaintance had been of a long ſtanding; and we may remark, to the honour of our author, that, though he very eaſily made, he very rarely loſt, a friend [N]. He was no leſs in the good graces of Mr Pope, of whom he had a very high opinion, and a generous and kind concern for the ſucceſs of his Homer; which, as it was very natural for him to do, Mr Pope received with a proper degree of gratitude and reſpect, as his own letters very clearly expreſs, which for that reaſon have a place given them in the notes (l) [O]. Our author lived alſo in a conſtant courſe of intimacy

(g) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 203.

(b) See Spenſer's Life, by Mr Hughes.

(i) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Eſq; p. 36.

(k) Hughes's Works, Vol. II. p. 109.

(l) Communicated by Mr Duncombe.

Dear Sir, 25 April, 1713.

'I am extremely obliged to you for your kind letter. The warm expreſſions of friendſhip in it, give 'me a much more ſenſible pleaſure than any I could 'receive from the approbation of my verſes. I 'own, when they were writ, I had no thoughts of 'your printing them; and though nothing would flatter me ſo much in the making them public, as the 'ſatisfaction of ſeeing my name with your's: yet I am 'one of thoſe friends, who think your preſent reſolution perfectly right, and entirely acquieſce in your 'reaſons. I cannot but applaud, at the ſame time, 'your chaſte enjoyment of fame, which I think equally 'above envy, and incapable of receiving any addition.

I am with all poſſible eſteem,

SIR,

Your moſt affectionate, and moſt

obedient humble ſervant,

To Mr ADDISON. J. HUGHES.

[M] *Of all that we have advanced.*] This work was printed by ſubſcription, and his reputation being now thoroughly eſtabliſhed, was of greater conſequence to Mr Hughes, than any thing he had hitherto publiſhed. It is dedicated to John Lord Somers, whom he complements upon his having brought Milton into reputation, by patronizing a magnificent edition of his Paradiſe Loſt, which induced him to put Spenſer, who was in ſome ſort Milton's maſter, under his Lordſhip's protection likewiſe. His life of Spenſer is ſuccinct, but written with great ſolidity, affords a fair and true picture of the author, without the leaſt mixture of fuſtian panegyric. The diſcourſe on allegoric poetry, is a clear, learned, and comprehenſive ſyſtem of the rules, requiſite to be underſtood, in order to writing or judging properly of that kind of poetry; and is not only inſtructive and entertaining, but very curious likewiſe, as it was a ſubject untouched by any of the critics who went before him. The remarks on the *Fairy Queen*, are very judicious and impartial, give the reader a true idea of the nature, deſign, and diſpoſition of that work, which was extremely neceſſary towards it's being generally and thoroughly underſtood. In this ſhort piece, Mr Hughes has pointed out the principal beauties of that ſingular poem, ſome of which are perhaps ſuperior to thoſe of any other, in any age or language. He has likewiſe ſhewn the blemiſhes in a manner becoming a candid critic, and one who thought himſelf obliged to furniſh his reader with all the information that lay in his power. His diſcourſe on the *Shepherd's Kalendar*, and the ſmaller pieces of Spenſer, is likewiſe very ſenſibly and correctly written, and contains ſome new and very uſeful reflections on paſtoral and elegiac poetry. There is likewiſe a ſhort, perhaps too ſhort, gloſſary, for the explanation of the antique words, which Spenſer had adopted from his great veneration of Chaucer. On the whole, he may be truly ſaid, to have given an elegant and pleaſing edition of all the works extant of that admired writer, in a manner that did great credit to himſelf, at the ſame time, that it revived and reſtored the writings of one of our greateſt poets, which had ſuffered exceedingly from the incorrectneſs and want of critical judgment in former editors. The proſe works, and the letters of Spenſer and his friend Mr Gabriel Harvey, with the admirable Latin tranſlation of the Shepherd's Kalendar, by Bathurſt, are alſo contained in this edition, which was as kindly received by the public as it deſerved.

[N] *He very rarely loſt a friend.*] It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that our author had formerly exerciſed his genius upon the ſame ſubject; and we find a cantata with this very title, ſet by Mr Galliard, from which however, he borrowed only the laſt air, which is the ſame both in the cantata and in the maſque. The letter from Sir Richard Steele, was this (16).

(16) Communicated by William Duncombe, Eſq;

St James's-ſtreet,

Dear Sir, Jan. 8, 1715.

A paper called the Town-Talk is particularly deſigned to be helpful to the ſtage. If you have not ſent the Maſque which is to come out on Thurſday to preſs, if you pleaſe to ſend me the copy, it ſhall be recommended to the Town, and publiſhed on Thurſday night with that paper.

Your affectionate friend,

and moſt humble ſervant,

RICHARD STEELE.

[O] *In the notes.*] Our author had ſome years before, interpoſed his advice in reſpect to Mr Pope's tranſlation of Homer, and like a poet and a friend, propoſed it in verſe (17). If the reader will conſider the occaſion, the nature of the counſel given, and the delicacy of the complement, he cannot but conceive highly of our author's capacity as well as candour.

(17) Hughes's Works, Vol. II. P. 90.

O thou, who with a happy genius born,
Can'ſt tuneful verſe in flowing numbers turn,
Crown'd on thy Windſor's plains with early bays,
Be early wiſe, nor truſt to barren praiſe.
Blind was the bard that ſung Achilles' rage,
He ſung and begg'd, and curs'd th' ungiving age;
If Britain his tranſlated ſong wou'd hear,
Firſt take the gold——then charm the liſt'ning ear,
So ſhall thy father Homer ſmile to ſee
His penſion paid,——tho' late, and paid to thee.

The

intimacy and friendſhip with Mr Nicholas Rowe (*m*), and there is ſome reaſon to believe, compoſed, at his requeſt, the New-Year's Ode for the year 1717, as the reader may collect from a paper which is preſerved at the bottom of the page [*P*]. It was in this year that Earl Cowper, to whom he had been but lately made known, appointed him Secretary to the Commiſſions of the Peace, an honourable employment, and of conſiderable value, and conferred upon him many other marks of friendſhip and favour (*n*). Theſe were returned by Mr Hughes with all poſſible teſtimonies of the moſt reſpectful gratitude, as appears by ſeveral poems addreſſed to that noble Lord (*o*), whoſe concern for Mr Hughes was ſo great, that, when he reſigned his own employment, he by a letter, of which Mr Hughes himſelf was the bearer, made it his requeſt to Lord Parker, afterwards Earl of Macclesfield, to continue him in the office which he had beſtowed upon him (*p*); which his Lordſhip, who was alſo a true lover of learning, and a kind patron to learned men, very willingly did; and to him alſo our author paid his tributary verſe, in a manner ſuitable to the favour beſtowed (*q*). About this time he publiſhed, in a little pamphlet, a very ſingular piece, entitled 'CHARON: or, the Ferry-Boat, a Viſion.' This, with Mr Walſh's ESCULAPIUS, or the Hoſpital of Fools, has always been eſteemed, not inferior to any thing preſerved to us from the Antients. It ſtands now very juſtly placed amongſt his works; but we regret the dedication to the Swiſs Count, which, out of prudential reaſons, is omitted, though it contained a ſatirical viſion, no leſs entertaining and inſtructive than the little performance to which it is an introduction (*r*). But the manager of the maſquerades was thought too great a character to be ſo ſlightly treated. Yet, as he was himſelf a man of true humour, with a great fund of good ſenſe, it might poſſibly have kept it's poſt undiſturbed, had he been conſulted. It was highly admired by the judicious Earl Cowper. His circumſtances were now eaſy, but his health, which was never good, grew daily worſe and worſe, from the nature of his diſtemper, a lingering incurable conſumption. Yet happily the decay of his body did not affect either his temper or his mind. The ſame ſerenity, the ſame gentleneſs of ſpirit, the ſame goodneſs of heart, as well as the ſame warmth of friendſhip, and the ſame ſolidity of underſtanding, appeared to the very laſt (*s*). Sir Godfrey Kneller, with whom he had long lived in great intimacy, painted his picture, which, a few weeks before he died, Mr Hughes preſented to Earl Cowper, who wrote him a very affectionate letter in return (*t*). This was not the ultimate act of his zealous gratitude to that noble peer; for, but ten days preceding his death, he compoſed the dedication of his laſt work, written with as much ſpirit, eaſe, and accuracy, as any thing that ever fell from his pen, as the final acknowledgment of his patron's goodneſs (*u*). This laſt work, was his tragedy, entitled the SIEGE of DAMASCUS; in which the ſublimity of the ſentiment, the correctneſs of the language, the propriety of the characters, the pathetic pictures of paſſion, and the judicious diſpoſition of the whole piece, render it worthy of the lateſt cares of ſo eminent a poet and ſo good a man (*w*). It was brought upon the ſtage February 17, 1719-20, the very day it's author died, and

(*m*) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Eſq; p. 15, 16. Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. p. 212.

(*n*) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Eſq; p. 2, 4.

(*o*) Hughes's Works, Vol. II. p. 131, 133, 141.

(*p*) See our author's dedication of the Siege of Damaſcus.

(*q*) Hughes's Works, Vol. II. p. 152.

(*r*) Printed for W. Lewis near Covent-Garden, 1719. 8vo.

(*s*) MS. Memoirs, communicated by Mr Duncombe.

(*t*) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Eſq; p. 4.

(*u*) Hughes's Works, Vol. II. p. 167.

(*w*) See the note [*R*].

met

The ſame friendly diſpoſition which induced Mr Hughes to interpoſe originally, inclined him to enquire alſo after the progreſs of the undertaking, with a friendly zeal that deſerved and received the approbation of Mr Pope, as the following letter will ſhew (18).

(18) Communicated by William Duncombe, Eſq;

Dear Sir,

Ever ſince I had the pleaſure to know you, I have believed you one of that uncommon rank of authors who are undeſigning men, and ſincere friends; and who, when they commend another, have not any view of being praiſed themſelves. I ſhould be therefore aſhamed to offer, at ſaying any of thoſe civil things in return to your obliging complements in regard to my tranſlation of Homer, only I have too great a value for you, not to be pleaſed with them; and yet I aſſure you, I receive praiſes from you with leſs pleaſure than I have often paid them to your merit before, and ſhall, I doubt not, have frequent occaſions of doing again, from thoſe uſeful pieces you are ſtill obliging us with.

If you was pleaſed with my preface, you have paid me for that pleaſure in the ſame kind, by your entertaining and judicious eſſays on Spenſer. The preſent you make me, is of the moſt agreeable nature imaginable, for Spenſer has been ever a favourite poet to me. He is like a miſtreſs, whoſe faults we ſee, but love her with them all.

What has deferred my thanks 'till now, was a ramble I have been taking about the country, from which I returned home, and found your kind letter, but yeſterday. A teſtimony of that kind, from a man of your turn, is to be valued at a better rate than the ordinary eſtimate of letters will amount to.

I ſhall rejoice in all opportunities of cultivating a friendſhip I ſo truly eſteem, and hope very ſhortly to tell you in town, how much I am,

SIR,

Your obliged and faithful

humble ſervant,

7 Oct. 1715. A. POPE.

Since you deſire to hear of my progreſs in the tranſlation, I muſt tell you, that I have gone through four more books, which with the remarks, will make the ſecond volume.

[*P*] *At the bottom of the page*] There is ſomething in the following letter (19), which does great honour to Mr Hughes; it ſhews that his parts were confeſſed, and at the ſame time his capacity eſteemed, not only by thoſe who were the beſt judges, but by thoſe, who if his candour and friendly turn had not been to the full as conſpicuous as his abilities, would very probably have conſidered him as their rival.

(19) Communicated by the ſame hand.

Covent-Garden,

Dear Sir, Oct. 22, 1716.

As you were ſo good formerly to promiſe me a little of your poetical aſſiſtance, you can never give it me at a time when it will be more uſeful than now. I beg you will be ſo good to think of ſome words for Mr Eccles on the New Year. The entertainment is not to conſiſt of above half an hour in time at moſt; three or four airs, with ſome little recitative between, is what the compoſer will be glad of. I need not tell you,

met with the higheſt applauſe (x) [Q]. After his deceaſe was publiſhed a philoſophical ode of his, called the ECSTACY, in which there is a very fine complement to Sir Iſaac Newton; and the whole, which contains eleven ſtanzas, is not inferior to any in our language (y). The only ſiſter of this gentleman, a moſt ingenious and amiable woman, married, in the year 1726, William Duncombe, Eſq; younger brother of John Duncombe, of Stocks in the county of Hertford, Eſq; who is the editor of Mr Hughes's Works, which he dedicated to the preſent Earl Cowper; adding, to thoſe that had been before made public, ſome poems that were in the hands of the author's dear friend, Alexander Strahan, Eſq; to whom the world is indebted for the ſix firſt books of Virgil's Æneid in Miltonic verſe. Mrs Duncombe died in 1735, leaving an only ſon, the Reverend John Duncombe, M. A. Fellow of Corpus-Chriſti-college in the univerſity of Cambridge. This young gentleman, treading in the ſteps of his worthy uncle, has publiſhed ſome poetical pieces which have been well received, and is the only near relation of Mr Hughes that ſtill ſurvives. We will conclude this article with a ſhort character of our author, from Remarks upon the Writings of our modern Engliſh Poets, not yet publiſhed. This gentleman, Mr John Hughes, was more ſollicitous to deſerve fame than ambitious of poſſeſſing it. He was by nature addicted to ſtudy, and, with a great genius, had a vaſt fund of diligence, an exquiſite taſte, a correct judgment; but, with all theſe qualities, was modeſt, and even diffident to a ſurpriſing degree; which hindered him from collecting or publiſhing many valuable pieces of poetry, and ſome of proſe likewiſe. How well he was acquainted with the Antients, and how proper a uſe he made of that acquaintance, appears from his tranſlations and imitations of Orpheus, Tyrtæus, Pindar, Anacreon, and Euripides, amongſt the Greeks; as well as from Horace, Ovid, Lucan, and Claudian, amongſt the Romans. This did not, however, prejudice him againſt the Moderns; he tranſlated alſo from the French; and his Birth of the Roſe, from a writer of that country, is not the leaſt beautiful piece amongſt his works. His ſkill in muſic, which was exquiſite, gave him ſuch an advantage over other poets, as might with proper encouragement have carried the Engliſh opera as high as the Italian. His talent for lyric poetry was juſtly admired, and his tragedy of the ſiege of Damaſcus was an inſtance that pain and ſickneſs could not abate the fire of his genius, or hinder him from giving marks of it as long as he lived. He did not write, at leaſt he did not publiſh, much; but if we conſider him as invalid almoſt through his whole life, his avocations on account of buſineſs, and that he was but forty-two when he ceaſed to live, and alſo call to mind how correct every thing was that came from him, we muſt retract our aſſertion, and allow he publiſhed a great deal. His character as a critic was at leaſt equal to his character as a poet, but were both exceeded by his character as a man and a chriſtian. His religion was ſincere without ſeverity, his morals ſtrict but not auſtere, his converſation equally inſtructive and pleaſant. To ſay all of him he deſerved would be a hard taſk. Let it ſuffice then——the man whom the Biſhop of Wincheſter eſteemed as a friend, the man whom Mr Addiſon admired as a poet, the man whoſe goodneſs and integrity Mr Pope had in veneration [R]——could be no ordinary man.

(x) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 327.

(y) Hughes's Works, Vol. II. p. 299.

you, that you are the fitteſt man in the world for this occaſion, by your equal knowledge of muſic and poetry. I will only beg you now, for friendſhip's ſake, to have compaſſion on,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt affectionate, and

faithful humble ſervant,

N. ROWE.

[Q] *And met with the higheſt applauſe.*] There have been very few plays which have ſucceeded ſo well as this, more eſpecially when it is remembered, that the author could not attend the performance of his own play, or give thoſe directions before it was brought on, which none but he could give; it was well received however then, and has maintained it's credit ever ſince. It pleaſes the many and the few, and is equally acceptable on the ſtage and in the cloſet; at the firſt repreſentation, there was much notice taken of a ſcene in the third act (20), where the reflections upon death are equally ſolemn and pathetic. Caled, who commands the Saracen army, thus ſpeaks to Phocyas, who is the Hero of the drama.

(20) Hughes's Works, Vol. II. p. 233, 234.

——Thou haſt an hour to live
If thou art wiſe, thou may'ſt prolong that term;
If not——why——fare thee well, and think of death.

Phocyas alone.

Farewel, and think of death!——was it not ſo?
Do murtherers then preach morality?——
But how to think of what the living know not,
And the dead cannot, or elſe may not tell?——
What art thou, O thou great myſterious terror!
The way to thee we know; diſeaſes, famine,
Sword, fire, and all thy ever-open gates
That day and night ſtand ready to receive us.
But what's beyond them——who will draw that veil?
Yet death's not there—No; 'tis a point of time
The verge 'twixt mortal and immortal being.
It mocks our thought!—On this ſide all is life;
And when we've reach'd it, in that very inſtant
'Tis paſt the thinking of!——O! if it be
The pangs, the throes, the agonizing ſtruggle
When ſoul and body part, ſure I have felt it,
And there's no more to fear.

Sir Richard Steele applied this ſcene to the author's dying in a manner while it was acting, in a paper which he dedicated to his memory (21); which was alſo celebrated in a poem by a Lady, and in ſome very fine copies of verſes by William Cowper, William Duncombe, John Bunce, Eſquires, and other friends; ſo that as none could be more juſtly, none was more deeply regretted than Mr Hughes.

(21) The Theater, No. 15.

[R] *Mr Pope had in veneration.*] In ſupport of this, conſidered as a point of fact, which does equal honour to both their memories, we will give the reader in this note, ſome letters of Mr Pope to our author, and others addreſſed to ſome of his neareſt relations, which very fairly and fully expreſs his ſentiments of him as a poet and an honeſt man. The two firſt were written upon Mr Hughes's ſubmitting the Siege of Damaſcus

(22) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of John Hughes, Eſq; p. 25.

maſcus to his peruſal; the third was addreſſed to him the very day after he died (22).

Twickenham, 22 Jan. 1719-20.

Dear Sir,

Your letter found me, as I have long been, in a ſtate of health, almoſt as bad as that you complain of; and indeed what makes me utterly incapable of attending to any poetical taſk, even that of Homer.

I can only ſay with ſincerity, I am heartily concerned for your illneſs, and the more uneaſy with my own, in that it hinders me from ſerving you.

I truly wiſh you health and life, to enjoy that reputation and thoſe advantages which ſo much ingenuity joined with ſo much virtue, deſerves.

As ſoon as I am able to be in town, I will wait on you with the play, in which, and in every thing elſe, I wiſh you all ſucceſs.

I am,

Dear Sir,

Your faithful, and moſt

obedient ſervant,

To Mr HUGHES.

A. POPE.

Dear Sir,

I return you the play ſooner than I am willing to part with what I like ſo extremely well, becauſe you preſs it. Upon my word, I think it every way worthy of you, and make not the leaſt doubt, but the world will do you the juſtice you deſerve, in the acceptation of it

I continue very much out of order, but muſt be forced to be in town (well or ill) ſome days this week, upon indiſpenſable affairs: When I will wait upon you and tell you my ſincere thoughts, none of which is more ſincere, than that I am truly,

Your moſt obliged, and moſt

faithful ſervant,

To Mr HUGHES.

A. POPE.

Twickenham, Feb. 18, 1719-20.

Dear Sir,

I have been much concerned not to have waited upon you you as I deſigned, ſince you obliged me with your play. I am ſince much more troubled to hear of the continuance of your illneſs.

Would to God you might live as long as I am ſure the reputation of your tragedy muſt! I am a fellow-ſufferer with you, in not being able to ſee it played, having been and ſtill being too much indiſpoſed to go to any public place. But I could be extremely glad ſome particular friends of mine had that pleaſure I cannot enjoy: you would highly favour me, in letting three or four ladies have a ſide box, who have ſent into the country to me, upon information, that the boxes are diſpoſed of by you.

I am ſorry to give you this trouble, when perhaps for your health's ſake you ſhould not have a moment's diſturbance, and I could not ſend ſooner at this diſtance. Pray think I wiſh you all the ſucceſs you deſerve, and all the health you want.

I am,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt affectionate

humble ſervant,

A. POPE.

After the death of Mr Hughes, upon his brother's ſending Mr Pope, amongſt other friends to the author, his play of the Siege of Damaſcus. Mr Pope in return wrote him the following letter, to condole his loſs, and to acknowledge his civility.

February 26, 1719-20.

SIR,

I can't omit the acknowledgment I really think I owe your great civility, eſpecially at ſo melancholy and affecting a moment, as that of your worthy brother's death muſt have been to you. Indeed even his common acquaintance muſt have known enough of him to regret his loſs, and I moſt heartily condole with you upon it.

I believe I am further obliged to you for his play which I received yeſterday, and read over again with more concern and ſorrow than I ever felt in the reading any tragedy. The real loſs of a good man, may be called a diſtreſs to the world, and ought to affect us more than any feigned or ancient diſtreſs how finely drawn ſoever.

I am glad of an occaſion to give you under my hand this teſtimony, both how excellent I think this work to be, and how excellent I thought the author.

I am, with my hearty thanks to you,

Sir,

Your moſt obliged, and moſt

humble ſervant,

To Mr JABEZ HUGHES.

A. POPE.

When Mr Pope was applied to by Mr Duncombe to permit part of this laſt letter to appear as it does in the memoirs; he wrote him a very frank anſwer, and another very kind letter upon his receiving thoſe works with the memoirs, both of which follow (23).

(23) Theſe letters are communicated by William Duncombe, Eſq;

Twitnam, Nov. 5, 1734.

SIR,

I am extremely willing to bear any teſtimony of my real regard for Mr Hughes, and therefore what you mention of my letter to his brother after his death, will be a greater inſtance of the ſincerity with which it was given: it is perfectly at your ſervice.

I thank you for the tenderneſs with which you deal in this matter toward me, and I eſteem you for that which you ſhew to the memory of your kinſman. I doubt not but you will diſcharge it in a becoming manner, and am,

Sir,

Your moſt obedient,

humble ſervant,

To Mr DUNCOMBE.

A. POPE.

Twitnam, 6 May, 1735.

SIR,

Many thanks for your kind preſent in which I find ſeveral very pleaſing and very correct pieces of his, which are new to me.

I beg you to accept of the new volume of my things juſt printed, which will be delivered by Mr Dodſley, the author of the Toyſhop, who is juſt ſet up as a Bookſeller.

I am,

SIR,

Your moſt obliged,

humble ſervant,

To Mr DUNCOMBE.

A. POPE.

HUNTINGTON

HUNTINGTON [ROBERT], a learned Biſhop in the beginning of this century, was the ſecond ſon of Robert Huntington, Miniſter of Deorhyrſt in Glouceſterſhire, and born at that place in February 1636. Having been educated in Grammar-learning at the free-ſchool in Briſtol, he was admitted, at the age of ſixteen, a Portioniſt of Merton-college in Oxford (*a*); where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts March 9, 1657-8 (*b*). By his ingenuity, learning, and good behaviour, he ſo ingratiated himſelf with the members of that ſociety, that they unanimouſly choſe him Fellow, as ſoon as qualified by their ſtatutes (*c*). On the 21ſt of January, 1662-3, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*d*); and having run through the uſual courſe of arts and ſciences, applied himſelf with the utmoſt diligence to the ſtudy of Divinity, and of the Oriental languages. The latter became of infinite ſervice to him afterwards: for, upon the reſignation of Mr Robert Frampton [*A*], Chaplain to the Engliſh Factory at Aleppo, he was choſen his ſucceſſor in that honourable employment; wherein he acquitted himſelf much to his own credit, as well as that of his conſtituents, and of the whole Engliſh nation. He ſailed from England in September 1670 [*B*], and in about four months reached Scandarone; from whence he travelled to Aleppo, where he was received with great reſpect by the Factory (*e*). During his eleven years reſidence in this place, he applied himſelf particularly, next to the duties of his function, to ſearch for and procure manuſcripts [*C*]. And, for that purpoſe, kept a correſpondence with the learned and eminent of every profeſſion and degree [*D*]; which his knowledge in the Eaſtern languages, eſpecially the Arabic, enabled him to do (*f*). He travelled alſo, for his diverſion and improvement, not only in the adjacent, but likewiſe in diſtant places. And after having carefully viſited almoſt all Galilee and Samaria [*E*], he took a journey to Jeruſalem, with ſome of his congregation

(*a*) D. Roberti Huntingtoni Vita, ſcriptore Tho. Smitho, Lond. 1704. 8vo. p. 1, 2.

(*b*) Wood, Faſti, edit. 1721. col. 215.

(*c*) Smith, p. 2.

(*d*) Wood, ubi ſupra, col. 149.

(*e*) Smith, ubi ſupra, p. 4.

(*f*) Smith, ut ſupra, p. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 20, 21.

[*A*] *Upon the reſignation of Mr Robert Frampton.*] The ſame that afterwards became *Biſhop of Glouceſter*. But to give a more particular account of him: he was born at Pimpern in Dorſetſhire, anno. 1622, admitted into Corpus-Chriſti-college in Oxford in 1637, elected thence a Student of Chriſt's-church, where he took a Bachelor of Arts degree, 25 June, 1641. Upon the breaking out of the civil wars, he retired to his native country, and kept a ſchool at Turnwood: ſome time after, he was made chaplain of a man of war; and, either upon the ſhip's going into the Eaſt, or through his intereſt with the leading members of the Turkey-company, he was appointed, in 1654, chaplain to the Engliſh factory at Aleppo. In that ſtation he continued ſixteen years, namely 'till 1670. And at his final departure brought over ſuch ample teſtimonials of his eminent ſervices, that in 1672, he was made Prebendary both of Saliſbury and Glouceſter. In 1673, he was advanced to the Deanry of Glouceſter; and March 27, 1681, conſecrated Biſhop of the ſame. But he was deprived of it February 1, 1690-1, for refuſing to take the oaths to King William III. Thereupon he retired to Standiſh near Glouceſter, where he died 25 May, 1708, aged 86 (1).

(1) Wood, Faſti, edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 1180. and Br. Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, Vol. I. p. 726.

[*B*] *He ſailed from England, in September* 1670.] During the voyage, the ſhip touching at one of the iſlands in the Archipelago, to take in water, Mr Huntington and ſeveral others went on ſhore, and aſcended up a hill, in order to view the iſland, the ſea, and the country adjacent. Some of the thieviſh and vagabond Greeks on the continent obſerving them, landed with all expedition in the oppoſite part of the iſland, with a view of intercepting them, and cutting off their retreat. For, thoſe places abound with neſts of plunderers and pirates (2). But our travellers obſerving them in time, and gueſſing their deſign, prevented them, and ran to their ſhip with the utmoſt precipitation (3).

(2) See Ricaut's Preſent State of the Greek Church, Lond. 1679. p. 337.

(3) Smith, ut ſupra, p. 3, 4.

[*C*] *To ſearch for, and procure manuſcripts.*] The Europeans, and eſpecially the Engliſh, began to apply themſelves zealouſly, in the laſt century, to the procuring of manuſcripts from all parts, eſpecially from the Eaſtern countries. Archbiſhop Laud led the way, and with what ſucceſs his generous benefaction to the Bodleian Library (4) abundantly teſtifies. Moſt of his ſucceſſors followed his example, even down to the late Archbiſhop Wake, who had perſons in pay to ſearch for and purchaſe all the MSS. they could meet with in the Eaſt, eſpecially any parts of the Holy Scriptures. Dr Narciſſus Marſh, late Archbiſhop of Armagh, the moſt excellent Biſhop Fell, and other public-ſpirited perſons, encouraged the ſame ſearch; and by them principally it was that Mr Huntington was employed. What they wanted moſt particularly, was good copies, or the Syriac tranſlation, of St Ignatius's Epiſtles; which, however, he ſought in vain. But he had better ſucceſs in procuring the works of St Ephraim, or Ephrem Syrus, which were, 'till then, very little known in Europe (5).

(4) Of above 1300 M.SS. See Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 53. and the Archbiſhop's Diary, in his Life by H. Wharton; and in Rushworth's Collect. Vol. III. p. 885.

(5) Smith, p. 5—10.

[*D*] *And, for that purpoſe, kept a correſpondence with the learned and eminent of every profeſſion and degree.*] This ſufficiently appears from ſome of his letters publiſhed by Dr Smith, at the end of his life. And that learned author gives us this further account of Mr Huntington's diligence in that reſpect. *Quo autem voti tam ſancti compos fieret, Græcorum, Syrorum, Armenorum, etiam Judæorum, Samaritanorum, & Mohammedanorum, prout occaſio ſeſe obtulerat, operâ uſus eſt: quam quoque Romanæ communionis Myſtæ, per orientem Sparſi, rem ſacram ex inſtituto vitæ ordiniſque, cui ſeſe addixerint, Religioſi, miro zelo procurantes, ipſi oblatam abundè & cumulatiſſimè pro ſumma ſua humanitate & candore præſtiterunt* (6).

(6) Ibid. p. 5, 6.

[*E*] *And Samaria.*] His chief deſign in viſiting this, and the neighbouring town of Sichem (once called Neapolis or the *new city*, becauſe built out of the ruins of the other by Herod, and now by corruption Naploſa) was, to converſe with the remains of the ancient Samaritans, then reduced to between twenty and thirty families; and to inform himſelf of their faith, opinions, cuſtoms, religious ceremonies, and to enquire what books they had. In his converſation with them, they aſked him, whether there were any Hebrews in England? He, ſuppoſing they meant *Jews*, replied in the affirmative; not underſtanding yet, that they appropriated to themſelves the names of Hebrews and Iſraelites, and retained ſtill their old extreme contempt and averſion for the Jewiſh nation. And when they found he could read their language, they cried out in an extaſy of joy, 'They are certainly Iſraelites 'and Hebrews, and our very brethren:' not imagining, he could poſſibly have learned their language from any but Samaritans. When he found they would not be undeceived, he adviſed them to ſend their book of the Law, and an account of their Religion, &c. to England: which produced the epiſtolary correſpondence between them and the learned Dr Thomas Marſhall; publiſhed by Job Ludolf, among his Samaritan letters. They having affirmed in thoſe letters, 'That 'their Book of the Law, or Samaritan Pentateuch, 'was the very original, written by Abiſha, ſon of 'Pinchas, ſon of Eleazar, ſon of Aaron the Prieſt, in 'the thirteenth year after the entrance of the Iſraelites 'into the land of Canaan:' Out of a curioſity to ſee ſo valuable a treaſure, our author took a ſecond journey to Naploſa, five years after the firſt. But upon examining that Pentateuch, which they kept, with another, in their ſynagogue, he found that it was not above five hundred years old. When he came too cloſely to examine it, they told him, that there was a memorandum in it containing the above account, which had been cut out by ſome ſacrilegious hand.——Beſides that Pentateuch, they had, ſome Forms of Prayers; the book of Joſhua, or rather a ſhort chronicle from the creation of the world down to Mohammed; a ſhort commentary on the Law, and a larger expoſition, in Arabic (7).——The Samaritans were once flouriſhing

(7) Smith, ibid. p. 12, 13, 14. & Huntingtoni Epiſt. p. 48, 49, 50, 55, 56, &c.

tion at the Factory: who univerſally make it a rule, not to return into their own country, without having ſeen that holy city (g) [F]. In February 1677, he ſailed into Cyprus, on purpoſe to have the pleaſure of examining the library of Hilarion Cigala, Archbiſhop of Juſtiniana Nova, and Primate of that iſland: but he miſſed of him, becauſe he was forced then to lie hid, for fear of the Turks, who, out of ſome prejudice, threatened his life or liberty (h). An earneſt deſire of beholding the venerable ruins of the once noble and glorious city of Palmyra, cauſed him alſo to undertake, in 1678, a tedious and difficult journey of ſix days, or 150 miles; (for ſo far was it from Aleppo) and with no better ſucceſs than his laſt expedition. For, inſtead of having an opportunity of viewing the place, he and his company were very near being deſtroyed by two Arabian Princes, who had taken poſſeſſion of thoſe parts (i). But he had better ſucceſs in a journey he took to Egypt in 1680, where he picked up ſeveral curioſities and manuſcripts [G]; and had the pleaſure of converſing with John Laſcaris, Archbiſhop of Mount Sinai. He took a ſecond voyage to Egypt, towards the end of the year 1681, in order to converſe again with that Prelate, having been informed that he was at Cairo, but the information was falſe (k). Thus he continued, during the whole time of his reſidence in the Eaſt, to improve himſelf, and benefit his country, by the many valuable manuſcripts he collected or procured [H]. But having now been there eleven years, he grew impatient for returning into England. At length, his ſucceſſor being arrived, he embarked in 1682, and landed in Italy. Having viſited Rome, Naples, and other the moſt conſiderable places; and taken Paris in his way, where he ſtayed a few weeks, he arrived, after all his dangers and difficulties, ſafe into his own country. Immediately he retired to his fellowſhip in Merton-college, where he led a quiet but not an idle life; being naturally very diligent and ſtudious (l). On the 15th of June 1683, he accumulated the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in Divinity (m): and, about the ſame time, through the recommendation of Biſhop Fell, being appointed Maſter of Trinity-college in Dublin, though not much to his liking [I], he ſet out for that place towards the end of the year. In that ſtation he behaved in a moſt uſeful and worthy manner, encouraging good literature, and taking all proper care of the revenues of his college. He greatly promoted, at the ſame time, the Iriſh tranſlation of the Bible, which was done through the ſpecial encouragement of Dr Narciſſus Marſh, Biſhop of Leighlin and Fernes, and at the ſole charge of the Honourable Robert Boyle (n). But, the troubles that happened in Ireland, at the Revolution, put an end to his quiet ſettlement, and his good works and deſigns. For, upon King James's deſcent there in 1688-9, Dr Huntington judged it neceſſary to conſult for his ſafety, by a timely retreat into England; giving all his valuable manuſcripts for loſt: however, they remained ſafe. After the reduction of Ireland, he went back, and continued thither about a year. But having taken a firm reſolution of not fixing himſelf in that kingdom, he reſigned his Maſterſhip in 1691, and returned to England. In the mean time, he ſold for 700 pounds his fine collection of manuſcripts, about ſix hundred in number, to the Curators of the Bodleian Library; having before made a preſent to the ſame library of five and thirty valuable manuſcripts (o). In Auguſt 1692, he was preſented by Sir Edward Turnor to the Rectory of Great Hallingbury in Eſſex, a living of 200 pounds a year (p). As he wanted a companion in that ſolitary place [K], he married,

(g) Idem. p. 11, 12.

(h) Ibid. p. 20.

(i) Ibid. p. 15, 16. See Phil. Tranſ. No. 218. p. 129.

(k) Smith, ut ſupra, p. 16, 17, 19, 20.

(l) Ibid. p. 23, 24.

(m) Wood, Faſti, edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 221.

(n) Smith, ut ſupra, p. 26, 27, 28.

(o) Ibid. p. 29, 30.

(p) Newcourt Repertor. Vol. II. p. 296.

ing at Damaſcus, but now their name is quite forgotten there. They were alſo numerous at Cairo, and ſo (according to their own account) they are ſtill in Egypt; but our author could find none there, except an old man and woman, in a very poor condition. Some families of them remain at Joppa and Gaza: and they are generally employed by the Turks for toll or taxgatherers: in which ſtation was Merchib Ibn Yacob, the writer of the Samaritan letters abovementioned. But upon ſome unjuſt accuſation, he was forced to withdraw to Leghorn (8).

(8) Ibid. viz. R. Huntingt. Epiſt. p. 48, 49, 58.

[F] *Who univerſally make it a rule, not to return into their own country, without having ſeen that holy city.*] Or, as Dr Smith expreſſes it (9); *Apud enim advenas hoſce præſertim poſt naves, opulentis mercibus onuſtas, e portu ſolutas, quo tempore feriari datum eſt, mos iſte ſolennis Hieroſolyma adeundi ita inolevit, ut pene ceſſerit in religionem; vixque quiſpiam repertus eſt, quin ſentiat, haud ſe, ſalva fama, ne dicam conſcientia, niſi confecto iſtoc ſacro itinere, in Angliam redire poſſe aut debere.*

(9) P. 11.

[G] *Where he picked up ſeveral curioſities and manuſcripts.*] Particularly, the nuts and ſeeds, of the Egyptian Sycomore, and of other curious plants and ſhrubs, which were ſet in the Phyſic-garden at Oxford (10).——Among the MSS. he got there, ſeveral were in the Coptic, or Copto Arabic, language; eſpecially two copies of the Goſpels, one of which he purchaſed at Cairo, and the other in the deſert of Nitria. He procured alſo copies of two volumes of the Councils, with an appendix to the Council of Chalcedon; and other curious books, relating to polite literature, and natural hiſtory (11).

(10) Smith, ut ſupra, p. 22.

(11) Ibid. p. 17, 18, 22.

[H] *By the many valuable manuſcripts he collected, or procured.*] He took a great deal of pains to procure three volumes, relating to the Sabæan or Mendeſian Religion; two of which they pretend to have been delivered to Adam by God himſelf; and the third to have been brought down by Angels from Heaven, three hundred and thirty thouſand years before the creation of the world. To obtain thoſe volumes, our learned author kept a correſpondence with father Agathangel de Sta Thereſia, a bare-footed Carmelite, and Preſident of the Miſſion at Baſſora, who at length tranſmitted thoſe three volumes to him into England, in the year 1683. But, as Dr Smith obſerves, they will be of no uſe, 'till ſome perſon is found that can underſtand and tranſlate them (12).——For an account of the Sabæans, the inquiſitive reader will be pleaſed to conſult Dr Hyde's learned and curious book, *De Religione veterum Perſarum.*

(12) Ibid. p. 21, 22. Vide etiam R. Huntingtoni Epiſt. p. 37—44. & p. 82—87.

[I] *Though not much to his liking.*] Dr Smith, in his life (13), informs us, That he earneſtly refuſed at firſt that place, though very honorable and advantagious, and looked upon it as a ſort of baniſhment.—— *Onus iſtud, licet tanto cum honore conjunctum, averſiſſimo animo primo recuſat, & a ſe obnixè, deprecatione interpoſita, amolitur: ſed tandem illius* (14) *precibus & conſiliis expugnatus, ceſſit, planè invitus.——Compertum habeo, illum de hac relegatione, quaſi in exilium, apud amicos interioris notæ queri conſueviſſe.*

(13) P. 27.

(14) Bp. Fell's.

[K] *As he wanted a companion in that ſolitary place.*] He ſeems not to have much liked that place, otherwiſe a healthful and agreeable one, becauſe the houſe was bad, and he wanted there the company and converſation of the learned. In one of his letters, he ſays,

ried, the ſame year, a ſiſter of Sir John Powell, one of the Juſtices of the King's-Bench, which made him an excellent wife. He was offered, about that time, the Biſhopric of Kilmore and Ardagh in Ireland, vacant by the deprivation of Dr William Sheridan for not taking the oaths, but he abſolutely refuſed it (*q*). However, in 1701, he accepted of the Biſhopric of Raphoe in the foreſaid kingdom, to which he was promoted through the intereſt of the Earls of Clarendon and Rocheſter. Thereupon, he reſigned his living, and went over to Ireland in July; and, on the 20th of Auguſt following, he was conſecrated in Chriſt-church Dublin, by his intimate friend Dr Narciſſus Marſh, then Archbiſhop of Dublin, and afterwards of Armagh. But, to the great loſs of learning, of Ireland, and of the whole Chriſtian world, he enjoyed his new dignity but a very ſhort time. For he died the 2d of September 1701, twelve days after his conſecration, in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age: and was buried in the chapel of Trinity-college, over which he had preſided with ſo much honour (*r*). His memory will be always dear among all true lovers of oriental learning; and he may juſtly be ſaid to have been born for the ſervice and ornament of his country (*s*). All that he publiſhed himſelf, was 'An Account of the Porphyry Pillars in Egypt (*t*) [*L*].' Some of his obſervations are printed in 'A Collection of curious Travels and Voyages,' in two tomes, 8vo. publiſhed by the ingenious Mr J. Ray. Mr T. Oſborne had, in ſome of his late ſales, a collection of our author's letters, written between the years 1684 and 1688, relating to the affairs of Trinity-college in Dublin. And thirty-nine of his letters, chiefly written by him whilſt abroad, were publiſhed by Dr T. Smith at the end of his life. We ſhall give ſome extracts from one of them [*M*].

(*q*) Smith, ut ſupra, p. 31.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 32, 33, 34.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 36.

(*t*) In the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 261. p. 624.

ſays, he was condemned to the country——*ruri damnandus* (15): And in another letter to Dr Allix, he has theſe words——*Tugurio ſiquidem caduco & perſtillanti male conveniunt theſauri, codices quantivis pretii, & auro contra non cari.* [He was there ſpeaking of his Coptic Pentateuch, which he had lodged in the Bodleian Library.] Then he adds, *Tu vero cum agnoveris* infelicitatem *amici tui, a libris ſociiſque, conſortio ſcilicet & viventium & vita defunctorum exulantis; perpende quæſo, quanto ipſe* (16) *felicior, qui utriſque ex animo frueris.* i. e. 'When you know my 'unhappineſs, in being baniſhed from books and agreeable friends, namely from the living and the dead; conſider how much happier you yourſelf are, who enjoy both, to your heart's content.'

(15) P. 57.

(16) Viz. Dr. Allix.

[*L*] *An account of the Porphyry pillars in Egypt.*] He deſcribes, and gives figures of two of them, viz. one at the Matarea, 3 or 4 miles eaſt of Grand-Cairo, 67 feet high, and the bigneſs 7 ½. The other at Alexandria, feet high. After having obſerved, that there is no quarry, or rather rock, of Porphyry in all the lower parts of Egypt; he ſays, 'That 'ſuch vaſt monuments might be removed from place 'to place, is difficult indeed, but not impoſſible; for 'ſome of theſe mountains are near the Red Sea; and 'Suſs from Cairo is but two or three days from the 'Nile. How poſſible it is to convey mighty weights 'by water, let the obeliſks at Rome declare, which 'were all of them brought from this very country. 'And that ſuch things may be done by land too, 'though not by every one, is plain enough, becauſe 'we ſee they have been done. At Baalbec, which is 'fourteen hours from Damaſcus (for thence I went) 'there is a ſtone about 66 foot long on the north ſide 'of the caſtle-wall, and two more of 60 each: and I 'believe we ſaw the way they travelled, having left 'one of their company, though not quite ſo big, in 'the road, as a monument thereof to this very day.'

[*M*] *We ſhall give ſome extracts from one of them.*] It is written to Dr Allix, in anſwer to ſome queſtions propoſed by Monſieur Picques, who, was about an accurate Map of Egypt. Some of our author's obſervations therein, are as follows. The name of the *Nile* is derived from נחל, i. e. *The River*, by way of eminence. It riſes in the mountains of Abyſſinia; and, after a courſe of two hundred miles, diſcharges itſelf into the Mediterranean ſea, by two mouths, formerly ſeven. It's overflowing is occaſioned by the continual rains, that fall, during the winter months, in Abyſſinia, and upper Egypt.——Grand Cairo is named by the inhabitants, and neighbouring nations, *Meſer*, from Miſraim the ſon of Ham. 'Tis leſs than Paris, but extremely populous. For, in the year 1679, there died in it of the plague five hundred and ten thouſand perſons: notwithſtanding which, the very next year, when our author was there, it ſwarmed with inhabitants.——Four miles from it is a village called Matarea, where the Virgin Mary is ſaid to have reſided, when ſhe fled into Egypt for fear of Herod's cruelty. ——Natron, Latrón, or Nitre, ſwims like ice on the top of a lake of ſtagnant water, in the deſert of Nitria; and is produced from the ſaltneſs of the water. It is very much like ice, but harder; & ſometimes reddiſh. ——What he ſays about the pyramids and mummies, &c. little differs from the accounts given by Mr John Greaves, and others.

C

HYDE [Dr THOMAS], one of the moſt learned writers of the XVIIth century. He was the ſon of the Reverend Mr Ralph Hyde, Vicar of Billingſley near Bridgenorth in Shropſhire, where he was born June 29, 1636, under whoſe care he received the firſt rudiments of learning; and having a natural propenſity to the ſtudy of the oriental languages, his father encouraged and aſſiſted him ſo far as was in his power, and when he was above ſixteen years of age, ſent him to the univerſity of Cambridge, where he was entered of King's-college (*a*). There he became acquainted with the celebrated Mr Abraham Wheelock, equally famous for his ſkill in languages, and his willingneſs to promote and recommend young perſons of parts and application to the utmoſt of his power (*b*). By him Mr Thomas Hyde, when he was only in his eighteenth year, was ſent to London to the learned Mr Brian Walton, afterwards Biſhop of Cheſter, as a perſon very capable of helping him in that arduous work the Polyglot Bible, in which he was then engaged, and which was executed in ſuch a manner, as not only did honour to him but credit to the nation (*c*). The ſervices rendered him by Mr Hyde were many and great; for he tranſcribed the Perſian Pentateuch out of the Hebrew characters, in which it was firſt printed at Conſtantinople, into the proper characters of the language; which, in the opinion of the learned Archbiſhop Uſher, would have proved a taſk impoſſible to a native Perſian, becauſe one Hebrew character anſwered ſometimes to one Perſian letter ſometimes to another, which it was exceeding difficult to diſtinguiſh (*d*). He alſo added a Latin tranſlation (*e*). He farther aſſiſted in correcting different parts of that work, in the Arabic, Syriac, and Samaritan

(*a*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 973.

(*b*) See the article of WHEELOCK [ABRAHAM].

(*c*) See the article of WALTON [BRIAN].

(*d*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 974.

(*e*) Morhoff. Polyhiſt. Liter. I. 1. 17. 31. Vide Præfat. Bibl. Polyglot.

maritan languages, and thereby merited the high character given him by the editor, that his ſkill in the oriental languages was ſuch as ſurpaſſed his years (*f*). In the next year, after the publication of the Polyglot Bible, he went to Oxford, was admitted of Queen's-college, and was ſoon after made Hebrew reader (*g*). The ſucceeding year Mr Richard Cromwell, then Chancellor of the univerſity, directed his letters to the Delegates of the univerſity, ſignifying that he was of full ſtanding, from the time of his admiſſion at Cambridge, for the degree of Maſter of Arts, and had given public teſtimony of his more than ordinary abilities and learning in the oriental languages; upon which they made an order, that he ſhould accumulate that degree, by reading only a lecture in one of the oriental languages in the ſchools; and having accordingly read upon the Perſian tongue, he was created Maſter of Arts April 13, 1659 (*h*). Soon after the reſtoration of King Charles the Second, he was made Under-Keeper of the Bodleian library, upon the ejection of the famous Henry Stubbe, which gave him an opportunity of purſuing his ſtudies with ſingular advantage (*i*). His diligent behaviour in this employment recommended him ſo much, that when Dr Thomas Lockey reſigned the office of Head-Keeper, he was elected by the Doctors and Maſters of the univerſity with general applauſe, and recommended himſelf likewiſe to the public by ſome very learned writings (*k*) [*A*]. About this time he became known to that great patron of all ſound literature, the Honourable Mr Robert Boyle, to whom he was uſeful in many reſpects, and to whom he communicated ſeveral remarkable paſſages relating to Chemiſtry, Phyſic, and Natural Hiſtory, in oriental writers (*l*). In October 1666, upon the Death of Dr John Wall, Canon of Chriſt-Church, Rector of St Aldate's Oxford, and Prebendary of Sarum, he ſucceeded him in his laſt preferment (*m*). On the 14th of December, 1678, on the demiſe of Mr John Gregory, he had the Archdeaconry of Glouceſter conferred upon him by Dr John Pricket, then Biſhop of that dioceſe, and was inſtalled on the 12th of January following (*n*). On the third of April, 1682, he was admitted Doctor of Divinity (*o*). He continued his ſtudies without remiſſion, and gave many ſhining proofs of his ſingular ſkill in all kinds of oriental learning, for which he was univerſally admired, and became juſtly famous over all Europe; the pieces he publiſhed being full, not only of new and curious, but alſo of very uſeful particulars [*B*]. On the 22d of December 1691, he was elected Arabic Profeſſor, on

(*f*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 974.

(*g*) Id. ibid.

(*h*) Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 126.

(*i*) Morhoff. Polyhiſt. Liter. I. 1, 17, 31.

(*k*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 974.

(*l*) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 580—594.

(*m*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 974.

(*n*) Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 734.

(*o*) Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 219.

[*A*] *By ſome very learned writings.*] It was in all probability, the patronage of the learned Abraham Wheelock at Cambridge, that determined our author's inclinations in ſo eminent a degree to the Perſian language, of which that excellent perſon was a great maſter. At Oxford there was a ſpirit of encouraging oriental literature; and yet our author remained there for many years in narrow circumſtances, which kept him very probably the cloſer to his ſtudies, and enabled him, by comparing and conſidering the ſeveral languages of the Eaſt, to acquire a facility in writing and ſpeaking ſeveral of them, beyond what many, even of the learned, thought poſſible. The title of the firſt work he publiſhed, ran thus:

(1.) *Verſio Latina e lingua* Perſica, *& Commentarii in Obſervationes* Vlugh-Beigi, *de Tabulis Longitudinis & Latitudinis ſtellarum fixarum*, Oxon. 1655, 4to, that is, 'A Latin Tranſlation out of the Perſian 'Tongue, together with Commentaries on the Obſer-'vations of *Vlugh Beg*, and his Tables of the Longi-'tude and Latitude of the fixed Stars.' It may not be unacceptable to inform the reader, that this Vlugh Beg was a great Tartar Monarch, the ſon of Shâhrokh, and the grandſon of Timur Beg, or, as we commonly call him, Tamerlane. The proper title of this Prince's treatiſe, is, Zig Ulug Beg, and in the preface he informs us, that the great occupations of government, hindered him from performing in perſon ſo much as he would have done towards the compleating this uſeful work, but that he had relied chiefly on his miniſter Salaheddin, ſirnamed Cadhi Zadehal Roumi, and that he dying before the work was finiſhed, his collegue Gaïatheddin Giamſhid, and his ſon Ali al Couſhi, were afterwards employed, who put the laſt hand to it. This work, written originally in Arabic, and of which there are two Perſian tranſlations, one by Ali al Couſhi, and the other by Mohammed Ben Mohammed, is in four parts. The firſt treats of Æras and Epochs in five chapters. The ſecond, of the Diſtinction of Times, in twenty-two chapters. The third, of the Courſe of the Planets, in thirteen chapters; and the fourth, regards the fixed Stars, in two hundred ſections. Theſe tables are thought the moſt correct of any publiſhed by the Orientals, and are calculated for the latitude of Samarcand, which was the capital of Ulugh Beg's dominions. To this is added, Mohamedes Tizinus his tables of the declenſion and aſcenſion of the fixed ſtars.

(2.) *Catalogus impreſſorum librorum Bibliothecæ* Bodleianæ *in Academia*, Oxon. 1674, fol. that is, 'A 'Catalogue of the printed Books in the Bodleian Li-'brary in the Univerſity of Oxford.'

(3.) *Epiſtola de menſuris & ponderibus* Serum *ſive* Senenſium, *&c.* Oxon. 1688, 8vo. that is, 'An E-'piſtle on the Weights and Meaſures of the Chineſe.' This is printed at the end of Dr Edward Bernard's book, entitled, *De Menſuris & Ponderibus antiquis libri tres*, that is, 'A Treatiſe of ancient Weights and 'Meaſures, in three Books:' as alſo, *Epiſtola N. F. D. de mari æneo Salomonis*, annexed thereunto by Dr Hyde.

[*B*] *But alſo of very uſeful particulars.*] He alſo publiſhed,

(4.) *Quatuor* Evangelia *&* Acta Apoſtolorum *lingua* Malaicâ, *Characteribus* Europæis, Oxon. 1677, 4to. that is, 'The Four Goſpels and the Acts of the Apo-'ſtles in the Malayan tongue.' Which were printed at the expence of Mr Boyle, and before them is prefixed an excellent preface by Dr Thomas Marſhal in Engliſh.

(5.) *Specimen Libri* More Nevochim, Maimonidis; *Arabicè & Latinè edendi* (Dec. 10, 1690) Oxon. 1691, 4to. that is, 'A Specimen of Maimonides's Guide of 'the Doubtfull in Arabic and Latin.'

(6.) *De* Ludis Orientalibus *Libri duo*, ſc. Mandragorias, *ſeu Hiſtoria* Shahiludii *Latine*, Oxon. 1693, 8vo. *Hiſtoria* Shahiludii *ſeu Trias* Judæorum *de* Ludo Schacorum Heb. Lat. Oxon. 1693, 8vo. *Hiſtoria* Nordiludii *& reliquorum* Ludorum Orientalium *ubi* Arabum Perſarum Indorum & Chineſium *Ludi varii*, Oxon. 1693, 8vo. Before the former of theſe, there is a kind of dedication to Sidney Godolphin Lord Rialton, afterwards Earl of Godolphin, and Lord High-Treaſurer of England; and to the latter, is prefixed a dedicatory epiſtle to Richard, ſon to John Hampden, Eſq;

(7.) *Tractatus* Alberti Bobovii, *Turcarum Imp.* Mohammedis IVti *olim Interpretis primarii de* Turcarum *Liturgia, pregrinatione Meccana, Circumciſione, ægrotorum viſitatione, &c. Nonnullas annotatiunculas pro ut occaſio ſe obtulit paſſim adjecit Thomas Hyde, S. T. D. è Coll. Reginæ Oxon.* Protobibliothecarius Bodleianus, that is, 'The Treatiſe of *Albert Bobovius*, formerly 'firſt Interpreter to the Grand Signior *Mohammed* the 'Fourth, concerning the Liturgy of the *Turks*, the 'Pilgrimage to *Mecca*, the Ceremony of *Circumciſion*,

'the

on the deceaſe of that great ornament of the univerſity, Dr Edward Pocock (*p*). He publiſhed the ſame year the Itinera Mundi of Abraham Peritſol, the ſon of Mordecai Peritſol, a very learned Jew, to ſupply in ſome meaſure the Arabic Geography of Abul-Pheda, which, at the requeſt of that excellent prelate Dr John Fell, he had undertaken to publiſh with a Latin tranſlation; but the demiſe of his patron having defeated his work, he ſent this leſſer performance abroad, dedicated to Daniel Earl of Nottingham, then Principal Secretary of State, in hopes it might excite a greater curioſity in regard to this branch of learning (*q*) [C]. Dr Roger Altham, Regius Profeſſor of Hebrew, and Canon of

(*p*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 870.

(*q*) See his dedication, dated Oxford, Auguſt 6, 1690.

' the Viſitation of the Sick, &c. with Notes occa-
' ſionally interſperſed, by Dr Thomas Hyde.'

This, though a very ſhort, is a very curious and very uſeful treatiſe. The author of it was by birth a Poſe, and his name in his own language was Bobowſki. He was carried away while a youth by the Tartars, ſold to the Turks, who perceiving the pregnancy of his parts, cauſed him to be very carefully brought up in the Seraglio, where he ſpent twenty years. After this he went in the ſervice of ſome great man to Egypt, where in conſequence of his excellent behaviour, being made free, he, according to the cuſtom of the Turks, had a new name impoſed on him, viz. that of Ali-Beigh, or Ali Bei, as it is vulgarly pronounced. On his return to Conſtantinople, his general ſkill in the languages both of the Weſt and of the Eaſt, gradually advanced him to the rank of Tergjumân Baſhi, or firſt interpreter of the Porte, under the reign of Mahomet the Fourth. He compoſed a Grammar and a Lexicon of the Turkiſh language, about the year 1553, he tranſlated, at the requeſt of Dr Baſire, the Catechiſm of the Church of England into the Turkiſh language, and at the requeſt of another gentleman, the whole Bible, which being ſent into Europe to be printed, remains ſtill in the public library at Leyden. Our author, Dr Hyde, alſo had in his poſſeſſion, the Pſalms tranſlated and written in his own hand. His death, which happened a few years before the publication of this work, was exceedingly regretted by the Chriſtians at Conſtantinople, but more eſpecially by the Engliſh, for whom he had a ſingular affection and eſteem, inſomuch that he often intimated his deſire to have retired into England, and to have returned into the boſom of the Chriſtian Church, if any means could have been found to afford him a tolerable maintenance.

This treatiſe was brought over by the celebrated Dr Thomas Smith, who made a preſent of it to our author, and adviſed him to tranſlate it. It is certainly the moſt ſuccinct, and in all probability the moſt genuine and authentic account that is any where extant of the religious ceremonies of the Turks, penned with ſo much plainneſs and ſimplicity, that it is impoſſible to ſuſpect the author; and as the Doctor himſelf obſerves, there is ſuch a very ſtrange mixture of piety and puerility as is not to be accounted for. For example, in the viſitation of the ſick, we are told, that on the one hand they exhort the dying man to a ſincere repentance, and to place his hopes in God; and on the other, they intreat him to pare his nails, becauſe this is a thing not lawful after his deceaſe. They diſtribute alms, and they make prayers for the departed ſoul; but while the man is expiring, they hollow in his ears continually a ſhort confeſſion of their faith, and earneſtly exhort him not to apoſtatize from the religion of Mohammed in another world. They waſh the dead body three, five, or ſeven times, and carry it very decently to the tomb, where they believe it is viſited by the two angels of Death, Munkir and Nehir, at whoſe command the ſoul returns, and immediately the dead body ſtands up upon it's feet, and gives direct anſwers to their queſtions. After this, they ſay the body diſſolves, and the ſoul goes forthwith to Paradiſe, or a place of torture. This ſhort delay they call Berzach, which ſome have injudiciouſly taken for a middle ſtate, whereas in truth, it is ſtrictly a middle time, or the intervening ſpace between death and judgment. This notion agrees ſo exactly with the ſuperſtitions of the Jews, that there is not the leaſt room to doubt the one is a copy of the other.

The notes of our author throughout, contain an infinity of ſhort, curious, and inſtructive remarks, many of which the reader would little expect to find in ſuch a treatiſe. To this piece he ſubjoined *Caſtigatio in* Angelum à S^to^ Joſeph, *aliàs dictum* de la Broſſe *Carmelitam diſcalceatum ſui Ordinis in* Iſpâhan *Perſides olim Præfectum*. That is, ' A Reproof to Angelus of St ' Joſeph, alias Father de la Broſſe, a barefooted Car-
' melite, formerly Superior of his Order at Iſpahan in
' Perſia.' This man had attacked the Perſian goſpels in the Engliſh Polyglot, and the Latin verſion of them by Dr Samuel Clarke. Our author out of zeal for his collegues in that great work, for no offence was offered to himſelf, wrote a letter to this Monk, in which he expoſtulated the matter, and ſhewed him his miſtakes, without receiving any anſwer; at length in 1688, he came over to England, went to Oxford, and procured himſelf to be introduced to Dr Walton, without letting him know who he was, though afterwards he owned his name to be La Broſſe, and that he came over to juſtify what he had advanced. After a ſhort diſpute, which was managed in Latin, he began of a ſudden to ſpeak the Perſian language, in which, to his great ſurprize he found Dr Hyde more ready than himſelf, ſo that not being able to maintain his criticiſms, he promiſed to come another time, and either defend them better, or retract them, which however he did not perform, and this induced Dr Hyde to make the diſpute public. In his reproof, he firſt ſtates the Carmelite's objections, then ſhews them to be very weak and trifling, ſpringing from his own ignorance in the true idiom of the Perſian tongue, which rendered him incapable of comprehending with how much accuracy and elegance that verſion was made to which he had objected. As the principal deſign of this attack upon the London, was to raiſe the credit of the Paris Polyglot, Dr Hyde's reproof produced an admirable effect, as not only maintaining the credit of the Engliſh work, but ſhewing alſo what lamentable critics theſe Monks were, notwithſtanding the high eſteem in which they ſtood in their own country for Oriental learning.

[C] *In regard to this branch of learning.*] The title of this work is, *Iggéreth Orchoth Olam*, id eſt, *Itinera Mundi ſic dicta nempe Coſmographia Autore*, Abrahamo Peritſol, *Latinâ Verſione donavit & Notas paſſim adjecit* Thomas Hyde, S. T. D. *è Coll. Reginæ* Oxon. *Protobibliotbecarius Bodleianus*, Oxon. 1691, 4to. that is, ' The Tour of the World, or the ' Coſmography of *Abraham Peritſol* with a Latin tran-
' ſlation, and notes by Dr *Thomas Hyde*, &c.'

This work was written by Abraham Peritſol or Pariſol, (which ſignifies an umbrella) in the city of Ferrara, a little before the Engliſh Reformation. The Hebrew title is taken from the following paſſage in Job, *Haſt thou marked the old way which wicked men have trodden, which were cut down out of time.* It is written in a very pure Hebrew ſtile, with a very ſmall mixture of the rabbinical phraſes. The author wrote beſides, a controverſial treatiſe entitled the Shield of Abraham, alluding to his own name, in ſupport of the Jewiſh religion againſt the Chriſtians, as alſo a Commentary upon the Book of Job. As for this Coſmography it is very ſhort, containing thirty chapters; but notwithſtanding this, there are many things in it curious, and which cannot fail of delighting the judicious reader. A ſpecimen perhaps may not prove unpleaſant, we will take the ſixteenth chapter, which is very ſhort, and regards the firſt diſcovery, or rather the firſt endeavours to diſcover the the Eaſt-Indies. It is conceived in the following terms.

' Our readers are to underſtand, that the ſubjects of
' the Monarch of Portugal, were the firſt who navi-
' gated their ſhips, and expoſed themſelves to the
' hazard of ſeeking, by this new route, places of which
' their anceſtors had not ſo much as an idea. For
' this reaſon, through the ſudden alteration of air,
' and the diſagreement of theſe new climates with
' their conſtitutions, multitudes of the ſeamen and paſ-
' ſengers were carried away by diſeaſes, 'till by de-
' grees, and through experience, they learned the pro-
' per times to depart and to return with the leaſt poſ-
' ſible danger. Thus overcoming all the difficulties
' that were ſo formidable in the beginning, they now
' ſailed

of Chriſt-Church, being, on ſome diſpute about the oaths, removed from both preferments, Dr Hyde became poſſeſſed of them (the one being annexed to the other) July 19, 1697 (r). Three years after he publiſhed an excellent work, now become extremely ſcarce, on a ſubject very little known even to the learned themſelves, "the Religion of the "antient Perſians;" a work of ſuch profound and various erudition, abounding with ſo many new lights on the moſt curious and intereſting ſubjects, filled with ſuch authentic teſtimonies, which none but himſelf could bring to the public view, and adorned with ſo many learned ingenious conjectures, in reference to the theology, hiſtory, and learning, of the eaſtern nations, that it was received with delight even by the greateſt critics; a work which does honour to the times and nation in which he flouriſhed; and which, if he had left no other monument of his ſtudies, had been ſufficient to eſtabliſh and preſerve his reputation, as long as any taſte for antient learning ſhall remain [D]. It was, however, a great

(r) Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, Vol. III. p. 461.

'ſailed to and from theſe places without any conſider-
'able loſs, and the way round this Æthiopic continent,
'through the ocean, is as pervious to the Portugueſe
'at this day, and navigated with the ſame eaſe and
'ſafety as the Mediterranean and Adriatic ſeas by the
'Venetians and the Genoeſe.

'Behold! the Portugueſe firſt leaving their own
'coaſts, and ſeeking thoſe of the lower Æthiopia be-
'fore mentioned, ſtanding at a diſtance from the conti-
'nent, and ſteering a ſouth-weſt courſe, diſcovered
'the iſland of Porto Santo, which 'till then remained
'uninhabited. The King of Portugal ſent thither
'young people of both ſexes, and cauſed it to be ſtock-
'ed with ſheep and with oxen. This, as I have heard
'from the compelled, was about the time of the exile
'of the children *. There they found abundance of
'wild hogs, multitudes of rabbets, and innumerable
'pigeons, ſingular in this, that they were not in the
'leaſt afraid of men. There they likewiſe met with
'prodigious quantities both of honey and of wax; thoſe
'who made the diſcovery affirm, that the like in point
'of excellence had never been before ſeen. Beſides,
'they found thoſe trees, from the gum diſtilling out
'of which dragon's blood is made. The method in
'which they proceed is thus, ſuch as are employed at
'a proper ſeaſon, gives ſeveral ſtrokes with an ax to
'the tree as it grows in the ground. The following
'year, at the proper time, they come and collect with
'great care the gum that has flowed through theſe
'wounds; and after melting and cleanſing it from
'all droſs and filth, they bring it in little round lumps
'to market. This is what is called, Dam Tannin,
'Sanguis Draconis, or Dragon's Blood. They ſay,
'that this tree in the month of March, produces fair
'and fine fruit, in ſize and form reſembling cherries of
'a green colour, and of a moſt delicious flavour.
'The ſea round this iſland of Porto Santo winds into
'many pleaſant bays, affording infinite quantities of
'excellent fiſh. The country is of ſmall extent, ſome
'twenty-five miles in circuit, every where diverſified
'with verdant hills, and plentifully watered by cryſtal
'rivulets.'

* The author means the expulſion of his nation out of Portugal by King Emanuel, to gratify Iſabella of Caſtile in A. D. 1492. The *compelled* are thoſe who ſtaid and diſſembled, the *exiled children* thoſe who departed.

This ſpecimen will afford the reader ſome notion of that elegant ſimplicity with which this book is written. Dr Hyde has illuſtrated this chapter with ſome very learned notes. He tells us, that the Arabic name anſwering to dragon's blood, did not ariſe barely from the colour of the gum, but from the very ſingular appearance of the fruit, the ſkin of which being taken off, there appears within-ſide a little dragon, moſt clearly and neatly expreſſed, with a long neck, an open mouth, a ſharp briſtly back, long tail, and ſhort feet. The dragon's blood is the red juice flowing from that tree, ſo well known to us by the name of the Brazil wood, and ſo much uſed by our Dyers. He tells us farther, that the Arabians, Perſians, and Turks, call it the blood of the two brothers. The latter alſo ſtile it Er Cani, Hominis Sanguis, or Man's Blood, equivalent to which, is the Arabic word, Dam Adam; the Italians call it Verzino, and we Brazil wood. becauſe moſt of it comes to us from that country. He farther remarks, that there is beſides this another ſort brought likewiſe from the Eaſt-Indies, but brighter, better, and at leaſt twice as dear, called by the Engliſh merchant's, Dragon's Blood in Drops, flowing from a kind of broken reed, which from thence is ſtiled Dragon's Blood Cane, of which he had one given him by John Tyrrel, Eſq; captain of a man of war, which was four feet long. Out of the knots of this cane proceed leaves with fruit, of which, ſays he, I have two kinds, formerly given me by Mr John Engliſh, a merchant; the former round, and of the ſize of a very ſmall filberd; the other long, and as large as the biggeſt filberd, but both of a rough ſuperficies like that of a mulberry. Being broke, there appears in the inſide, a ſtone like that of a cherry. The outer ſubſtance dry and tough, but may be eaſily broken, and rubbed with the fingers, which if wiped on paper produces a beautiful red colour. It is from this ſort of dragon's blood, that the varniſh is made, ſo much in uſe among the Chineſe in adorning their cheſts and cabinets. This red matter being ſcraped into warm water, and being ſuffered to ſteep there a long time, at length ſinks to the bottom, and the water being either gently poured off or evaporated, the dragons blood is collected concreted into little drops or tears.

[D] *For antient learning ſhall remain.*] The title of this large and curious work, runs thus:

Hiſtoria Religionis Veterum Perſarum *eorumque* Magorum. *Ubi etiam nova* Abrahami, & Mithræ, & Veſtæ, & Manethis *Hiſtoria*, &c. *atque Angelorum Officia & Præfecturas ex Veterum* Perſarum *ſententiâ. Item*, Perſarum *annus antiquiſſimus tangitur, is τῦ Giemſhid, detegitur, verus τῦ* Yeſdegherd *de novo proditur, is τῦ Meliſſháb expenditur, is τῦ* Selgiûk & *τῦ* Chorzemſhad *notatur, & is τῦ*; Katâ & *τῦ*; Oighûr *explicatur.* Zoroaſtris *Vita ejuſque & aliorum Vaticinia de* Meſſiah è Perſarum *aliorumque Monumentis eruuntur: Primitivæ Opiniones de* Deo & *de Hominum origine referantur; Originale Orientalis* Sibyllæ, *Myſterium recluditur: Atque Magorum liber Sadder* (Zoroaſtris præcepta ſeu Religionis Canones continens) è Perſico traductus exhibetur. Dantur veterum Perſarum Scripturæ & *Linguæ (ut hæ jam primò* Europæ *producantur & litteratæ Orbi poſtliminio reddantur)* Specimina. *De* Perſis *ejuſdemque Linguæ nominibus deque hujus dialectis & a moderna differentiis ſtrictim agitur. Auctor eſt* Thomas Hyde, S. T. D. *Ling. Hebraicæ in Univerſitate Oxon. Profeſſor Regius & Ling. Arab. Prof. Laudianus. Præmiſſo Capitum Elencho accedunt Icones & Appendix variarum Diſſertationum*, Oxon. 1700, 4to. pages 556, that is, 'The Religion of the ancient 'Perſians and their Magi.'

There is no need of tranſlating the reſt of this long title, becauſe the particulars contained in it, which are in effect the contents of the whole book, will ſufficiently appear in the courſe of this note. The indefatigable Mr Bayle, the judicious Mr Bernard, and ſeveral other foreign writers of great eminence, ſpeak of this very elaborate performance with equal admiration and applauſe. To ſay the truth, it was a ſubject almoſt wholly new and untouched; and this, notwithſtanding, that without it many of their own hiſtorians, and moſt of the antient Greek writers, are often obſcure, in ſeveral places altogether unintelligible. His diligence, his accuracy, his freedom of thought, his ſagacity, his extenſive ſkill in the oriental languages, his zeal for truth, and his perfect candour, are equally conſpicuous. But the only way to acquire a competent notion of a work, which is now become dearer than a volume of this, is to run through the analyſis of the whole; which, following the track of a very able and ingenious writer, we ſhall therefore exhibit to the reader's view, to whom, tho' it muſt ſeem long, it is impoſſible that it ſhould appear tedious.

It appears from the title, that Dr Hyde's deſign is not to give us a plan of the religion of the modern Perſians, which is to be found in the Korân, the Mahometan being the eſtabliſhed religion in Perſia now. In the firſt chapter he diſtinguiſhes the Perſians into antient and modern; the antient Perſians had a religion entirely different from that of the modern, and it has been ſtill preſerved among ſome of their deſcendants;

a great misfortune, that the value of his extraordinary talents and uncommon erudition; was

the modern Perſians are a mixture of ſeveral different nations, Saracens, Tartars, Parthians, Medes, old Perſians, become Mahometans, and women of Georgia and other countries tranſplanted into Perſia, who have formed a language compounded out of thoſe of all theſe different nations. Our author, before he enters into particulars, gives us, in this firſt chapter, a general idea of the religion of theſe antient Perſians. There are ſome ſtill who profeſs this both in Perſia and in India, and live ſeparately from the reſt as much as poſſible, and eat only with thoſe of their own religion, in order to preſerve their purity. This religion has paſſed through three different ſtates. The firſt was a ſtate of purity; thoſe who profeſſed it worſhipped only the true God, of whom they had very juſt notions, which they had received from their anceſtors, *Shem* and *Elam*. The ſecond ſtate is that in which *Sabaiſm* was mixed with the knowledge and worſhip of the true God. They did not indeed worſhip the ſun and the planets, but they had too much reverence for thoſe ſtars, and fell into ſuperſtition in that reſpect. Abraham oppoſed with the utmoſt vigour all kinds of falſe worſhip, and all the ſuperſtitions of his age; and as the Perſians highly revere that Patriarch, and acknowledge that they received their Religion from him, Dr Hyde is perſwaded that Abraham reduced them from their errors, and reſtored amongſt them the worſhip of the true God in all it's purity. But they afterwards fell back into their former ſuperſtitions, though without loſing the knowledge of the true God, of whoſe ſervice they were always ſo jealous, that they abominated all adoration of images. The third ſtate of the religion of the antient Perſians commenced, when, in imitation of the fire preſerved upon the altar in the temple of Jeruſalem, they kept likewiſe a perpetual fire upon an altar; which cuſtom was obſerved likewiſe by the Greeks and Romans. This gave occaſion to the common opinion, that the antient Perſians worſhipped fire; but our author endeavours to juſtify them from that imputation.

He owns that they regarded this fire as a thing ſacred, and paid to it a kind of ſervice, which he calls *Pyrodulia*; but he denies that they ever paid to it a proper adoration, which he ſtiles *Pyrolatria*. We are not to be ſurprized that practices have been imputed to theſe people, which they never obſerved. It is very difficult to know thoroughly their religion, ſince *Zoroaſter*, their great prophet, has expreſsly prohibited them to inſtruct ſtrangers in it, or in their language. However, our author having deſired one of his friends who lived in Perſia, to inform himſelf of the Prieſts of that religion concerning the worſhip paid by them to *Mithra*, which is the *ſun*, they anſwered, that they did not pay any divine worſhip to it, or to the *moon*, or to the *ſtars*, but only turned towards the ſun when they prayed, becauſe the nature of it nearly reſembles that of fire. They regarded it likewiſe as the image of God, and ſome of them have ſaid that God reſides in it, and others have imagined that it will be the ſeat of the bleſſed. Theſe are the true grounds of their reſpect for the ſun, but this reſpect does not go ſo far as adoration. It is the ſame caſe with regard to fire; when they are aſked whether they worſhip it, they conſtantly deny it, affirming that they worſhip God alone. But as they had a great reſpect for their ſacred fire, if any one of them was obliged to take an oath, he uſed to do it before this fire burning upon an altar, as the Jews did before the altar at Jeruſalem, upon which there was fire. It was likewiſe the cuſtom of the Pagan Arabians, who, when they ſuſpected that the perſon who was about to ſwear would take a falſe oath, privately caſt ſalt into the fire, in order to ſtrike a terror upon him by the crackling noiſe which it made. As the Jews burnt their ſacrifices in the ſacred fire, the Perſians did the ſame, imagining that the ſacrifices would not pollute the fire like other prophane things; but if any perſon threw filth or ſpit into it, they held it was a crime that ought to be puniſhed with death.

The Kings of Perſia, and other wealthy perſons, ſometimes caſt into the fire pearls, ſpices, and precious oils, in order to nouriſh the flames more delicately; and this they called *fire feaſts*. But they did this to the honour of God, and referred to him ultimately all that they did with reſpect to the fire, or by means of it. But this was not the only element which they ſhewed their reverence to; for they reſpected the air, water, and earth, and conſidered them as the principles of all things. They had, and ſtill have, curators of theſe four elements, who are employed to take care of the waters, the rivers, and fountains, to prevent, as much as poſſible, the air from being infected with any ſtink, the fire from being polluted with any filth, or the earth with any dead body. It is out of regard to the earth that they do not bury their dead, and, for fear of infecting the air, they keep crows and vultures to devour the corpſes, which have no other tombs than the entrails of theſe birds of prey. It was for the ſame reaſon, that Numa appointed that the Veſtals ſhould take care of the four elements; ſo that the word *veſta* is ſometimes uſed for fire, and ſometimes for the earth. The Veſtals were alſo obliged to look after the fountain of the Muſes near their temple. The Perſians abominate all noxious animals, and, on the contrary, have a prodigious eſteem for a dog and a cock. Zoroaſter expreſsly commands them to maintain dogs; and they are ſo fond of cocks, becauſe they are a kind of living clocks, that they would expoſe themſelves to the ſevereſt ſufferings, rather than cut off the head of one of theſe animals. Hence it is that Ariſtophanes calls a cock the bird of Perſia or Media, and there are ſuch a vaſt number of them in thoſe countries, that our travellers ſcarce eat any thing elſe; and from hence that uſeful bird has been propagated over the whole world.

In the *ſecond* chapter our author mentions how the Perſians boaſt of having received their religion from Abraham, which gives him occaſion to introduce the hiſtory of the life of that patriarch, to examine into his true ſentiments with regard to religion, and to compare them with thoſe of the Perſians. He explains, in a manner quite new, divers Chaldee words, the true ſignification of which was before unknown. He ſhews that Abraham became famous over the whole world, and that God's command to him to offer up his ſon, which the Pagans imagined to have been executed, led them to think, that, in order to obtain ſome ſignal favour from Heaven, the ſureſt way was to offer up one of their children to God. The Indian idolaters ſtiled their Chief Prieſt *Brahma*, or *Brahama*, which is nothing elſe but the name of Abraham. This Patriarch, according to the Jews and eaſtern people, of whoſe opinion our author does not diſapprove, lived in the time of Nimrod, who was the Ninus of the Pagans, and was the ſon of Cuſh. The latter lived in the territory of Babylon; but Chaldea being too ſmall for his deſcendants, they removed into the neighbouring country and ſettled there. This country was called at firſt from their father's name the land of Cuſh, and afterwards the land of Havilah; and it had the name of Arabia from Yaarab the ſon of Joktan, who dwelt in that country and poſſeſſed it. From this remark and ſome others Dr Hyde concludes, that it is a miſtake to underſtand Ethiopia to be the land of Cuſh mentioned in Scripture, ſince the word is not taken in that ſenſe in any part of the Bible, but always ſignifies the territory of Babylon or Arabia. There are ſeveral other curious obſervations in this chapter. Some authors are of opinion that Abraham was educated from his birth in the true religion, which was that of Eber, one of his anceſtors; but Dr Hyde thinks the common notion more probable, viz. that Abraham was at firſt an idolater, but afterwards converted to the knowledge of the true God by the particular interpoſition of Heaven. It is impoſſible to ſay at what age he was converted. The opinion of the Perſians, who aſſert that he was then fifteen years of age, or that of Cedrenus, who tells us that he was twenty-four years old, is not diſapproved by our author, who makes a great many other curious remarks upon Abraham, and upon his father Terah, his country, actions, &c.

In the *third* chapter, Dr Hyde examines more particularly into the religion of the Perſians, and ſhews in what it agreed, and in what it ſtill agrees, with that of Abraham. He treats alſo of the *Sabaites* and their religion. The Perſians knew the hiſtory of the creation of the world, having learned it from the Jews, or from Zoroaſter; and they kept it more pure than any other nation. As Moſes has ſaid nothing of the creation of good or bad angels, the Perſians have likewiſe omitted it. Our author is of opinion, that though angels are created beings, and conſequently not ſo antient

was not, after the demiſe of his firſt patrons, ſufficiently underſtood, ſo as to encourage him

tient as their creator, yet it is not to be doubted, but that they exiſted an infinite time before the creation of the world, and are ſo antient, that it is impoſſible for the mind of man to form a juſt idea of their duration; for it is not, ſays he, pious or fit to imagine, that God was at any time without miniſters, and we ought to believe that he had always angels ready to ſerve, and diſpoſed at all times to execute his commands. Our author ſuppoſes likewiſe, that the apoſtate angels tranſgreſſed before the creation of the world, though not long before it. He thinks, that as the Perſians were deſcended from Shem, they received alſo from him the knowledge of the true God, though they fell afterwards into a kind of *Sabaiſm* like the reſt of the world. They were recovered from their errors by Abraham, upon which account they gave the name of that Patriarch to their religion, calling it the religion of Abraham. He conquered Chedorlaomer King of Perſia, and it is probable that this prince and his allies embraced the religion of the conqueror, and that this example was followed by the ſubjects of theſe princes, as theſe people generally follow the religion of their governors. With regard to the *Sabaites*, the doctor informs us, that this is not the name of a particular nation, as that of the Sabeans, who were called ſo from Saba, a city in Arabia Felix. It is the name of a ſect, diſperſed over ſeveral nations, who worſhipped ſtars and idols. The Arabians have not ſucceeded in explaining this name, ſince they imagined that the word Sabaa ſignified to change one's religion. The word Sabaite comes from the Hebrew Saba, which ſignifies troops, or an army or hoſt; and the name of *Sabaites* was given to thoſe who worſhipped the *hoſt* of *Heaven*, that is the ſtars. There were two kinds of *Sabaites*, one of whom worſhipped the *ſtars*, and the other *idols*. The former were of two kinds, viz. the *Greek Sabaites*, who chiefly addreſſed their devotion to the *planets*, and the *Indian Sabaites*, who addreſſed it to the *fixed ſtars*. The doctor corrects here ſeveral profane writers, who have ſpoken very differently and confuſedly of the religion of the Perſians, and rectifies their accounts by diſtinguiſhing the times. He agrees with *Herodotus* and *Strabo*, that there was a time when the Perſians had not either temples nor altars. It was when they addreſſed their prayers only to the planets, or to God to procure their propitious influences. But when they began to build certain places, in which to keep the ſacred fire, and which the doctor calls *Pyrea*, they began likewiſe to have altars, upon which they ſometimes offered ſacrifices. It is not abſolutely true what thoſe authors have written, that the Perſians had no images, ſince *Giemſhid*, one of their Kings, is accuſed of idolatry, and ſince, towards the end of their empire, they worſhipped Venus in temples appointed for that purpoſe, where that goddeſs had her prieſts and prieſteſſes. Herodotus relates, that there was a law at Babylon, which ordered that the women ſhould come once in their lives to the temple of Venus, and proſtitute themſelves to the firſt paſſenger who would have any commerce with them, and that they could not refuſe this. The richer ſort went in a chariot with a magnificent equipage. When they were once come to the temple, they were obliged not to return 'till ſome paſſenger had pity on them. Thoſe who were handſome, continues Herodotus, returned ſoon, but ſome ordinary women ſtayed ſeveral years before they received their paſſport. Dr Hyde obſerves, that he had not read any where that the Perſians had any other ſtatues but that of Venus.

The *fourth* chapter is deſigned to prove, againſt the Greek and Latin writers, that the worſhip paid to *Mithra*, or the *ſun*, was not a divine adoration properly ſo called. The *fifth* chapter contains a kind of digreſſion upon the modern *Sabaiſm*, and the idolatry of the nations who made idols under the influences of the planets. In the *ſixth* chapter we ſee the care which the antient Perſians took of the water and fire; for though they endeavoured to preſerve the purity of all the four elements, yet they took a more particular care of the water and fire, ſince theſe two elements were moſt obnoxious to pollution. They believed that there was an angel eſpecially appointed to guard the water, and called him Ardiſur or Arduiſur. They celebrated his praiſes, and deſired him to continue in his office. The *ſeventh* chapter treats of the goddeſs Veſta, adored by the Greeks and Romans. The *eighth* chapter treats of the goddeſs Veſta of the Perſians, and the care which the Magi, their prieſts, took to preſerve the fire. Theſe prieſts were obliged to be married, becauſe, among thoſe people, it was meritorious with regard both to this world and that which is to come, to increaſe the number of the faithful by propagating the ſpecies. The doctor is of opinion, that the Perſians uſed to maintain the ſacred fire long before the reformation of their religion by Zoroaſter. Hence it follows, that before his time they had likewiſe covered places in the form of temples, ſince they could not otherwiſe have preſerved the fire. Zoroaſter only augmented the number, as our author proves. There is ſtill extant a Perſian book, intitled *Gjâvidân Chrad*, i. e. 'The Eternal Wiſdom,' which is older than all the writings of Zoroaſter, and aſcribed to one of their Kings, named *Hûſhang*. This book proves evidently, that the people of thoſe times worſhipped the only true God. The ſame appears from ſome other books cited by the doctor.

The *ninth* chapter treats of the two principles of all things, according to the notions of the Perſians, of the names given to them, and of their opinions with regard to the Deity, and the creation of all things. They eſtabliſhed two principles; the firſt of theſe, which is ſingle and eternal, the author and principle of all good, is God, whom they called *Yezâd*, *Ixâd*, or *Izid*, that is, he who ought to be prayed to. They called him likewiſe *Ormùzd*, or *Hormùz*, or *Hormiſda*; and by joining a more modern name, *Hormiſda Choda!* that is, O great God! or O ſupreme God! It is from this word that the Greeks formed that of Oromaſdes. Beſides this principle, they laid down another created one, which they ſuppoſed to be the principle of evil, and called it Ahâriman, Ahreman, Ahrîman, and ſometimes in poetry Ahrimanân; whence the Greeks, who wrote the hiſtory of Perſia, took their Ἀρειμανίος. This word is compounded of two others, which are ſynonymous, and ſignify impure, polluted; ſo that theſe two words being joined, ſignify very impure, and very much polluted. In their antient books, to ſhew the abhorrence which they had to the demon whom they called by this name, they wrote it in an inverted manner, thus, ɯɯıɹʎɐ. With reſpect to the creation, the Perſians taught with the Scriptures, that it was performed in ſix ſpaces of time. But they pretend that they are not ſimple days, and that by a day we are to underſtand the ſpace of ſeveral days.

The manner in which they divide theſe ſix periods of time, and the names which they give to them, was thus. They called the *firſt Mid-yuzeram*, containing the ſpace of *forty-five* days, in which God created *the heavens*. The *ſecond* was called *Mid-yûſham*, containing *ſixty* days, employed in creating *the waters*. The *third* was called *Pitiſhoſhim*, and comprehends *ſeventy-five* days, in which *the earth* was created. The *fourth* was called *Iyaſeram*, and contains *thirty* days, in which *the trees* were produced. The *fifth* was called *Midiyârim*, and comprehends *eighty* days, during which all *the creatures* were made. An author cited by the doctor tells us, that in this *fifth* period God created *the beaſts* and *birds*, namely, an *hundred* and *ſeventy-two* kinds of *beaſts*, and an *hundred* and *ten* kinds of *birds*. The *ſixth* period was called *Hamſpitamidim*, and contains *ſeventy-five* days, in which *man* was created. All theſe periods together make *three hundred* and *ſixty-five* days, which form one year. According to the Perſians, the creation began about May and ended in the ſame month, ſo that Adam, when he roſe from the hands of God, ſaw the whole earth covered with fruits. Zoroaſter appointed, that for each of theſe ſix periods employed in the creation, there ſhould be obſerved five feſtival days.

In the *ninth* chapter our author treats of the origin of mankind, of the deluge, of divers imaginary terreſtrial paradiſes, of Moſes and Solomon, and ſhews that the religion of the antient Perſians agrees in many points with that of the Jews, and was derived from it. Thoſe people believed that *Adam* and *Eve* were the ſtock from whence mankind deſcended, though ſome among them gave our firſt parents different names. They believed an univerſal deluge which covered the whole earth. But all were not of this opinion; ſome denied the deluge, others ſaid that it was not univerſal, and

him to ſend his learned treatiſes to the preſs; which he would willingly have done, not from

and that it did not riſe above the top of a mountain near Hulvan, a city upon the frontiers of Aſſyria and Perſia. The Perſians have ſpoken of divers terreſtrial paradiſes, and ſometimes given different names to the ſame place. This was occaſioned, becauſe the true ſituation of the garden of Eden was uncertain. Some fixed it at Jeruſalem, others at other places. The Perſians had ſome knowledge of Moſes, whom they ſtiled the ruddy Shepherd, who holds a ſtaff, becauſe he was a ſhepherd when he lived with Jethro his father-in-law, and becauſe he performed all his miracles, in Egypt and the wilderneſs, by means of his rod. They had knowledge alſo of Solomon, whom they called *Gjem*, which is likewiſe the name of one of their kings.

The *eleventh*, *twelfth*, and *thirteenth* chapters, contain the names and attributes which they gave to God, to angels, and to the devil. In the ſeven following chapters, the doctor treats of the year, and the different epochas of the antient Perſians and other nations, and of the names of the angels, whom they imagined to preſide over every month of the year. The antient Perſian year was ſolar, and not lunar; but as it conſiſted only of twelve months of thirty days each, it did not anſwer exactly to the time in which the ſun paſſes through the ecliptic, by which means the beginning of their year anſwered ſucceſſively to all the degrees of the ſigns of the zodiac, and ran through all the ſeaſons, 'till, after a revolution of fourteen hundred and ſixty years, it returned to the ſame point where it had begun. King *Giemſhid* leaving this manner of eſtimating time for civil purpoſes, eſtabliſhed another for religion, in order that, in a certain period of time, the ſame feſtivals might come together at the ſame ſeaſon of the year. For this purpoſe he ordered, that, at the end of one hundred and twenty years, there ſhould be an intercalation of a whole month, which ſhould receive it's name from the month after which it was intercalated. *Yeſdegherd* eſtabliſhed another epocha, and ordered the years to be computed from the beginning of his reign, and fixed the beginning of the year at March, from which it was very different when that prince began his reign. He aboliſhed the names of the angels which the months bore, and gave them natural names, taken from the ſeaſon prevailing in each month. He altered alſo the names of the days, and gave them ſuch as were taken from ſome remarkable event; calling one, for inſtance, Abundance of Riches, another by a name which expreſſed ſome great rejoicing upon it, another from the revenge which he had taken of ſome of his enemies, from ſome battle, or other ſingular event. He aboliſhed, in conſequence of this, all the feaſts and divine ſervice obſerved on certain days; ſo that in his Kalendar there was no feſtival but that of the new year. But *Yeſdegherd* reigning but twenty years, the Perſians, who had not forgotten their ceremonies, returned after his death to their old method of computation, reſtoring to the months and days the names which they had before the reign of that prince. It is a miſtake therefore of ſeveral Eaſtern and European writers, to call this antient epocha the epocha of *Yeſdegherd*, ſince, on the contrary, that epocha was aboliſhed by that prince, who eſtabliſhed another, which continued no longer than his reign. It appears, that the antient Perſians did not know the diſtinction of the year into weeks, but that they divided it only into twelve equal parts, and all the days of the months had their particular names, as thoſe of the weeks have with us. Dr Hyde gives us alſo an explanation of the epochas of the Tartars and Chineſe; and in the *nineteenth* and *twentieth* chapters, he mentions the different offices aſcribed to the angels by the Perſians, and obſerves that the antient and modern Perſians, as well as the Mahometans, imagined that every man has two genii attending him, one good the other bad.

In the *twenty firſt* and *twenty-ſecond* chapters, he treats of the legiſlators of the antient Perſians, of the ſtate of their primitive and orthodox Church, of the hereſies, ſects, and heretics among them, and particularly of *Manes*, *Mazdek*, and ſome others. After Abraham, their eldeſt legiſlator was *Zoroaſter*, or *Zerduſht*, who lived in the time of Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpes; and aſſuming the character of a prophet, after ſome difficulty procured the King to approve his religion, who eſtabliſhed it in his dominions. It was the antient religion purged from *Sabaiſm*, with the addition of ſome particular rites and ceremonies. This religion is retained by many of the Perſians to this day. The works of *Zoroaſter*, which contain divers precepts relating to doctrine and manners, are in the ſame eſteem with them as the Bible with Chriſtians. However, if we judge by the book, a tranſlation of which is ſubjoined to our author's work, among ſeveral noble rules of morality there are a great number of ſuperſtitious and trifling things. The religion of *Zoroaſter* did not always continue in the ſame ſtate; it ſuffered ſeveral changes, as particularly under the reign of Alexander the Great, who conquered Perſia; and under ſome other princes. King *Ardeſhîr Babeân*, who reigned two hundred years after Chriſt, called together a kind of council, in order to conſult the prieſts of his dominions upon ſeveral important points of religion, and by this means cleared it from ſeveral errors, with which it had been before in a manner diſfigured. This reformation was brought about by the aſſiſtance of a certain legiſlator, named *Erdæviráph*. But it did not long continue, for *Manes* propagated his monſtrous notions over Perſia, where he was born.

In the *twenty-third* chapter, Dr Hyde gives us an account of the life of Darius Hyſtapes; and in the *twenty fourth*, that of *Zoroaſter*. He obſerves, that his true name is *Zerduſht*, that of Zoroaſter being invented by the Greeks, who in order to accommodate foreign names to their own language, have generally diſfigured them in ſuch a manner, that it is impoſſible to gueſs at the true name. They have likewiſe often given the ſame name to different perſons, on account of ſome reſemblance, and this has happened upon the preſent occaſion, ſo that there are almoſt as many Zoroaſters as there were Hercules's. But the Perſians ſpeak only of one, and agree about the age in which he lived, though they differ about his country. Some relate that he came from China, and others from Europe, by which, perhaps, they mean Paleſtine, which is not far diſtant from it. The moſt certain opinion is, that he was born in Perſia, but that his father being poor, he became ſervant to the prophet Eſdras; and ſeeing his maſter working divers miracles, he was induced to attempt the ſame, or at leaſt to pretend it, in order to eſtabliſh a new religion, or to reform that which was already eſtabliſhed. Monſieur Bernard remarks in this account of our author's book, that he does not find that Eſdras ever worked any miracles; but that if Zoroaſter really was a ſervant of his, we may aſſert with greater probability, that he learned of that prophet all the miracles which Moſes and the other prophets performed. Dr Hyde gives a long account of the artifices made uſe of by Zoroaſter to attain his end. He ſpent but four or five years in digeſting and propagating his doctrines, and then was killed, together with eighty other prieſts. But it is probable, that before he undertook his reformation, he wrote and prepared a conſiderable number of books, which he publiſhed afterwards. Our author rejects what the Greeks have written concerning his death.

He employs his *twenty fifth* chapter in explaining the general name of *Zend* or *Zendaveſtâ*, which Zoroaſter gave to his work. The word Zend is Arabic, and that of Eſhta, Hebræo-Chaldaic, and ſignifies *fire*, ſo that we may tranſlate the word Zendaveſtâ, an inſtrument to ſtrike fire with; Zoroaſter intimating by this, that the deſign of his works was to kindle the fire of zeal and piety in the hearts of men. In the *twenty-ſixth* chapter, the Doctor treats particularly of Zoroaſter's books, and of the language and character in which they are written. The original of Zendaveſta was written upon twelve ſkins in the Perſian language, but in ancient characters, not underſtood at all by the modern Perſians. All his works are in proſe, ſo that whatever is in verſe and aſcribed to him, *is* abſolutely ſpurious. It is true, that ſome Perſian prieſts have tranſlated into verſe, a ſmall part of their legiſlator's writings, becauſe the people did not underſtand the language of the original, but they did not begin to do it 'till two hundred years ago, and the ancient Perſians never undertook any thing of that kind.

In the *twenty ſeventh* chapter, our author treats of the nature of fire, the manner of keeping it among the Perſians, the ſignal uſed to call them to public aſſemblies, their manner of behaving in their temples, their

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from motives of vanity or profit, but from a communicative ſpirit, and a laudable deſire of

uſe of rods in divine ſervice, their daily repeating of their prayers in a low voice, and their ſilence. In the city of Nuſſari in India, the followers of Zoroaſter aſſemble at the ſound of a little bell; but at Iſpahan, the capital of Perſia, they know the proper times of aſſembling without any ſignal, or by only making uſe of a large piece of wood which they ſtrike, and this they do to avoid offending the Mahometans, who will not permit the uſe of bells, becauſe they were invented by the Chriſtians. When the Perſians pray, they place themſelves at a ſmall diſtance from the fire which burns in their great temples, for fear of polluting it with their breath, but in ſmall temples there is only a lamp. For the greater precaution, they cover their mouth with a ſquare piece of linnen called Panâm. They pray with a low voice, and only murmur between their teeth. The prieſt advances nearer to the fire, he has alſo his mouth covered and a cap with ears on his head, and is covered with an albe, holding in one hand a book, and in the other ſeveral white rods. He chants likewiſe the prayers, and recites the office taken from the book Zend. Sometimes in the warmth of devotion, he ſtands upon one foot, in imitation of their great prophet. After prayers follow the offerings. Every perſon who is able, caſts into the fire precious ointments, ſpices, pearls, or at leaſt corn or fleſh.

In the *twenty eighth* chapter, our author treats of the prieſthood and hierarchy of the Magi, at the time when their Church was in it's flouriſhing ſtate, and even at preſent. He tells us, that this hierarchy was not much different from that which ſubſiſts now in thoſe Chriſtian Churches in which the ſeveral orders are diſtinguiſhed. The clergy were formerly very rich, but they are in very different circumſtances now, under the oppreſſion of the Mahometans. The revenue of the prieſts, conſiſts chiefly of this, that upon the 24th of April, all the inhabitants of a pariſh extinguiſh the fire in their houſes, and go to light it again by the fire of their prieſt, paying him each of them for his permiſſion, about ſix ſhillings and three-pence. They likewiſe pay tythes.

In the *twenty-ninth* and *thirtieth* capters, the author treats further of the fire, mentions the names given it by the Perſians, and ſpeaks of the temples built to preſerve it; of the manner in which the Magi behave themſelves in them; of the reproachful names given by the Mahometans to the followers of Zoroaſter; of thoſe given to each order of their prieſthood, their ſeveral ſacred orders, and the particular names given them, and of the habits of the prieſts. In the thirty-firſt chapter, he diſcourſes of the Perſian Magi in general, and particularly of thoſe who came to worſhip Chriſt immediately after his birth. The Perſians by the word *mogh*, mean their wiſe-men and prieſts. The Chaldeans have taken from this, their word *mag*, and the Greeks adding their termination, have changed it into Μάγος, which ſignifies not a magician, but a philoſopher or wiſe-man. Such were thoſe who came to Bethlehem, and not Kings, as is commonly ſaid without any foundation. Dr Hyde thinks, after Petavius, that they came from Perſia, and not from Arabia, which they only paſſed through, or to ſpeak more exactly, from the country of the Parthians, where there was the ſame religion and magi as in Perſia, and where the ſeat of the empire was at the birth of Chriſt. The Prince who ſent theſe magi, or permitted them to go, was the ſame Phraates the ſon of Orodes, who ſent his four ſons to Rome to be educated there, who did homage to Auguſtus, and reſtored to the Romans the enſigns which his father Orodes had taken from Craſſus. The goſpel, according to Dr Hyde and divers learned writers, informs us, that the birth of Chriſt was revealed to the Perſians. They had this advantage over many other nations, as well that the Chriſtian Revelation might be immediately known in the moſt diſtant places, as becauſe the Perſians were the only people except the Jews, who had preſerved the knowledge and worſhip of the true God, though mixed with ſome ſuperſtitions. What the prophet Iſaiah foretold concerning Cyrus two hundred years before the birth of that prince, is a ſufficient proof of the particular regard which God had for the Perſians. But whence could these Magi learn that a Meſſiah was to be born among the Jews? Daniel, and ſome other prophets had been in their country. Beſides, we find ſome predictions in the writings of their pretended prophet Zoroaſter, who was ſometimes inſpired by God, as Balaam had been before. Add to this, that the prophecies of the Old Teſtament were not unknown to them.

In the *thirty-ſecond* chapter, our author ſhews the original of all the fabulous ſtories relating to the *Sibyls*, and the books aſcribed to them; and in the *thirty-third* chapter, he gives a ſhort account of the religion of the ancient Perſians. He ſhews, that they conſtantly believed one God, Almighty and Eternal, poſſeſſed of all perfections which Chriſtians aſcribe to him. They believe an univerſal reſurrection both of the good and bad, and a laſt judgment, in which every one will receive according to his works; the good, a life of eternal happineſs; and the vicious, an eternity of miſery; God having prepared for the former a Paradiſe of cryſtal, and for the latter an abyſs to plunge them into. They believe that they offend God every day, but they proteſt that they repent of all their ſins both of mind and body, by their thoughts, words, and actions. They believe that God has given the government of cities and provinces to planets and angels. That they are ſent for the good or puniſhment of mankind when he thinks proper. That every man has his good and evil angel, the former of whom inclines him to virtue, and the latter to evil. That the devil is an irreconcileable enemy to mankind. That God favours certain perſons with an infuſed light, which qualifies them to govern other men, and to become ſkilful in arts and ſciences. The good likewiſe receive ſuch a light. But Dr Hyde is of opinion, that this ſignifies only natural light or reaſon. The Perſians believe, that in the life to come, the vicious will be tormented with different kinds of puniſhment; but inſtead of fire, they ſpeak of darkneſs and a black ſtinking river, the waters of which are cold as ſnow, and ſuppoſe them to be formed of tears ſhed for the dead, and which ſerve only to enhance their puniſhment. They have not all the ſame notions concerning the place of happineſs, ſome have fixed it in the ſun with the Manicheans and other heretics; others have imagined, that after the reſurrection, the bleſſed will live upon the earth, which ſhall be renewed after having paſſed through a conflagration. They ſpeak likewiſe of a bridge built upon the abyſs, over which the ſouls ſeparated from the bodies are to paſs into the ſeat of immortality; and they mention ſeveral other ſtrange things related by our author. In the *thirty-fourth* chapter, he treats of the marriage of the Perſians, of their baptiſms and ablutions, and of their funeral rites. In the laſt chapter, he treats of the names of Perſia and the Perſians, and of their ancient and modern language and it's different dialects, that is, of the language of the Perſians, Medes, and other people of Aſia.

To theſe thirty-five chapters is ſubjoined a Latin tranſlation of a book uſed by the Magi, intitled Sadder, containing the laws and precepts of Zoroaſter. It was written above two hundred years ago in verſe, in the modern Perſian language, by one of their prieſts, the ſon of Melicſhâh, a man of great learning and ſkill in the old Perſian, and in the antient books written in that language. In the fourth porta or chapter, the author exhorts ſinners not to deſpair of the mercy of God, ſince he is ready to give much and receive but little. He mentions upon this occaſion, that while Zoroaſter was converſing familiarly with God, that prophet ſaw a man whoſe whole body was in hell except his right foot. He aſked who he was, and God anſwered, that it was a prince who had reigned over thirty-three cities, and done no good during his life, having given up himſelf to oppreſſion, injuſtice, and violence, and made his people ſuffer a thouſand evils. But that having one day met with a ſheep bound at ſuch a diſtance from his food that it could not reach it, he thruſt it towards the ſheep with his foot, which for this reaſon was exempted from the torments of hell, to which the reſt of his body was expoſed, In the twenty-fifth porta, the author diſſwades from faſting, and teaches that the true faſt conſiſts in abſtinence from ſin. In the ſixty-ſeventh, he places lying among the worſt of ſins. The appendix of Dr Hyde, contains ſeveral curious obſervations, and extends to fifty-ſeven pages. This learned work was exceedingly well received abroad, and highly admired and eſteemed by the learned at home. However the ſale of it was ſo inconſiderable,

of promoting oriental literature; a taſk to which he was at leaſt as equal as any man of his age. But by an unaccountable fatality, while trivial or at leaſt leſs important ſtudies met with ample recompences, theſe were overlooked, or rather their worth was not ſufficiently underſtood; in conſequence of which, this learned perſon's abilities, application, and ſtrong inclination, to enrich the Republic of Letters, with the numerous acquiſitions of a moſt laborious ſearch through the courſe of a very long life, were neglected 'till it was too late, and the loſs has been ever ſince (though to no purpoſe) deſervedly regretted. Beſides theſe, he had compleated ſome, and begun to prepare many other, works for the preſs, the titles of which are all that we can communicate to the reader, and theſe will be found at the bottom of the page (*s*) [*E*]. On the 9th of April 1701, he

(*s*) See the note.

inconſiderable, that a great part of the impreſſion was deſtroyed, which is the reaſon of the extreme ſcarcity and high price of the few copies that remain. The learned Dr Prideaux has made great uſe of this hiſtory in his valuable performance, and indeed, if truth be the moſt valuable thing in hiſtory, there are more important truths to be learned out of this ſmall work in relation to the oriental nations, than from any other book ancient or modern, and yet we ſhall find in the next note, that even this very learned and laborious work, was but a ſpecimen of what our author could have done, if he had been properly ſupported and encouraged.

[*E*] *At the bottom of the page.*] We owe this catalogue of our author's works to honeſt Anthony Wood, who tells us, that at the time he wrote, Dr Hyde had done ſomething towards all of them, and deſigned, if he lived, to finiſh them for the preſs. The very catalogue is a curioſity, and lets us more thoroughly into the character of this learned man, than the moſt laboured panegyric; at the ſame time, that it muſt raiſe in us a great concern, that we know not the fate of any of theſe manuſcripts, of which, in the courſe of ſo long a life, many no doubt were far advanced, and ſome perhaps abſolutely finiſhed.

1. *Grammatica pro Linguâ Perſica:* that is, A Grammar for the Perſian Tongue, 4to.

2. *Lexicon Perſico Latinum:* That is a Dictionary of the Perſian and Latin, in a thick 4to.

3. *Lexicon Turcico Latinum:* that is a Dictionary Turkiſh and Latin, in a thick 4to.

4. *Nomenclator Mogolo-Tataricum, cum Grammaticâ ejuſdem Linguæ:* that is, A Nomenclator of the Mogul language, with a Grammar of the ſame Tongue.

5. *Diſſertatio de Tartariâ. Item, Hiſtoria Chartiludii; & Diſſertatio de Numerorum Notis earundemque origine & combinandi ratione doctrinâ novâ:* that is, A Diſſertation concerning Tartary. The Hiſtory of Card Playing; as alſo a Diſſertation on the Origin of Figures, and the Art of combining them according to a new Method, 8vo.

6. *Curioſa Chinenſia & Selanenſia:* that is, Chineſe and Ceyloneſe Curioſities, 8vo.

7. *Hiſtoria Gemmarum Arabicè & Latinè cum Notis:* that is, The Hiſtory of Gems, Arabic and Latin, with Notes, 8vo.

8. *Hiſtoria* Tamerlanis *Arabicè & Latinè cum Notis:* that is, The Hiſtory of Tamerlane (Timur Bec) in Arabic and Latin, 4to.

9, *Liber* Buſtân *Perſicè & Latinè cum Notis. Liber elegantiſſimus autore Scheia Shadi:* that is, The Poem Buſtan or *(Boſtan)* in Perſian and Latin, with Notes. The moſt elegant Performance of Scheia Shadi, 4to. The name of this celebrated Perſian writer was, *Sheik Moſlehedin Saadi Al Shirazi.* This laſt implies no more than Shiraſian, or a native of Shiras. The title of this poem BOSTAN, ſignifies literally a *Garden of Fruits, an Orchard,* and is admired through all the Eaſt, as one of the fineſt pieces ever compoſed by man. The language of this treatiſe is mixed, partly verſe and partly proſe, the book itſelf being a miſcellany of Politics, Hiſtory, and Morality, many of the greateſt wits in Aſia have wrote commentaries upon it, and there have been likewiſe ſeveral imitations.

10. *Divini Poetæ Hâphix Opus. Perſicè & Latinè cum Notis:* that is, The work of the Divine Poet Haphix, in Perſian and Latin, 4to. We find this famous author called by other learned writers, Hafedh or Hafez, which was but a kind of ſurname, ſince he was properly called Mohammed Schamſeddin. He was a native of Shiras, and lived in the time that Timur Bec, or Tamerlane, made himſelf maſter of that country, and was well received and much reſpected by that conqueror; he died about the time that Sultan Babor, the grandſon of Timur, reduced the city of Shiras, and the tutor or preceptor of that prince, Mohammed Mimai, not only erected a monument to his memory, but alſo an oratory or chapel over the place where he was interred. Seid Caſſem Anovar, rendered him yet a greater honour, for he collected and publiſhed in one volume all his poetical works, which he intitled, Divan Khovageh Hafedh Schirazi, which is the very book our author tranſlated. This poet's ſentiments were ſo refined, and he expreſſed himſelf ſo myſtically, that he obtained the ſurname of Leſſan Gaib, the ſpeaker of myſteries. Ahmed Feridoun explained them in the Turkiſh language. They are penned in the ſtile of the Canticles, and it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that this Perſian poet was not a little ſuſpected in point of religion, that is, he was thought to prefer the Goſpel morals to thoſe of the Koran.

11. *Abulfedæ Geographia, Arabicè & Latinè, cum Notis:* that is, Abulfeda's Geography, in Arabic and Latin, with Notes, 4to.

12. *Liber Bahariſtân, eloquentiſſimo ſtylo, conſcriptus meri ingenii Specimina, continens Librum Guliſtan æquans ſi non ſuperans Perſice & Latine, cum Notis:* that is, The Bahariſtân, written in a moſt elegant ſtile, abounding with ſublime ſtrokes of wit, equal, and if not excelling, the Guliſtan, in Perſian and Latin, with Notes, 4to.

13. *Maimonidis Liber More Nevochim, tranſcriptus ex Characteribus Hebraicis, quibus a Maimonide ſcriptum eſt, in proprios Arabicos, cum novâ Verſione & Notis Arabicè & Latinè:* that is, The Book of Moſes the Son of Maimon, entitled, The Guide of the Doubtful, tranſcribed out of the Hebrew Characters, in which it was wrote by the Author, into the Arabic, in which language it is wrote, with a new Tranſlation and Notes Arabic and Latin, in a thick quarto.

14. *Hiſtoria Regum Perſicæ, ex ipſorum Monumentis & Autoribus extracta:* that is, The Hiſtory of the Perſian Kings, extracted from the Authors and Monuments of that Nation, 4to.

15. *Annotationes in difficiliora Loca Biblica ex Literaturâ Orientali:* that is, Annotations upon difficult Texts of Scripture, the true ſenſe of which can be only attained from Oriental Literature, in a thick quarto.

16. *Periplus Marium Mediterranei & Archipelagi, Turcicè & Latinè, cum circulo ventorum in variis Linguis, Arabicâ, Perſicâ, Chineſi,* &c. That is, The Navigation of the Mediterranean and the Archipelago, in Turkiſh and Latin; together with the Names of the Winds marked upon the Compaſs in ſeveral Languages, Arabic, Perſic, Chineſe, &c. 8vo.

17. *Zoroaſtris Perſo-Medi Opera omnia Mathematico-medico-phyſico-theologica, Perſicè & Latinè:* that is, The Theological, Mathematical, Medical, and Phyſical Works of Zoroaſter or Zerduſht, in Perſian and Latin, folio.

18. *Liber Erdaviraph-name, Perſice & Latine:* that is, The Erdaviraph-name, in Perſian and Latin, quarto.

19. *Lexicon Hebraicum, emendatum ex MSS. Lexicis Rabbi Pinchon, R. Jonæ & R. Jeſaiæ, atque ex collatione cum Linguis Arabicâ & Perſicâ, & aliis Linguis Orientalibus:* that is, The Hebrew Lexicon, corrected from the Manuſcript Lexicons of Rabbi Pinchon, Rabbi Jonas, and Rabbi Jeſaas, as alſo by Collation with the Arabic, Perſic, and other Oriental Tongues, quarto.

20. *Cœlum Orientale Arabico-Perſicum atque Occidentale Græco-Latinum, una cum Saphii Figurationibus Stellarum duplici ſitu, prout in Cœlo, & prout in Globo apparent, cum earum nominibus, ſecundum harum gentium doctrinam:* that is, The Eaſtern Firmament, Arabic and Perſian, as alſo the Weſtern Greek and Latin, with the figures of Saphius, of the double Poſition

he reſigned the office of Head-Keeper of the Bodleian library on account of his age and infirmities (t). He had occupied the poſt of Interpreter and Secretary in the oriental languages, during the reigns of Charles the Second, James the Second, and William the Third, with great ſufficiency; and, in the courſe of his employment, had made himſelf ſurprizingly maſter of whatever regarded the policy, ceremonies, and cuſtoms, of the oriental nations (u). He ended his days February 18, 1702, at his lodgings in Chriſt-Church, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age, and lies buried at Hamborough in the county of Oxford (w). He was ſucceeded in his Archdeaconry of Glouceſter by Mr Robert Parſons (x), and, which is very ſingular, in the chair of Hebrew Profeſſor and Canon of Chriſt-Church by his predeceſſor Dr Roger Altham (y).

(t) MS. Catalogue of the Keepers of the Bodleian Library.

(u) Hiſtory of Europe for 1703, p. 495.

(w) Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, Vol. II. p. 483. Hiſtory of Europe for 1703, p. 495.

(x) Willis's Survey, Vol. II. p. 734.

(y) Pointer's Chronological Hiſtorian, Vol. II. p. 483. Willis's Survey, Vol III. p. 461.

tion of the Stars in the Heavens, and as they appear on this Globe, with their Names, according to the Doctrine of thoſe Nations, 4to.

21. *Commentarius in Pentateuchum, Arabicè, auctor Mansûr Syro-Arabe, ex Scripturâ Gerſhumi in Arabicam, tranſcriptus & Latinitate donatus:* that is, A Commentary on the Pentateuch in Arabic, &c. 4to.

22. *Urbium Armeniæ Nomenclaturæ, ex eorum Geographia excerptæ,* &c. that is, The Names of the Cities in Armenia, extracted from their Geography.

23. *Varia Chinenſia, ſcil. eorum Idololatria Opiniones de Deo & de Paradiſo, atque de Gehennâ, & de Gradibus & modis ſupplicii, de eorum Literaturâ, & Libris, & Chartâ, & de imprimendi modo atque Antiquitate, &c. omnia excerpta ex ore & ſcriptis Nativi Chinenſis Shin Fo-burgh:* that is, Chineſe Miſcellanies, viz. In reference to their Idolatry; their Opinions of God and Paradiſe, as alſo of Gehenna, and of the Degrees and Kinds of Puniſhment; of their Literature, Books, and Paper, and of the Antiquity and Manner of their Printing, &c. all taken either from the Speech or Writings of Shin Foburg, a Native of China, 8vo.

24. *Varia Selanenſia, ubi inſulæ Selan (vulgo Bataviis Ceylon) Hiſtoricæ quædam, & vocabularium, genuinis eorum Characteribus exaratum, cum eorum Alphabeto, & aliis rebus:* that is, Miſcellanies relating to the People of Ceylon, containing ſome Hiſtorical Paſſages, a Vocabulary expreſſed in the proper Characters of their Language, with their Alphabet, and other Things, 8vo.

25. *Bantamenſe Alphabetum, a Legato ſcriptum, cum Literarum poteſtate & numerorum Notis:* That is, The Bantameſe Alphabet written by the Ambaſſador from thence, with the Powers of their Letters and Figures, 8vo.

26. *Notæ Arithmeticæ variarum Gentium, ubi talium Notarum Origo, & combinandi ratio docetur:* that is, Arithmetical Figures of ſeveral Nations, the Origin of them declared, and the Method of uſing them explained, 8vo.

27. *Dialogi Arabico-Perſico-Turcici; Latinè verſi:* that is, Arabic, Perſic, Turkiſh Dialogues, with a Latin Tranſlation, 8vo.

28. *Liber de Turcarum opinionibus, in rebus religioſis, Turcicè & Latinè:* that is, A Treatiſe on the Sentiments of the Turks in Points of Religion, Turkiſh and Latin, 8vo.

29. *Utilia menſalia, ſcil. quid in Converſatione Convivali decorum eſt, Arabice & Latine:* that is, Uſeful Table-Talk, being the Converſation at Meals, properly expreſſed in Arabic and Latin, 8vo.

30. *Rivolæ Lexicon Armeniacum, cum Linguis Orientalibus (ſcil. Arabicâ, Perſicâ, & Turcicâ) collatum, & in margine notatum;* that is, The Armenian Lexicon of Rivola, collated with other Oriental Languages, with marginal References, 4to.

31. *Evangelium Lucæ, & Acta Apoſtolorum Linguâ & Charactere Malaico:* that is, The Goſpel of Luke, and the Acts of the Apoſtles in the Malayan Tongue and Character, 4to.

E

HYDE [EDWARD], Earl of Clarendon, and Lord High-Chancellor of England, was deſcended from an ancient family in Cheſhire [A], and had his birth at a place called Dinton near Hindon in Wiltſhire on the 16th of February 1608 (a). Having made a quick progreſs in grammar learning at ſchool, he was ſent to Oxford at the age of fourteen, and entered of Magdalen-hall in Lent term 1622 (b), being put under the tuition of Mr John Oliver of Magdalen-college [B]. He had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the univerſity

(a) Life of Edw. Earl of Clarendon, p. 1. in the Lives of the Lord-Chancellors, Lond. 1708, 8vo.

(b) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 533. 2d edit. 1721, fol.

[A] *Deſcended of a family originally from Cheſhire.*] It appears from the Wiltſhire Viſitation book (1), in the Herald's-office, that Sir Robert Hyde of Hyde, Knt. in the county of Cheſter, temp. Henry III. had iſſue Robert Hyde of the ſame place, who by his wife, the couſin and next heir to Thomas Norbury de Norbury in the ſame county, had iſſue two ſons, Sir John Hyde of Norbury, Knt. and Alexander Hyde of Denton in Wiltſhire. Sir John married twice, and by his firſt wife Ann, daughter of ——— Baguly, of Baguly in Cheſhire, had iſſue William Hyde of Norbury, from whom by a younger ſon deſcended the Hydes of Hopton-Wafre in Salop. But the elder ſon of the ſaid William, had iſſue Thomas Hyde, whoſe ſon Robert Hyde continued at Norbury, and having had three wives, by the firſt had Hamnet or Hamlet Hyde, whoſe poſterity remain ſtill at Norbury; and by the third wife, he had Laurence Hyde of Guſſage St Michael in Dorſetſhire (2), and of Weſt-Hatch in Wiltſhire, which Laurence had four ſons, 1. Robert of Weſt-Hatch the eldeſt. 2. Henry. 3. Sir Nicolas Hyde Lord Chief-Juſtice. 4. Sir Laurence Hyde of Saliſbury, Attorney to Queen Anne conſort to King James I. Of theſe, Henry the ſecond ſon was of Pyrton in Wiltſhire, and marrying Mary, daughter and heir of Edward Langford of Trowbridge in the ſame county, had iſſue by her five daughters, beſides Edward, the ſubject of this article (3).

(1) Fol. 118.

(2) Another author ſays of St Michael's mount in Cornwall. Lives of the Biſhops, from the Reſtoration to the Revolution, edit. 1721. 8vo. under the article of Alexander Hyde Biſhop of Saliſbury.

(3) Peerage of England, 4th edit. under the title Clarendon.

[B] *Under the tuition of Mr John Oliver.*] Of this worthy perſon, we have the following account by Mr Wood (4). 'That he was a Kentiſh-man born, and being removed from Merton-college to Magdalen, became ſucceſſively Demy and Fellow there; that for his eminence in learning and orthodox principles in religion, he was made domeſtic chaplain to Archbiſhop Laud, and promoted in the church; but loſing all in the time of the rebellion, he was elected preſident of his college in April 1644, upon the advancement of Dr Frewen to the ſee of Lichfield. That in the latter end of 1647, he was turned out of his preſidentſhip by the Committee of Parliament for the reformation of the Univerſity, and in the beginning of the next year by the viſitors. That afterwards living obſcurely and in great hardſhip, he wanted the charities, which he before beſtowed on the poor and the public, being in a manner the object of charity himſelf. That on the 18th of May 1660, about a fortnight before his Majeſty's return, he was by the authority of Parliament reſtored to his preſidentſhip, and on the 22d took poſſeſſion thereof, being the firſt of all loyal heads that were reſtored at Oxford. That ſoon after he was nominated by his Majeſty Dean of Worceſter, and inſtalled therein Sept. 12, 1660, and holding that dignity to his deceaſe, which happened 27 October 1661, he was buried in Magdalen-college chapel. That this moſt learned, meek, and pious perſon, was ſtrangely deſirous to leave this world, though few alive had then ſuch temptations to ſtay in it. And that the little which he had got ſince his Majeſty's return, he gave to pious uſes, either to the poor; or to the reparation of churches, viz. St Paul's, Winchеſter of which he was Prebendary, Worceſter; and to his college.' 'Dr 'Oliver, concludes this author, left alſo a legacy ſealed 'up in a paper to Sir Edward Hyde, then Earl of 'Clarendon and Lord Chancellor of England, ſome 'time his pupil while he was in the univerſity, for

'upon

verſity by his excellent talents in polite literature, oratory, and poetry, when he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts on February 14, 1625 (c); and being deſirous of a ſettlement therein, he ſtood candidate for a Wiltſhire fellowſhip in Exeter-college [C]; but loſing the election, he removed to the Middle-Temple (d), and applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Law; and being called to the bar, in a few years became eminent in that profeſſion *. Accordingly, when the Lawyers reſolved to give a public teſtimony of their diſſent to the new doctrine advanced in Mr Prynne's Hiſtriomaſtrix, Mr Hyde was appointed one of the managers of the maſk, preſented on that occaſion to their Majeſties at Whitehall, on Candlemas-day 1633-4 (e) [D]. At the ſame time he teſtified, upon all occaſions, his utter diſlike to that exceſs of power which was exerciſed by the Court [E], and ſupported by the Judges in Weſtminſter-hall. In this ſpirit he condemned the oppreſſive proceedings of the High-Commiſſion Court, the Star-Chamber, the Council-Board, the Earl-Marſhal's Court or Court of Honour, and the Court of York. Theſe appeared to him to be ſo many arbitrary invaſions upon the legal eſtabliſhment of the Church and the Monarchy, to both which he was moſt firmly and zealouſly attached (f). In this diſpoſition, and with theſe principles, he was elected a member for Wotton-Baſſet in Wiltſhire, in the Short-Parliament which met at Weſtminſter April 10, 1640. This ſituation gave him the beſt opportunity of diſcerning the ſeveral characters of the leading men at that time,

(c) Ibid. Faſti, Vol. I. col 231.

(d) Athen. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

* About this time he wrote *The Difference and Diſparity between the Eſtates and Conditions of* George Duke of Buckingham and Robert Earl of Eſſex. Printed in *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, 1672, 8vo. Athen. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(e) See his Life, ubi ſupra.

(f) See below in remarks [G], [H], and [I].

' upon the Chancellor's motion it was, that he was ' made Dean of Worceſter.'

[C] *He ſtood for a fellowſhip of Exeter-college.*] I believe it will hardly be diſputed, that at this time his deſign was for holy orders, the fellowſhip probably required it, and his inclination was naturally bent in favour of the Church, and he was likewiſe greatly devoted to the univerſity. There is a paſſage in his *Animadverſions upon Mr Creſſy's book againſt Stillingfleet's Irenicum* (5), which ſhews that he took more than ordinary notice of particular occurrences, where the honour of that learned body was concerned, and was uncommonly affected with them. Mr Creſſy having aſſerted, that Stillingfleet had produced on his ſtage in antique dreſſes, the famous teachers and erectors of ſchools for contemplation, S. Bennet, S. Romeulde, S. Bruno, S. Francis, S. Dominique, and Ignatius, expoſing them to the deriſion of prophane perſons, proceeds to obſerve, that ' this prophanely employed wit, as he calls it, was no new invention, for that he had heard that kind of wit before, when he was a young ſtudent in Oxford, in a repetition ſermon to the univerſity, which, continues he, if fancy be alone conſidered, far better deſerved applauſe, wherein the preacher deſcanting upon the whole life of our Saviour, rendered him and his attendants, men and women, objects of the utmoſt ſcorn and averſion, as if they, all of them, had been only a pack of diſſolute vagabonds and cheats: but preſently the preacher changing his ſtile, as became a diſciple of Chriſt, with ſuch admirable dexterity and force of reaſon anſwered all the cavillations and invectives made before, that the loudly repeated applauſe of his hearers hindered him a good ſpace from proceeding; *notwithſtanding which, the grave doctors and governors of the univerſity, though much ſatisfied with his abilities, yet wiſely conſidering, that a petulant hiſtorical ſtile even in objections did not fit ſo ſacred a ſubject, and that it was not lawful too naturally to perſonate a deriding Jew, obliged the preacher to a public recantation ſermon in the ſame pulpit the ſunday following.* To this pretty tale, ſays the Earl of Clarendon, I ſhall make no reply, ſince in the judgment of any diſpaſſioned man, it cannot be thought to be parallel to any thing the Doctor [Stillingfleet] hath ſaid or done. *Yet I ſhall endeavour to convince Mr Creſſy, that his memory hath not been faithful to him in preſerving the merit of that caſe and ſentence, and ſhall give him cauſe to believe, that I was likewiſe preſent at that ſermon, by putting him in mind, that it was preached by one Mr Luſhington, a man eminent for his parts, upon thoſe words of the Evangeliſt,* And his diſciples came and took him away whilſt we ſlept [Mat. viii. 13.], *which gave him occaſion to help the ſouldiers in their defence*; in which he gave them leave to uſe ſome light expreſſions againſt the witneſſes for the reſurrection, which were not decent upon that *ſubject*; but *that* part was quickly ended when he put into the mouths of the diſciples, to whom he likewiſe aſſigned a part, words very worthy of them, and fit to be uttered in that place, and with which the graveſt auditors were abundantly ſatisfied, though they were diſpleaſed with ſome light and ſcandalous expreſſions in ſome other parts of the ſermon: which he began with *qu'elle nouvelle*, as if he came thither to aſk and hear news. *But under favour of Mr Creſſy's memory*, proceeds his Lordſhip, *nothing of this was the ground of the ſentence or of his recantation; but a Parliament being then ſitting, the preacher had unwarily and very unneceſſarily let fall ſome words, which reflected upon their proceedings, particularly, that now every peaſant in Parliament by the priviledge of his vote there, cared not how he behaved himſelf toward the King or the Church, or to that effect* (6), *which made thoſe who loved him beſt, willing to cenſure him there, that he might eſcape a harder judgment in another place:* whereupon the Vice-Chancellor, who was Dr Pierce (afterwards Biſhop of Bath and Wells) commanded a copy of the ſermon, which being delivered and peruſed by him, and a delegacy of the Doctors, Mr Luſhington was reprehended for the light and ſcandalous expreſſions he had uſed upon a ſubject too much above thoſe exceſſes, and was ordered to make a recantation ſermon for what he had ſaid of the Parliament, and had a text likewiſe given him to that purpoſe; the words concerning the Apoſtles in that of the Acts [ii. 1.] *And they aſſembled together with one accord in one place:* which recantation he performed with great ingenuity and much applauſe. If theſe particular recollections, concludes the Earl, do not induce Mr Creſſy to concur in the truth of the relation, I am afraid we ſhall find few equal arbiters to determine the difference between us; for this ſermon, if I am not very much deceived, was preached in April 1624 or 1625 (7), of which I believe that there be not many ſurviving auditors beſides Mr Creſſy and myſelf.'

(5) P. 21 to 24.

(6) Mr Wood ſays the words were, *Now the peaſant thinks it comes to his turn, under pretence of his privilege in Parliament, that he ſhould diſpoſe of Kings and Commonwealths*, &c. and that there were ſeveral other paſſages reflecting upon the reſolution for war with Spain, and upon the Spaniſh match. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 262. where may be ſeen ſome paſſages of the recantation ſermon, which evince the juſtice of Lord Clarendon's remark upon it

(7) It was preached on Eaſter Monday, in 1624. Id. ibid.

[D] *He was one of the managers of the Maſque, &c.*] Mr Whitlocke was choſen with him for the Middle-Temple, Sir Edward Herbert and Mr Selden for the Inner-Temple, Mr Noy, the Attorney-General, and Mr Gerling for Lincoln's-Inn, and Sir John Finch and another gentleman for Gray's-Inn (8). It is certain, that the *Hiſtriomaſtrix* was univerſally condemned for the faulineſs of the language, wherein was ſhewn an utter diſregard of all manner of decency and reſpect to the Crown; a ſpirit againſt which Mr Hyde had by nature a particular indignation, and when it grew afterwards to the moſt enormous exceſs, was always moſt warmly oppoſed, and with a ſingular deteſtation by him, as is evident from the whole tenor of his Hiſtory of the Rebellion.

(8) Whitlocke's Memorials, &c. P. 19. edit. 1732.

[E] *He diſliked the exceſs of power exerciſed by the Court, &c.*] Biſhop Burnet (9) relates a ſtory of him, which implies, that in the view of ambition, he was diſpoſed at his firſt ſetting out, to fall into all the meaſures of the Court, and that he was brought to a juſter conduct by the following incident. ' When he firſt ' began, ſays that Hiſtorian, to grow eminent in his ' profeſſion of the Law, he went down to viſit his father ' in Wiltſhire, who one day, as they were walking in the ' fields together, obſerved to him, that men of his pro- ' feſſion were apt to ſtretch the Prerogative too far, and ' injure liberty; but charged him, if ever he came to ' any eminence in his profeſſion, never to ſacrifice ' the laws and liberty of his country to his own intereſt ' or the will of his Prince.' He repeated this twice, and immediately fell into a fit of apoplexy, of which he died in a few hours; and this advice had ſo laſting an influence on the ſon, that he ever after obſerved and purſued it.

(9) Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. b. 2.

time, for which he had ſuch an admirable talent; and he gave a conſpicuous proof of his own abilities and weight in the Houſe of Commons, as well as of his ſincere and hearty affection for the King [F]. Theſe diſtinguiſhing merits procured him a ſeat in the Long-Parliament for the borough of Saltaſh in Cornwall, where he perſevered ſteadily under the conduct of the ſame principles, and ſhewed himſelf not leſs zealous for redreſſing the real grievances of the nation, than watchful for the honour of the Crown and the juſt rights of the Church. The limits preſcribed to this work will not allow us to do juſtice to Mr Hyde's memory, by entering into the detail of his conduct; while he ſat in the Houſe at Weſtminſter. But he has done that juſtice for himſelf, and in ſuch a manner, that the reader will thank us for referring him to the peruſal of it *. We ſhall only mention, by way of ſupplement to his own account, that he was a member of the Committee for preparing the charge againſt the Earl of Strafford (g) [G]; and being afterwards appointed a manager at the conference with the Houſe of Lords, for aboliſhing the Court of York, whereof that Earl had been ſeveral years Preſident, he made an excellent ſpeech on that occaſion, which is inſerted below [H]. The general eſteem of his abilities had before placed

* In his Hiſtory of the Rebellion.

(g) See the Earl's trial, by Ruſhworth.

[F] *A proof of his weight in the Houſe, and of his affection for the King.*] The occaſion which furniſhed this opportunity is related by himſelf, but a bare reference thereto will not, 'tis preſumed, be judged ſufficient for our purpoſe, ſince it gives us ſo clear an idea of the principles upon which he ſteered the courſe of his actions from this time. 'His Majeſty having acquainted the Houſe of Commons that he would releaſe the ſhip-money, if they would grant him twelve ſubſidies, to be paid in three years. This meſſage occaſioned great debates that day and the next, when Mr Hampden ſeeing the matter ripe for the queſtion, deſired it might be put, *Whether the Houſe ſhould comply with the propoſition made by the King, as it was contained in the meſſage.* Hereupon Serjeant Glanvile the Speaker (for the Houſe was then in a committee) endeavoured in a pathetical ſpeech to perſuade them to comply with the King, and ſo reconcile him to Parliaments for ever. No ſpeech ever united the inclination of a popular council more to the Speaker than this did; and if the queſtion had been preſently put, it was believed that few would have oppoſed it. But after a ſhort ſilence, the other ſide recovering new courage, called again with ſome earneſtneſs, that Mr Hampden's queſtion ſhould be put; which being like to meet with a concurrence, Mr Hyde, being very ſollicitous to keep things in ſome tolerable calmneſs, then ſtood up, and giving his reaſons for his diſlike to that queſtion, propoſed, that to the end every man might freely give his yea or no, the queſtion might be put only upon giving the King a ſupply; and if this was carried, another might be put upon the manner and proportion, if not, it would have the ſame effect with the other propoſed by Mr Hampden. This, after it had been ſome time oppoſed and diverted by other propoſitions, which were anſwered by Mr Hyde, would, as it was generally believed, have been put and carried in the affirmative, though poſitively oppoſed by Herbert the Sollicitor-General, if Sir Henry Vane the Secretary had not ſtood up, and aſſured them as from his Majeſty, that if they ſhould paſs a vote for a ſupply and not in the proportion propoſed in his Majeſty's meſſage, it would not be accepted by him, and therefore deſired that the queſtion might be laid aſide. This being again urged by the Sollicitor-General, and it being near five in the afternoon, it was readily conſented to, that the Houſe ſhould adjourn 'till the next morning, at which they were ſuddenly diſſolved. And within an hour after, Mr Hyde met Mr St John, who was ſeldom known to ſmile, but then had a moſt chearful aſpect, and obſerving Mr Hyde melancholy, aſked him, *what troubled him?* who anſwered, the ſame he believed, that troubled moſt good men, that if a time of ſo much confuſion, ſo wiſe a Parliament ſhould be ſo imprudently diſſolved. Mr St John replied ſomewhat warmly, that all was well, that things muſt grow worſe before they would grow better, and that *that* Parliament would never have done what was requiſite (10).

[G] *He was one of the committee for preparing the charge againſt the Earl of Strafford.*] He actually ſat in that committee for a while. But as ſoon as he ſaw the unjuſtifiable and unreaſonable violence with which that proſecution was puſhed, he left them, and oppoſed the bill of attainder warmly. How long he ſat among them is not certain; but there is a paſſage in his hiſtory which ſeems to throw ſome light into it. In preparing for the trial, he takes notice, that, 'for the 'proſecution they had no mind to truſt the King's 'Counſel, who neither knew their ſecret evidence, 'nor being informed, were like to apply or preſs it ſo 'vigorouſly as the buſineſs would require: and *therefore* 'they appointed that committee which prepared the 'charge to give in the evidence, and in the name of 'all the Commons of England, to proſecute the im'peachment.' *It* was on the 27th of February 1640, upon Whitlock's report from the committee, that the Houſe declared they were well ſatisfied that the evidence to be produced at the trial, ſhould be managed by thoſe members (11), and as Mr Hyde was not among theſe managers, he muſt probably have left them about that time. Mr Oldmixon, not adverting to theſe facts of his firſt being of the committee and afterwards leaving it, was led into a ridicule, by endeavouring to throw a ſlur upon the laſt cited paſſage in the Hiſtory of the Rebellion, in a remark, that '*the arguing therein is prodigious, and if one mortal in the Houſe of Commons ever thought of ſuch a thing; ſure he could not be ſo weak as to mention it* (12).' Now he might have learned from Ruſhworth, that ſuch preliminary circumſtances were not debated in the Houſe, but in the ſecret committee, whoſe reſolutions being afterwards reported, were agreed to, and confirmed by the Houſe. What prodigy then was it, that even ſtranger things than this ſhould be freely diſcourſed in a ſelect company, where no-body ſuſpected that one of their number would ſhortly leave them, and diſcover all that had paſſed amongſt them.

(11) Ruſhworth, Vol. IV. p. 32.

(12) In his piece intituled Clarendon and Whitlocke compared.

[H] *He made a ſpeech for aboliſhing the Court of York.*] This ſpeech was printed in 4to. the ſame year it was ſpoken, and again in Ruſhworth (13), but both copies being very imperfect, we have endeavoured, by comparing them together, to give it more correctly, as it was ſpoken, in the following terms:

(13) Collections, Vol. I. part ii.

My Lords,

'I am commanded by the Knights, Citizens, and 'Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons, to preſent to 'your Lordſhips a great and crying grievance, which 'though it be complained of in the preſent preſſures, 'but by the northern parts, yet by the logic and conſequences of it, is the grievance of the whole kingdom; the Court of the Preſident and Council of 'the North, or as it is more uſually called the Court 'of York: Which by the ſpirit and ambition of the 'miniſters entruſted there, or by the natural inclination 'of Courts to inlarge their own power and juriſdiction, 'hath ſo prodigiouſly broken down the banks of the 'firſt channels in which it ran, that it hath almoſt 'overwhelmed that country under the ſea of arbitrary 'power, and involved the people in a labyrinth of di'ſtemper, oppreſſion, and poverty.

'Your Lordſhips will give me leave (not with preſumption to inform your great underſtandings, but 'that you may know what moved the Houſe of Commons to their reſolutions) to remember your Lordſhips of the foundation and erecting of this court, and 'of the progreſs and growth of it.

'Your Lordſhips well know, that by the ſuppreſſion 'of all religious houſes to ſuch a value, in the twenty-'ſeventh year of Henry VIII. from that time to the '30th of that King's reign, many (not fewer than ſix)

placed him in the chair of the committee which took that affair into conſideration (*b*), as it

(*b*) Ruſhworth's Collection, Vol. I. Part it.

inſurrections were made in the northern parts under pretence of that quarrel, moſt of them under the command of ſome eminent perſon of that country, the which being quelled before the end of the 30th year, that great King well knowing his own mind, and what he meant to do with the great houſes of religion in the year following, for the prevention of any inconveniencies that might enſue to him upon ſuch diſtemper, granted a commiſſion in the 31ſt of his reign, to the Biſhop of Landaff, the firſt Preſident, and others, for the quiet government of the counties of York, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Weſtmoreland, the Biſhopric of Durham, the counties of the city of York, Kingſton upon Hull, and Newcaſtle upon Tyne. But, my Lords, this commiſſion was no other than a commiſſion of *oyer and terminer*, only it had a clauſe at the end of it for the hearing of all cauſes real and perſonal, *Quando ambo partes vel altera pars ita gravata paupertate fuerit, quod commode jus ſuum ſecundum leges regni noſtri aliter perſequi non poſſit*; which clauſe how illegal ſoever (for that it is illegal and void in Law, little doubt can be made) yet whether they exerciſed that part of the commiſſion at all, or ſo ſparingly exerciſed it, that poor people found eaſe and benefit by it, I know not; but at that time I find no complaint againſt it. 'Till the coming in of King James, the commiſſion continued ſtill the ſame, and *that* in the firſt year of *his* reign, to the Lord Sheffield, varied no otherwiſe from the former, ſave only that it had reference to inſtructions, which ſhould be ſent; and whether any were ſent or no, is uncertain, for we can find none.

'In June, in the 7th year of the reign of King James, a new commiſſion was granted to the ſame man (Sheffield) very different from all that went before, it being left out that they ſhould enquire, *per ſacramentum bonorum & legalium hominum*, and to hear and determine, *ſecundum leges Angliæ*, relation being had only to the inſtructions; which were the firſt inſtructions we can find were ſent thither, though I told your Lordſhips there were ſome mention of ſome in the 1. Jac. I will not trouble your Lordſhips with thoſe inſtructions, nor with the other, which followed in 14 Jac. to the ſame man, nor thoſe in the 16 Jac. when a new commiſſion was granted to Lord Sunderland, nor indeed with any, 'till we come to theſe preſent inſtructions and commiſſion under which that part of the kingdom groans and languiſhes.

'My Lord of Strafford came to that government in December 4 Car. and the commiſſion hath been three ſeveral times renewed ſince; in the 5th year in March, in the 8th in November, and in the 13th of his Majeſty's reign. Into that commiſſion of the 8th and 13th, there was ſcrewed a new clauſe for the granting, ſequeſtring, and eſtabliſhing poſſeſſions according to the inſtructions, under which crowded in a maſs of new exorbitant and intolerable power. Though our complaint be againſt this commiſſion itſelf, and againſt the whole body of theſe inſtructions, I will not miſpend your Lordſhips precious time in deſiring to have the whole read, but will preſume to trouble your Lordſhips only with five or ſix of the inſtructions, and by the vaſt irregularity of theſe, your Lordſhips may judge how inſupportable the whole burthen is. I ſhall not trouble your Lordſhips with the 9th inſtruction, though it is but ſhort, which introduced that *miſeram ſervitutem ubi jus eſt vagum & incognitum*, by requiring an obedience to ſuch ordinances and determinations as be or ſhall be made by the council-table, or high-commiſſion-court, a grievance, my Lords, howſoever *conſuetudo & peccantium claritas nobilitaverit hanc culpam*, of ſo tranſcendent a nature, that your Lordſhips noble juſtice will provide a remedy for it with no leſs care, than you would reſcue the life and blood of the Common-wealth. Be pleaſed to read the 17th, 22d, 23d, 24th, 29th, and 30th, I will not trouble your Lordſhips with reading more, there being fifty-eight inſtructions in the whole, and among them, ſcarce one that is not againſt or beſides the law.

'Whether his Majeſty may canton out a part of his kingdom to be tried by commiſſions, though according to the rules of the law, ſince the whole kingdom is under the laws and government of the courts eſtabliſhed at Weſtminſter; and by this reaſon, ſeveral parts of the kingdom may be deprived of that privilege will not now be the queſtion, that his Majeſty cannot by commiſſion erect a new court of Chancery, or a proceeding according to the rules of the Star-chamber, is moſt clear to all who have read *Magna Charta*, which allows no proceeding *niſi per legale judicium parium & per legem terræ*: for the Court of Chancery here, by long uſage and preſcription, is grown to be as it were *lex terræ*. But, my Lords, the 30th inſtruction goes further, and erects ſuch an empire, ſuch a dominion, as will be liable to no controul.

'The Courts of Weſtminſter, my Lords, have a ſuperintendency over all inferior courts to regulate their juriſdictions. If they exceed their limits as to hold plea of greater value or the like in the exerciſe of their juriſdiction, the judges are ſworn to grant or ſend prohibitions; and to ſtop the granting of theſe prohibitions, or to neglect them when they are granted, is the greateſt and boldeſt ſcorn of the law, and the law-makers, that can be imagined.

'The King's Courts at Weſtminſter have been always of that awful and reverend eſteem with inferior judges, that the inſtances of ſuch contempts againſt them are very rare, and exemplary in the puniſhment. The Biſhop of Norwich in Trin. Term 20 Edw. III. Rot. 28. in the Common-pleas. In Hil. Term, Rot. 21. in the King's-Bench, was attached for diſobeying a prohibition at the ſuit of Stracill: upon full and ſolemn diſcuſſion of the whole matter, the court reſolved, that the proceedings of the biſhop were *inobedientiam & diminutionem Domini & poteſtatis regiæ, authoritatis ſuæ ejectionem, & coronæ ſuæ exheredationem manifeſtam*, &c. as the words of the record are, and therefore adjudged the temporalities of the Biſhop to be ſeized into the King's hands, and great very great damages to be paid to the plaintiffs. And whoſoever gave directions for theſe ſtout inſtructions, might have remembred, that no longer ſince than Mich. in the 7th of Elizabeth, Rot. 31. an attachment was granted againſt the Archbiſhop of York, then Preſident of that council, for forbidding the jaylor of York to deliver one Lambert his priſoner, who was ſent for by a *habeas corpus* from the King's bench. And if they would have believed the reſolution of all the judges in England in Trin. Term, 6. of King James, they would have known, how unfit it had been to enlarge their juriſdiction, ſince moſt of their proceedings being of an inferior nature to what they are now grown, were then declared to be illegal, and inconſiſtent with the liberties of the ſubject.

'And can ſuch a Court as this, my Lords, deſerve to live! what a compendious abridgment hath York got of all the Courts in Weſtminſter-hall; whatſoever falls within the cogniſance and juriſdiction of any of the courts here, is compleatly determinable within that one court at York; beſides the power they have with the Eccleſiaſtical and High commiſſion Courts.

'What have the good Northern people done, that they only muſt be diſfranchiſed of all the privileges of *Magna Charta* and the *Petition of Right*; for to what purpoſe ſerve thoſe ſtatutes, if they may be fined and impriſoned without law, according to the diſcretion of the commiſſioners. What have they done, that they, and they alone, of all the people of this happy iſland, muſt be diſinherited of their birthright, of their inheritance? for prohibitions, writs of *habeas corpus*, writs of error, are the birthright, the inheritance of the ſubjects.

'And it is here worth your Lordſhips obſervation, that to thoſe many prohibitions which have been granted from above (for 'till of late, the Court of York had not the courage to oppoſe prohibitions, nor indeed 'till the Courts here had not the courage to grant them) 'twas never known that *that* Court pleaded the juriſdiction of their Council; which without doubt they would have done, by the advantage of many great perſons in whoſe protection they have always been, had they not known that the law could not be miſinterpreted enough to allow it.

'Your Lordſhips may remember the direction I mentioned of *Magna Charta*, that all proceedings

'ſhall

it did of ſeveral other committees, appointed upon the moſt important occaſions [I], as long as he continued his preſence among them. But when they began to put in execution their ordinance for raiſing the militia againſt his Majeſty, Mr Hyde being perſwaded that this was an act of open rebellion, left them (*i*); and they felt the blow given to their authority by his abſence ſo ſenſibly, that, in their inſtructions ſhortly after to the Earl of Eſſex, their General, he was excepted with a few others from any grace or favour from them (*k*). He withdrew to the King at York, having firſt obtained the great ſeal to be ſent thither on May 20, 1642 (*l*). As he had been from the beginning of the Parliament among thoſe who were moſt truſted by his Majeſty, ſo, upon his arrival at York, he was taken into the greateſt confidence, though he was not under any character in the court for ſome months. But, towards the latter end of the year, upon the promotion of Sir John Colepeper to be Maſter of the Rolls, he ſucceeded him in the Chancellorſhip of the

(*i*) Athen. Oxon. where laſt cited, and rem. [K].

(*k*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 62. 2d edit. and Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. II. p. 22, folio edit.

(*l*) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. II. and Salmon's Chronological Hiſtorian, under that year.

'ſhall be *per legale judicium parium et per legem terræ*. 'Now this juriſdiction tells you, you ſhall proceed ac- 'cording to your diſcretion, that is, you ſhall do what 'you pleaſe. Nay, that we may not ſuſpect *that* diſ- 'cretion will be gentler and kinder to us than the law, 'ſpecial proviſion is made, that no fine, no puniſh- 'ment, ſhall be leſs than by the law is appointed, by 'no means; but as much greater as you ſhall think fit. 'And in this improvement we find arbitrary Courts 'are very pregnant; if the law requires my good be- 'haviour, this diſcretion makes me cloſe priſoner; if 'the law ſets me upon the pillory, this diſcretion ap- 'points me to leave my ears there.

'But this proceeding according to diſcretion, is no 'new expreſſion, 'twas in the firſt commiſſion I told 'your Lordſhips of in 31 Hen. VIII. that they ſhould 'proceed *ſecundum legem et conſuetudinem regni Angliæ* '*vel aliter*, as the words are, *ſecundum ſanas diſcre-* '*tiones veſtras*, which in the interpretation of the law, 'and that is the beſt interpretation, ſignifies the ſame 'thing; to proceed according to diſcretion, is to 'proceed according to law, which is *ſumma diſcretio*; 'but not according to their private conceit or affec- 'tion, for *talis diſcretio*, as the law ſays, *diſcretionem* '*confundit*. And ſuch a confuſion hath this diſcretion 'theſe inſtructions produced, as if diſcretion were only 'moved from rage and fury: no inconvenience, no 'miſchief, no diſgrace, that the malice or inſolence, 'or curioſity of the commiſſioners had a mind to 'bring upon that people, but through the latitude and 'power of this diſcretion hath been the quickſand 'which hath ſwallowed up their property, their li- 'berty: I beſeech your Lordſhips, reſcue them from 'this diſcretion.

'Beſides, the charge that this court is to his Maje- 'ſty, which is near 1300 l. a year, your Lordſhips will 'eaſily gueſs what an inſupportable burthen the many 'officers (whoſe places are of great value) the attor- 'neys, clerks, and regiſters, and above a thouſand 'ſollicitors, that attend the Courts, muſt be to that 'people. Inſomuch, that the country ſeems to be di- 'vided into officers and dependants upon that Court, 'and the people upon whom thoſe officers of that 'Court prey and commit rapines: as he ſaid in Petro- 'nius, *omnes hic aut captantur aut captant, omnes aut* '*cadavera qui lacerantur, aut corvi qui lacerant*.

'Truly theſe vexed worn people of the North, 'are not ſuitors to your Lordſhips to regulate this 'Court, and to reform the judges of it, but for the 'extripating theſe judges, and for the utter aboliſhing 'this Court. They are of Cato's mind, who would 'not ſubmit to Cæſar for his life, ſaying, he would 'not be beholding to a tyrant for injuſtice, for it was 'injuſtice in him to take upon him to ſave a man's 'life, over whom he had no power. So theſe gentle- 'men deſire, not to be beholden to this Court hereafter 'for injuſtice, the very adminiſtration of injuſtice found- 'ed upon illegal principles, being a grievance and an 'oppreſſion to the ſubject.

'Upon the whole matter, the Houſe of Commons is 'of opinion, 1. That the commiſſion and inſtructions 'whereupon the Preſident and Council of the North 'exerciſe a juriſdiction, is illegal both in the creation 'and execution. 2. And that it is unprofitable to his 'Majeſty. For beſides ſo much as 1300 l. taken out 'of his Majeſty's revenue every year, his Majeſty 'loſeth the great benefit which would accrue to him 'upon writs and upon fines, upon outlawries, and 'other profits, which redound to his Majeſty out of 'his courts here. And, which I had almoſt forgot 'to tell your Lordſhips of, that his Majeſty may be 'ſure to have no benefit from that court, notable care 'is taken by the fifty inſtructions, that if any money 'remains over and above all diſburſements, it ſhall be 'beſtowed in providing houſhold-ſtuff and furniture 'for the houſe where the Lord Preſident and Council 'uſed to be. 3. And laſtly, that it is inconvenient 'and grievous to his Majeſty's ſubjects of thoſe 'parts.

'And therefore they are humble ſuitors to your 'Lordſhips and the Houſe of Commons in this behalf, 'that ſince this people do, and have in all matters of 'duty and affection, contended with the beſt of his 'Majeſty's ſubjects, that they may not be diſtinguiſh- 'ed from them in the manner of his juſtice and pro- 'tection, ſince this Court originally inſtituted and 'erected by his Majeſty for the uſe and benefit of his 'ſubjects, is apparently inverted to the burthen and diſ- 'comfort of them, that your Lordſhips will join with 'the Houſe of Commons, in beſeeching his Majeſty, 'that the preſent commiſſion may be revoked, and no 'more ſuch granted for the future.'

[I] *He was chairman in ſeveral committees.*] How zealouſly he acted on theſe occaſions in defence of the Church is related by himſelf, to which account we refer the reader for the reaſon already mentioned: but it would be injuſtice to another part of his character, to omit his having the chair in the committee appointed to conſider the complaints made againſt the Court of Honour. The members of this committee were Mr Selden, Mr Hollis, Mr Hyde, Lord Faulkland, Dr Eden Maſter of Trinity-hall in Cambridge, Mr Palmer, Sir John Colepeper, Mr Maynard, and Dr Parry, LL.D. They had power to receive all petitions concerning the High-Conſtable, and Earl Marſhal's Court, and to enquire after the office of High-Conſtable and Earl-Marſhal, and the Heralds fees, and to conſider of the proceedings and power of the High-Conſtable and Earl-Marſhal's Court, and to report the ſtate of the whole matter to the Houſe. Mr Hyde being called to the chair by the committee made the following report. 1. That the Conſtable's and Earl-Marſhal's Court have no juriſdiction to hold plea of words. 2. That the Earl-Marſhal can make no Court without the Conſtable. 3. That the Earl-Marſhal's Court is a grievance. All which were confirmed by the Houſe (14). In the ſame view it muſt be obſerved, that when the Houſe reſolved to impeach the judges for their irregular proceedings, Mr Hyde was ſent up with the impeachment of the Barons of the Exchequer to the Lords, and the ſpeech which he made in preſenting it, is inferior to none of thoſe that were ſpoken on that occaſion againſt the iniquity of thoſe judges. Yet at the ſame time he forgets not to preſerve his Majeſty's honour, and to do that juſtice to his integrity and uprightneſs, which he was perſuaded was Cæſar's due. 'My Lords, ſays he, towards the con- 'cluſion of his ſpeech. In this argument I am not 'willing to ſay much. 'Tis enough that your Lord- 'ſhips know tonnage and poundage is not a duty to 'the Crown, but a ſubſidy, and ſo granted *in ſub-* '*ſidium*, ſometimes *pro una vice tantum*, ſometimes 'for years, and then ceaſed when the time did expire: 'that when it was granted for life, it was with this 'clauſe, *ita quod non trahatur in exemplum futuris* '*regibus: But 'tis abundantly enough known, that* '*his ſacred Majeſty cannot be tainted with the advice* '*and judgments of theſe men, but looks on this duty ſingly* '*as the meer affection and bounty of his ſubjects, the* '*which, no doubt, he ſhall never want* (15).

(14) Ruſhworth's Collections, Vol. III. p. ii. p. 1056.

(15) Id. ibid. p. 1361, 1362.

[K] *He*

the Exchequer, and at the ſame time was knighted and made a Privy-Counſellor (*m*). With theſe characters he ſat in the Parliament aſſembled at Oxford in January 1643, and was one of the King's Commiſſioners for the treaty at Uxbridge in January the following year [*K*]. That treaty ended on the 22d of February (*n*), and, in the beginning of March, Sir Edward attended the Prince of Wales to Briſtol, being appointed by the King one of the Council to his Royal Highneſs in his ſuperintendency of the Weſt (*o*). Soon after his arrival in that city, he entered by his Majeſty's command into a correſpondence with the Marquis of Ormond [*L*]; and from this beginning there grew that remarkable friendſhip between them which has been already mentioned in this work (*p*), and the courſe of this memoir will neceſſarily lead us to take notice of ſeveral affecting inſtances thereof. Upon the declining of the King's affairs, he ſailed with the Lords Capel and Colepeper from Pendennis-caſtle in Cornwall to Scilly, and thence to Jerſey. He arrived there in the beginning of March 1645 (*q*), and being greatly diſguſted at the Prince's removal thence the following year into France, he obtained leave to ſtay in that iſland [*M*]. During this retirement, he began to write his Hiſtory of the Rebellion, &c which had been particularly recommended to him, and in which he was aſſiſted alſo by the King, who

(*m*) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. II. p. 151.

(*n*) Dugdale's Short View of the Troubles, &c. p. 737.

(*o*) See the next remark.

(*p*) In the Duke of Ormond's article, Vol. II.

(*q*) Carte's Collection of Letters, &c. No. 43. in a letter dated March 5. 1645. where Sir Edw. Hyde writes, that the Prince ſailed from Pendennis on Monday, and arrived there [at Jerſey] on Wednesday.

[*K*] *He was one of the King's Commiſſioners at the treaty of Uxbridge.*] Mr Whitlock intimates, that Sir Edward had a particular friendſhip for ſome of thoſe who ſtill continued at Weſtminſter. Thus, when Mr Holles and that author, among others, came from them in November 1644, with propoſitions for an accommodation to the King at Oxford; immmediately upon their arrival, divers of his Majeſty's great officers and lords came to viſit them, and ſome had their particular friends, among whom, Sir Edward Hyde (afterwards Earl of Clarendon) came to diſcourſe in general about the propoſitions for peace, profeſſing his earneſt deſire that they might take effect. The ſame author obſerves likewiſe, that when the commiſſioners for the treaty on both parts met at Uxbridge, on the 29th of January, 1644-5, ſeveral viſits paſſed betwixt particular commiſſioners the ſame evening, and that Sir Edward Hyde came to viſit Mr Holles and himſelf, and they had a long diſcourſe to perſuade one another to a compliance. But when the militia came to be treated on, Sir Edward would have argued, *That the whole power of the militia, by the law of England, is in the King only.* Mr Whitlock denied it to be ſo clear, and ſaid, *He doubted not but to ſatisfy the commiſſioners in that point.* On which it was moved, that a day might be appointed to hear their arguments. But this, with ſome compliments to the abilities of the diſputants, by the Earl of Southampton on the one ſide and Mr Holles on the other, was over-ruled, as being more likely to inflame than compoſe the difference between them *.

* Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 122 and 124.

[*L*] *He begun a correſpondence with the Marquis of Ormond.*] It runs in theſe terms:

'My Lord,

'I have not the vanity to believe myſelf in any degree known or remembered by your Lordſhip, tho' 'I have ſometimes had the honour of waiting upon 'your Lordſhip in London; but I have a great ambi'tion to be received by you as one who holds your 'Lordſhip in ſingular admiration, and I hope your 'extraordinary comportment in theſe degenerate times, 'will have ſo great an influence upon other noble 'breaſts, that if neither virtue nor conſcience make 'any impreſſion, even envy may make them follow 'your Lordſhip's example, that they may in ſome de'gree have the recompence of ſuch an excellent fame 'and eſtimation.

'When I came from Oxford (which is not a week 'ſince), having by his Majeſty's command the honour 'of waiting upon the Prince into theſe parts, I had a 'ſpecial command from the King to uſe all means to 'give your Lordſhip frequent advertiſements of what 'paſſes here, and to endeavour to underſtand the con'dition of affairs in that kingdom, where your Lord'ſhip worthily ſits at the helm; and finding the Prince 'ſo ſollicitous to write to your Lordſhip, that I think 'he hath committed a duplicate of his letter to three 'ſeveral hands, I find it no leſs my duty than my in'clination to make this addreſs to your Lordſhip. In'deed the Prince much pleaſes himſelf with the hopes 'of a few men from you for his guard of firelocks, 'being informed of the rare diligence and activity in 'light marches of theſe men. But whether it be con'venient for you to ſpare any of your numbers I know 'not. I ſhould be very glad to hear that your Lord'ſhip were in any probable forwardneſs of uniting the 'affections of that kingdom. But I confeſs I have not 'ſkill enough to underſtand the meaning of thoſe with 'whom you are to treat, be their pretences never ſo 'ſpecious. But as your Lordſhip's great power and 'admirable vivacity hath hitherto ſupported that mi'ſerable kingdom, ſo the preſervation of it is reſerved 'only for you, when, at the diſtance we ſtand in, the 'means ſeem moſt difficult. I aſk your Lordſhip's 'pardon for,

'My Lord,

Briſtol, the 14th day of March, 1644. 'Your Lorſhip's &c.

'EDWARD HYDE (16).' (16) Collection of Letters to and from the Duke of Ormond, No. CCCLXXVIII.

[*M*] *He begged leave to ſtay in Jerſey.*] Some time after the Prince's departure, Sir Edward unboſomed himſelf to the Marquis of Ormond in the following pathetic letter.

'My Lord, June 22, 1646.

'Your Lordſhip hath been long ſince informed whi'ther my Lord Digby attended the Prince, and from 'thence have pardoned my not acknowledging of your 'Grace's favours to me, from the impoſſibility of pre'ſenting it to you. I confeſs in that conjuncture of 'time I thought the remove from Jerſey to Ireland to 'be very fit to be deliberately weighed, before at'tempted; but I would have choſen it much more 'chearfully than this that is embraced, which I hope 'will be a memorial to my weakneſs; for it is my 'misfortune to differ from thoſe with whom I have 'hitherto agreed, and eſpecially with my beſt friend, 'which I hope will not render me the leſs fit for your 'charity, though I may be for your conſideration. 'Indeed there is not light enough for me to ſee my 'way, and I can't well walk in the dark, and there'fore I have deſired leave of the Prince to breathe in 'this iſland a little for my refreſhment, 'till I may 'diſcern ſome way in which I may ſerve his Majeſty. 'I hope your Lordſhip will never meet with any in'terruption in the exercife of that devotion, which 'hath rendered you the envied example of three king'doms, and that I ſhall yet find an opportunity to 'attend upon your Lordſhip, and have the honour to 'be received by you in the capacity of,

'My Lord,

'Your Lordſhip's &c.

'EDWARD HYDE (17). (17) Ibid. No. CCCCLVIII.

We ſee here not barely a diſlike, but an extraordinary reſentment, ſhewn to the Prince's going to Paris; and I believe it will not be diſputed, that the chief ground of this reſentment lay in the manifeſt danger into which his religion was thereby brought, from the reſtleſs endeavours of his mother. 'Tis notorious, that the Chancellor was never in any tolerable terms with her Majeſty, on the account of his watchfulneſs againſt every attempt of this kind, of which more will be ſeen preſently. And the particular way which he pitched upon to ſerve the King, while he continued in Jerſey, is the ſubject of the enſuing remark.

[*N*] *He*

who supplied him with several of the materials for it [N]. At the same time he spent some of his leisure hours in composing part of his *Contemplations and Reflections upon the Psalms of David* (r); and before his departure he published, *A full Answer to an infamous and traiterous Pamphlet, intituled*, A Declaration of the Commons of England in Parliament assembled, expressing the Reasons and Grounds of passing their late Resolutions; touching no farther Address or Application to be made to the King. This was printed in 4to. at London in 1648, and about the middle of May that year he received a letter from the Queen to call him to Paris (s). After the King's death, he was continued both in his seat at the Privy-Council, and in his office of the Exchequer, by King Charles II. who sent him with the Lord Cottington, his Ambassador Extraordinary, into Spain, in November the following year, to apply for that monarch's assistance in the recovery of his Crown (t). He returned without success to his Majesty in July 1651 (u). Soon after his arrival, the King gave him that account (which is printed in the History of the Rebellion (w)) of his escape after the battle of Worcester, in that unfortunate expedition to Scotland, which had been undertaken during Sir Edward's absence, and was utterly disapproved by him (x). He now resided for some time at Antwerp, but left no means unattempted which lay in his power, by letters and messages to England, for compassing the Restoration *; wherein, however, he relied solely upon the Episcopal party [O]. In 1653,

(r) The first is dated Jersey Dec. 26, 1647. His Eik—Sacrifice is also dated on a fast day at Jersey, 1641. in which, as to the year, there seems to be a mistake.

(s) Clarendon Vol. V. p. 132. 8vo. edition.

(t) Lord Cottington did not return with him, but having changed his religion continued in Spain the rest of his life. Ibid Vol. III. folio edit.

(u) His Contemplations upon the 68th and two following Psalms are dated Antwerp, 16 July, 1651, which he says in the address prefixed to that work were written a little after his return from Spain.

(w) Vol. III. folio edit.

(x) See the next remark [O].

* Several of these may be seen in Thurloe's State Papers.

[N] *He began in Jersey his History of the Rebellion, &c.*] Besides an express and direct declaration of this fact in one passage of the work itself, we are assured in another, that, upon the Lord Capel's waiting upon the King at Hampton-court in 1647, his Majesty writ to the Chancellor, 'thanking him for undertaking the work he 'was upon, and telling him, that he might expect speedily to receive some contribution from him towards it, '&c. (18)'. Agreeable to this, the ninth book opens with declaring, that 'the work was first undertaken 'with the King's approbation and by his encouragement, and particularly that many important points 'were transmitted to the author by the King's immediate direction and order, even after he was in the 'hands and power of the enemy, out of his own Memorials and Journals.' Thus far the time of beginning this history is ascertained from the history itself; but there is a passage in a letter from the Marquis of Ormond to the author, which helps to fix it to a greater exactness, and induces a great probability, that it was entered upon not long after the Prince's departure in 1646. The letter is in these terms.

(18) Vol. V. p. 70. 8vo. edition.

'*S I R*,

'*My Lord* Digby *will give me leave to profess, that 'the satisfaction I received at his coming hither, suffered much abatement in that you came not with him. 'And I shall never deny that I value your approbation 'of the actions I shall have part in, next after theirs, 'whose commands I dispute not, but obey.*

'*The peace so long treated on is concluded here, and I 'hope it will prove as it is intended, a foundation for an 'happy settlement in his Majesty's other kingdoms.* 'Whatsoever it be as to that public aim, if it shall 'please you to make use of it to enlarge your imprisonment, by removing into this bigger island, I can 'promise you what retiredness you please, and what 'else may conduce to your contentment, that is in the 'power of

Your most obedient,

Dublin-Castle, 7 Aug. 1646. humble servant,

ORMONDE (19).

(19) Carte's Collection, No. CCCCLXVIII.

So much for the exact time when this history was begun, and now we are upon the subject, we shall proceed to fix the time when it was finished, which may be ascertained to the same degree of exactness, from the dedication of our author's *survey of the* Leviathan, wherein he addresses himself to King Charles II. in these terms. 'As soon as I had finished (as far as I am able 'without the supply of those memorials and records 'which are fit to be inquired into) a work at least re'commended, if not enjoyned to me by your blessed 'father, and approved, and in some degree perused by 'your Majesty (which I hope will be to the honour 'of his Majesty's memory, and your own magnanimous sufferings) I could not think of, &c.' This dedication is dated, Moulins, May 10, 1673, whence it appears that the history was not compleated 'till the beginning of that, or the latter end of the preceding year (20). The use of this remark is, that it accounts for those passages in the history, wherein facts are related which happened long after the Restoration; as for instance, that 'Sir John Digby lived *many years* 'after the King's return (21);' and that the Earl of Sandwich's 'expedition in waiting on the King with 'the fleet, was *never* forgiven him by some men (22),' which we see might very consistently be observed in this history, though that Earl did not lose his life 'till 1672.

(20) Mr Oldmixon is positive that it was finished after the Restoration. Clarendon and Whitlocke compared, in the introduction.

(21) Vol. V. p. 192. 8vo. edit.

(22) Vol. VI. p. 768.

[O] *He relied solely upon the Episcopal party to bring about the Restoration.*] His steadiness in this resolution, created him several enemies, and much opposition was raised against him in the little court which attended the King in his exile. These divisions did not escape the observations of Cromwell's spies about that Court. Accordingly there are several letters and papers concerning it in Thurloe's Collection. We shall give an extract of the first intelligence upon this subject which occurs there. It is a paper of Colonel Bampfield, and intitled, *The Conditions and Sentiments of the Titular King of Scots, and of those abroad who are interested in his Affairs.* It appears to be wrote after the reduction of Scotland by Cromwell, in the latter end of the year 1651. The informer sets out with an account of the King's Council, 'who, says he, are his 'mother, the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, and the 'Duke of Buckingham, the Marquis of Ormonde, Earl 'of Rochester, the Lords Percy, Jermin, Inchiquin, — 'Taaffe, lately made, and Sir Edward Hyde. The 'four first are of a faction directly opposite to 'Hyde; and the other party, who for the most part 'entirely govern in his councils, and their designs 'seem to be as different as their inclination. Ormonde, Hyde, and their party have, contrary to the 'sense of the rest, advised and prevailed with their 'King totally to abandon the party and principles of 'the Presbyterians, and to rely intirely upon his old 'episcopal party, which they persuade him comprehends the whole nobility, gentry, and bulk of the 'kingdom, who would not rise with him in his late 'march into England, because he was believed to go 'upon grounds disagreeable both to their affection and 'interests, and to the good of the nation, and inconsistent to the ancient constitution both in Church and 'State. And to this purpose Sir Giles Talbot, about 'a year and a half ago, or little more, was employed 'with a message from England; and to second this, 'afterwards Colonel Philips went with another, and 'albeit, I believe there is much of reality in this message, yet I don't doubt but the persons and their designs were represented by Hyde and Ormonde (who 'procured them to be recommended as fittest for a 'trust) with greater advantage, than either could produce, for the strengthening of their own credit with 'their master; by which means they weaned the King 'from the government of his mother's counsel, and 'have ever since bound him absolutely up to their 'own sense, to cast himself totally upon the Episcopal 'Party. As for Scotland, it being (to use their own 'phrase) under the slavery of the English conquest, 'they would now embrace the King's interest upon his 'own terms, to free themselves from their present 'bandage (23).' In another letter of the same collection written in 1655, there is advice, that Hyde is not trusted

(23) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 511.

1653, he was accuſed of holding a correſpondence with Cromwell, and receiving a penſion from him for intelligence, but was fully cleared by a declaration of the King and Council, on January 13 the following year [*P*]. This attempt to ruin him with his Majeſty was made by the Old Royaliſts, and it turned ſo much to his advantage, that he was advanced to be Secretary of State afterwards, upon the removal of Mr Robert Long, who had been concerned in it (*y*). In 1657, two more attacks were made, one by the Papiſts and the other by the Preſbyterians, with the ſame deſign and with no better ſucceſs (*z*); and he was made Lord High-Chancellor of England the ſame year (*a a*). It would be tedious to mention the ſeveral particulars of that part which he managed in 1659, to prepare matters for his Majeſty's reception. This was a ſweet employ, and the more ſo, ſince, as he had always adviſed his Majeſty to depend upon the epiſcopal party for the recovery of his Crown; ſo he had the honour and ſatisfaction to ſee it brought about by thoſe means, in which he was a principal inſtrument. And his prudence, juſtice, and moderation, in ſettling the juſt boundaries betwixt the prerogative of the Crown and the liberties of the people at the Reſtoration, are largely related likewiſe to his honour in all the general hiſtories of England [*Q*]. However, in reducing ſo much confuſion into order, where ſo many claſhing intereſts in point of property were concerned, it was not in the power of man to ſatisfy every body. And as the act of indemnity on the one hand raiſed him thoſe enemies among the Royaliſts, which afterwards proved the greateſt inſtruments of his ruin (*c c*); ſo the act of uniformity on the other hand was never forgiven him by the Preſbyterians (*d d*). With regard to his own particular, wherein he had been one of the greateſt ſharers in his maſter's ſufferings, he had a proportionable ſhare of his glory. Beſides the poſt of Lord High-Chancellor, in which he was continued (*e e*), he was choſen Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford, October 27, 1660 *. In the beginning of November he was created a peer, by the title of Baron Hyde of Hindon in Wiltſhire (*f f*); to which were added, in April the following year (*g g*), the titles of Viſcount Cornbury in Oxfordſhire, and Earl of Clarendon in Wiltſhire. Upon the death of Henry Lord Falkland in 1663 he was made Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Oxford (*h h*); to which may be added, that he was Steward of the King's manor of Woodſtock (*i i*). With theſe honours he held the firſt place in his Majeſty's confidence, and was Prime Manager, if not Prime Miniſter (*k k*), under him. And he alſo received ſeveral grants from the Crown of conſiderable value [*R*]. Laſtly, to compleat his happineſs, theſe extraordinary favours, at the time

(*y*) See the article of GREENVILE [Sir RICHARD].

(*z*) Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. III. and Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. VI. p. 835.

(*a a*) The ſeals were delivered to him at Bruges, Jan. 13 1657. Id. ibid. p. 729, 730. or Jan. 29. Wood, Vol. II. col. 534.

(*b b*) See many of his letters in the appendix to the Life of Dr John Barwick, in Engliſh, 1723. 8vo. and others in Thurloe, Vol. VII.

(*c c*) They called it an act of oblivion for his friends, and indemnity for his enemies. North's Examen of Kennet's Hiſtory of England, p. 414. Lond. 1740. 4to. He was alſo charged with adviſing the King to make friends of his enemies, for that his friends would continue ſo in all events. This he conſtantly denied to the laſt. Lives of the Lord Chancellors, p. 26, 27.

(*d d*) See the Compleat Hiſtory of England.

(*e e*) Soon after he was [illegible] to this office he drew up *a Collection of the Rules and Orders heretofore uſed in Chancery*, done by the advice and aſſiſtance of Sir Harbottle Grimſton, Maſter of the Rolls, which was printed at London, 1661, 8vo.

* Wood ubi ſupra.

(*f f*) The patent bears date Nov. 3. 1660. Peerage of England, under the name of Hyde.

(*g g*) On the 20th of April, 1661. Id. ibid. He had obtained this manor of the King, to whom it was forfeited by Sir John Danvers, one of the Judges of King Charles I. Wood, Vol. II. col. 534. As to ſuch as are properly Crown lands, the Earl aſſures us, that he had none of his Majeſty's lands but what he bought for as much as any body would pay for them. See his Vindication, &c. in his Tracts, p. 25. Lond. 1727. folio. (*h h*) Wood, where laſt cited, and Vol. I. col. 586. (*i i*) His Vindication, &c. Art. 14. and it appears by the 6th art. that for a ſhort time after the Reſtoration, he was a Commiſſioner of the Treaſury and aſſiſted in the Cuſtoms; ſo that he was Lord High-Chancellor of England, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Secretary of State, Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, and acted as Commiſſioner of the Cuſtoms, all at once. He was alſo unanimouſly choſen F. R. S. Feb. 8, 1664-5. Birch's Hiſt. of the R. S. Vol. II. p. 12. (*k k*) There is no ſuch poſt in England as that of Prime-Miniſter.

trusted by the Preſbyterians *. What his opinion was of their aſſiſtance in this caſe, he did himſelf expreſsly declare on another occaſion, in the following very ſtrong terms, where ſpeaking of the Reſtoration, he ſays, 'It pleaſed God, by a chain of miracles, at laſt to bring that to paſs which all the world thought impoſſible to be done. He ſuffered the King to make all thoſe attempts for his own vindication which his reaſon, induſtry, and virtue, could dictate to him; to endeavour by a union and conjunction with his own ſubjects, who had been the original of all his ſufferings, to conquer thoſe, who had been worſe than they; but God bleſſed not that union and conjunction, thoſe hands were too weak to hold up in battle, and too proud to hold up in prayer: God would not ſuffer that people to redeem the miſchief they had done, by any noble action, but condemned them to undergo the penalty of it by very notable ſufferings, by, and under thoſe who had been enabled by them, to commit much greater wickedneſs ‖.'

[*P*] *He was cleared by the King and Council.*] Notwithſtanding this advantage, if we may believe Thurloe's intelligence, he thought himſelf in ſome danger the following year from the Queen's party. In a letter from Manning, dated June 1, 1655, N. S. that informer writes thus, '*I need not tell you by whom Prince Rupert was turned from Court, yet perhaps you have not known, that* Hyde *then offered Charles Stuart* 50000 *men ſhould be in arms in England before a year went about, if he would quit the Queen's Court, and the Prince's party* (24).' Upon the ſame ſubject, in another letter dated from Cologne, November 9, 1655, there is this advice. *Hyde is very fearful of being laid aſide, which makes him omit no way which may keep himſelf up, though to the ruin of thouſands. This cauſed him to promiſe much to be done in his deſign on England and Scotland before Chriſtmas* (25). The ſame perſon, November 17, following, from the ſame place, uſes theſe terms: Charles Stuart daily tells us, *Have patience a little, and you will not fail of action both in England and Scotland, or elſe adieu Ormonde and Hyde* (26). But all this ſtorm being quelled by the Chancellor, there is a letter dated June 24, 1656, which contains the following information. *I underſtand that C. R. is in a poor condition and equipage, and that almoſt every body forſakes him. All ſpeak ill of his Chancellor Hyde, that he doth poſſeſs and govern him ſolely* (27).

[*Q*] *His moderation in ſettling affairs at the Reſtoration, &c.*] The moſt remarkable inſtances of this moderation are, that he neither ſet aſide the petition of right, nor endeavoured to raiſe the Star-chamber or High Comiſſion Courts again when it was in his power, nor did he attempt to repeal the bill for Triennial Parliaments; though at the ſame he took care to repeal all things extorted by the long Parliament from King Charles I. and to ſettle the militia affairs. But other acts relating to the Prerogative, he did not touch upon, as tonnage, poundage, ſhip-money, &c. and when he might have obtained two millions for the ſtanding revenue, he aſked but 1,200,000 per ann. which he thought would ſtill put the King under a neceſſity of having recourſe to his Parliaments (28).

[*R*] *He received ſeveral valuable grants from the Crown.*] Beſides the manor of Cornbury mentioned above, and the ground for his houſe near St James's palace, he had alſo a grant for 25000 l. to be paid out of the forfeited eſtates in Ireland, of which we have the following account from himſelf (29): 'Amongſt the bills, ſays he, 'which were firſt tranſmitted from Ireland after his 'Majeſty's happy return, there was an impoſition of 'a certain ſum of money upon ſome ſpecified lands in 'the ſeveral provinces, which were to be paid to his 'Majeſty within a limited time, and to be diſpoſed 'of by his Majeſty to ſuch perſons who had ſerved him 'faithfully, and ſuffered in ſo doing, or words to that 'effect, for I am moſt confident, that I never heard of 'it at the time when it paſſed. But very near two 'years after his Majeſty's return, I received a letter 'from the Earl of Orrery, that there would be in his 'hands, and the two other Lords (who had been ap-'pointed treaſurers to receive the money raiſed by that 'act) a good ſum of money for me, and deſiring 'that

* Ibid. Vol. IV. p. 86.

‖ Addreſs to his Children, in his Miſcellanies, p. 371.

(24) Thurloe, Vol. III. p. 459.

(25) Ibid. Vol. IV. p. 122.

(26) Ibid. p. 169. Hyde, in this letter, is ſuppoſed to hold a correſpondence with Lambert or Fairfax, on a deſign to murder the Protector, and then ſeize ſuch ſea ports as ſhall be found moſt feaſible.

(27) Ibid. Vol. V. p. 141.

(28) His Life, in the Lives of the Lord Chancellors, p. 28, 29.

(29) In his Vindication againſt the Charge, &c. in 1667. p. 65—68. publiſhed in his Tracts, &c. 1727. folio.

time when they were beſtowed, were generally eſteemed to be ſo many inſtances of the King's juſtice to his perſonal merit and his paſt ſervices, and were reckoned as a part of thoſe bleſſings, the ſenſe of which then ſo remarkably filled the hearts of all people with a flood of joy. But it was not poſſible to ſtand many years in a ſituation ſo much diſtinguiſhed above others, without becoming the object of envy [S]; which being the natural parent of malice, created him ſuch enemies as both wiſhed and attempted his ruin, and at laſt effected it. The firſt open attack upon him was made by the Earl of Briſtol, who, in 1663, exhibited a charge of high-treaſon againſt him to the Houſe of Lords [T]; and though

' that I would ſpeedily ſend my direction for the diſpoſal thereof; becauſe he was confident, that the ' money would be paid in at leaſt by the time that my ' letter could arrive there. No man can be ſurprized ' with any thing, more than I was, at the receipt of ' this letter; believing that there was ſome miſtake in ' it, and that my name might have been uſed in truſt ' by ſome-body who had given me no notice of it, ' and without returning any anſwer to the Earl of Orrery, I writ by that poſt to the Lord Lieutenant, to ' inform him, what my Lord of Orrery had writ to ' to me, and to deſire him to inform me by his own ' inquiry, what the meaning of it might be. Before I ' had an anſwer from the Lord Lieutenant, and indeed ' before my letter could come to his hands, I received ' a ſecond letter from the Earl of Orrery, in which he ' informed me, that there was now paid in to my uſe ' the ſum of 12600 l. and that there would be the like ' ſum again received at the end of ſix months, ſending ' me likewiſe a particular direction to what perſon and ' in what form I was to ſend my order for the payment of the money. I forbore likewiſe to anſwer this ' letter 'till I had received an anſwer from the Lord ' Lieutenant, who then informed me at large, what ' title I had to this money, and how I came to have ' it: that ſhortly after paſſing that Act of Parliament a' bovementioned, the Earl of Orrery had come to him, ' and putting him in mind, how the Chancellor had ' rejected all overtures which had been made to him, ' of benefit out of that kingdom, (which refuſal, and ' and many others, which ſhew how unſollicitous I ' have always been in the way of getting, is not more ' known to any man living than to the Lord Lieutenant) wiſhed, that he would move his Majeſty to ' confer ſome part of that money upon him, which ' the Lord Lieutenant very willingly did, and his Majeſty as chearfully granted: that a letter was accordingly prepared, and his Majeſty's royal ſignature ' procured by Mr Secretary Nicholas, who was at the ' ſame time commanded by the King not to let me ' know of it; and to which purpoſe there was likewiſe a clauſe in the letter, whereby it was provided, ' that I ſhould have no notice of it, which the Lord ' Lieutenant ſaid, was by his Majeſty's directions, or ' with his approbation; becauſe it was ſaid, that if I ' had notice of it, I ſhould be ſo fooliſh as to obſtruct ' it myſelf: and that there was a clauſe likewiſe in the ' ſaid letter, which directed the payment of the ſaid ' money to my heirs, executors, or aſſigns, if I ſhould ' die before the receipt thereof. Of all which, being ' thus fully advertiſed by the Lord Lieutenant, of ' which, 'till that time, I had not the leaſt notice or ' imagination, I deſired Mr Secretary Nicholas to ' give me a copy of that letter (which had been ſince ' paſſed as a grant unto me under the great ſeal of ' Ireland) which he gave me, with a larger account ' of many gracious circumſtances in the King's granting it, and the obligation laid upon him of ſecrecy; ' and the great caution uſed, that I might have no ' notice of it.'——He then obſerves, that he waited upon his Majeſty with his thanks, who enlarged his bounty with expreſſions of favour; that upon the proſpect of this money, he agreed for the purchaſe of a manor called Blunſden in Wiltſhire, joining to an eſtate he had there; and that he promiſed to pay more money together than is uſual in ſuch purchaſes, preſuming that he could not at all be diſappointed of the mentioned ſum of money from Ireland, which was the ſole ground and encouragement he had to undertake that bargain. But that the very next letters he received from thence informed him, that the neceſſities of that kingdom had been ſuch, that they could only return him 6000 l. and that they had been forced to make uſe of the reſt for the public, which would without doubt take care to repay him again within few months. ' And ſo, continues he, I ' found myſelf engaged in a purchaſe which I could ' not retract, upon a preſumption of money, which in ' that manner I was diſappointed of: and I have not ' only never ſince received a penny of what was due ' upon the ſecond payment, (and which I preſumed ' would have been ſo certain, that I aſſigned it upon ' the marriage of my ſecond ſon, to him as part of ' his portion) but the remainder of the firſt ſum, was ' ſo borrowed or taken from me, that no part of it hath ' been ſince paid to me or to my uſe: by which, and ' the inconveniencies and damage which have ſince ' enſued to me from thence, I may reaſonably ſay, ' that I am yet a loſer, and involved in a great debt by ' that ſignal bounty of his Majeſty, which I hope will ' in due time be made good to me, under ſo good a ' ſecurity as an Act of Parliament: and I have great ' reaſon to complain of thoſe my very good friends, ' who firſt diſpoſed his Majeſty to that act of grace, ' and were not afterwards ſollicitous enough in their ' ſeveral places to make it effectual to me.'

[S] *Without becoming the object of envy.*] Nothing ſerved more, if ſo much, to inflame this paſſion, than the incident of his eldeſt daughter's marriage with the Duke of York, which happened in a few months after the King's return. She had been one of the Maids of Honour to the Princeſs Royal Henrietta, ſome time during the exile, when the Duke fell in love with her; and being diſappointed by the defeat of Sir George Booth, in a deſign he had formed of coming with ſome forces to England in 1659, he went to Breda, where his ſiſter then reſided (30); and ſpending ſome weeks there, he took this opportunity, if we may believe Biſhop Burnet (31), of ſolliciting Miſs Hyde to a compliance without marriage; but ſhe managed the matter with ſuch addreſs that, in concluſion, he married her there on the fourth of November that year (32). However, this was done with all poſſible ſecrecy, and unknown to her father. After their arrival in England, growing big with child and near her time, ſhe called upon the Duke to own his marriage; and though he endeavoured to draw her from claiming him, both by great promiſes and great threatenings, yet ſhe had the ſpirit and wiſdom to tell him, She would have it known that ſhe was his wife, let him uſe her afterwards as he pleaſed. The King ordered ſome Biſhops and Judges to peruſe the proofs of her marriage; and they reporting that it was according to the doctrine of the Goſpel and the Law of England (33), he told his brother he would not break with the Earl of Clarendon, he muſt live with her whom he had made his wife. Accordingly, on the third of September, 1660, they were remarried at Worceſter houſe, where the Earl of Clarendon then lived, by Dr Joſeph Crowther the Duke's chaplain (34). The ſame author obſerves, that the father ſolemnly proteſted he knew nothing of it 'till it broke out in the manner here related; and that he looked on it as that which would end in his ruin (35).

(30) Carte's Hiſtory of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 188.

(31) Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I.

(32) Kennet's Regiſter, p. 246.

(33) She had been cautious to have an undeniable evidence of it in the Earl of Oſſory, who was preſent, and the only perſon that was preſent at it. Carte, ubi ſupra.

[T] *A charge of high-treaſon.*] The ſubſtance of it was, that the Chancellor had ſaid that his Majeſty was dangerouſly corrupted in his religion, and inclined to Popery; that perſons of that religion had ſuch acceſs and ſuch credit with him, that unleſs a careful eye were had upon it, the Proteſtant Religion would be overthrown; and that were it not for his [the Chancellor's] ſtanding in the gap, Popery would be introduced; and that he was the zealous upholder of the Proteſtant Religion. That upon Sir Henry Bennet's being made Secretary of State in the room of Sir Edward Nicholas, he ſaid, that his Majeſty had given 10,000 l. to remove a zealous Proteſtant, that he might bring into that high place a concealed Papiſt. That he had perſwaded the King, contrary to his reaſon, to allow his name to be uſed to the Pope and ſeveral Cardinals, in the ſollicitations of a Cardinal's cap for the Lord Aubigney, Great Almoner to the Queen; to effect which, he had employed Richard Bealing, a known

(34) Kennet's Regiſter, as before.

(35) Burnet, where laſt cited, and Echard's Hiſtory of England, ad annum 1660. B. I. c. i. N. B. This remarriage ſeems to have been performed to prevent the clamours that might otherwiſe poſſibly be raiſed about the legitimacy of the iſſue.

though this proſecution ended greatly to the honour of the Chancellor [*U*], yet his enemies advanced very conſiderably by it in their deſign, to make himſelf gracious to his maſter,

known Papiſt, and promiſed great favour to the Papiſts here in caſe it ſhould be effected; and that he hoped to compaſs the taking away all penal laws againſt the Papiſts. That being intruſted with the treaty betwixt his Majeſty and the Queen, he concluded the King's marriage upon articles ſcandalous and dangerous to the Proteſtant Religion. That he had vented opprobrious ſcandals againſt his Majeſty's courſe of life; and that he had ſuggeſted to the Duke of York, that his Majeſty intended to legitimate the Duke of Monmouth; that he had perſwaded the King, againſt the advice of the Lord-General, to withdraw the Engliſh garriſons out of Scotland, and demoliſh all the forts built there, without expecting the advice of Parliament. That he had told his Majeſty there never was ſo weak and inconſiderable a Houſe of Lords, nor never ſo weak and heady a Houſe of Commons; and particularly, that it was better to ſell Dunkirk, than to be at their mercy for want of money; and that he adviſed and effected the ſale of the ſame to the French King. That he had inriched himſelf by the ſale of offices, contrary to law, and had converted to his own uſe vaſt ſums of public money, raiſed in Ireland by way of ſubſidy, to defray the charge of the government in that kingdom; and that he had procured his Majeſty's cuſtoms to be farmed at a lower rate than others offered, and that to perſons with ſome of whom he went a ſhare, and in other parts of money reſulting from his Majeſty's revenue. It has been obſerved, that the words concerning the King's private inclinations and debaucheries were generally thought to have been the real expreſſions or ſuggeſtions of the Chancellor, but ſurely not altogether without a cauſe; that they may be thought the effect of an indecent freedom, but can hardly be ſuppoſed to proceed from any want of integrity or loyalty (36). However, we ſhall ſee preſently that theſe freedoms, by the artful aggravations of his enemies, became the principal if not the ſole cauſe of his ruin. At preſent, it will be more to our purpoſe to take notice, that though the Chancellor is here charged with being intruſted to negotiate the treaty of the Portugal match, and concluding it, yet it is not ſaid that he propoſed that marriage, which is the more neceſſary to attend to, becauſe this reflection, among others, has been lately thrown upon the Chancellor's memory by a noble author, who, by way of proving the truth of it, quotes a long paſſage from the Memoirs of Portugal, written by the Sieur d'Ablancourt, Reſident from France at the Court of Portugal when this marriage propoſal was made, *in which France itſelf*, ſays his Lordſhip, *was too much intereſted not to be well informed* (37). As this aſſertion is directly contrary to what is ſuggeſted in the preface to the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, where the authors mention his having oppoſed that match, on account of the general belief that the Infanta [as it ſhould ſeem through ſome mal-formation of the parts] could have no children. We ſhall produce the following account by Mr Carte, which will perhaps be thought deciſive in the Chancellor's vindication, ſince it is grounded upon a relation to that author by Dr Hough the late Biſhop of Worceſter, (whoſe character may be ſeen in this work) (38), from the Duke of Ormond's own mouth and Sir Robert Southwell's Narrative. 'The King's reſolution to marry the Infanta, 'ſays Mr Carte, was taken without the knowledge either of the Duke of Ormonde or the Lord Chancellor 'Clarendon. The King firſt communicated it to the 'Chancellor, and told him at the ſame time that he 'had agreed to the match. The Chancellor ſaid he 'hoped his Majeſty was not determined, for there 'were ſeveral things deſerved to be maturely conſi'dered in that affair, which he was ready to offer, if 'his Majeſty had not prevented it, by telling him 'that he was abſolutely determined. The Chancellor 'acquainting the Duke of Ormond and the Earl of 'Southampton with the matter, it was agreed among 'them, that he ſhould deſire the King to grant them 'all three an audience together. This was granted: 'they attended him in the room which was called 'Tom Chiffinch's cloſet, where the rarities ſtood, and 'gave him their reaſons againſt the match. The 'Chancellor opened the ſubject, and particularly urged, 'not only what the Spaniard had objected as to the 'barrenneſs of the lady propoſed, but the accounts 'and reaſons which he had from other hands, to be'lieve that the Infanta would never prove with child; 'that if it proved ſo in the event, it would be a great 'infelicity to the whole kingdom; and this was a conſideration ſo very important, that the Portugal mi'niſter ought to be talked to plainly on the ſubject, 'and the matter ſeriouſly examined (39). The King 'replied, that he was ſatisfied that accuſation came 'originally from the malice of the Spaniards, and was 'without foundation; and in fine, told them he had 'proceeded ſo far in the matter, that it was now too 'late for him to retreat, and he muſt go on with the 'treaty. During this audience, upon their remon'ſtrating againſt his marrying a Roman-Catholic wife, 'the King aſked, *Where is there a Proteſtant fit for 'me to marry?* It was ſaid his Majeſty could be at no 'loſs in that point, for there were ladies enough in 'Germany of that religion, and of families fit for the 'alliance of any prince. *Cods fiſh*, ſaid the King, *'they are all foggy, and I can't like any one of them 'for a wife.* Upon this anſwer, which excluded all 'Proteſtants that could be propoſed, the Duke of Or'monde was clearly convinced, that the reſolution was 'taken for the King to marry none but a Roman-Ca'tholic. It was a point indeed, concludes Mr Carte, 'which his mother, and thoſe of that religion who 'were in the ſecret of the change he had made in his, 'had extremely at heart, and thought of the utmoſt con'ſequence, as well to fix him theirs, as to advance the 'cauſe of Catholicity (40).' As the Chancellor's oppoſing this marriage on account of the lady's barrenneſs was an inſtance of his integrity; ſo the oppoſition which he gave to the intended divorce, for which that cauſe among others was alledged, is another inſtance of the ſame integrity, which redounds equally at leaſt to his honour. The perſon deſigned to ſupply her Majeſty's place was Mrs Stuart, a beautiful young lady, who was related to the King, and had ſome office under the Queen. The Chancellor, to prevent this, ſent for the Duke of Richmond, who was of the ſame name; and ſeeming to be ſorry that a perſon of his worth and relation to his Majeſty ſhould receive no marks of his favour, adviſed him to marry this lady, as the moſt likely means to advance himſelf. The young nobleman, liking the perſon, followed the advice, made immediate application to the lady, who was ignorant of the King's intentions, and in a few days married her. The King, thus diſappointed, and ſoon after informed how the match was brought about, baniſhed the Duke with his new Ducheſs from Court, and reſerved his reſentment againſt the Chancellor to a more convenient opportunity. This account by Mr Echard (41) is inſerted here, becauſe the truth of it has not as we know of been diſputed. Mr Carte indeed (not finding any thing deciſive concerning it in the Duke of Ormond's papers) obſerves that it doth not appear whether the Chancellor actually encouraged the Duke of Richmond's marriage or no. 'But I find, 'ſays that author by way of confirming it, that he '[the Chancellor] was ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed of the 'King's inclination to a divorce, that even after his 'diſgrace he was perſwaded the Duke of Buckingham 'had undertaken to carry that matter through the 'Parliament. It is certain too, continues he, that 'the King confidered him as the chief promoter of 'that marriage, and reſented it in the higheſt degree '(42).' The charge of the Chancellor's adviſing the ſale of Dunkirk ſhall be conſidered in an enſuing remark.

[*U*] *It ended greatly to the Chancellor's honour.*] It is obſervable, that there had been a long courſe of friendſhip both in adverſity and proſperity between the Chancellor and the Earl of Briſtol; but they gradually falling into different meaſures upon the account of religion or politics, and the Chancellor refuſing a ſmall boon, as the Earl took it to be, which was ſaid to be the paſſing a patent in favour of a Court lady, the latter thought himſelf ſo diſobliged, that letting looſe his fiery temper, he thought of nothing but revenge (43). The ſame author who makes this remark obſerves, that there appears a perverſe turn in the Earl of Briſtol's articles, wherein the Chancellor is firſt repreſented as jealous of Popery, and complaining of the King's inclination to it by chooſing new miniſters popiſhly affected;

(36) Lives of the Lord Chancellors p. 208.

(37) Vindication of General Monk, &c. in the ſecond volume of Lord Lanſdowne's Works, p. 135.

(38) See his article.

(39) See more of this in Lord Lanſdowne's article.

(40) Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 254. Biſhop Burnet, ubi ſupra, ſays, that the French agent offered the Chancellor 100001. and aſſured him of renewing the ſame preſent every year, but that he rejected the offer with great indignation.

(41) In his Hiſtory of England, ad annum 1667. B. 1. c. 3.

(42) Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 352. See alſo Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. folio edit.

(43) Lives of the Lord Chancellors, p. 208.

master, less respected in parliament, and less beloved by the people (*ll*). The building of a magnificent house, which was begun in the following year 1664, furnished fresh matter for obloquy [*W*]. In the mean time, though he was very sensible that he continually lost ground in his Majesty's favour, yet he disdained to stoop to those arts which were become necessary to prevent the mischievous consequences thereof [*X*]; so that by degrees

(*ll*) Complete History of England, Vol. III. p. 266. 2d edit.

fected; and yet after all, he *is* made the instrument of those very designs laid for Popery, and the professed promoter of them. This is somewhat surprizing; and what has since made the designed revenge more apparent is, that the articles should tax the Chancellor with saying, that Sir Henry Bennet was a concealed Papist, when the Earl of Bristol himself was the same, and had been privy to all that the King had done at Fonterabia at the Pyrenean treaty. His revenge was returned upon the prosecutor abundantly to the vindication and honour of the Chancellor by the House of Lords; who shewed themselves very sensible of the malice of the prosecution, and as soon as the articles were exhibited and read before them, after a short consideration made the following order: 'That a copy of the articles or charge of high-treason, exhibited 'this day by the Earl of Bristol against the Lord Chancellor, be delivered to the Lord Chief-Justice, who 'with all the rest of the Judges are to consider, whether the said charge hath been brought in regularly 'and legally; and whether it may be proceeded on, 'and how; and whether there be any treason in it or 'no; and make report thereof to *this* House *on* Monday next if *they* can, or else as soon after as possibly 'they can.' Upon this important occasion, all the Judges met at Serjeant's-Inn, and the Earl of Bristol repaired to them, desiring to see their order; which being read, he told them, that *he came out of respect to know of them, whether they were informed how it came into the House of Peers, whether as a charge or not.* But one of the Judges, who had been present when it was delivered in, saying, that *they were tied up by their orders*, the Earl took some exception at the manner of his expression, as if his address was unnecessary at that time, and taking it as a rebuke upon him, departed. And, according to their order, which supposed it to be a charge of *high-treason*, and not mentioning *misdemeanors*, having considered the matter, they unanimously agreed upon this answer, which the Lord Chief-Justice Foster delivered into the House of Lords: 'We conceive that a charge of high-treason cannot, by the laws and statutes of this realm, be originally 'exhibited by one Peer against another unto the House 'of Peers: and that therefore a charge of high-treason 'by the Earl of Bristol against the Chancellor, mentioned in the order of reference to us on the 10th of 'this instant July, hath not been regularly and legally 'brought in; and if the matters alledged in the said 'charge were admitted to be true, although alledged 'to be traiterously done, yet there is no treason in it.' Upon the reading of this answer, the Earl of Bristol took exceptions at it, and some of the Lords, who were friends to the Chancellor, inferred, that 'If it 'was not regularly and legally brought in, it was a libel, and ought to be condemned, and the author of 'it censured.' To satisfy the House, one of the Judges, upon conference with his brethren, did the next day deliver the reasons of the opinion of the Judges in their answer; when the Earl of Bristol, a little to extenuate the matter, said, that *the articles were not intended by him as a charge, but an information.* Hereupon their Lordships, upon a fair debate of the question, did unanimously resolve to declare their concurrence with the opinion of the Judges.

(44) See his Life, prefixed to his Tracts, in 1712, 4to. and note (48).

(45) The proprietor of Worcester-house, where he resided, had resolved to [illegible] himself upon the expiration of the [illegible]'s lease.

(46) Mr Carte observes, that [illegible] him [illegible] by [illegible] with [illegible] Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. [illegible] also the Chancellor's Letter to his Grace in remark [*Z*].

[*W*] *The building of his house furnished fresh matter of obloquy.*] We shall take the account of this matter from Bishop Burnet, who has not spared to censure the Earl's indiscretion on that step, which indeed he was himself not insensible of, and afterwards lamented (44). 'The King, says that historian, had granted him, as 'has been already observed, a large piece of ground 'near St James's palace to build upon (45); he intended a good ordinary house, but not understanding 'those matters himself, he put the management of it 'into the hands of others, who run him into a vast 'expence of above 50,000*l.* three times as much as 'he had designed to lay out upon it (46). During 'the war, and in the plague year [1665], he had 'about 300 men at work, which he thought would 'have been an acceptable thing, when so many men 'were kept at work, and so much money as was daily 'paid circulated about. But it had a contrary effect, 'it raised a great outcry against him. Some called it '*Dunkirk house*, intimating that it was built by his 'share of the price of Dunkirk. Others called it '*Holland-house*, because he was believed to be no 'friend to the war; so it was given out he had the 'money from the Dutch: it was visible that, in a 'time of public calamity, he was building a very noble palace. Another accident was, that before the 'war there were some designs on foot for the repairing 'of St Paul's, and many stones were brought thither 'for the purpose. That project was laid aside: he 'upon that bought the stones, and made use of them 'in building his own house. This, how slight soever 'it may seem to be, yet it had a great effect by the 'management of his enemies (47).' To the Bishop's remark it may be added, that this stately pile was not finished 'till 1667 (48); so that *it* stood a growing monument for the popular odium to feed on, almost the whole interval between his first and his last impeachment; and to aggravate and spread that odium, there was published a most virulent satirical song, intituled Clarendon's House-warming, consisting of many stanzas, each of four hendecasyllables, to which, by way of sting at the tail, was added the following clumsy but bitter epigram.

(47) Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 249. folio edition.

(48) He did not go into it 'till April that year. Carte, where last cited. At his entrance he said, this house will one day be my ruin. It stood at the upper end of St James's street, where Albemarle street and the streets adjoining now are. Echard, Vol. III. p. 192.

Upon the House.

Here lye the sacred bones
Of Paul beguiled of his stones.
Here lye the golden briberies
Of many ruin'd families.
Here lies the Cavalier's debenture wall,
Fix'd on an eccentric basis.
Here's Dunkirk town and Tangier hall,
The Queen's marriage and all,
The Dutch-mens *Templum Pacis* *.

* State Poems, from Oliver Cromwell to King James II. p. 247. Lond. 1697, 8vo.

[*X*] *Though he was sensible of his losing ground, yet he disdained those arts which were become necessary, &c.*] From the time that Sir Henry Bennet (afterwards Lord Arlington) was made Secretary of State, he was apt to complain, upon occasion that he had no credit at Court, which disobliged the King; and when his advice, prudently and honestly given, was over-ruled, he did not care to intermeddle, but left it to wiser men, as he stiled them, to follow their own measures, and to perform what they had confidently undertaken for the King's service. This manner of conduct made him neglect his interest (of which few ministers have ever had a greater share, and yet founded upon virtue) in the House of Commons, 'till at last it was utterly ruined (49). This observation of Mr Carte's is agreeable to all the general histories. But there is an instance of this conduct related by the Earl himself, which sets it in the fullest light, as follows. In 1667, the insult by the Dutch at Chatham happening soon after the Earl was settled in Clarendon-house, the clamours of the populace on that occasion were all levelled at him as the author of all the calamities of the kingdom; so that he was in continual apprehensions they would pull down his house, and that he should fall a sacrifice to their fury (50). In the mean time, 'the distraction was so great in court and city, as if 'an army of 100,000 men had encompassed it; and 'though the Dutch fleet advanced no farther than 'Chatham, and returned out of the Thames; yet it 'remained still upon the coast, and landing about 'Harwich, attempted the castle of Langhorne-point, 'and kept the counties of Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, in perpetual alarm for many days: the trainbands, which had been drawn together, pretended 'the time was expired that they were obliged to maintain themselves, and therefore required pay or liberty to depart, though the enemy was in view, and 'themselves like to be made the first prey. The regiments

(49) Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. I. p. 350.

(50) Carte, where last cited, and the Earl's Vindication, passim.

degrees the King was brought at length to entertain an unconquerable averſion to him [Y]; and having firſt taken away the great ſeal in Auguſt 1667 [Z], afterward encouraged an impeachment

ments which had been raiſed without charge to the King, upon the intereſt of ſeveral perſons of honour and great reputation, had upon the firſt muſters received one month's pay; but that time was expired, and they muſt either receive another pay, or take free quarter upon the country, which the time would not bear. In this perplexity, ſome perſons had adviſed the King to ſummon the Parliament to convene upon a ſhort day, notwithſtanding it ſtood prorogued *till* October. And, continues the Earl, when his Majeſty aſked my opinion of it, I told him I thought it could not be done; I was ſure it never had been done. To which his Majeſty replied, that he was aſſured by many that he might do it, and named Mr Prynne to be of that opinion. Shortly after, his Majeſty appointed the whole council to meet upon the debate, of which I knew nothing 'till I came into the room. The King himſelf told us what we were to debate upon; that we all ſaw the ſtraits we were in, the general diſtemper of the nation, the inſolence of the enemy; that there was a neceſſity of having an army, that he had no money, nor knew where to get any, nor could imagine any other way to provide againſt the inconveniences which were in view, than by calling the Parliament; of which, and any other expedient, he would receive our advice, expreſſing ſo much of his own ſenſe, that it was plain enough he inclined to that remedy: upon which, three or four of thoſe who ſat at the lower end of the table, and who were known to have contrived the council, expreſſed themſelves at large; ſeemed very confident that it might lawfully be done; that no other way could be found to raiſe money; that men could not be kept together without money; and deſired that they who were of another opinion would propoſe ſome other counſel. I don't deny their reaſons did in no degree ſatisfy me; and though I knew very well that the reſolution was upon the matter already taken, that there was a great deſire in ſome men, whoſe malice to me was enough known, to lead me into ſome expreſſions of which they might take advantage; yet the obligation of my oath to deliver myſelf freely, the conceived ſecurity of that place, and the opinion that the thing was not reaſonable, and would produce many inconveniences to the King's ſervice, prevailed with me to diſcharge my own conſcience, God knows, according to the beſt of my underſtanding; I ſaid, I knew well the diſadvantage upon which I ſpoke in ſo tender a point, and how unpopular a thing it was to be againſt the convening of the Parliament in a time of ſo great ſtraits, when no other remedy could be found; yet *that* appearing to me not practicable, I thought it not to be embraced; that it was confeſſed by all hands, that in the point of law, the convening them before the time to which they were adjourned was at leaſt very doubtful; and to me, upon all the diſquiſition I could make, it was very clear it could not be done; that the temper of both Houſes was well known; and it could not but be preſumed, that when they came together, the firſt debate they would fall upon, would be upon the manner of their coming, and whether they were in a capacity to act; and I doubted very much, that there would be very few who would be willing to paſs an Act of Parliament in ſo doubtful a ſeaſon, and then if their meeting was only to confer, when they might ſay any thing and conclude nothing, I thought it well worth the conſidering, whether, in ſo general a diſtemper, ſuch an aſſembly might not interrupt all other conſiderations and expedients, and yet propoſe none, and ſo increaſe the confuſion: I ſaid if the neceſſities were ſo urgent, that it was neceſſary to have a Parliament convened, and that they could not lawfully re-aſſemble that which was prorogued, 'till the day to which it was prorogued, as I was confident it could not be, there could be no doubt but that it was in the King's power to diſſolve that Parliament, and forthwith iſſue out writs for calling another, which might be regularly aſſembled more than a month before the prorogued Parliament could meet.' There were many more for this expedient as the beſt way; but many others declaring againſt it, the King himſelf, with ſome quickneſs, aſked the Chancellor what he would adviſe, upon which he ſaid, that 'till a new Parliament could meet, for the preſent ſupport of thoſe troops which were to guard the coaſts, to avoid the worſt ſort of free quarters made by the ſoldiers themſelves, the only way that appeared to him to be practicable, would be to write letters to the Lieutenants and Deputy-Lieutenants of thoſe counties where the troops were obliged to remain, to cauſe proviſions to be brought into their quarters; as alſo to write the like letters to the neighbouring counties, to raiſe money by way of contribution, as had heretofore been done. 'And it is poſſible, concludes he, that in the earneſtneſs of this debate, and the frequent interruptions which were given, I might uſe that expreſſion of raiſing contribution as had been done in the late civil war (51).' Thus he ventured too boldly to oppoſe the majority of the Council, with the King at their head; and the conſequence was, that this opinion of his appeared at the head of the articles of treaſon ſoon after exhibited againſt him, dreſſed up in the following terms: 'That the Earl of Clarendon hath deſigned a ſtanding army to be raiſed, and to govern the kingdom thereby; adviſing the King to diſſolve the preſent Parliament; to lay aſide all thoughts of Parliaments for the future; to govern by military power, and to maintain the ſame by free quarter and contribution.'

(51) Vindication of himſelf againſt the firſt article of the Houſe of Commons, printed in his Tracts, edit. 1727, folio.

[Y] *He was brought by degrees to an unconquerable averſion for him*] There can be no clearer proof of his innocence and real worth, than the low methods taken by his adverſaries to beget this averſion in his Majeſty, the particulars of which are finely and delicately touched in the preface to the firſt volume of his Hiſtory of the Rebellion. But it will not be amiſs to lay before the reader ſome circumſtances of that ſingular one, which has been generally thought to have the greateſt ſhare in creating the ſaid averſion. It is allowed on all hands, that the Chancellor was not without the pride of conſcious virtue †, 'where his perſonal carriage was attended with a kind of gravity and haughtineſs, which ſtruck a very diſagreeable awe into a Court filled with licentious perſons of both ſexes; that he often took the liberty to give ſuch reproofs to theſe perſons of mirth and gallantry, as were very unacceptable to them, and ſometimes thought it his duty to adviſe the King himſelf in ſuch a manner, that they took advantage of him, and as he paſſed in Court would often ſay to his Majeſty, *There goes your ſchoolmaſter*. The chief of theſe was the Duke of Buckingham, who had a ſurpriſing talent of ridicule and buffoonery; and that he might make a way to his ruin, he often acted and mimicked the Chancellor in the preſence of the King, walking ſtately with a pair of bellows before him for the purſe, and Colonel Titus carrying a fire-ſhovel on his ſhoulder for the mace; with which ſort of banter and farce, ſays Mr Echard, the King was too much delighted and captivated (52).' Accordingly, as ſoon as the ſeal was taken from him and delivered to the King, Mr May, well knowing the compliment that would be the moſt grateful to his Majeſty on that occaſion, upon kiſſing his hand told him, *He was then King of England and never before* (53). But we have ſtill a more undeniable evidence that it was this part of his behaviour which was reſented above any thing elſe by his Majeſty, and that is the King himſelf, who, in a letter wrote expreſsly to ſatisfy the the Duke of Ormonde what the Chancellor had done to diſpleaſe him, beſides the diſſatisfaction of the world on his account, does not offer to charge him with any crime, but only with a certain *perviſhneſs of temper* which gave him offence (54).

† He acknowledges it himſelf in his Vindication, &c. where he calls it the pride of a good conſcience, p. 9.

(52) Echard's Hiſtory of England, ad annum 1667. B. 1. c. 3.

(53) The Chancellor's Vindication of himſelf, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 8.

[Z] *The ſeal was taken from him.*] Upon this occaſion he wrote the following letter to the Duke of Ormond.

(54) Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. I. p. 353. and Echard's Hiſtory, where laſt cited.

'Though I have great reaſon to take heed what I write and what I ſay, and therefore have given over ſending all letters by the poſt, yet I ſatisfy myſelf, that this bearer will carefully deliver into your hands this ſcribble; and your's of the 26th is ſo full of kindneſs, that I muſt not leave it unacknowledged.

'The truth is, I know not what to ſay, the world is ſo much altered ſince I wrote laſt. The great affliction I lay under from the unexpected loſs of my wife, which I did not apprehend full two days, had, I thought, pretty well prepared me to quit the world; yet I cannot

impeachment of high-treafon, which was brought againft him by the Houfe of Commons [*A A*] in November; and laftly, during the profecution, procured him to leave the kingdom [*B B*] in the beginning of December; whereupon, an act of banifhment was paffed againft

'cannot tell you, that the other which followed within 'a few days, did not exceedingly furprize me, and 'even aftonifh me; nor in truth am I yet recovered 'out of that trance. 'Nor can I imagine, how, from 'being thought a pretty wife fellow, I am become 'fuddenly to have no underftanding, and to be of no 'ufe. It fell upon me in an ill time, and how I fhall 'fhift I know not, being under a vaft debt, and pof-'feffed of a very fmall eftate, and fo like to be in 'ftraits enough. Nor do I know what is more in-'tended. I thank God I fear nothing that my ene-'mies can bring againft me, though the number of 'them is great, and thofe of my friends fewer than I 'could imagine ‡.

‡ He loft, on May 16, his chief friend the Earl of Southampton, upon whofe death the treafury was put into the hands of the Duke of Albemarle, Lord Afhley, Sir Thomas Clifton, Sir William Coventry, and Sir John Duncombe, none of them well affected to the Chancellor. Carte, Vol. II. p. 351.

'Upon all the reflections I can make with myfelf, 'I am not confcious of having done or faid any thing 'in difcharge of my public truft, which I would not 'have done or faid if I had been that moment to 'expire. I am accufed of infolence and fawcinefs in 'debates, of which 'tis faid I had directions long fince 'to advertife me. In truth, I think I have been fre-'quently bold enough, in which I am fure my inten-'tions were always full of duty; and I am confident 'you will fwear for me that that duty will never 'decline. If I know myfelf, I fhall never be lefs 'warm in all the King's concernment than I have 'ever been, and it is not impoffible that I may yet 'do him more fervice under his difpleafure, than I 'have been able to do in his favour.

'There are now other expedients defigned to his 'fervice than I could travel in. I am pretty well 'compofed in my mind, and if I am fuffered, fhall be 'glad to fpend this winter here, and at the fpring fhall 'retire into fome corner in the country, where I may 'be able to get bread. I muft not omit to tell you, 'that the Duke of York hath been and is as gracious 'to me, and as much concerned for me as poffible; I 'have not many other friends to brag of. I confefs I 'have fo much mortification upon the obfervation of 'the humours of men, that the very ridiculoufnefs 'thereof is fome allay to the melancholic. God prof-'per you and your's, and keep your mafter firm to 'you, for I believe I have few enemies who don't de-'fire to oblige you the fame way they have done me *. 'I pray God to provide well for the public here, and 'bring you and me once more together.

* The fincere and inviolable friendfhip between thefe two worthy Statefmen is very exemplary. We have feen the commencement of it, and it was cemented by an uninterrupted feries of mutual kindneffes; one of which, on the Chancellor's part, was his writing the *Hiftory of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in Ireland*, from the papers communicated to him by the Duke. This piece was printed at London, 1726, 8vo.

Clarendon-houfe,
24 Sept. 1667.

'CLARENDON (55).'

(55) Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. II. in the Appendix, No. LII.

[*A A*] *The King encouraged an impeachment of high-treafon, &c.*] Two inftances of this are given, one by Mr Carte, who relates (56), that his Majefty obferving Sir John Finch to be filent in the Houfe, when this point came in queftion, gave him pofitive orders to be active, and to promote the bufinefs. And Mr Echard tells us (57), that the King very fharply rebuked Sir Stephen Fox for voting againft the impeachment. And befides thefe exprefs declarations of his temper on this occafion the Earl hath not fpared to affert, that, as foon as the Parliament came together, it quickly appeared that my enemies (they are his own words) had fo far prevailed with his Majefty, as to declare his own difpleafure againft me, and againft all thofe who appeared to have no ill opinion of me; and then nothing was fpoken fo much of as the refolution to take my life, and the lady Caftlemain declared that the Duke of Buckingham was to fit Lord High-Steward of England upon my trial, many wagers being laid in the Court that I fhould lofe my head; and Sir Thomas Ofborne, a perfon of great intimacy with the Duke, had declared in the country before he came up to Parliament, that if the Chancellor was not hanged he would be hanged himfelf; all which was done, he intimates, in the view of driving him out of the land (58), a thing which his Majefty had indeed fixed upon, and which was compaffed in the manner related in the next remark.

(56) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 353.

(57) Echard's Hiftory of England, Vol. III.

(58) Vidication of himfelf, in the conclufion.

[*B B*] *Procured him to leave the kingdom.*] As this part of his conduct was condemned by many of his friends (59), and particularly by the Duke of Ormonde, who had in a manner engaged for his fteadinefs and courage to ftand a trial (60) he drew up a particular account of it, as follows. 'From the beginning of 'the profecution in Parliament againft me, fome per-'fons who wifhed me very well, informed of the feve-'ral intentions againft me, earneftly advifed me to 'withdraw myfelf, and thereby to provide for my fe-'curity, which I utterly refufed to do. And it is 'well known, that the day when the Houfe of Com-'mons fent up their general impeachment, that my 'coach was ready, and waited three or four hours to 'carry me to the Houfe, I expecting to be fent for ''till their rifing. When the debate grew fo hot in 'the Houfe of Peers, that many expoftulations from 'the Lower Houfe, they ftill refufed to commit me to 'prifon, I received new importunities from my friends 'to make my efcape. And they were perfwaded by 'fome who had had the greateft hand in contriving 'my ruin, to believe that it would be grateful to the 'King, and that there fhould be no means ufed to 'obftruct my going away: and when nothing of this 'could work upon me, the Bifhop of Hereford (who 'had not carried himfelf fo well toward me as fome 'men thought I had deferved from him †) firft fent to 'the Bifhop of Winchefter to perfwade him to get me 'out of the kingdom, and confeffed to him, that it 'was the King's defire, though he would not own it 'to any body elfe; and then came to me himfelf, 'preffing the fame thing to me, and undertook upon 'his falvation (which was his own expreffion) that I 'fhould neither be ftopped in my paffage, nor fuffer 'the leaft degree in my honour or my fortune by my 'abfence; which he faid I could not believe he would 'undertake without very good authority, and there-'upon enlarged upon the calamities the kingdom muft 'fuffer upon this difference between the two Houfes, 'of which I fhould be looked upon to be the fole 'caufe, and therefore had reafon to apprehend what 'fenfe the people were like to have of it: and Mr 'Seymour had the confidence to tell a noble Lord of 'the Houfe, who had vigoroufly oppofed my commit-'ment, that if the Houfe of Peers did not comply 'with the Houfe of Commons, the people would not 'only pull down my houfe, but the houfes of all thofe 'Lords who adhered to me. I told the Bifhop I was 'very innocent in all things laid to my charge, and 'therefore was not to be terrified by threats; howe-'ver, if it were thought fit for his Majefty's fervice 'that I abfented myfelf, I would without any confide-'ration how far I might fuffer in point of reputation, 'fubmit to his Majefty's direction; only I defired, 'that I might have fuch a pafs as might fecure me 'from being ftopped, and expofed as a fpectacle to 'the people, and as a man running away from juftice; 'which the Bifhop thought I might reafonably require, 'and made no doubt of fending it me accordingly: 'but the next morning he told the Bifhop of Winche-'fter, that if the King fhould grant fuch a pafs, it 'might give great offence to the Parliament; which 'hazard his Majefty would not run; but renewed all 'the affurances he had before given for the fecurity of 'my paffage; and I as pofitively refufed to accept 'thereof; and fo continued in my houfe, and fpoke 'every day publickly with many perfons a full week 'after the time that the Bifhop had been with me, 'notwithftanding the daily advice and importunity I 'received from my friends and neareft relations to 'withdraw.

(59) North's Examen of Kennet's Hiftory of England, p. 4 4.

(60) Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. II. in the Appendix, No. LXVII. See alfo a Letter from the Duke to the Lord Arlington, dated Sept. 3, 1667, in the fame volume, p. [illegible] and in remark [*A*] of the enfuing article.

† His name will be feen prefently among the protefting Lords.

'It pleafed God, that the Duke of York had been 'for fome weeks fick of the fmall-pox, fo that nobody 'had fpoken with him about any bufinefs for the fpace 'of near a month; but the malignity of the difeafe 'being fpent, his Majefty himfelf had, upon the laft 'Friday in November, vifited his Royal Highnefs; 'and faying little more than to congratulate his reco-'very and exprefs his own great joy in it, he came 'again the next morning early, and had fome private 'conference with him. And the King no fooner de-'parted from him, but the Duke bid his wife fend pre-'fently to me, and conjure me prefently to be gone ‖; 'that fhe fhould let me know that it was abfolutely 'neceffary for the King's fervice, and that I might be 'very confident and fecure that I fhould meet with no 'obftruction in the way, nor undergo the leaft damage 'in my honour or fortune by being gone. And upon 'this

‖ The Duke's intereft was in fome danger, a project being on foot to procure a declaration from the King that he had been married to the Duke of Monmouth's mother; and the perfons appointed by his Majefty to reduce his expences had propofed the cutting off the 200 l. a week allowed for the Duke's table. General Hiftory of England, and Carte, p. 355.

againſt him on the 19th of that month. Before his departure, he drew up an apology * in a petition to the Houſe of Lords, which being delivered by his eldeſt ſon, the Lord Cornbury, to the Earl of Denbigh, was preſented by him to the Houſe on the third of December. His friends were divided in their opinions about the part which he took of withdrawing, but they all thought him ill adviſed in the matter of his petition (*m m*), wherein he vindicated himſelf from any way contributing to the late miſcarriages, in ſuch a manner as laid the blame at the ſame time upon others [*C C*]. He retired to Normandy, where, if not the malice, at leaſt the miſrepreſentations, of his enemies purſued him. As he was going in the latter end of March following from Rouen to Paris, he ſtopped for ſome time towards the end of April at a town called Evreux, on the ſouth ſide of the Seine; where he was aſſaulted by ſome ſeamen, and very narrowly eſcaped with his life [*D D*]. Being greatly afflicted with the gout, and finding himſelf not ſecure in that part of

* It is printed in Rapin's Hiſtory of England under this year.

(*m m*) Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. II. p. 354.

'* this authority and command I did, upon Saturday
' the laſt of November, 1667, leave my own houſe,
' and went by coach to Erith, where I embarked;
' and it pleaſed God, after ſome days ſtruggling with
' ill wind and weather, I arrived at Calais the Wed-
' neſday following *And I did no more in this adven-*
' *ture, whatever prejudice I have undergone by it, than*
' *I ſhall always do in ſacrificing my honour and my life*
' *itſelf upon the leaſt inſinuation of his Majeſty's plea-*
' *ſure*, and whenever he thinks his ſervice may be ad-
' vanced by it. And if any man ſhall yet think, not-
' withſtanding all that I have ſaid, that I ought not to
' have withdrawn myſelf, but to have remained there
' in priſon, or in any other condition they would have
' put me, until I had been fully cleared upon a fair
' trial, he will, I hope, have ſo much compaſſion of
' me, as to think I had great difficulties to contend
' with, and will lament, on my behalf, that I am
' forced to undergo ſo hard a fate after the age of
' threeſcore years, whereof thirty have been ſpent in
' the ſervice of the Crown; and for the proſperity
' whereof, and the happineſs of his Majeſty's royal
' perſon, my daily prayers ſhall be poured out in what
' condition ſoever I am, and in what corner ſoever
' of the world I ſhall be confined or condemned to (61).'
This abſolute reſignation, not only of his life but of his honour too, to the King's pleaſure, will perhaps be looked on at this time of day, (if any thing more than a ſtrain of Court language) to be a rare example of the influence of the doctrine of unlimited paſſive obedience, which was preached up in thoſe days, and for which his Lordſhip may be juſtly honoured with the title of a Confeſſor. But though that principle ought, in juſtice to his univerſally acknowledged integrity, to be allowed the firſt place among the motives which prevailed upon him to withdraw; yet as he declares at the ſame time that he had great difficulties to contend with; ſo no injury will be done to him, in ſuppoſing that the principle of ſelf-preſervation held the ſecond place among thoſe motives. There is a letter of his ſon the Lord Cornbury to the Duke of Ormonde, which furniſhes a ſufficient warrant for this aſſertion. It is dated December 8, four days after his father's landing at Calais, and was wrote to excuſe that reſolution. In this view, having alledged the ſeveral other reaſons for it, he cloſes the number as follows: that
' being informed from very creditable hands, that
' there was a deſign to prorogue the Parliament, on
' purpoſe to try him by a jury of Peers, (by which
' means he might fall into the hands of the proteſting
' Lords) he reſolved to withdraw.*.' Accordingly Mr Carte informs us, that it appeared from Lord Arlington's Letters to the Duke of Ormonde, that it was expected a week before the vote [for committing him], that if the Lords would not recede from their privilege, the Commons would either take the way of remonſtrating [as they did] againſt it ‡, or bring a bill of attainder. The laſt, which would ſtill have left the whole Houſe of Lords to judge, afforded the proſecutors little hopes of ſucceſs, eſpecially ſince the Biſhops would have voted on that occaſion; and therefore a trial by commiſſion, directed to twenty-four Peers, wasdeemed more eligible; and the Lord Clarendon, with all his innocence and integrity, had reaſon to dread the judgment of twenty-four ſuch perſons as ſhould be packed by the Duke of Buckingham †. The number twenty-four of this jury plainly points to the Lords who proteſted againſt the vote for not committing the Earl, which were D. Bucks, D. Albemarle, Teynham, St David's, T. Lucas, Ch. Garrard, Berkſhire, Powlet, Howard of Charlton, Pembroke, Rocheſter, W. Dureſme, T. Sandes, Jo. Berkley, Northampton, Kent, Carliſle, Dover, Norwich, Vaughan, Hen. Hereford, Byron, Bath, Briſtol, Arlington, Say and Seal, Powis. In number twenty-four, beſides the three Biſhops ‖.

(61) His Vindition, in the concluſion.

* Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. II. in the Appendix, No. LIII.

‡ The debate which ended in that remonſtrance was uſhered in by the Duke of Albemarle's ſon, a youth of 14 or 15 years of age, ſuch being allowed then to ſit in the Houſe of Commons. Ibid. in the body of the work, p. 349.

† Ibid.

[*C C*] *As laid the blame upon others*] The Lord Arlington, who thought himſelf particularly ſtruck at in the petition, called it a libel in the Houſe, and after reading it, the Lords ſent two of the Judges to acquaint the Commons of it, and to deſire a conference. The Duke of Buckingham, who was alſo plainly aimed at in the petition, delivered it to the Commons, and in his uſual way of inſult and ridicule, ſaid, The Lords have commanded me to deliver to you this ſcandalous and ſeditious paper ſent from the Earl of Clarendon. They bid me preſent it to you, and deſire you in a convenient time to ſend it to them again, for it has a ſtyle which they are in love with, and therefore deſire to keep it. Upon the reading of it in that Houſe, it was voted to be *ſcandalous, malicious, and a reproach to the juſtice of the nation*; whereupon they moved the Lords that it might be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, which was ordered, and executed accordingly (62).

‖ Compleat collection of the Lords Proteſts, under the year 1667. Lond. 1737. 8vo.

[*D D*] *He narrowly eſcaped with his life.*] This aſſault was made on the 23d of April, as appears from the following account of it in a letter to Sir William Coventry, Secretary of State, by Mr Oliver Long. dated at Evreux, April 26, 1668 (63). ' As I was travel-
' ling from Rouen towards Orleans, it was my fortune,
' April 23, N.S. to overtake the Earl of Clarendon (then
' in his unhappy and unmerited exile) who was going to-
' wards Bourbon, but took up his lodging at a private
' hôtel in a ſmall walled town called Evreux, ſome
' leagues from Rouen. I, as moſt Engliſh gentlemen did
' to ſo valuable a patriot, went to pay him a viſit near
' ſupper-time, when he was, as uſual, very civil to me.
' Before ſupper was done, twenty or thirty Engliſh ſea-
' men and more, came and demanded entrance at the
' great gate, which being ſtrongly barred, kept them
' out for ſome time; but in a ſhort ſpace they brake
' it, and preſently drove all they found, by their ad-
' vantage of numbers, into the Earl's chamber, where
' by the aſſiſtance of only three ſwords and piſtols,
' we kept them out for half an hour, in which diſpute
' many of us were wounded by their ſwords and piſtols,
' whereof they had many. To conclude, they broke
' the windows and doors, and under the conduct of
' one *Howard* an Iriſhman (who has three brothers, as
' I am told, in the King of England's ſervice), and an
' enſign in the company of cannoneers; they quickly
' found the Earl in his bed, not able to ſtand by the
' violence of the gout; whence after they had given
' him many blows with their ſwords and ſtaves, mixed
' with horrible curſes and oaths, they dragged him on
' the ground into the middle of the yard, where they
' encompaſſed him around with their ſwords, and after
' they had told him in their own language, how *he had*
' *ſold the kingdom and robbed them of their pay*, Howard
' commanded them all, as one man, to run their
' ſwords through his body. But what difference aroſe
' among themſelves before they could agree, God a-
' bove, who alone ſent this ſpirit of diſſenſion, only
' knows. In this interval, their lieutenant, one
' *Swaine*, came and diſarmed them. Sixteen of the
' ringleaders were put into priſon, and many of thoſe
' things which they had rifled from him found again,
' which were reſtored, and of great value. Monſieur L
' Fonde, a great man belonging to the King of France's
' bed-chamber, ſent to conduct the Earl on his way
' hither, was ſo deſperately wounded in the head, that
' there were but little hopes of his life. Many of
' theſe aſſaſſins were grievouſly wounded, and this ac-
' tion is ſo much reſented by all here, that many of
' theſe

(62) State Trials, in that of the Earl of Clarendon, Vol. II. p. 572.

(63) The original is in the Bodleian library.

of France, he went in the ſummer to Montpelier, where, being more at eaſe [*E E*], he drew up his *Diſcouſe by way of Vindication of himſelf, from the Charge of High-Treaſon brought againſt him by the Houſe of Commons in November* 1667 [*F F*]. Recovering his health to a good degree, he continued at Montpelier three or four years, ſpending a good

' theſe criminals will meet with an uſage equal to their ' merit.'

[*E E*] *He was more at eaſe at Montpelier.*] In the dedication of the *Contemplations, &c. upon the Pſalms*, having taken notice of the ſevere treatment he met with at Evreux, he declares he was in no place which he could confidently reſide in 'till he came to Montpelier, where he found very good reception and accommodation, through the extraordinary civility and addreſs of Lady Mordaunt. Who having obtained a very great eſteem from all perſons there, had taken ſome pains by her good mention of him, and the poſt that he had ſuſtained, and ſome advantageous diſcourſe of his relations ‖, to prepare them in ſuch a manner to bid him welcome, that he found a very extraordinary reſpect from all perſons of quality, men and women; which continued during his ſtay there (64). Upon this mention of Lady Mordaunt's kindneſs to the Earl, we ſhall take on opportunity of vindicating the Chancellor's ſhare in the Reſtoration, with regard to one particular, wherein the Lord Mordaunt was concerned. It was no inconſiderable part of Monke's inſtructions to Sir John Greenvile, that he ſhould not return 'till he had ſeen the King out of the Spaniſh dominions, and his Majeſty was deſired to make haſte to Breda, and from thence diſpatch all the letters and papers he ſhould ſend to England. ' I have taken notice of this particular, continues Mr Carte, as well to do an act of juſtice to General Monke, by ſhewing that his application to the King, was earlier than is generally repreſented, and that he did not ſtay 'till he had ſeen the iſſue of the election, by which he might judge of the temper of the members, as to do another to the Marquis of Ormonde (from whom no body I believe will ſeparate the Lord Chancellor) by ſhewing, that he was not unacquainted with Monke's affairs and inſtructions. The ſurmiſe that thoſe were kept a ſecret from theſe two noble perſons is ſo far from truth, that on the very next day after Lord Mordaunt and Sir John Greenvile parted from the King, Lord Mordaunt, upon ſome freſh advices received from England, of Monke's meaſures and further communications of his deſigns, ſent a letter to the Marquis of Ormonde, deſiring him to diſpatch *Hartvile Baron* with the commiſſion for the General, and ſuch further inſtructions as were neceſſary *.'

[*F F*] *A vindication of himſelf from the charge of high-treaſon, &c.*] This charge conſiſts of ſeventeen articles, which to go over here would be tedious, eſpecially ſince notwithſtanding the challenge made by his ſon Mr Laurence Hyde, defying the Houſe to prove any one of them, yet no proof was ever attempted there (65). The article which charges him with adviſing the ſale of Dunkirk to the French, is the only one that ever made the leaſt impreſſion to the diſadvantage of his memory; and ſince a late noble author, already quoted in this memoir, hath produced a circumſtance, which, if not rightly underſtood, may be thought to ſupport the opinion, that he even adviſed the parting with it in general; we ſhall endeavour to ſet that matter in it's true light. The Earl of Clarendon begins his defence againſt this article in theſe terms. It is very well known to his Majeſty and to ſeveral perſons yet alive, that the parting with Dunkirk was reſolved upon before ever I heard of it; and that the purpoſe was therefore concealed from me, becauſe it was believed that I was not of that opinion, and would not concur in the advice †. However in proceeding he confeſſes, that when it was firſt propoſed and debated in the Council, he was not only preſent, but agreed with the majority in their opinion for the ſale of it; and that in a ſecond debate, he alſo concurred with his Majeſty's propoſal for making the firſt offer to France; and that in purſuance of this reſolution, he was one of thoſe four five Lords of the Privy-Council appointed to treat with Mr *Eſtrades*, who was come privately to England for that purpoſe, and that after ſeveral conferences with him, the bargain was concluded (66). Thus the Chancellor's own ſtate of the caſe confirms the obſervation of Lord Lanſdowne (67) from the *letters and negotiations of the Count D'Eſtrades* that the firſt motion came from the Chancellor in a letter dated at Hampton-Court, June 29, 1662, and ſigned *Clarendon*; that is, the firſt motion to that Count; which may be very true, and yet it may be as true, that the reſolution for parting with Dunkirk was taken before ever the Chancellor heard of it, as he himſelf avers. But in juſtice to our readers, we muſt not omit mentioning one particular concerning this treaty, though it may ſeem to bear a little hard upon his memory. Having recounted the ſeveral ſteps taken in negotiating this affair 'till it was brought to a concluſion, by agreeing upon 500000 piſtoles, to be paid in ſpecie, for the purchaſe, he proceeds thus: ' Which I believe was a ' greater ſum of money than was ever paid at one pay- ' ment by any Prince in Chriſtendom, upon what oc- ' caſion ſoever. And, continues he, that all this ' ſhould not amount to a greater value than the ammu- ' nition, artillery, and ſtores were worth, which were ' delivered with it, is very ſtrange, and cannot be ſup- ' poſed by any reaſonable computation †. I do very ' well remember, that in the treaty, we did with ' much earneſtneſs inſiſt upon the detaining the cannon ' and other artillery and ammunition. But M. D'E- ' ſtrades would not conſent to it, being neceſſary, as he ' ſaid, for the defence of the place, which probably might ' be attacked by the Spaniards in a few days after the ' delivery of it into the hands of his maſter; and upon ' inferting that exception of the cannon, &c. in our ' demand, he was at laſt induced to conſent to the pay- ' ment of 500000 piſtoles, which he had never before ' yielded unto; he concludes with obſerving, that his ' Majeſty cauſed ſome eſtimate to be made of the ' cannon, &c. and that the value did not ariſe to more ' than 20000 l. ſterling, or thereabouts.' It is evident, that in this account, the Chancellor had an eye upon the ſpeech which was made to his Majeſty by Sir Edward Harley, who had been governor of Dunkirk * 'till the ſale was projected, when being removed and returning to England, on the delivery of his accounts, he took his leave of the King, telling him before the Duke of Albemarle, who had procured him that government, that the guns, ſtores, and ammunition he left at Dunkirk, were worth more money than the French were to give for the place (68). He told him alſo, that he would leave him one thing more, which his Majeſty did not think of, and that was 10000 l. he had ſaved in his iron cheſt againſt a ſiege, or any other exigence that might happen (69). It may not be improper to obſerve likewiſe here, ſince it made the ſurrendry of the place more unpopular; that this gentleman, during the ſhort ſpace of time he held that government, had recruited the garriſon to above 9000 men, and began many fortifications, which were afterwards perfected by the French (70); that on his removal he left in the hands of the deputy-treaſurer, the ſum of 127752 l. 15 s. (71); that he ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the ſale of it, and by his intereſt in the Houſe of Commons, procured the reſolution that it ſhould never be alienated, but be made a part of the King's hereditary dominions (72), and that he refuſed an offer made him by a certain great man, of 10000 l. to be paſſive in the ſurrendry of it (73); that being offered the peerage, with the title of Viſcount, for his ſignal ſervices at and before the Reſtoration, he refuſed that honour, giving this reaſon for it, *leaſt his zeal and his ſervices for the Reſtoration of the ancient government ſhould be reproached as 'proceeding from ambition, and not conſcience.* And laſtly his being made Knight of the Bath, was done without his knowledge when he was at Dunkirk, the King inſerting his name in the liſt with his own hand (74). Upon the whole it cannot, I think, be denied, that the Earl of Clarendon had a principal ſhare both in propoſing and effecting the ſale of Dunkirk to the French. Yet at the ſame time it ought to be obſerved in his behalf, that therein he yielded to the opinion of others, and eſpecially to his Majeſty's particular deſire. In reſpect to which, he was united with the Duke of Ormond in making it an inviolable rule of his duty, to ſerve the King his own way (75).

‖ Of theſe Mr Wood mentions eleven, who were all preferred by the Chancellor's intereſt. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1151, 1152, 1153. and the Chancellor's Life, ubi ſupra, p. 2. He had alſo a brother-in-law, Colonel Gunter, who, in purſuance of advices received from the Chancellor, concerted meaſures for furthering a deſign of the King's landing in Suſſex in 1657. Thurloe, Vol. VII. p. 77.

(64) The Earl's Miſcellaneous Works, &c. p. 373.

* Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. II. B. v. p. 198, ad annum 1660.

(65) See remark [*A*] in the next article.

† It has been ſaid that there is good reaſon to think the Queen-mother, when ſhe came over to England in Jan. 1660, was charged with this affair of Dunkirk as well as that of the Portugal match. Carte's remark in the Gen. Dict. Vol. VI. p. 337. in notes b.

(66) His Vindication againſt article xi. in his Miſcellanies, p. 83.

(67) In the ſecond volume of his Works, p. 137.

† This article of his charge is in theſe terms, *That he adviſed and effected the ſale of Dunkirk to the French King, being part of his Majeſty's dominions, together with the ammunition, artillery, and all ſorts of ſtores there, and for no greater value than the ſaid ammunition, artillery, and ſtores, were worth.*

* From the time of the Reſtoration.

(68) Collins's Hiſtorical Collections of the Families of Cavendiſhe, Holles, Vere, Harley, &c. p. 204.

(69) Id. ibid. ex collectione J. Freind, M. D.

(70) Ibid. p. 202, from a MS. intituled, *Hiſtoire de la Maiſon de Harley, par Monſ. Moritt.*

(71) Ibid. p. 203, from Sir Edward Harley's Account of the Expences and Treaſure at Dunkirk, MS.

(72) Kennet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 259, ad edit. 1719.

(73) Collins, ubi ſupra, p. 202. from Moret's MS.

(74) Collins, p. 205. N.B. This Sir Edw. Harley was father to Robert Harley Earl of Oxford, and Lord High-Treaſurer in the reign of Queen Anne. ibid.

(75) See No. 71, in the appendix to Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. II.

good part of his time (*n n*) in that devout work beforementioned, *The Contemplations and Reflections upon the Psalms*, which he finiſhed there, and prefixed to it a moſt pathetic addreſs to his children (*o o*). In 1672 he reſided at Moulins, where he wrote his *Animadverſions upon Mr* Creſſy's *book, intituled, Fanaticiſm fanatically imputed to the Catholic Church by Dr Stillingfleet, and the Imputation refuted and retorted, by* J. C. [*G G*]. He alſo drew up his Survey of Mr Hobbes's Leviathan the following year at Moulins [*p p*], having lately finiſhed his great work the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, &c. there *; and removing thence to Rouen, he paid his laſt debt to nature, on the ninth of December 1674, in that city; whence his body was brought to England, and interred on the north ſide of King Henry VIIth's chapel in Weſtminſter-abbey (*q q*). He was twice married; firſt to Anne, daughter of Sir Gregory Ayloffe of Robſon in Wiltſhire, Knt; and this lady dying without iſſue by him, he married, in July 1634, at St Margaret's Weſtminſter, Frances, daughter, and at length heir, to Sir Thomas Ayleſbury, Bart. who brought him ſeveral children (*r r*), beſides Henry the eldeſt ſon who ſucceeded him in the honour and eſtate. We ſhall give an account of them all below [*H H*].

(*n n*) The greateſt part of his Eſſays are alſo dated at Montpelier.

(*o o*) It is dated $\frac{18}{28}$ Feb. 1670-1, and conſequently wrote before he had heard of the Ducheſs of York's changing her religion, in whom he declares himſelf ſingularly happy, that tho' her condition had made his duty a debt to her, yet ſhe had behaved to him with the ſame kindneſs, tenderneſs, and duty, as if ſhe were ſtill under the dependance and diſcipline of his own family.

(*p p*) The dedication to his Majeſty is dated at Moulins, May 10, 167[illegible]. Hobbes's article.

* See rem. [*N*].

(*q q*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 535.

(*r r*) She died much lamented by him a few days before he was deprived of the Great-Seal. Vindication of himſelf, &c. in the concluſion.

[*G G*] *His anſwer to Creſſy.*] What firſt induced him to undertake this taſk (76), was the knowledge he had of Mr Creſſy, by means of an acquaintance which had commenced at Oxford (77), where that gentleman was his contemporary, and being choſen Fellow of Merton-college in 1625 (78), took the degree of A. M. and afterwards entring into holy orders, was no inconſiderable preacher, and became chaplain to the Lord Wentworth, then Preſident of the North (79), and continued ſo after he was Deputy of Ireland, whither he went in 1638 with Lucius Lord Falkland (80), probably as chaplain; and in 1642, his Lordſhip being Secretary of State, procured him a canonry of Windſor, and the deanry of Leighlen in Ireland was conferred upon him about the ſame time, but he was never inſtalled into the deanry, and never received any profits from either of theſe dignities, by reaſon of the confuſion of the times (81); ſo that being reduced to very narrow circumſtances, eſpecially after the death of the Lord Falkland at the battle of Newbury in September 1643, he travelled as a tutor with Charles Berkley, Eſq; (afterwards Earl of Falmouth) in 1644. But upon a foreſight (if we may believe himſelf (82)) that the Church of England would ſoon terminate by the reſtleſs attempts of the Sectaries, he began to think of ſettling himſelf in the Church of Rome. Accordingly going by the way of Paris to that city, he publickly renounced his religion there in 1646; after which returning to Paris, he publiſhed his *Exomologeſis; or a faithful Narrative of the Occaſions and Motives of his Converſion to Catholic Unity*, 1647, 12mo. Soon after it was printed, he ſent a copy to Dr Henry Hammond who had been his familiar acquaintance, and having a kindneſs for him on account of his modeſty, learning, and parts, invited him into England, aſſuring him that he ſhould be provided with a ſufficient ſubſiſtence to live comfortably, and not be moleſted about his religion and conſcience, but he declined the offer; and in 1653, there came out a ſecond edition of his *Exomologeſis*, with ſeveral alterations and additions made by the direction of the Benedictine Monks (83), of which order he had then taken the habit in the Engliſh college at Doway. He was ſupplied at Paris with 100 crowns for this journey by the Queen-mother of England; and after the Reſtoration, upon the marriage of King Charles II. to the Infanta of Portugal, he was taken into the ſervice of that Queen, and lived moſtly in Somerſet-houſe in the Strand. At length dying in the houſe of one Mr Caryl, at Eaſt-Grinſtead in Suſſex, Auguſt 10, 1674, he was buried in the church there, as Mr Wood was informed, by the ſuperior of his order on this ſide the river Trent in England, one *Gregory Mallet, alias John Jackſon*, who dying alſo September 10, 1681, in the Sheldonian family, was buried in the chancel of Long-Compton church in Warwickſhire (84). This Creſſy wrote ſeveral other things, particularly a piece intitled *Sancta Sophia*, or Directions for the Prayer of Contemplation, &c. (85) which ſhews, that he fell into the doctrine and principles of Quietiſm and the myſtic divinity. However he was long eſteemed the Coryphæus of the Roman party, and his *Exomologeſis*, we are told, was the golden calf to which the Engliſh Papiſts fell down and worſhipped, boaſting that it was unanſwerable, and had given a total overthrow to the Chillingworthians, and to the book and tenets of Lucius Lord Falkland (86). He had in his anſwer to Stillingfleet's *Irenicum*, dropped ſome expreſſions which ſeemed to inſinuate that his Lordſhip, as well as Mr Chillingworth, was tainted with Socinianiſm. This was warmly reſented, eſpecially in the behalf of Lord Falkland, by the Earl of Clarendon, in the treatiſe now under conſideration; where he laments, that this attempt to traduce the memory of that incomparable Lord, had found credit enough with two or three perſons of the Church of England, '(who, ſays he, never knew, and I think 'never ſaw that excellent perſon) to take upon them 'to aſperſe a nobleman of the moſt prodigious learning, the moſt exemplary manners, and ſingular good 'nature, of the moſt unblemiſhed integrity, and the 'greateſt ornament of the nation, that any age hath 'produced.' He afterwards proceeds to defend this deſervedly darling friend in the following terms. 'If 'the having read Socinus, and the commending that 'in him, which no-body can reaſonably diſcommend 'in him, and the making uſe of that reaſon which 'God hath given to man for the examining of that 'which is moſt properly examined by reaſon, and to 'avoid the weak arguments of ſome men, how ſu'perciliouſly ſoever inſiſted upon, or to diſcover the 'fallacies of others, be the definition of a Socinian, 'the party will be very ſtrong in all Churches; but 'if a perfect deteſtation of all thoſe opinions a'gainſt the perſon and divinity of our Saviour, or any 'other doctrine that is contrary to the Church of 'England, (and the Church of England hath more 'formally condemned Socinianiſm, than any other 'Church hath done, as appears by the canons of 1640) 'can free a man from that reproach, as without doubt 'it ought to do, I can very warrantably declare, that 'that unparallelled Lord was no Socinian; nor is it 'poſſible for any man who is a true ſon of the Church 'of England, to be corrupted with thoſe opinions '(87).' Accordingly Mr Creſſy, a little before his death, wrote an anſwer to the Animadverſions, wherein diſavowing the deſign imputed to him by the Earl, of charging Lord Falkland with Socinianiſm, he joins with his honourable antagoniſt in clearing his Lordſhip from that aſperſion which had been thrown upon him by others (88).

(76) It was rendered eaſy likewiſe to him, by what he had written in his Eſſay, dated at Moulins the year before, againſt multiplying controverſies, &c. which furniſhed him with a good part of theſe animadverſions. Miſcellaneous Works, &c. p. 240, & ſeq. 2d edit. 1752.

(77) Animadverſions, p. 7.

(78) The ſame year that the Earl had ſtood for a fellowſhip of Exeter-college, as above-mentioned.

(79) Mr Creſſy was born at Wakefield in Yorkſhire, where his father practiſed the Law as a Counſellor, for which town his Lordſhip, while a Commoner, had been a Member of Parliament. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 528. and the Earl of Strafford's article.

(80) He had been long known to his Lordſhip. See his article in Vol. II. p. 1183. remark [*E*].

(81) Deans and Chapters had been voted down by the Parliament the year before. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. under the year 1641.

(82) In his *Exomologeſis*, chap. ii. where he confirms his opinion by the authority of Hooker, who, in *Eccleſ. Polit.* l. 5. [p. 432.] n. 79. declares, that the Church of England could not probably continue above 80 years.

(83) In this edition, the proteſtation of duty and obedience to the King was left out, and there were added ſome reproaches againſt the Church of England, and many virulent expreſſions againſt it's clergy. Clarendon's Animadv. p. 76, 77.

(84) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 528 to 532. Theſe inſtances are inſerted to confirm an obſervation made by the Earl, that this order of Monks was particularly favoured by King Charles II. which the Chancellor, according to his avowed principles, here defends. Animadv. p. 43, 44. (85) It was extracted from ſome treatiſes of Aug. Baker, a Benedictine at Doway, printed in 1657, in two vols 8vo.

(86) See Romiſh Doctrines not from the beginning; or, A Reply to what S. C. hath returned to Dr Pierce's Sermon, in the preface. Lond. 1664, by Daniel Whitby. See his article.

(87) Animadverſions, &c. p. 283 to 189.

(88) Epiſtle apologetical to a Perſon of Honour, § 7. edit. 1674, 8vo.

[*H H*] *We ſhall give an account below.*] By his ſecond Lady he had four ſons and two daughters. Of theſe Anne, the eldeſt, married as already mentioned, to the Duke of York, by that match became mother to two daughters, Mary and Anne, who were ſucceſſively Queens of England. Beſides theſe, ſhe brought the Duke four ſons and three daughters, who all died in their infancy *. The laſt was born February 9, 1670-1, and her mother deceaſed the 31ſt of March following, having a little before her death changed her religion †, to the great grief of her father, who on that occaſion wrote a moſt pathetic letter to her, and another to the Duke her conſ[illegible]. Biſhop Burnet gives her the following character. 'The Ducheſs of York, ſays he, was a very extraordi[illegible] wom[illegible]

* She brought a child every year after her marriage, except that of 1661. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. from 1660 to 1670.

† See a paper left by her in St James's palace, dated Aug. 20, 1670.

|| They are both printed in the Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon, 8vo, 1[illegible] ſecond edit. See Kennet's Hiſt. of England, Vol. III. in the notes, at p. 321. She died before the letter reached England. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, vol. I. p. 340.

'woman, had great knowledge and a lively ſenſe of 'things: ſhe ſoon underſtood what belonged to a 'princeſs, and took ſtate on her rather too much; 'ſhe wrote well, and had began the Duke's life, of 'which ſhe ſhewed a volume, all drawn from the 'Duke's journal. She was bred to great ſtrictneſs in 'religion, and practiſed ſecret confeſſion, as Morley 'Biſhop of Wincheſter told me, and that he was her 'confeſſor; ſhe began at twelve years old, and con-'tinued under his direction, 'till upon her father's diſ-'grace he was put from Court.' The Biſhop concludes her character with this remark, according to his uſual manner, 'that ſhe was generous and friendly, 'but was too ſevere an enemy †.' The Chancellor's ſecond daughter Frances, married Thomas Keightley of Hertingfordbury in Hertfordſhire, created a Knight of the Bath to attend on the coronation of King Charles II §. This lady was poſſeſſed of the MS containing her father's tracts, which a little before her death ſhe put into the hands of the booksellers, to have them printed in purſuance of the Chancellor's will, which was performed accordingly ‡. Of the Earl's ſons, James the youngeſt was drowned on board the Glouceſter frigate, going with the Duke of York to Scotland in 1682 *. Edward the third ſon, was a ſtudent in the Middle-Temple, and died unmarried; the ſecond ſon Laurence, is the ſubject of the next article; and of Henry, we ſhall give ſome account here, as follows. Having received the rudiments of his education, he was early entered into buſineſs. For his father apprehending of what fatal conſequence it would have been to the King's affairs, if his correſpondence had been diſcovered by unfaithful ſecretaries, engaged him when very young, to write all his letters in cypher; ſo that he was generally half the day writing in cypher or decyphering, and was ſo diſcreet as well as faithful, that nothing was ever diſcovered by him (89). After the Reſtoration, he was created A. M. at Oxford, Feb. 14, 1660, and upon ſettling the Queen's houſhold the following year, he was appointed Chamberlain to her Majeſty (90). Upon his father's leaving the kingdom in 1667, he wrote a letter to the Marquis of Ormonde, entreating the continuance of his friendſhip to the family. This letter was apparently wrote by the direction of his father, and begins thus:

'May it pleaſe your Grace.

'Having the opportunity of a ſafe meſſenger, I pre-'ſume to give your Grace the trouble of this paper, 'to ſend you ſome account of the ſad condition of our 'miſerable family; which having conſtantly received 'ſo much countenance from your Grace's protection, 'I flatter myſelf you will now afford (in this extremity) 'a ſhare of your compaſſion, and a continuance of 'your favour, 'till you find cauſe to withdraw it, 'which I am ſure never will be.' He then proceeds to give his Grace the particulars of the proceedings againſt his father, whereof we have given a ſhort extract already, which he concludes in theſe terms. 'Thus your Grace ſees the inevitable ruin and de-'ſtruction of a perſon who has ſpent near thirty years 'in the ſervice of the Crown, for part of which time 'your Grace is able to give him ſome teſtimony. If 'this ſtorm proceeded only from the power and malice 'of a particular faction it were to be ſtruggled with; 'but being from the anger and diſpleaſure of the King, '(the ground whereof he could never yet by any means 'diſcover) makes his misfortunes inſupportable. I 'preſume not to give your Grace an account of any 'further proceedings in Parliament upon this affair, 'knowing you will have it from better hands; but 'one thing I muſt not omit telling your Grace, which 'is, that Lord Berkeley very induſtriouſly ſpreads a-'broad a rumour, that to his knowledge, your Grace 'hath broken all friendſhip with my father for above 'theſe two years, which I am ſure a better authority 'than his can't make me believe. Your Grace hath 'too much generoſity to abandon one whom you 'have ſo long protected, without telling him of it '(91): my brother and myſelf are yet in our employ-'ments (92), but we are told that we ſhall not long 'continue ſo: neither are we to expect much favour, 'having none to reſort to but the Duke [of York], 'who indeed hath all along very graciouſly and vigo-'rouſly appeared in all the concerns of our family; but 'wanting intereſt and credit to ſupport the father, we 'dare not to hope that he can have enough to protect 'the children.

'Thus your Grace ſees how I preſume upon your 'favour, in giving you this impertinent trouble; but 'to torment you more with apologies, would make 'my crime the greater. Therefore I will conclude, 'with begging the continuance of your Grace's pro-'tection to our family, and particularly to,

'May it pleaſe your Grace,

'your Grace's moſt dutiful,

Whitehall, 8 Dec. 1687. 'and moſt obedient ſervant,

'CORNBURY (93).'

His Lordſhip ſo highly reſented his father's ill uſage from the King, that he ſtruck in with the party againſt the Court (94); and upon taking his ſeat in the Houſe of Peers, we find him joining even with Buckingham and Shafteſbury, in a proteſt againſt the vote for returning thanks to his Majeſty for his ſpeech at the opening of the ſeſſion in April 1675 (95). However he ſtill held his poſt of Chamberlain to the Queen (96), and afterwards ſhewing himſelf no leſs zealous againſt the bill of excluſion to diſinherit the Duke of York (97), he was taken into favour and made a Privy-Counſellor, May 26, 1680 (98). Upon King James's acceſſion to the throne (99), the Marquis of Halifax being made Preſident of the Council, was ſucceeded in the Privy-Seal by the Earl of Clarendon, February 18, 1684-5 (100), and being conſtituted Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (101) in the beginning of December (102), he ſet out for that kingdom on the 16th of that month (103); but being too firmly attached to the Proteſtant religion for thoſe times (104), he was diſplaced on the 6th of February, 1686-7 (105); and on the 11th of March following, was removed from the Privy-Seal, which had been put into commiſſion during his abſence (106). About this time he was made High-Steward of the Univerſity of Oxford (107). After the landing of the Prince of Orange, he was one of the Proteſtant Lords, who being ſummoned, waited upon King James at Whitehall November 26, and among other things adviſed his Majeſty to ſend commiſſioners to treat with the Prince (108), and ſoon after went to the Prince near Saliſbury (109); and upon the King's return from Feverſham to Whitehall on the 16th of December, his Lordſhip propoſed ſending his Majeſty to Breda (110). Upon the Revolution, he refuſed to take the oaths to King William, and in 1690, being accuſed of joining with the Bp of Ely and others in a plot againſt the government, he was ſent to the Tower of London; however, after ſome months he was releaſed thence, but confined to his houſe in the country (111). He paſſed his time afterwards in a private manner to his death, which happened Oct. 22, 1709. Beſides the places held by him already mentioned, he was governor of New-England, as alſo F. R. S. He married twice, 1. Theodoſia, third ſurviving daughter of Arthur Lord Capel (beheaded by the rebels in March 1648-9). 2. Flower, daughter and ſole heir to William Backhouſe of Swallowfield, Eſq; and widow of Sir William Backhouſe, Bart. He had no iſſue from this laſt match, and his firſt Lady, whom he married in the year of the Reſtoration, brought him the following year, an only ſon Edward, who returning from his travels in 1682, being then twenty one years of age, was afterwards made maſter of the horſe to Prince George of Denmark, and in November 1688, he went over to the Prince of Orange with almoſt three intire regiments (112), being ſoon followed by Prince George, who ſent him the following year to compliment in his name the embaſſadors from the States-General, on their arrival to congratulate King William and Queen Mary on their acceſſion to the Crown. In the reign of Queen Anne, he was Governor of New-York, and Envoy-Extraordinary to the Court of Hanover (113). He married Katherine, daughter to Henry Lord O-Brian of Ireland, eldeſt ſon and heir of Henry Earl of Thomond, by whom he had iſſue one ſon Edward, and two daughters, Katherine and Theodoſia, the firſt of which died unmarried in 1708, and the other married John Blighe, Eſq. The ſon, Edward, became Baron of Clifton in right of his mother, who ſucceeded to that title upon the deceaſe of her mother, being ſiſter and ſole heir to Charles Duke of Lenox and Richmond

† Id. ibid. p. 170, and p. 310. where he is ſtill more ſevere.

§ Peerage, under Hyde. There were in all 68 created, April. 15, 1661. Salmon, under that year.

‡ See the advertiſement prefixed to the Tracts.

* See the article of John Duke of Marlborough, in remark [C].

(89) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I.

(90) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 131.

(91) The Marquis denied that he ever gave any foundation for ſuch a report. See Carte's Ormonde, Vol. II. appendix, No. LIV. It has been obſerved that the Chancellor had a quarrel with Lord Berkeley, and therefore in his Hiſtory of the Rebellion endeavours to leſſen his Lordſhip' [illegible] Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 167, fourth edition.

(92) His brother Laurence was then maſter of the robes. See the next article.

(93) Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. II. appendix, No. LII.

(94) Burnet, where laſt cited.

(95) Collection of the Lords Proteſts under that year, Lond. 1737, 8vo. He alſo proteſted againſt the famous teſt bill the ſame year. Ibid.

(96) He is addreſſed by this title in the dedication of a *Treatiſe upon Coin and Coinage, by Rice Vaughan*, Lond. 1675, 8vo. which perhaps was Mr Wood's authority for ſaying he found his Lordſhip in the Chamberlain's place that year. Faſti, ubi ſupra.

(97) Burnet, ubi ſupra.

(98) Wood's Faſti, where laſt cited.

(99) His Majeſty's Acceſſion was on the 6th of February, 1685. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. that year.

(100) Id. ibid.

(101) The Duke of Ormonde had been removed from that poſt by King Charles II. a little before his death. See the Duke's article.

(102) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II.

(103) Salmon, under the year 1685.

(104) Burnet, ubi ſupra.

(105) The Earl of Tyrconnel, a profeſſed Papiſt, was put in his room. Id. under the year 1686.

(106) He was ſucceeded by the Lord Arundel of Wardour. Id. ibid.

(107) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(108) Burnet, Vol. I. p. 794. who tells us, that the Earl at that meeting reflected on his Majeſty moſt of any one there.

(109) Id. ibid. who ſays he ſuggeſted ſo many peeviſh and peculiar things, as rendered him ſuſpected.

(110) Id. p. 800.

(111) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 69 and 71. See more of this in the enſuing article, rem. [G]. (112) Salmon, in the year 1688.

(113) See the article of John Gay.

(114). This Edward Baron of Clifton, died in the twenty-ſecond year of his age, February 12, 1712-13, unmarried, and his father the third Earl of Clarendon, deceaſing on the 1ſt of March 1723-4 *, leaving no male iſſue, his titles deſcended to his couſin, the ſon of Laurence Earl of Rocheſter, as will be ſeen in the enſuing article. P

(114) See a Reſolution of the Houſe of Peers, anno 1673.

* Peerage, under Hyde, Vol. II. edit. 1741.

HYDE [LAURENCE], ſecond ſon of the Chancellor, was endued by nature with excellent talents, which, notwithſtanding the miſerable ſtate at that time of his father's fortunes, were very carefully improved by a genteel education. He applied himſelf with uncommon aſſiduity to his ſtudies (*a*); ſo that the progreſs he had made therein at the Reſtoration, gave him a juſt claim to the degree of Maſter of Arts, which the univerſity of Oxford conferred on him, as well as on his elder brother, by diploma, February 14, 1660 (*b*). From this beginning he grew afterwards to be equal to the firſt employments in the State, and became both the ornament and ſupport of his family. He ſoon appeared on the public ſtage of affairs, being choſen a member for the juſt mentioned univerſity in the firſt Parliament of King Charles II. which met May 8, 1661 (*c*). In October the ſame year, during the receſs of Parliament, he accompanied the Lord Crofts and Sir Charles Berkeley to Paris, who were ſent to congratulate the King of France on the birth of the Dauphin. Mr Hyde bore no public character, yet he was received at that Court with particular marks of diſtinction (*d*), and ſoon after his return home was appointed Maſter of the Robes to his Majeſty, in whoſe good opinion he daily gained ground by his polite and prudent behaviour (*e*). In 1665, he was one of the four gentlemen commiſſioned by the Houſe of Commons to thank the univerſity for their loyalty to his Majeſty and to King Charles I. (*f*); and when, by a Court intrigue, as mentioned in the preceding article, his father fell under an impeachment by the Houſe of Commons in 1667, he undertook his defence with great modeſty and reſolution (*g*) [*A*]. The misfortunes which oppreſſed the Chancellor had no ill effect upon his ſon, whoſe abilities became daily more conſpicuous; and in 1676, he was appointed Ambaſſador-Extraordinary to John Sobieſki King

(*a*) Boyer's Life of Queen Anne, in the appendix, p. 56.

(*b*) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 131.

(*c*) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. I.

(*d*) The firſt was ſent by the King and the other by the Duke of York, to whom he was then Groom of the Stole and Gentleman of the Bedchamber. Wood and Boyer, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Burnet, who obſerves that he obtained this poſt as well by his own perſonal merit as by his father's intereſt. Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I.

(*f*) Boyer.

(*g*) See remark [*FF*] in the preceding article.

[*A*] *He undertook his father's defence with great modeſty and reſolution.*] When the articles of impeachment were read to the Houſe, he moved in his father's name, that, for the diſpatch of buſineſs, thoſe who knew beſt what their evidence was, would ſingle out any one of the articles, which they thought could be beſt proved; and if they could make proof of that, he would ſubmit to the cenſure due upon them all. Sir Charles Wheeler on this occaſion (in confidence of the aſſurances of others who pretended to have proofs ready) got up, and anſwered for the proof of every one of them; of which he was afterwards much aſhamed, when he found, upon further inquiry, that there was not ſo much as evidence to ſupport any one of them. How far the ſale of Dunkirk may be thought an exception to what is advanced by Mr Carte (1), has been obſerved in it's proper place (2), where alſo the particular perſons combined to effect the Chancellor's ruin have been named. But as he himſelf was clearly perſuaded, that the prime ringleader and his moſt miſchievous enemy in that combination, was the Lord Arlington, we ſhall here produce one remarkable inſtance in confirmation of the Chancellor's ſentiments concerning his Lordſhip. In order to ſet this in a clear light, it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that there had been all along, and ſtill ſubſiſted, what in Court-language is ſtiled a good underſtanding, that is, an exact obſervance of all the external forms of civility and friendſhip between this Lord and the Duke of Ormonde, at the time of the Chancellor's diſgrace. That when the King's purpoſe of taking the ſeal was intimated to him by the Duke of York, he deſired his highneſs would procure him an audience with his Majeſty, which was granted, and a conference had at the Chancellor's apartment at Whitehall, Auguſt 26, 1667, no perſon whatever being preſent beſides the three here mentioned; and therefore, though the reſult of this conference was the King's expreſs declaration of his purpoſe to remove the Chancellor (3), yet that was ſtill a ſecret. Under all that diſtracting anxiety which the dread of being diſappointed always produces in a ſtate of uncertainty, Lord Arlington wrote a letter to the Duke of Ormonde the next day after the conference, but before he knew the reſult of it, wherein he acquaints his Grace, that the King was perſuaded his affairs would be much embarraſſed, and the Lord Chancellor much expoſed in the next Seſſion, and therefore had recommended it to the Duke of York to prepare his Lordſhip to retire; that his Royal Highneſs brought his Majeſty ſuch an anſwer back again, as he believed the thing would be eaſily done. But ſince that anſwer, the Duke and all Lord Clarendon's friends, believing that ſuch a ſtep would tend highly to his prejudice, had been very earneſt with the King to change his mind, and the Lord Chancellor had been with him yeſterday; that he could not really tell what his Majeſty had finally determined, but was afraid he would be prevailed with to change his mind; for in that caſe, the next would prove a very troubleſome Seſſion of Parliament, and thoſe things whereof the government ſtood moſt eſſentially in need, would very hardly be obtained, and even the Chancellor himſelf would ſuffer more than he would have done, if he had retired; concluding his ſenſe of that matter in theſe words: '*I heartily pray* '*it may be otherwiſe, but I fear I ſhall be a true pro-*' *phet, and then not be expoſed to ſo much cenſure as I* '*am for my opinion now.*' This letter was carried with great expedition to Dublin; for on the third of September, the Duke of Ormonde returned an anſwer, wherein he thus expreſſes his ſenſe of that matter, which he wiſhes might be repreſented to his Majeſty. 'I am able, ſays he, to make no judgment on the expedient his Majeſty found to give himſelf eaſe, and 'the Lord Chancellor ſecurity at the next meeting of 'Parliament. If my Lord Chancellor could perſuade 'himſelf, that the demiſſion of his charge would facilitate a good intelligence between the King and his 'ſubjects, and gain thoſe aſſiſtances from them to ſupport the government, which are ſo evidently neceſſary, he is not ſo good a ſervant, or ſo wiſe a man, 'as I hope he will be found, if he would not on his 'own accord lay the Seals at his Majeſty's feet, and 'beſeech him to take them from him; but if there remains any doubt of the ſucceſs of forcing him to retire, or if he is not chargeable with ſome crime, ſuch 'as put into the ballance of many years faithful, painful, and comfortleſs ſervice, will outweigh it, 'I know the King is too good a maſter to ſet him aſide, 'which in effect is to condemn him unheard, upon popular clamours and for uncertain advantages, where-'of the one will always find men of buſineſs, who riſe 'by it, and the other will never be brought in competition with honour and juſtice, which are the only 'laſting ſupports to greatneſs, and can hardly fail, 'ſince they can ſo hardly be found without the aſſiſtance of ſteadineſs and courage.' Lord Arlington received this letter on the thirteenth at night, and read it next day to his Majeſty, who thereupon, ſaid he would write that night to the Lord Lieutenant, and give him an account of what the Lord Clarendon had done to diſpleaſe him, beſides the diſſatisfaction of the world on his account (4). The purport of the King's letter, as far as it regards the Chancellor, has been already related (5).

(1) Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. II. p. 353.

(2) In remark [*FF*] of the preceding article.

(3) His Majeſty would have had the Chancellor deliver the ſeal himſelf, which he refuſing to do, Secretary Morrice was ſent for it four days after. Vindication of Lord Clarendon, &c. in his Miſcellaneous Works, p. 84, 85.

(4) Life of the Duke of Ormonde, ubi ſupra.

(5) In remark [*BB*] of the preceding article.

King of Poland, with orders to repair from thence to the Imperial Court, to condole the Emperor Leopold on the death of the Empreſs; but on his arrival at Vienna, finding the Emperor married again, he paſſed privately homeward, and coming to Holland, found there a commiſſion, appointing him one of the Ambaſſadors Mediators at the treaty of Nimeguen (*b*). He had not been long returned from thence when the King ſent him again to Holland, not only to act as a Mediator at Nimeguen, but to treat privately with the Prince of Orange on a general peace; and though ſome diſagreement in the ſentiments of his Majeſty and the Prince of Orange on this laſt ſubject ended that commiſſion, yet when King Charles, finding the French provoked at the terms of the treaty, reſolved on a league with the States-General to force both France and Spain to the terms propoſed, Mr Hyde was employed on that occaſion, and procured the League to be ſigned in 1677. The next year, the Dutch entering into a ſeparate peace with France, he was again ſent to Holland, with propoſals to the Prince of Orange to declare war againſt France; which, though it did not anſwer the King's intent, yet he was ſo ſatisfied with Mr Hyde's good conduct therein, that March 26, 1679 (*i*), he made him one of the Lords of the Treaſury; and upon the Earl of Eſſex (*k*) reſigning his place of Firſt-Commiſſioner at that board, Mr Hyde ſucceeded him on the 19th of November following (*l*). He had in the interim obtained a new ſeat in the Houſe of Commons, as a Burgeſs for Wotton-Baſſet in Wiltſhire, in the new Parliament which was called to meet October 7 this year (*m*). He was now ſworn a Privy-Counſellor, and Mr Sydney Godolphin being brought into the Council along with him, they two joining in confidence with the Earl of Sunderland, formed a triumvirate, which at that juncture had the principal management of the King's affairs. But theſe miniſters having been ſomewhat remiſs in the diſcovery and proſecution of the Popiſh plot, and Mr Hyde in particular, on account of his relation to the Duke of York and his education at Court, having appeared at the head of thoſe who oppoſed the bill of excluſion, the Commons, in 1680, addreſſed the King to remove him, with his brother the Earl of Clarendon, and ſome others, from his council and affairs for ever (*n*). But his Majeſty was ſo far from complying with the requeſt, that on the 23d of April the following year, 1681, he created him Baron of Wotton-Baſſet in Wiltſhire, and Viſcount Hyde of Kennilworth in Warwickſhire; and upon the death of Charles the young Earl of Rocheſter, he ſucceeded to that title November 29, 1682 (*o*). He was made Lord-Preſident of the Council on the 25th of Auguſt (*p*), 1684, and before the end of that year was nominated Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in the room of the Duke of Ormonde [*B*]; but that appointment determining with the death of his Majeſty, the white

(*b*) Collin's Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 297. & ſeq. edit. 1741.

(*i*) He was one of the four that were admitted to that board on the reſignation of the Earl of Danby. Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Viz. Arthur Earl of Eſſex, who was afterwards proſecuted for the Fanatic plot. See the article of Lord Ruſſell.

(*l*) Peerage, ubi ſupra.

(*m*) Wood's Faſti, where laſt cited.

(*n*) See Echard, and other general hiſtories of England.

(*o*) Salmon, under 1682. Wood, Vol. II. col. 657. Burnet tells us that he was charged this year with bribery by Lord Halifax, for having farmed a branch of the revenue much lower than had been profered for it. Hiſt of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 531.

(*p*) Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. under that year.

[*B*] *Was nominated to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, &c.*] This was intimated to him by the King in Oct. 1684 (6), as is evident from the following letter to the Duke of Ormonde, dated at Whitehall, Oct. 13, 1684.

(6) His Majeſty had acquainted the Duke with it in a letter dated at Newmarket October 19. Carte's Ormonde, Vol. III. No CCXXVIII.

'Having been made acquainted that the King has 'written, or is about to write, to your Grace upon a 'ſubject that concerns yourſelf. Though it be a very 'tender point for me to ſay any thing upon, I had 'rather do that which is decent and natural for a man 'in my circumſtances to do upon ſuch an occaſion, let 'the conſequences of it be what it will to me, than 'ſeem to have been privy to deſigns which I would 'not own. I muſt confeſs that I have ſuſpected 'ſomething of this kind going on almoſt ever ſince you 'went from hence. And you may remember, that 'not long ago, when I gave your Grace an account of 'ſome letters of your's that I laid before the King, 'I hinted to you, that his Majeſty was not ſatisfied 'with ſeveral of the officers of the army, though I 'told you at the ſame time I was not directed to ſay 'ſo much. But I did not believe, that what was then 'in the King's mind would have gone ſo far; and 'upon my word, from the moment I found it did, I 'have done all that was in me to hinder it, and at laſt 'to delay it, and would have contributed any thing I 'could think of to continue it in the ſame hands it is.

'I am not inſenſible how hard a conſtruction it may 'bear in the world, that a man ſo much concerned 'as I am, to ſupport all your intereſts, ſhould appear 'as it were undermining you in one of your moſt emi'nent ſtations. Nor am I ignorant, that if you are 'not well ſatisfied to leave your employment, no man 'who is to ſucceed you will find great comfort to [illegible] 'it, or be able to do the King great ſervice in 'it.

'Theſe two conſiderations will ſerve, I hope, to 'convince your Grace, that I have not been the 'author of this matter; and when you ſhall be 'ſatisfied, that the King had determined it before 'he reſolved who ſhould ſucceed, I will flatter 'myſelf that you will not be diſpleaſed, if you 'muſt have a ſucceſſor, that he ſhould be one, 'that can never have an intereſt different from your 'Grace: but as he muſt ever depend upon your aſſiſtance, protection, and advice, ſo he will make it 'his whole buſineſs to let you ſee, that he is moſt 'faithfully, and entirely,

'Your Grace's moſt humble,

'and obedient ſervant,

'ROCHESTER (7).'

(7) Carte, &c. No. CXXXI.

It muſt be obſerved, that the ſubject of this addreſs was become the more delicate for his Lordſhip to touch upon, as his eldeſt daughter had a few years before been married to his Grace's grandſon [afterwards Duke of Ormonde]. Accordingly, when the Earl wrote upon the twentieth following, for ſome advice relating to his behaviour in the government, he begs to know his Grace's ſentiments concerning the diſpoſal of the young couple, in caſe of their grandfather's removal to England (8). To this the Duke ſent an anſwer on the third of December, to which the Earl replied on the thirteenth of that month, acquainting his Grace, that ſeveral officers in the army were to be removed, the Council changed, and ſome powers of the Lord Lieutenant reſtrained (9). For theſe reaſons the Earl was in no great haſte to go to Ireland, in order to take upon him that government: he ſaw how the Duke of Ormonde's enemies had prevailed againſt him in his abſence (10), and was apprehenſive that he might loſe his own intereſt at Court by the like abſence. On this occaſion, he remembered a ſtory of the Duke of Buckingham, who was deſigned to go as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and received the compliments of all the Court upon that account except one old courtier, who he knew was much attached to him, and yet was entirely ſilent upon the ſubject. The Duke aſked how it came to paſs that he alone was ſilent, when all the world were expreſſing their good wiſhes to him? he replied, that his Grace always had his beſt wiſhes, but he differed from others in the ſenſe he had of that preferment. For as he was an old attendant upon Courts, he had never obſerved any man turn his back upon the Court, but

(8) Ibid. No. CXXXVI.

(9) Ibid. No. CCXXXVII.

(10) The Duke went to Ireland in Auguſt preceding. See his article.

white ſtaff was again put into the Earl of Rocheſter's hands by King James II. on the 16th of February the ſame year (*q*). July 22, 1685, he was inſtalled Knight of the Garter (*r*). He was likewiſe put into the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion (*s*); but afterwards endeavouring to prevent Tyrconnel's being made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, he found his intereſt with the King too weak to prevail in that point, and indeed ſcarce ſufficient to ſupport himſelf; for refuſing to comply with the King's requeſt to change his religion [C], he was obliged to reſign his commiſſion of Lord High-Treaſurer (*t*). However, in lieu thereof he had a penſion of 4000 l. a year aſſigned him out of the Poſt-Office (*u*) [D], which ſo much engaged him to the King, that he afterward went over to Holland to take care of his Majeſty's intereſt. At the Revolution, he concurred with the Lords in ſeveral acts during the adminiſtration of the inter-regnum; but in the Convention-Parliament, he warmly inſiſted upon the grand point of hereditary right, and, in conſequence of that principle, preſſed vehemently for a regent [E]. However, the vote declaring

(*q*) Id. ibid.

(*r*) Peerage of England, and Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*s*) Salmon, under the year 1686.

(*t*) Echard, p. 208.

(*u*) Ducheſs of Marlborough's Conduct, § 1. It was granted for his own life and that of his eldeſt ſon Henry, afterwards Earl of Clarendon and Rocheſter. Collins, in Peerage, Vol. II. edit. 1741, p. 304, ſays it was 5000 l.

he preſently caught cold in it. There were likewiſe ſome reſtraints to be put upon the Earl of Rocheſter, which he did not like. For he was not to have the nomination of the loweſt commiſſioned officer in the army, which was to be put under the command of a a Lieutenant-General to be particularly appointed; there were changes alſo to be made both in the civil and military officers, and probably in neither to his mind. It was intended in truth, to make a general alteration in all employments, which it was thought the Duke of Ormonde would not approve, and was therefore improper to be put under his direction. This was the very reaſon aſſigned by the King for his removal. This change, continues Mr Carte, ſeems to be calculated for the advantage of the Roman Catholicks, as appears from a paſſage in his Grace's letter of December 15, 1684, to Lord Arlington, and it was by their intereſt, that the Duke of Ormonde ſeems to have been now removed, as appears from another letter of December 19 following (11).

(11) Carte, Vol. II. p. 540.

[C] *Refuſing to comply with the King's requeſt to change his religion.*] Biſhop Burnet having obſerved, that the Earl's being put into the High-commiſſion Court, which he accepted with no good will, rendered him ſuſpected by thoſe who were no favourers of King James's proceedings, and his oppoſing Tyrconnel's being made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and ſome other ſteps in Council, laid him equally under the jealouſy and ſuſpicion of the Papiſts, proceeds in theſe terms: The latter put his Majeſty upon the experiment of trying his affection for the Church of Rome, who, from the many favours he had beſtowed on him, and the conſtant readineſs he had always ſhewn in his ſervice, thought he had ſufficient grounds to faſten that requeſt upon him. He told the King he was fully ſatisfied about his religion, but on his Majeſty's preſſing that he would hear his prieſts, he then deſired to have ſome of the Engliſh clergy preſent, to which the King conſented, only excepted Tillotſon and Stillingfleet, on which the Earl ſaid, he would take the chaplains in waiting (for the forms of the chaplains were ſtill kept up), which were Dr Patrick and Dr Jane. At the appointed time the prieſts began the taſk, and when they had done, the Earl ſaid, if they had nothing ſtronger to urge, he was ſure he could anſwer all he had heard; and without troubling Patrick and Jane, anſwered them with much heat and ſpirit, not without ſome ſcorn, ſaying, Were theſe the grounds to perſuade men to change their religion? whereupon the King, who was preſent, broke off the conference, charging all that were there, to ſay nothing of it, and ſoon after he [the Earl] loſt his white ſtaff (12).

(12) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 684.

[D] *He loſt the Treaſurer's ſtaff, but had a penſion.*] The following particular is a conſpicuous proof of his Lordſhip's œconomy in this poſt, and therefore well deſerves a place here, eſpecially as we have it from a writer who appears to have good authority for the facts advanced by him, whatever gloſſes he may have put upon thoſe facts, in a piece profeſſedly written in defence of a party. His words are theſe. 'Not long after (13) Miſs Jennings [afterwards Lady Churchill and Ducheſs of Marlborough] was taken into the ſervice of the Princeſs of Denmark, her Highneſs had the misfortune to find that her expences had exceeded her income between ſix and ſeven thouſand pounds, which they had never done before, and was forced to apply to her royal father (14) for that ſum, to enable her to diſcharge her debts, which he readily and chearfully complied with. The next year her highneſs fell into the like difficulty, was forced to make the like application and received the like indulgence: but was ſoon after ſurprized with a viſit from his Majeſty, ſo ſudden and unexpected, that Lady Churchill, and a certain other Lady of her Highneſs's Court, had but juſt time enough to hide themſelves in a cloſet adjoining; from whence they overheard the King charging his daughter with having *ſomebody about her*, for whoſe ſake ſhe plunged herſelf into theſe inconveniencies, and recommending to her a more exact œconomy for the future. To this the Princeſs made no reply but with her tears; and the King being withdrawn, Lady Churchill to pacify her for the preſent, and anſwer ſeveral other obvious ends, quitted the place of her concealment, with the following decent expreſſions in her mouth: *Oh Madam! all this is owing to that old R—— your uncle* (15).'

(13) It ſhould be ſome time after, for Miſs Jennings was in the Princeſs's ſervice when ſhe was married to Colonel Churchill in 1681. See the Duke of Marlborough's article.

(14) This fact is partly confirmed by the Princeſs's letter to Lady Marlborough, printed in the Account of the Conduct of the Ducheſs of M—, &c. p. 87. Lond. 1742, 8vo. where ſhe writes thus, *When we were firſt married we had but 20,000 l. a year* (and it is true, indeed, the King was ſo kind to pay my debts).

[E] *He inſiſted on the point of hereditary right, and preſſed for a regent.*] It is the remark of the laſt cited author in vindication of his Lordſhip's underſtanding, which had been unhandſomely made a jeſt of by the Ducheſs of Marlborough (16). That the Earl's noble defence of his great father when impeached, and conſcientious oppoſition of the *excluſion bill*, however unpopular, were equal proofs of his genius and his virtue; but the ſhrewd light in which he ſtated the Vote of Abdication in the general conference between the Lords and Commons, which left the moſt forward undertakers for our late deliverer without a reply, will for ever render his name venerable (17). In ſupport of this aſſertion, it is obſerved, That the Convention, which upon the Prince of Orange's letters, met on the 22d of Jan. 1688, having on the 28th of the ſame month come to the following reſolutions, viz. 'That 'King James II. having endeavoured to ſubvert the 'conſtitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original 'contract between King and people; and by the advice 'of Jeſuits and other wicked perſons, having violated 'the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himſelf out of 'the kingdom, had abdicated the government, and that 'the throne is thereby vacant:' The Lords concurred with this reſolution with amendments; for inſtead of the word *abdicated*, they put in *deſerted*, and quite left out that *the throne is thereby vacant*. This occaſioned a free conference between the Lords and Commons, and my Lord Rocheſter concluded the debate about the firſt amendment in theſe words. 'The Lords have 'given their reaſons why they firſt altered the word 'abdicated, becauſe it was a word not known in the 'Common-Law, and of doubtful ſignification: therefore it would be well, if the Commons would pleaſe 'to expreſs their own meaning by it. I believe my 'Lords would be induced to agree, that the King hath 'abdicated, that is, renounced the government for 'himſelf, if you mean no farther than that; and if 'you do ſo, why ſhould you not be pleaſed to explain 'yourſelves, that every one may know how the matter 'ſtands; and to preſerve a good correſpondence between the two Houſes in ſuch a juncture and conjunction as this. But if you don't mean any thing 'more by it, than abdicated for himſelf only, though 'their Lordſhips ſhould agree to the uſing of the word 'abdicated; yet this would prove a greater argument 'againſt their agreeing in the other point about *the* 'vacancy of the throne. Therefore we ſhould be glad 'to have you explain yourſelves, what you mean by 'it. Here there was a pauſe——And the Commons 'afterwards proceeding to the ſecond amendment, the 'Lords in the whole courſe of the debate ſhewed the 'great concern they had for the ſucceſſion of the 'Crown: and my Lord Rocheſter made it appear 'that he had that matter at heart as much as any

(15) The other ſide of the queſtion, &c. p. 47, 48. Lond. 1742, 8vo.

(16) See her Conduct, particularly § 1.

(17) The other ſide of the queſtion, &c. p. 95—98.

claring the vacancy of the throne being carried, he acquieſced in the new ſettlement (*w*). But the part he had acted drew on him a coldneſs from King William, and conſequently from Queen Mary, to whom he was ſo nearly allied; who was ſo poſſeſſed againſt him, that notwithſtanding he tried all his friends and intereſt in the Court to be admitted to clear himſelf and to recover her favour, he found her ſo alienated from him, that no perſon was willing to undertake it; inſomuch, that he was apprehenſive a ſtop would be put to his penſion (*x*). In this exigence he addreſſed himſelf to Biſhop Burnet [*F*], by whoſe means his fears were not only diſperſed, but he was received into a high degree of favour and confidence

(*w*) Burnet, Vol. II.

(*x*) Ibid. p. 118, 117.

them, as is evident from what follows. 'In a free 'conference, ſays his Lordſhip, the points in queſtion 'are fully to be debated; and the Lords in order to 'their agreement with the Commons, are to be ſatiſ-'fied what is meant, and how far it may extend.

'You gentlemen that are the managers for the 'Houſe of Commons, it ſeems come with a limited 'commiſſion, and *will not enter into that conſideration*, 'which (as our reaſons expreſs) hath a great weight 'with my Lords, whether this vote of the Commons 'will not make the monarchy of England, which 'has always heretofore been *hereditary*, to become 'elective.

'That the vacancy of the throne will infer ſuch a 'conſequence, to me appears very plain; and I take 'it from the argument that the laſt gentleman [mean-'ing Mr, afterward Lord, Somers] uſed for the word '*vacant*, out of the record of Richard the Second's 'time, that is cited for a precedent for that word. 'Since, as that is the only precedent, ſo it is attended 'with this very conſequence: For it being there de-'clared, that the royal ſeat was *vacant*, immediately 'did follow an election of Henry IV, who was not 'next in the right line. Did not then this hereditary 'monarchy in this inſtance become elective? when 'King Charles II. died, I would fain know, whether 'in our law the throne was vacant: no ſure, the 'next heir was immediately in the throne, and ſo it is 'in all hereditary ſucceſſive governments. Indeed in 'Poland, when the King dies there is a vacancy; 'becauſe there the laws know no certain ſucceſſor. 'So that the difference is plain, that wherever the 'monarchy is hereditary, upon the ceaſing of him in 'poſſeſſion the throne is not vacant; where 'tis elec-'tive, it is vacant.'

[*F*] *He addreſſed himſelf to Biſhop Burnet.*] This fact is produced in favour of the Biſhop by his ſon, who gives the following account of it. 'Some of the 'hardeſt treatment, ſays that author, he [the Biſhop] 'had met with in the two former reigns, had paſſed 'through the hands of the Earl of Rocheſter. No two 'men ever differed more widely in their principles 'both in Church and State, yet the firſt good office 'done that Earl with the King and Queen, after all 'other applications for introduction had failed, effec-'ted their intire reconciliation to him, and the firſt ad-'vantages he reaped from that reconciliation, were 'owing to the ſaid prelate.' In order to confirm and illuſtrate what is thus advanced, the ſame author has given us the copies of two letters, the originals of which he aſſerts to be in his hands. The firſt letter is from Lady Ranelagh to the Biſhop, in theſe terms.

'My Lord,

'Your Lordſhip knows, that by my Lord Roche-'ſter's deſiring me to help him to thank you, for your 'forwardneſs to do him favours with their Majeſties '(out of the ſenſe he had, that he ought to be more 'grateful for them, becauſe he had not at all deſerved 'them from your Lordſhip) he had informed me, that 'you had done him ſuch favours. And when, pur-'ſuant to his deſires, I began to give you humble 'thanks for him (who is a perſon in whom I can be 'very ſenſibly obliged), I told your Lordſhip, I was 'pleaſed in paying this duty, as much upon your ac-'count, as upon his Lordſhip's, as having endeavoured 'to conquer him by weapons fit to be uſed by one of 'your profeſſion and character, and I hoped he 'might be advantaged, as well by being gained by 'you, as by reaping good fruits of your mediations 'with their Majeſties. And now I preſent your Lord-'ſhip, in the incloſed, with what appears to me an evi-'dence, that my hopes of his making ingenuous re-'turns for your generous advances towards a friendſhip 'with him were not groundleſs; ſince he would ſure 'never have pitched upon you to manage an applica-'tion of his about an intereſt, wherein the viſible ſub-'ſiſtence of his family is ſo deeply concerned, if he did 'not firmly believe the reality of your intentions 'towards him, though he have no merits of his to-'wards you, or any thing elſe but your chriſtian be-'ginnings towards him to build that faith upon. Nor 'can he in my poor opinion give a clearer proof of his 'being already overcome by you, than in chuſing you 'to be the perſon, to whom he would in ſuch an inte-'reſt be obliged; ſince he thereby puts himſelf upon 'the peril of being faithfully your's, or a very unthank-'ful man; which I do ſo much aſſure myſelf, he will 'not be, that I humbly beg your Lordſhip to put this 'obligation upon him, to perfect what you have al-'ready begun to do for him of a like nature, and to 'the ſame royal perſon *; who would not, I think, 'act unbecoming herſelf, nor the eminent ſtation God 'hath placed her in, in aſſiſting five innocent children, 'who have the honour to be related to her royal mo-'ther, who did ſtill with great tenderneſs conſider her 'own family, when ſhe was moſt raiſed above it: eſ-'pecially when in aſſiſting them, her Majeſty will need 'only to concern herſelf to preſerve a property made 'theirs by the law of England, which as being a Queen 'of this kingdom, ſhe is obliged to maintain, &c.

* This paſſage ſeems to allude to the Earl's acting in the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, for which his pardon had probably been obtained by the Biſhop. See his Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I.

13 July, 1689.' 'K. RANELAGH.'

The incloſed letter here mentioned, was from the Earl, in the following terms.

'My Lord,

'The good offices your Lordſhip has told me you 'endeavoured to do me with the Queen of your own 'accord and generoſity, incline me to be deſirous to be 'obliged to your Lordſhip for the favour of preſenting 'the incloſed petition to her Majeſty Your Lordſhip 'will ſee, by the reading it, the occaſion and the ſub-'ject of it; and I am ſure I need not ſuggeſt any thing 'to your own kind thoughts to add at the delivery of 'it, ſave only this, which I thought not proper to 'touch in the petition, that I have certainly as 'good a title in law to it, as any man has to any thing 'he poſſeſſes; as likewiſe that the penſion is appoint-'ed to be paid out of a part of the revenue, which 'never was deſtined by any act of parliament for any 'public uſe of the government, which I think has 'ſomething of weight and reaſon to diſtinguiſh it from 'thoſe penſions, that are placed on the more public 'branches of the revenue.

'I know not whether the Queen can do me any good 'in this affair, but I will believe her Majeſty cannot 'but wiſh ſhe could. However, I think I ſhould 'have been very wanting to my children, if I had not 'laid this caſe moſt humbly before her Majeſty; leaſt 'at one time or other ſhe herſelf might ſay, I had 'been too negligent in not making application to her; 'which having now done, I leave the reſt with all poſ-'ſible ſubmiſſion to her own judgment, and to the re-'flections that ſome good natured moments may incline 'her to make towards my family. I would ſay a great 'deal to your Lordſhip for my own confidence in ad-'dreſſing this to your Lordſhip, ſome paſſages of my 'life having been ſuch as may very properly give it 'that name; but I think, whatever you would be con-'tent to hear on that ſubject, will be better expreſſed 'by the perſon, who does me the honour to deliver 'this to your Lordſhip, from,

'My Lord,

'Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient,

July 13, 1689. 'humble ſervant,

'ROCHESTER (18).'

(18) Life of Biſhop Burnet, ſubjoined to the 2d volume of the Hiſtory of his own Times, p. 700, 701, 702.

[*G*] *He*

confidence with her Majeſty; and making uſe of the ſame mediation [G] in the behalf of his brother the Earl of Clarendon, in 1690 he obtained his pardon, and on the firſt of March 1691-2 he was taken into the Privy-Council (y). Some time after, the Queen greatly reſenting the Princeſs of Denmark's conduct, in continuing Lady Marlborough in her ſervice, notwithſtanding her Lord's diſgrace, the Earl of Rocheſter, their uncle, heartily intereſted himſelf in endeavouring to procure a reconciliation between the two ſiſters [H]. But the King was never brought thoroughly to confide in him, 'till the

(y) Wood, ubi ſupra.

[G] *He made uſe of the ſame mediation.*] We are obliged to the author quoted in the preceding remark for the following letters, who introduces them with this prefatory account: That 'when the Earl of Clarendon was unhappily engaged in the conſpiracy againſt the government in 1690, and ſome hotter whigs were for the ſevereſt methods, the Biſhop [Burnet] became a hearty and ſucceſsful advocate in his favour, as appears from the two enſuing letters of Lord Rocheſter to the Biſhop.'

'My Lord,

Upon what account ſoever it is, that your Lordſhip is pleaſed to let me hear from you, I take it to be ſome thing of good fortune, whatever ill cauſe there may be in it too. Therefore I humbly thank your Lordſhip for the honour of your's of the 18th from Saliſbury, which was ſent me to this pretty place where I love to be, as much as you do at your palace. And though I cannot do ſo much good to others as your Lordſhip does to all that are near you, yet I do more to myſelf, than I can do any where elſe.

Quid ſentire putas, quid credis amice precari.
Sit mihi quod nunc eſt, etiam minus, ut mihi vivam
Quod ſupereſt ævi.

Forgive this tranſgreſſional rapture, and accept my thanks, which I pay your Lordſhip for your kind letter: for indeed I do take it very kindly, that you were ſo much concerned, as to give me a kind hint of that unſeaſonable diſcourſe, you came to be acquainted with, when you were laſt in London. I will make the beſt uſe of it I can to prevent the like for the future, if I have any credit; and in the mean time, I muſt make uſe of this opportunity to calm and ſoften your reſentments toward this friend of mine, as you call him in the beginning of your letter. I will allow *you*, as a ſervant to the King and Queen, and a ſubject to their crown, to have as great a deteſtation of the contrivance, as you can wiſh; and upon my word I can accompany you in it. But when I conſider you as once you were a concerned friend of this Lord, to have a reſpect for his family, and particularly my father, who loſt not only all the honours and preferments in this world, but even the comforts of it too, for the integrity and uprightneſs of his heart, you muſt forgive me, if I conjure you by all that's ſacred in this generation, in which we live together, by the character that you bear, and by the religion you profeſs, that you don't (as much as in you lies) ſuffer this next heir of my good father's name and honour, to go down with ſorrow to the grave. I would not flatter myſelf, that your Lordſhip could be moved with any fondneſs of mine, to endeavour to bring to paſs what is not fit for a wife and good man to propoſe, that would be to make a very ill uſe of your friendſhip to me; and I had rather be corrected myſelf in my own deſires, than expoſe your Lordſhip on ſuch an account; but I hope that thoſe who are the ſupreme directors in this matter under God, may in their great wiſdom judge, that it may prove as much to their honour and ſafety too, to paſs over this particular, as if they ſhould purſue the ſtricteſt meaſures of juſtice in it. Though I am a brother, if I did not upon the greateſt reflection I can make, think I ſhould be of the ſame opinion, if I were none, I would not preſs this matter upon you; for I cannot but think, that the Queen would do ſomewhat, and would be very glad to avow it too, for the memory of that gentleman ſo long in his grave. It is upon this account I am begging of your Lordſhip to do all that is poſſible to preſerve every part and branch and member of his family, from the leaſt tranſient ſtain of infamy and reproach. And if God was prevailed with by Abraham to ſave a whole city for the ſake of ten righteous men; I hope there may be as charitable an inclination to ſpare the *debris* of our broken family, for the ſake of him who was the raiſer of it.

I aſk your Lordſhip's pardon for being thus importunate, for I have great need of your help, and I hope I ſhall have it from you. Loſſes of many and good friends I have borne, and ſubmitted with patience to the pleaſure of Almighty God, but a calamity of this nature that I now deprecate, has in it ſomething ſo frightful, and on ſome accounts ſo unnatural, that I beg you for God's ſake, from any angry man yourſelf, grow an advocate for me, and for the family on this account.

I am ever, my Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt faithful,

New Park, March 21, 1690-91. humble ſervant,

ROCHESTER.'

His Lordſhip having received a very obliging anſwer to this letter, wrote a ſecond time to the Biſhop, as follows:

'My Lord,

I was warm, I confeſs, in the laſt letter I gave your Lordſhip the trouble of, and I thank you for reproving the vehemency of my ſtile in your laſt of the 28th. I am grown cooler, and acknowledge my fault; neither did I commit it with any apprehenſion that your Lordſhip was inexorable, or that it would be ſo much as needful to deſire your aſſiſtance. You may remember, you had ſaid a word to me when you were here, an *attainder*, that I acknowledge ſounded very harſh to me; and when I had reflected a little more upon it, as likewiſe that your Lordſhip did not uſe to ſpeak by chance, and conſequently that you had good grounds for what you ſaid; I own it heated me all over, which made me expreſs my thoughts to you with more tranſport than was fit; and I will ſay no more of them, for fear of running into new exceſſes. What your Lordſhip propoſes for my Lord Clarendon to deſire, is perfectly agreeable to my mind; but I know not, whether it be not a little too early, and that ſuch a petition would be preſented with a better grace, if he were once out of the Tower upon bail, than it would be, while he is under this cloſe confinement. ——— But, as your Lordſhip ſays, the affair of *Mons* muſt for the preſent put a ſtop to every man's private thoughts, for that is a matter of ſuch vaſt importance to the public, that it is but very fit that all particular conſiderations ſhould give way to it, and wait the determination of that great point. ——[In proceeding, he takes notice of Lady Ranelagh's kindneſs to him, and concludes thus] I owe her many obligations. I am ſorry to ſee how little I can return, when there is moſt need of ſerving her *. Among all her favours, one that I ſhall never forget, was her deſire and endeavours not only to renew for me the acquaintance I formerly had with your Lordſhip, but to knit it cloſer into a friendſhip, in which I am always to own your Lordſhip's ready concurrence; and I hope I ſhall not fail as faithfully to perform all the part that belongs to,

* She lay then very dangerouſly ill of a fever.

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt faithful,

April 2, 1691. and humble ſervant,

ROCHESTER (19)

(19) Ibid. p. 702—705.

[H] *He endeavoured to reconcile the two ſiſters.*] A ſpecimen has been already given of Lady Marlborough's diſpoſition toward his Lordſhip (20). The original cauſe of it is diſcovered by herſelf. H[illegible] Lordſh[illegible]

(20) In remark [D].

the jealouſies he entertained of his principles were removed by Mr Robert Harley afterwards Earl of Oxford (z), through whoſe means he was made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in

(z) Boyer's Life of Queen Anne, in the appendix. p. 57. and Burnet, Vol. II. p. 280.

Lordſhip had warmly oppoſed her coming into the Princeſs of Denmark's family. His Lordſhip likewiſe upon her huſband's diſgrace, ſhewed himſelf very deſirous to have her removed thence (21), a behaviour which muſt needs be extremely reſented by her Ladyſhip; and took an opportunity of ſhewing it many years afterwards by an abuſive miſrepreſentation of his Lordſhip's conduct in regard to the ſubject of the preſent remark, his endeavours to reconcile the two royal ſiſters. However, his Lordſhip's memory quickly found an advocate who has done him plenary juſtice in this point. But as the expreſs deſign of that author was to erect an exact counter-battery to that of her Grace, perhaps in the opinion that it was neceſſary to bend the tree as much the contrary way, in order to reduce it to a due rectitude (22), we ſhall endeavour here, to give the true out-line of his Lordſhip's conduct on this occaſion. In this view it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that there had been ſome heart-burnings between theſe royal perſonages, from the time of Queen Mary's acceſſion to the throne, which were much inflamed by the incident of the Princeſs's allowance of 50,000 l. a year ſettled by Parliament in 1690. After the vote had paſſed in the Commons, the Ducheſs tells us ſhe conſulted Lord Rocheſter whether her highneſs ſhould try for more, to which his anſwer was, That he *thought not only that the Princeſs ought to be ſatisfied with* 50,000 *l. but that ſhe ought to have taken it in any way the King and Queen pleaſed.* Her Grace imputes this anſwer to his Lordſhip's making his court at this time to the Queen (23). That he was at that time deſirous to teſtify a particular reſpect to the Queen, has been already ſhewn, as well as his motives thereto, in the two preceding remarks. However, conſidering the intire regard he had for the Princeſs and all her intereſts, it ſeems more probable that this anſwer was the immediate effect of a lively reſentment at the imprudence and unreaſonableneſs of the queſtion, which no doubt was ſharpned too, both by the natural warmth of his temper, and an extreme concern to ſee the minion's preſumption. But the event which ſeparated the two ſiſters, ſo as never to be cloſed, was the viſit made to her Majeſty by the Princeſs, with Lady Marlborough in her retinue, during the time of that Lord's diſgrace at Court. Upon which the Queen the next day wrote to her ſiſter the following letter.

(22) The piece is intituled, The other Side of the Queſtion, &c. printed the ſame year with the Ducheſs's conduct.

(23) Conduct of the Ducheſs of Marlborough, &c. p. 37.

Kenſington, Friday the 5th of February.

'Having ſomething to ſay to you, which I know will not be very pleaſing I chuſe rather to write it firſt, being unwilling to ſurprize you, though I think what I am going to tell you, if you give yourſelf the time to think, that never any body was ſuffered to live at Court in my Lord Marlborough's circumſtances; I need not repeat the cauſe he has given the King to do what he has done, nor his unwillingneſs at all times to come to ſuch extremities, though people do deſerve it.

I hope you do me the juſtice to believe it is as much againſt my will, that I now tell you, that after this, it is very unfit that Lady Marlborough ſhould ſtay with you, ſince that gives her huſband ſo juſt a pretence of being where he ought not.

I think I might have expected you ſhould have ſpoke to me of it, and the King and I both believing it, made us ſtay thus long. But ſeeing you was ſo far from it, that you brought Lady Marlborough hither laſt night, makes us reſolve to put it off no longer, but tell you, ſhe muſt not ſtay; and that I have all the reaſon imaginable to look upon your bringing her, as the ſtrangeſt thing that ever was done. Nor could all my kindneſs for you, (which is ever ready to turn all you do the beſt way) at any other time have hindred me ſhewing it you that moment; but I conſidered your condition, and that made me maſter it ſo far as not to [illegible] it then.

[illegible] I muſt tell you, it was very unkind in a [illegible] would have been very uncivil in an equal, and I [illegible] ſay I have more to claim. Which though [illegible] would make me never exact, yet when I [illegible] you would make of it, I muſt tell you, I [illegible] what is due to me, and expect to have it from [illegible] upon that account I tell you plainly, Lady Marlborough muſt not continue with you in the circumſtances her Lord is.

I know this will be uneaſy to you, and I am ſorry for it, and it is very much ſo to me to ſay all this to you, for I have all the real kindneſs imaginable for you, and as I ever have, ſo I will always do my part to live with you as ſiſters ought. That is, not only like ſo near relations, but like friends. And as ſuch I did think to write to you, for I would have made myſelf believe your kindneſs for her made you at firſt forget *that* you ſhould have for the King and me, and reſolved to put you in mind of it myſelf, neither of us being willing to come to harſher ways.

But the ſight of Lady Marlborough having changed my thoughts, does naturally alter my ſtile. And ſince by that I ſee how little you ſeem to conſider what in common civility you owe us, I have told it you plainly; but withal aſſure you, that let me have never ſo much reaſon to take any thing ill of you, my kindneſs is ſo great, that I can paſs over moſt things, and live with you, as becomes me. And I deſire to do ſo, merely from that motive. For I do love you as my ſiſter, and nothing but yourſelf can make me do otherwiſe, and that is the reaſon I chuſe to write this rather than tell it you, that you may overcome your firſt thoughts; and when you have well conſidered, you will find, that though the thing be hard (which I again aſſure you I am ſorry for), yet it is not unreaſonable, but what has ever been practiſed, and what you yourſelf would do, were you in my place.

I will end this with once more deſiring you to conſider the matter impartially, and take time for it. I do not deſire an anſwer preſently, becauſe I would not have you give a raſh one. I ſhall come to your drawing-room to-morrow before you play, becauſe you know why I cannot make one: at ſome other time we ſhall reaſon the buſineſs calmly; which I will willingly do, or any thing elſe that may ſhew, it ſhall never be my fault, if we do not live kindly together: nor will I ever be other by choice, but,

Your truly loving,

and affectionate ſiſter,

M. B. (24).' (24) Ibid. p. 44, & ſeq.

To this letter the Princeſs returned the following anſwer.

'Your Majeſty was in the right to think your letter would be very ſurprizing to me. For you muſt needs be ſenſible enough of the kindneſs I have for Lady Marlborough, to know that a command from you to part with her, muſt be the greateſt mortification in the world to me, and indeed of ſuch a nature, as I might well have hoped your kindneſs to me would have always prevented. I am ſatisfied ſhe cannot have been guilty of any fault to you. And it would be extreamly to her advantage, if I could here repeat every word ſhe had ſaid to me of you in her whole life. I confeſs it is no ſmall addition to my trouble, to find the want of your Majeſty's kindneſs to me upon this occaſion; ſince I am ſure I have always endeavoured to preſerve it by all the actions of my life.

Your care of my preſent condition is extremely obliging, and if you would be pleaſed to add to it ſo far, as upon my account to re-call your ſevere command (as I muſt beg leave to call it in a matter ſo tender to me, and ſo little reaſonable as I think, to be impoſed upon me, that you would ſcarce require it from the meaneſt of your ſubjects) I ſhould ever acknowledge it as a very agreeable mark of your kindneſs to me; and I muſt as freely own, that as I think this proceeding can be for no other intent than to give me a very ſenſible mortification; ſo there is no miſery that I cannot readily reſolve to ſuffer, rather than the thoughts of parting with her. If after all this that I have ſaid, I muſt ſtill find myſelf ſo unhappy as to be farther preſſed in this matter; yet your Majeſty may be aſſured, that as my paſt actions have given the greateſt teſtimony of my reſpect both for the King and you, ſo it ſhall always be my endeavour, wherever I am,

in 1700*. He was poſſeſſed of that important poſt † and of the favour of Queen Anne on her acceſſion to the throne; but being ordered to his government of Ireland, he declined it,

* He went over to Ireland that year, but made a ſhort ſtay. Burnet, p. 291.

† King William, ſome weeks before his death, had ſent to diſmiſs him, but it was not executed. Ibid. p. 343.

am, to preſerve it carefully for the time to come, as becomes,

Your Majeſty's

very affectionate ſiſter,

From the Cockpit, Feb. 6, 1692 (25). and ſervant,

ANNE.

(25) This letter is alſo given by the Ducheſs, who likewiſe obſerves that the viſit was made about three weeks after her Lord's removal; whence that diſgrace muſt have happened about the middle of January, 1692, a circumſtance which the reader is deſired to ſupply in the Duke's article, in Vol. II. p. 1339.

Lord Rocheſter was pitched upon as the propereſt perſon to carry this inflaming letter to the Queen, but he declined the office, and therein gave a moſt conſpicuous proof of his affectionate regard to both his nieces, and of his ſincere deſire to ſee them reconciled, nothing being more notorious than that this addreſs was dictated by no healing ſpirit. Accordingly it was ſoon followed by another, declaring the Princeſs's reſolution to remove herſelf from the Cockpit, in order to avoid complying with the Queen's command. The letter was as follows.

'I am very ſorry to find that all I have ſaid myſelf, 'and my Lord Rocheſter for me, has not had effect 'enough to keep your Majeſty from perſiſting in a re'ſolution, which you are ſatisfied muſt be ſo great a 'mortification to me, as to avoid it, I ſhall be obliged 'to retire; and deprive myſelf of the ſatisfaction of 'living, where I might have frequent opportunities of 'aſſuring you of that duty and reſpect, which I always 'have been, and ſhall be deſirous to pay you upon all 'occaſions.

'My only conſolation in this extremity is, that 'not having done any thing in all my life to deſerve 'your unkindneſs, I hope I ſhall not be long under 'the neceſſity of abſenting myſelf from you: the 'thought of which is ſo uneaſy to me, that I find my'ſelf too much indiſpoſed to give your Majeſty any 'further trouble at this time.'

We ſee here the Princeſs expreſsly acknowledging the good offices of her uncle in her behalf to the Queen; and what follows, will ſhew that he perſevered in thoſe good offices. The Princeſs being delivered, at Sion-houſe, of a child which died ſoon after the birth; and ſignifying the ſame in a reſpectful manner to the Queen, her Majeſty was prevailed with by his Lordſhip in return, to ſend word that ſhe would go that afternoon and ſee the Princeſs at Sion, and ſhe was there very ſoon after the notice arrived. And though no good effect followed from this viſit, wherein her Majeſty again inſiſted on her firſt demand; yet ſurely it was an advance on the Queen's ſide, and conſequently a proof of the uncle's good intentions to her ſiſter. But the ſincerity of theſe intentions ſeem to have been ſuſpected, for upon the Princeſs's recovery, when this viſit was to be returned, ſhe employed Biſhop Stillingfleet inſtead of Lord Rocheſter to carry the letter.

Her letter of annunciation.

To the Queen.

Sion, the 20th of May.

I have now, God be thanked, recovered my ſtrength well enough to go abroad, and though my duty and inclination would both lead me to wait upon your Majeſty, as ſoon as I am able to do it, yet I have of late had the misfortune of being ſo much under your Majeſty's diſpleaſure, as to apprehend there may be hard conſtructions made, upon any thing I either do or not do with the moſt reſpectful intentions; and I am in doubt, whether the ſame arguments that have prevailed with your Majeſty to forbid people from ſhewing their uſual reſpects to me (26), may not be carried ſo much further, as not to permit me to pay my duty to you. That I acknowledge would be a great increaſe of affliction to me; and nothing but your Majeſty's own command ſhall ever willingly make me ſubmit to it. For whatever reaſon I may think in my own mind I have to complain of being hardly uſed, yet I will ſtrive to hide it as much as poſſible; and though I will not pretend to live at the *Cockpit*, unleſs you would be ſo kind as to make it eaſy to me, yet wherever I am, I will endeavour always to give the conſtant marks of duty and reſpect, which I have in my heart for your Majeſty, as becomes,

(26) All company had been forbid waiting on the Princeſs, and her Guards had been alſo taken away. Ducheſs of Marlborough's Conduct, p. 75.

Your Majeſty's

very affectionate ſiſter

and ſervant,

ANNE.

The anſwer returned by the Queen, manifeſts the higheſt reſentment in theſe terms.

To the Princeſs.

'I have received your's by the Biſhop of Worceſter, 'and have very little to ſay to it, ſince you cannot but 'know, that as I never uſed compliments, ſo now they 'will not ſerve.

''Tis none of my fault, we live at this diſtance, and 'I have endeavoured to ſhew my willingneſs to do 'otherwiſe, and I will do no more. Don't give your'ſelf any unneceſſary trouble: for be aſſured it is not 'words can make us live together as we ought. You 'know what I required of you, and I now tell you, if 'you doubted it before, that I cannot change my mind, 'but expect to be complied with, or you muſt not 'wonder if I doubt of your kindneſs. You can give 'me no other marks that will ſatisfy me. Nor can I 'put any other conſtruction upon your actions, than 'what all the world muſt do, that ſees them. Theſe 'things don't hinder me being very glad to hear you 'are ſo well, and wiſhing you may continue ſo; 'and that you may yet, while 'tis in your power, 'oblige me to be,

'Your affectionate ſiſter,

'MARIE R.'

This was indeed rigid and arbitrary (27), and the effect which it produced was natural, a fixed reſolution in the Princeſs not to ſubmit to it. No doubt there was faults on both ſides as is uſual in ſuch differences; and if the Queen was governed therein by her conſort, the Princeſs was not leſs ſpirited up by her favourite, who, as we have ſeen, having got the ſole poſſeſſion, had prevailed upon her to exclude her uncle from her councils, a fact which is far from being denied by the Ducheſs, and was much reſented by the Earl, who did not ſpare to expreſs it (if indeed he did write (28)) to the Princeſs in the following terms.

(27) That 'tis ſaid was the Princeſs's expreſſion concerning it. Ibid. § 1. where both the preceding letters may be ſeen, as alſo the following.

(28) How came her Grace by this letter? is a query put into *The other Side of the Queſtion*, p. 114.

'Madam,

'I am afraid I may be guilty of too great preſumption in giving your Royal Highneſs the trouble of a 'letter; but I do it with ſo good intentions, that I 'hope you can't be angry with me for it. And now 'that one is unhappily reſtrained from the honour of 'waiting upon your Royal Highneſs, there is no other 'way but this to make an offer of my humble duty to 'you. It is a very uncomfortable reflection for me to 'make, that being ſo really concerned as I am ſure I 'am for your Royal Highneſs's happineſs, I ſhould 'be ſo unfortunate as to be wholly uſeleſs to you at a 'time, when your Royal Highneſs cannot but think 'yourſelf, that you have uſe of every body, that are 'truly and faithfully your ſervants. And however, I 'have been ſo miſtaken in my judgment, as to have 'never offered any thing to your Highneſs worth 'your approbation; I do, with all humility, ſubmit 'my poor opinion to that of your Royal Highneſs, but 'beg you to believe it is not flattery to any body elſe, 'nor any other conſideration that has made me be of 'the mind I was, but only the want of a better under'ſtanding, to be able to think of ſomething more for 'your ſervice; and being thus incapable of m[illegible] to 'propoſe any thing that is agreeable to you, I ta[illegible] all 'occaſion humbly to offer to your Royal High[illegible] all 'the little ſervice, you may judge me fit to [illegible]em 'ployed in, and moſt earneſtly to beſeech you t[illegible] be'lieve, that if I can be of any uſe in the world t[illegible] your 'Royal Highneſs, there is nothing that I wou[illegible] en-

(*a a*) Burnet, Vol. II. p. 340, 341. who tells us, he was uneasy at the preference the Duke of Marlborough had in the Queen's confidence.

* He likewise made a speech in Parliament that year, to shew [illegible] the Church was in [illegible] Boyer, p. 2[illegible].

it, and thereupon was difmiffed from all his employments (*a a*) [*I*]. From that time he put himfelf at the head of thofe who were called the High-Church party, and, among other inftances of his zeal for that caufe, ftrenuoufly fupported the occafional conformity-bill; he alfo propofed to bring over the Princefs Sophia in 1705*, and oppofed the Regency-bill that year, and the Union-bill in 1707; which gave his oppofers a fair opportunity to keep him from Court, 'till the fame perfon who reconciled him to King William, did him the like good office with the Queen, upon the change of the miniftry in 1710, when he was made Lord-Prefident of the Council; and it was faid that her Majefty defigned him again for the poft of Lord-Treafurer, if his death had not prevented it (*b b*). He died fuddenly May 2, 1711, and was interred in Weftminfter-abbey (*c c*). His character, as is drawn by Bifhop Burnet, may be feen below [*K*]. His Lordfhip married Henrietta, the fifth daughter of Richard

(*b b*) Boyer, in the appendix, p. 57.

(*c c*) Collins's Peerage, edit. 1741, under Hyde.

'deavour with greater fatisfaction to myfelf, than at 'this time to exprefs the great concern I prefume to fay 'I have for your Royal Highnefs, by any thing that 'I can do for your fervice. And if any thing I have 'taken the confidence to fay be worth your taking 'notice of, the leaft fignification of your pleafure will 'bring me at all times to receive the honour of your 'commands, and the duty and zeal and paffion I have 'for your true intereft and profperity, will, I hope, 'make fome amends for the want of a better judgment 'and capacity, which I acknowledge every body has 'a greater fhare of than,

'Madam,

'Your Royal Highnefs's

'moft obedient, and moft

'dutiful fervant,

'ROCHESTER.'

To this his Lordfhip received the following anfwer from the Princefs.

To the Earl of Rochefter.

'I give you many thanks for the compliments and 'expreffions of fervice, which you make me in 'your letter; which I fhould be much better pleafed 'with than I am, if I had any reafon to think them 'fincere.

'It is a great mortification to me, to find that I 'fhall continue under the misfortune of the Queen's 'difpleafure. I had hopes, in time, the occafion of it 'would have appeared as little reafonable to the 'Queen, as it has always done to me. And if you 'would have perfuaded me of the fincerity of your in-'tentions, as you feem to defire, you muft give me 'leave to fay, I cannot think it very hard for you to 'convice me of it by the effects. And 'till then I 'muft beg leave to be excufed, if I am apt to think 'this great mortification which has been given me, 'cannot have proceeded from the Queen's own tem-'per; who I am perfuaded, is both more juft in her-'felf than that comes to, as well as more kind to

'Your very affectionate friend,

'ANNE.'

The Earl had the point of a reconciliation too much at heart, to fuffer himfelf to be moved from it by the fevere reflections thrown upon him in this letter. He was very fenfible from what quiver all thofe fhafts were taken, and therefore without laying them to the charge of his niece, who he knew was endued with as much native goodnefs as ever fell to the fhare of a woman, proceeded to make yet another attempt, in order if poffible to heal a breach, in which the reputation of the family was fo deeply concerned. In this view, laying hold of the laft words in his niece's letter, he intimated to fome of her family, that *if her Highnefs would difcharge Lady Marlborough, he was perfuaded the Queen would in fome time be prevailed upon to let her take that favourite again.* The Princefs in compliance herewith, fent her uncle's propofal to the Queen, affuring her, that *from what his Lordfhip had faid, fhe had been flattering herfelf, fhe had miftaken her Majefty's laft words; and that if fhe might hope his Lordfhip had any ground for his opinion, fhe fhould be very ready to give her Majefty any fatisfaction of that fort.* But we are told, that upon the delivery of this meffage, the Queen fell into a great paffion and faid, *her fifter had not miftaken her, for fhe never would fee her upon any other terms, than parting with Lady Marlborough, not for a time, but for ever*; adding, *that fhe was a Queen, and would be obeyed* (29). So peremptory an anfwer put an end to all further thoughts of a mediation; wherein however, notwithftanding his Lordfhip's ill fuccefs, yet his fincerity and real affection for both the royal fifters, after what has been faid, will I fuppofe be hardly called in queftion.

(29) Ibid.

[*I*] *He was removed from all his employments.*] The laft remark, difcovered his Lordfhip's quarrel with the Marlborough family, and likewife the original caufe thereof, viz. a rivalfhip in the affections of his niece. This difgrace was the effect of that rivalfhip, the weight of which his Lordfhip was made to feel on all occafions as long as it prevailed. Another remarkable inftance of it, befides that mentioned above, was the refufing to make the Lady Dalkeith, his daughter, a lady of the bed-chamber, on the death of Lady Charlotte Beverwaert. Thofe places were in the difpofal of Lady Marlborough, who had been made groom of the ftole to the Queen upon her acceffion to the Throne. His Lordfhip therefore, out of that tender regard which he always fhewed for his children, applied on this occafion to that Lady; who having obferved, that the letter was (as fhe archly expreffes it) a *very fine piece*, proceeds to exprefs the greatnefs of her furprize; thanks God for her own pronenefs to forgive her enemies; renews her charge againft his Lordfhip of having perfecuted her without a caufe; declares that want of bread could not have induced her to afk a favour of one fhe had injured; and having flid in by way of reflection— *But furely his Lordfhip had fomething very uncommon in his temper*, concludes thus: 'As to my Lord Rochefter's requeft in behalf of my Lady Dalkeith it 'could not be granted; becaufe in reality there was 'no vacancy. The Queen had refolved to have no 'more than ten Ladies, and the number was complete. 'There had indeed been eleven for fome fhort time, 'but this had been occafioned by the Duchefs of Somer-'fet's declining to accept one of thefe places, when 'it was offered her at the fettling of the Queen's fa-'mily, and foon after defiring to have it, when they 'were all filled. As fhe was the firft Proteftant Duchefs 'of England, I perfuaded the Queen to be pleafed in 'compliment to her Grace, to have eleven ladies for 'the little time Lady Charlotte Beverwaert had to 'live, who was then irrecoverably ill; fo that when 'her Majefty complied, it was, with full purpofe, 'that the number of her Ladies fhould be only 'ten after Lady Charlotte's death (30).' To this account it is replied on his Lordfhip's behalf in thefe terms. 'Thus it appears, the Queen could recede 'from her fyftem at your Grace's perfuafion in favour 'of the firft Duchefs, but not in favour of her firft 'coufin without it. But this, Madam, is only your 'way of telling your ftory. According to others, 'Lady Dalkeith was rejected for fear the Marlborough 'family fhould be oppofed in the bed-chamber, as well 'as in the cabinet, by that of the Queen (31). 'The only general ufe that can be made of this detail, is to remind the reader of thefe two things, viz. That the Duchefs of Somerfet's hufband had given his vote in Council, agreeable to the projects of Lord Marlborough, and Lady Dalkeith's father had oppofed them (32). We fhall conclude this remark with obferving that the oppofition continued as long as Lord Rochefter lived, and thereby he acquired the title, as his father had done, of being The Guardian of the Church (33).

(30) Ibid. § 2. p. 146.

(31) The other Side, &c. p. 180.

(32) His Lordfhip propofed to profecute the war not by land but by fea, as our proper element. See the fubftance of his fpeech in the laft cited piece, from p. 171 to p. 174.

(33) See a letter of the Duke's, dated Grametz, Octob. 1706, and another of the Duchefs, in her Account, ubi fupra, as alfo in the other Side of The Queftion, p. 273, & feq. and p. 279, & feq.

[*K*] *His character by Bifhop Burnet.*] This is as follows, that he was a man of great parts, and of a good head, but fpoke not gracefully. He was thought the fmootheft man in the Court, and during all the difpute concerning

Richard Boyle Earl of Burlington and Cork, who dying April 12, 1687, was interred also in Westminster-abbey, having brought one son, Henry, who succeeded to the honour and estate, and four daughters (*dd*), of whom we shall give an account in remark [*L*].

(*dd*) Ibid.

cerning his father, made his court so dextrously, that no resentment ever appeared on that head. When he came to business and rose to high posts he grew violent, but was thought an incorrupt man. He had high notions of government, and thought it must be maintained with great severity, he delivered up his own sentiments to his party that he might lead them: he passed for a sincere man, and seemed to have too much heat to be false (34). Another author observes, that he was not only of the most refined judgment and capacity as a statesman, but otherways of great abilities and exemplary morals, which rendered him acceptable even to those of a contrary interest (35) [as for instance, to Bishop Burnet].

(34) History of *his* own Times, Vol. I. p. 258.

(35) Collins, in the Peerage, under his article. edit. 1741.

[*L*] *An account of his children.*] The names of his daughters were *Anne*, Henrietta, Mary, and Katharine. Anne the eldest, born in 1665, was married at seventeen years of age to James Earl of Offory, grandson and heir to the Duke of Ormond. Her marriage being proposed by the Duke of York, was readily consented to. The young lady's fortune was 15000 l. she was very pretty and agreeable in her person, had abundance of vivacity, a great deal of ready wit, and an excellent temper, and the marriage was solemnized on Thursday July 15, 1682, in Burlington-house chapel (36). The young couple were taken by the Duke of Ormond soon after to Ireland, where in the beginning of November 1684, the Countess began to be troubled with vapours and fainting fits, however she was not thought to be with child, but it proved so, and she died of a miscarriage, in January 1684, at Dublin, and was buried Jan. 27, at Christ-Church in that city. Some fancies might probably contribute to her miscarriage, for she was very superstitious, as to thirteen people sitting at table. A little before her death, Dr Hough [afterwards Bishop of Worcester] was going to sit down, when observing that he made the thirteenth, he stopt short, and declined taking his place †. She immediately guessed the reason, and said, *Sit down, Doctor, 'tis now too late, 'tis the same thing if you stay or go away.* The Doctor believed it affected her; as likewise another passage, which being related in a different manner, it may'nt be improper here to correct the mistake of that relation. About the time of the death of Mary Countess of Kildare, who was daughter to Katharine Baroness of Clifton, married first to Donald Lord O-Brian, and afterwards to Sir Joseph Williamson; the Countess of Offory, then not above seventeen, dreamt, that this lady came and knocked at the door; and that calling to her servants to see who was there, and no-body answering, she went to the door herself, and opening it, saw a lady with her face muffled up in a hood, who drawing it aside, she perceived it was the Lady Kildare——Upon this she cried, *Sister, is it you? What makes you come in this manner?* don't be frighted, replied she, for I come on a very serious affair, and it is to tell you, that you will die very soon, such was her dream; and this is all the story, as the young lady related it herself to the Bishop of Worcester. What is added in the history of apparitions is all a fiction (37). In that history, the story is told from Aubrey's Miscellanies in the following terms: 'Two persons, ladies of quality, both not long since deceased, were intimate acquaintance, and loved each other intirely. It happened that one of them falling sick of the small-pox, desired mightily to see the other, who refused to come for fear of catching the distemper. The afflicted lady at last dies, and had not been buried very long before she appeared at the other's house in the dress of a widow, and asks for her friend, who being then at cards, sends down her woman to know her business, but was told by the other, she must impart it to none but her Lady. She hearing this answer, bid her woman have her into a room, and desire her to stay 'till the game was over, when she would wait on her. The game being done, down stairs she came to the apparition to know her business, *Madam*, says the ghost, turning upon her, with her face full of the small-pox, *You know very well that you and I loved intirely, and your not coming to see me, I took so ill at your hands, that I could not rest, 'till I had seen you; and now I am come to tell you, that you have not long to live, therefore prepare to die; and when you are at a visit, and make the thirteenth person, then remember my words;* and so the apparition vanished. To conclude, she was at a visit, where she made the thirteenth, and being afterwards asked by the deceased's brother, whether his sister did not appear to her, she made him no answer, but fell ill, and died in a little time after. The gentleman that told this story says, that there is scarcely a lady of quality but who knows it to be true (38).' His Lordship's second daughter married James Earl of Dalkeith, eldest son of James Duke of Monmouth. This lady has been already mentioned (39), The third daughter Mary, was married Feb. 17, 1703, to Francis Seymour Conway, afterwards Lord Conway. Katharine, the fourth, was Lady of the Bed-chamber to Queen Anne, and died unmarried in 1737. The Earl's son and heir, on the death of his cousin Edward Earl of Clarendon in 1723, became Earl of Clarendon and Rochester; he married in the life-time of his father, Jane, daughter of Sir William Levison Gower, and aunt to the present Earl Gower. Her Ladyship was appointed of the Bed-chamber to Queen Anne, soon after her Majesty's accession to the throne; the Duchess of Marlborough, who misses no opportunity of shewing her wit upon the Rochester *family*, tells us, 'that she thought it reasonable to grant this favour, for in my life says her Grace, I never saw any mortal have such a passion for any thing, as she had to be in this post. While the thing was depending, she had so much concern upon her, that she never spoke to me without blushing; and after it was granted, she made me more expressions than ever I had from any body on any occasion ‖. In what manner this lady treated me afterwards, is not worth while to mention (40).' Hereupon, the author of The other side of the Question, makes the following remark. An excellent picture of artless innocent feminine ambition, the effect of which, the simply grateful letter you expose from her Ladyship, cannot lessen, nor the reflection so haughtily insinuated at the end of it efface (41). She died May 24, 1725. His Lordship had issue by her one son Henry; and five daughters, Anne, Henrietta, Jane, Charlotte, and Katharine, of whom the two first were deceased in 1741. The 3d, Jane, married William Capel Earl of Essex, being his Lordship's first wife, she died January 3, 1723-4, having brought her husband four daughters. The Earl of Clarendon's fourth daughter, Charlotte, died at her father's house in St James's square unmarried, March 17, 1739-40. Katharine, married to the Duke of Queensberry, is still living *; and, 'tis said, has in her possession a manuscript of her great grand father the Chancellor, containing an account of his seven years administration, from the King's return to his own banishment. The Earl of Clarendon and Rochester's only son, Henry Viscount Cornbury, was born November 26, 1710, was some time a Member of Parliament for the University of Oxford (42), and was called by writ to the House of Peers, on Jan. 22, 1750, by the title of Baron Hyde of Hindon in Wiltshire; but going soon after to reside in France, was killed there by a fall from his horse, May 2, 1753, and his father dying November 10 the same year (43), the titles became extinct, and the son bequeathed the family estate, which had been settled upon him by his father, to Lady Charlotte, daughter to the abovesaid Earl of Essex ‡.

(36) Carte's Ormonde, Vol. II. p. 520.

† Hence it appears that the doctor was in Ireland in 1684, a circumstance which is omitted in his article.

(37) Carte, p. 543.

(38) History and [illegible]lity of A[illegible] 18 [illegible] 13[illegible]. Lon[illegible]. 1729, 8vo.

(39) Viz. in remark [*I*].

‖ As a further confirmation, the Duchess inserts a letter from Lady Hyde on this occasion, which is inserted below.

(40) The Duchess of Marlborough's Conduct, p. 145.

(41) The other Side of the Question, p. 118.

* Peerage, under Hyde and Capel, Vol. II. edit. 1741.

(42) Gentleman's Magazine, for that month and year.

(43) Ibid. for November.

‡ This lady being married to the Hon. Thomas Villiers of the Grove in Hertfordshire, that gentleman, June 3, 1756, was created a peer, by the stile and title of Baron Hyde of Hindon in Wiltshire, to descend to the heirs male begotten by him of the body of his wife the s[illegible] Lady Charlotte, and, in default of such issue, to go to her Ladyship and the heirs male of her body.

Lady Hyde's letter just mentioned was as follows.

Madam, Monday morning.

I have been three times in the drawing-room in hopes to meet your Ladyship there, that I might myself tell you, how extreme sensible I am of your Ladyship's favour to me. You will add another, if you will forgive my impatience that cannot stay longer, without thanking you myself, though Mr Lowther hath undertaken for me; I am very happy in my request's being granted, and your Ladyship may depend any command of your's shall be obeyed. For I will not, without your leave, brag even to my Lady Harriot, who did me the favour to speak to your Ladyship. I am not good at saying much, but am sure it will be a pleasure to me, to shew you in every thing I can, how faithfully and sincerely,

I am,

Your most humble servant,

J. Hyde (44).

(44) Duchess of Marlborough's Conduct, p. 13[illegible] 134.

J.

JACKSON [THOMAS], a very learned Engliſh Divine in the XVIIth century, was born December 21, 1579, at Witton upon the river Were in the biſhopric of Durham; being deſcended from a very worthy family in thoſe parts (*a*). His parents deſigned him at firſt to be a merchant at Newcaſtle, where many of his near friends and relations lived in great wealth and proſperity; but that temptation could not divert him from his natural inclination to learning. Therefore, at the inſtance of Ralph Lord Evre, he was ſent to the univerſity of Oxford [*A*], and admitted, in Midſummer term 1595, into Queen's-college; from whence, March 24, 1596, he was elected Scholar of Corpus-Chriſti-college: and though he had no notice of the vacancy of the place, 'till the day before the election, yet he anſwered with ſo much readineſs and applauſe, that he gained the admiration as well as the ſuffrages of the electors, and was choſen with full conſent, notwithſtanding great intereſt was made for another perſon (*b*). The 23d of July, 1599, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and that of Maſter July 9, 1603 (*c*). And on the 10th of May 1606, was choſen Probationer-Fellow of his college (*d*), having then laid an extraordinary foundation of learning [*B*]. But he made all his knowledge ſubſervient to the ſtudy of Divinity; which he applied himſelf to with great vigour and ſucceſs. As an inſtance of which, he read a Divinity lecture in his college every Sunday morning, and another on a week day at Pembroke-college (then new founded), at the inſtance of the Maſter and Fellows there. Being alſo choſen Vice-Preſident of his Houſe for many years together; by virtue of that office, he moderated at the Divinity-diſputations, not only with great depth of learning, but alſo with agreeable courteſy, gentleneſs, and humility (*e*). June 25, 1610, he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity, and June 26, 1622, that of Doctor (*f*). In 1624 he quitted the college, being preferred to a living in his own native country [*C*]. From whence, ſhortly after, he was removed to the vicarage of St Nicolas in Newcaſtle, a very populous town, furniſhed with multitudes of men, and no ſmall variety of opinions (*g*). In that large cure, he behaved in a very ſtudious, humble, courteous, and charitable manner (*h*) [*D*]; and was much followed and admired for his excellent way of preaching. He was then a rigid Calviniſt; but Dr Richard Neile, Biſhop of Durham, taking him for his Chaplain, convinced him of the errors of Abſolute Predeſtination. And through that Biſhop's, jointly with Dr Laud's, intereſt, he was elected Preſident of Corpus-Chriſti-college (*i*); which office he was ſworn into February 17, 1630 (*k*). In that ſtation he acted with the utmoſt wiſdom, modeſty, candour, integrity, and faithfulneſs (*l*). Upon accepting of it, having reſigned his living in Newcaſtle, he was made Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majeſty, and collated to the Vicarage of Witney [*E*], and to a Prebend of Wincheſter (*m*), which

(*a*) Wood Athenæ, edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 633, and the Life and Death of Dr Jackſon, prefixed to a Collection of his Works, Lond. 1653, fol. p. 2.

(*b*) Life, &c. p. 2.

(*c*) Wood Faſti, Vol. I. col. 156, 165.

(*d*) Idem Athen. ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Life, &c. ut ſupra, p. 5.

(*f*) Wood Faſti, Vol. I. col. 186, 223.

(*g*) Life, p. 6.

(*h*) Ibid.

(*i*) Wood, Athen. ubi ſupra.

(*k*) Idem, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. L. II. p. 232.

(*l*) Life, &c. p. 8.

(*m*) Life, &c. p. 10. and Wood Athen. ut ſupra.

[*A*] *At the inſtance of Ralph Lord Evre, he was ſent to the Univerſity of Oxford.*] This he thankfully acknowledges, in the dedication of his two firſt books of Commentaries on the Creed to that noble Lord, in the following words. 'That being ingaged unto a 'more gainfull, but not ſo good a courſe of life, and 'well-nigh rooted in another ſoil; I was by your 'Lordſhip's favourable *advice* and *countenance* tranſplanted to this famous nurſery of good learning.'

[*B*] *Having then laid an extraordinary foundation of learning.*] For, he had carefully grounded himſelf in Arithmetic, Grammar, Philology, Geometry, Rhetoric, Logic, Philoſophy, the Oriental languages, Hiſtory, &c. with an inſight into Heraldry, and Hieroglyphics (1).

(1) Wood, Athen. as above.

[*C*] *Being preferred to a living in his own native country.*] Edmund Vaughan, the author of his life, ſays, That the living was in the donation of the college (2); and Ant. Wood, that 'he left his college 'for a benefice in his own country, which the Preſi-'dent and Society thereof had then lately conferred on 'him (3).' But it doth not appear that Corpus-Chriſti-college have any livings in that dioceſe.

(2) P. 6.

(3) Athen. ut ſupra.

[*D*] *And charitable manner.*] When he went out, he uſually gave what money he had about him to the poor; who at length flocked ſo about him, that his ſervant took care he ſhould not have too much in his pocket (4).

(4) Life, &c. p. 6.

[*E*] *And collated to the vicarage of Witney.*] The author of his life, juſt now mentioned, informs us, 'That he *gave* his vicarage in Newcaſtle to Mr Alvye 'of Trinity-college, upon no other relation, but out 'of the good opinion which he conceived of his merits. 'The vicarage of Witney, after he had been at much 'pains, and expence, to clear the title of the rectory 'to all ſucceeding miniſters, when he had made it a 'portion fitting either to give or keep, he freely *beſtowed* it upon Mr Thomas White, then Proctor of 'the

which laſt he was inſtalled into June 18, 1635 (n). He was alſo promoted January 17, 1638, to the Deanery of Peterburgh, in the room of Dr Towers, advanced to the epiſcopal ſee (o). But he did not enjoy this dignity above a year and three quarters: for he died September 21, 1640, and was buried in the inner chapel of Corpus-Chriſti-college (p). His works are very numerous, and entirely theological [F]. With regard to his character, he was a man of a blameleſs life, ſtudious, humble, courteous, and very charitable; pious, and exemplary both in his private and public converſation: ſo that he was reſpected and beloved by the moſt conſiderable perſons in the nation. And tho' he was reviled as an Arminian, by the Puritans or rigid Calviniſts [G], the plagues of his time, yet the greateſt eſteem was no more than his due, even on account of his learning. For he was well furniſhed with all the learned languages, arts, and ſciences; eſpecially metaphyſics, which he conſidered as a neceſſary hand-maid to Divinity; profoundly read in the Fathers, and of a wonderful and deep judgment (q).

(n) J. Le Neve's Faſti, &c. p. 529.

(o) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. II. p. 512.

(p) Wood, Athen. ut ſupra, col. 636.

(q) Wood, col. 633.

' the Univerſity, late chaplain of his college.' But by thoſe inaccurate expreſſions, he *gave*, and *beſtowed*, the life-writer muſt mean, that he procured thoſe two livings for them through his intereſt; for neither of them were in his own gift.

[F] *His works are very numerous, and entirely Theological.*] The chief of them are a *Commentary on the Apoſtles Creed*, in twelve books; printed in the following order. The firſt book was publiſhed at London in 1613, 4to. The ſecond in 1614, 4to. The third in 1614, 4to. The fourth in 1615, 4to. The fifth in 1625, 4to. The ſixth (which is a Treatiſe of the Divine Eſſence and Attributes, in two parts) in 1628, and 1629, 4to. The ſeventh in 1624, 4to. The eighth in 1626, 4to. The ninth in 1628, 4to. The tenth in 1654, fol. The eleventh in 1657, fol. The twelfth in 1627, 4to.——The three firſt books were collected together, and publiſhed in folio, (with a preface, and the author's life written by Edmund Vaughan) in 1653, by the pious Barnabas Oley (5). Who alſo firſt publiſhed, in folio, the tenth book, in the year 1654. And in 1657, the eleventh book, alſo in folio.——The reſt of his compoſitions are chiefly ſermons.——A compleat collection of all his works was printed again at London, in 1672, and 1673, in three volumes folio. And, though they are ſo voluminous, they have kept up their reputation, and their price, much better than thoſe of moſt of his contemporaries; a ſure mark of their intrinſick value. They are frequently cited, with due commendation, by the learned Biſhop Patrick, in his Commentaries on the Old Teſtament; and by other perſons of the beſt judgment.——He appears, through every part of them, to have been a zealous champion againſt the Church of Rome.

(5) Concerning whom ſee Wood's Athenæ, Vol. I. col. 635.

[G] *However reviled as an Arminian, by the Puritans or rigid Calviniſts.*] Eſpecially by the troubleſom and voluminous ſcribler William Prynne, who mentions him in ſeveral of his works. Thus, he ſaith of him, in one place (6), that ' he was convented in ' the laſt Parliament (1628) yea openly accuſed in the ' laſt Convocation for his heretical *Arminian* books.' He ſaith elſewhere (7), That ' Dr Jackſon, of Oxon. ' is a man of great abilities, and of a plauſible, affable, courteous deportment, 'till of late he hath been ' tranſported beyond himſelf, with metaphyſical contemplations, to his own infamy, and his renowned ' mother's ſhame, I mean the Univerſity of Oxon, ' who grieves for his defection.'——And again, ' he [Dr Jackſon] is of civil converſation and learning, ' which made his errors and preferments more dange- ' rous and pernicious;—it was his Arminian errors, ' not his *learning* or *honeſty*, that were the ground of ' his advancement to his dignity (8);——Yea, he ' was by him [Laud] deſigned to be Doctor of the ' Chair (though he miſſed that preferment,) to poyſon ' the Univerſity of Oxford, with his Arminian druggs ' (9).'——But, as the pious Mr B. Oley well obſerves (10), ſuch trifling objections and ill-grounded calumnies are ' meer noiſe; the phanſie of a prejudicate ' mind.'——Dr Jackſon, adds he, ' knew he might ' not ſtrive, nor multiply queſtions to gender ſtrife: ' therefore he demands but two *poſtulata* of the diſ- ' ſenting man. 1. That God hath a true freedom of ' doing good. 2. That man hath a true freedom in ' doing evil. From him that agrees with him in theſe ' two, he will not diſſent in other points (11). But ' from ſuch as teach, That all events are ſo irreſiſtibly ' decreed by God, that none can fall out otherwiſe ' than they do; or, that nothing can be amended that ' is amiſſe; he plainly differs. For, beſides that the ' tenets be Turkiſh (12), being preſſed, they yield a ' morbid bitter juice, and put out a forked ſting. ' Their conſequent being, That, either, there is no ' morall evil under the ſun; or, That the fountain of ' goodneſſe (who is *ultor & intentator malorum*) his ' will is the cauſe of ſuch evil.'——So that every judicious perſon may eaſily diſcern, whoſe *learning*, as well as undeſtanding and *honeſty*, is moſt juſtly to be called in queſtion; Mr Prynne's, or Dr Jackſon's. C

(6) Appendix to Anti-Arminianiſm, &c.

(7) Anti-Arminianiſm, &c. edit. 1630, p. 270.

(8) Canterbury's Doom, p. 532.

(9) Ibid. p. 166, 167.

(10) Preface to a Collection of Dr Jackſon's Works, folio edit. 1653, p. 5.

(11) Epiſt. before the Attributes.

(12) See Buſbec's quius, Ep. 4.

JENKINS [Sir LEOLINE, or LIONEL], a very learned Civilian as well as able Stateſman in the laſt century, was born in the pariſh of Llantriſaint in the county of Glamorgan, in the year 1623 [A]; and was the ſon of Leoline Jenkins, or Jenkins Lluellin, of the ſame place (a) [B]. He laid the foundation of his future learning, and particularly of his great knowledge and accuracy in the Latin and Greek tongues, at Cowbridge-ſchool, very near the place of his nativity; which ſchool he afterwards liberally endowed. In 1641, he was admitted into Jeſus-college in Oxford; where his regularity, condeſcenſion, modeſty, and ſerious deportment, procured him the eſteem of his fellow-collegians, and eſpecially of Dr Manſell, then Principal of the college. The national troubles coming on ſoon after, Mr Jenkins took arms for King Charles I. but his military exerciſes did not

(a) The Life of Sir Leoline Jenkins, by W. Wynne, Eſq; Lond. 1724. fol. p. 1.

[A] *In the year* 1623.] William Wynne, Eſq; ſays, that it was in the year 1625; which ſeems to be confirmed by Ant. Wood's obſervation (1), that Mr Jenkins was ſixteen years of age in 1641. But the ſame Mr Wood, and Sir Leoline's epitaph, informing us, that he was aged ſixty-two at the time of his death, in 1685; conſequently he muſt have been born in the year 1623.

(1) Faſti, Vol. II. col. 132. edit. 1721.

[B] *And was the ſon of Leoline Jenkins, or Jenkins Lluellin, of the ſame place.*] Mr Wynne, aſſures us, that the father was ' a man of about 40 l. a year, who ' left behind him in that neighbourhood the cha- ' racter of a very honeſt, prudent, and induſtrious ' man. There have been thoſe, (adds Mr Wynne) ' who have inſinuated a much meaner extraction, but ' without any other reaſon, than as one of the uſual artifices ſome men take, to render a great man deſpicable, when nothing more likely can be invented. ' But his father really was a perſon, that by his frugal ' and prudential method of living, was not only capable of beſtowing, but alſo well underſtood the value ' of that liberal education, which he beſtowed on his ' ſon; and whom Mr David Jenkins, one of the Judges ' of North-Wales, and the famous champion of the ' Royal cauſe, treated, if not as a relation of his antient and honourable family, yet as a perſon worthy ' of his care; and, under that character, very early ' recommended him to the protection of Dr Wilkins, ' at that time Warden of Wadham-college, and afterwards Biſhop of Cheſter (2).'

(2) Wynne, as above, p. 1.

[C] *Served*

not ſo wholly take him up, as to occaſion the utter neglect or interruption of his ſtudies; for he continued them with all poſſible vigour (*b*). Upon the King's barbarous and tragical death in 1648, he left the univerſity, and retired into his own country; where he proſecuted his ſtudies with his wonted diligence, though he ſeemed now to be thrown out of the road of all advancement and ſucceſs. But this ſeeming misfortune was abundantly made up to him, and proved as happy as poſſible in its effects. For it happened, that his place of reſidence was near Llantrythyd, the ſeat of Sir John Aubrey; which, having been left void by ſequeſtration, ſerved as a refuge to ſeveral eminent Loyaliſts [*C*]; ſo that he was ſoon taken notice of by one of them, his former Principal, Dr Manſell: who, from the experience he had of his behaviour in college, could well judge of his merit and growing capacity. Therefore, he not only invited Mr Jenkins to paſs his time with him and the reſt of his fellow-ſufferers at Sir John Aubrey's houſe, but introduced him into the friendſhip of thoſe eminent men his companions: which indeed proved the cauſe of his riſe and of all his future preferments. The firſt employment they found Mr Jenkins for the exerciſe of his virtue aud induſtry, was the tuition of Sir John's eldeſt ſon. Wherein he gave ſo much ſatisfaction, that he was ſoon after recommended, in the like capacity, to many other young gentlemen of the beſt rank and quality in thoſe parts; whom, under the influence and example of thoſe great men, he educated in the doctrine of the Church of England, and improved in juſt and virtuous principles, as well as learning. In this neighbourhood and employment he continued for ſome time, 'till at laſt the ſoldiers quartered in thoſe parts took him priſoner, as the moſt effectual means of diſperſing his ſcholars. Soon after, being indicted at the quarter-ſeſſions for keeping a ſeminary of rebellion and ſedition, he removed, in May 1651, with his pupils to Oxford [*D*]; where he ſettled in a houſe in the High-ſtreet, which from him was then commonly known by the name of little Welſh-Hall. And ſuch great confidence had many eminent Royaliſts in him, that he was employed on ſeveral meſſages and correſpondencies between Mr David Jenkins, Dr Sheldon, Dr Manſell, Dr Fell, and others. But, after Mr Jenkins had continued about four years at Oxford, he began to be publickly talked of as a dangerous and obnoxious man; and his new patron, Dr Wilkins, to whoſe protection he had been recommended, being about this time removed to the Maſterſhip of Trinity-college in Cambridge, he was forced, in the year 1655, to withdraw beyond-ſea with his pupils, for fear of ſome ill treatment. They continued three years abroad, during which time they travelled over a great part of France, Holland, and Germany; and ſometimes reſided at their famous ſeats of learning, that the young gentlemen might ſee, as much as they could by ſo weak a repreſentation, the methods of a univerſity life, which they were not permitted to enjoy at home. After their return from beyond ſea in 1658, Mr Jenkins having delivered up his pupils to their reſpective parents and relations, and being now in a manner out of all employment, he was invited by Sir William Whitmore, a generous patron of the diſtreſſed Cavaliers, to live with him at Appley in Shropſhire. Here Mr Jenkins continued 'till the year 1660, enjoying the opportunities of a well-furniſhed library, and of improving himſelf in his ſtudies; which he followed with his wonted indefatigable diligence and application, for in this only he obſerved no moderation (*c*). Upon the Reſtoration, being now in the 37th year of his age, he returned to Jeſus-college; and ſo conſiderable was his fame among his countrymen, that on the ſettlement of that Society he was choſen one of the Fellows (*d*). On the 16th of February 1660-61, he was created Doctor of Laws (*e*): and, March the firſt following, was unanimouſly choſen Principal of his college, upon Dr Manſell's reſignation, which place he kept 'till the beginning of the year 1673 (*f*). He promoted the honour and advantage of the college to the utmoſt [*E*], and became a conſiderable benefactor thereto at his death, as will be ſeen in the ſequel. His next preferment was the Commiſſaryſhip of the peculiar and exempt juriſdiction of the Deanery of Bridgnorth in Shropſhire, given him by his friend Sir William Whitmore (*g*). In 1662, he was appointed Aſſeſſor of the Chancellor's court in Oxford;

(*b*) Ibid. p. 2.

(*c*) Life, &c. as above, p. 4, 5, 6, 7.

(*d*) Idem, p. 7.

(*e*) Wood, Faſti, Vol. II. edit. 1721, col. 132.

(*f*) Idem ibid. & Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Lib. II. p.

(*g*) Wynne, as above, p. 9.

[*C*] *Served as a refuge to ſeveral eminent Loyaliſts.*] Particularly to Dr Francis Manſell, Principal of Jeſus-college, Dr Accepted Frewin, Archbiſhop of York, and Dr Gilbert Sheldon, afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury (3).

(3) Idem, p. 3.

[*D*] *He removed, in May* 1651, *with his pupils to Oxford.*] They were, Sir Francis Manſell, the heir of the family; Sir Edward, and Arthur his brother, Sir Antony Manſell's two ſons; Sir John Aubrey's ſon and heir; Stepney, and Vaughan, two other of Dr Manſell's nephews; Sir Sackvil Crow's ſon and heir; Sir Robert Moyle of Blackwell in Kent; Mr Walter Thomas of Swanzey, &c.—As to Mr Jenkins's method of education; his principal way was, to gain the good will of his pupils, to create a mutual confidence, and to convey his inſtructions without the ſeverity of a maſter, and in ſuch gentle and agreeable leſſons as would become even an intimate friend. He was very ſenſible, that it was the early inſtilling of conſcientious principles, and the ſeeds of virtue and religion, that muſt knit and conſolidate all the reſt; and therefore he endeavoured on all opportunities to ſet out to them the excellency of virtue in its moſt lively colours, and the true delight which flowed from virtuous courſes; and gave them to underſtand, that, as corrupt and degenerate as the practice of thoſe times was, yet ſolid virtue, and true religion, would one time or other recover its proper place and eſteem (4).

(4) Wynne, as above, p. 6, 7.

[*E*] *He promoted the honour and advantage of the college to the utmoſt.*] That college had very much ſuffered, during the univerſal confuſions in the nation, by the unſkilfulneſs and diſhoneſty of Dr Michael Roberts, Principal of the ſame. But Dr Jenkins, at his coming into that ſtation, reſtored the exerciſes, diſputations, and habits, and reformed all abuſes and irregular practices, which the general liberty and licentiouſneſs of the late times had introduced. Then he reviſed, explained, and inforced the college-ſtatutes: and reviewed the leaſes and eſtates of the college; ſet aſide ſeveral illegal debts; recovered many of the revenues; and reſtored ſeveral benefactions that had been miſapplied, to their proper and original uſes. He alſo contributed largely to the building in the new quadrangle, on the weſt ſide of the college-hall (5).

(5) Wynne, as above, p. 7, 8, 9, 70.

[*F*] *The*

Oxford; the proceedings of which are chiefly according to the practice of the Civil Law, and the Statutes and Uſages of the univerſity. The ſame year Dr Sweit made him his Deputy-Profeſſor of the Civil Law there, not being able to officiate, by reaſon of his great age and infirmities, and his attendance on the Court of Arches, whereof he was alſo Dean [*F*]. Preferments continuing to pour upon Dr Jenkins, he was, in 1663, made Regiſter of the Conſiſtory-court belonging to the collegiate church of St Peter Weſtminſter; and, ſoon after, appointed by his friend Dr Sheldon (newly tranſlated to the Archbiſhopric of Canterbury) his Commiſſary and Official for that his peculiar dioceſe; and alſo his Vicar or Official general; at leaſt his dioceſan Commiſſary. He was very helpful to that prelate in the ſettlement of his Theatre and Printing-houſe; of which magnificent deſign, when finiſhed, he was appointed one of the Curators; and was uſeful to that generous Archbiſhop upon many other occaſions, relating both to Church and State (*b*) [*G*]. The univerſity beginning to grow too narrow a field for the exerciſe of his abilities, he removed, through the Archbiſhop's encouragement, to London, in order to apply himſelf to the public practice of the Civil Law at Doctors-Commons; and was admitted, about the latter end of the year 1663, an Advocate in the Court of Arches. Here he was immediately made Deputy or Aſſiſtant to Dr Sweit Dean of this court, as he had been to him before in the office of Profeſſor. And the firſt Dutch war breaking out, the Lords-Commiſſioners for prizes, by their order bearing date February 4, 1664, appointed Dr Jenkins, with ſome other the moſt eminent Civilians, to review the maritime laws, and compile a body of rules and ordinances, by which the Judge of the Admiralty for the time being ſhould proceed in the adjudication of prizes: which being accordingly done, and approved by his Majeſty in Council, became the ſtandard of thoſe proceedings. The vaſt increaſe of buſineſs in the Court of Admiralty during this war, and the great age and infirmities of Dr Exton, Judge of that court, ſoon obliged his Majeſty to look out for a more able and active perſon. Whereupon, Dr Jenkins being recommended by Archbiſhop Sheldon, was made Judge-Aſſiſtant to Dr Exton, by patent bearing date March 21, 1664-5. And ſo well did he behave in that ſtation, that, upon the death of Dr Exton, he was made ſole Judge of the Admiralty of England and Ireland in his own right, and likewiſe Judge of the Admiralty of the Cinque-Ports (*i*). This eminent office he diſcharged with unwearied application, and with great abilities, reputation, and integrity [*H*]. But after three years ſervice, finding the ſalary of 300 pounds a year allowed him by the King not to be a competent maintenance, nor any way proportionable to his expences and trouble, he petitioned his Majeſty for an additional allowance of 200 pounds per annum, which was granted him on the 29th of January 1667-8. In 1668, he was appointed Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury [*I*], at the King's own recommendation to the Archbiſhop (*k*). His next employment was of a more public nature.

(*b*) Idem, p. 10, 11.

(*i*) Wynne, as above, p. 12, 13.

(*k*) Idem, p. 16, 17.

For

[*F*] *The ſame year Dr Sweit made him his Deputy-Profeſſor of the Civil-Law there, &c.*] That is in Oxford: which deputation he filled with great applauſe. As long as Dr Jenkins continued in Oxford, he ſeems to have been a ſort of oracle in all queſtions and matters of Law: and was alſo of ſingular uſe to the Univerſity, in maintaining their foreign correſpondencies, by his ſkill in the French and other languages; and, by his own generous and hoſpitable temper, which drew many foreigners of note to viſit him. And when he was called away by his higher and more weighty imployments, ſtill the intereſt of the Univerſity, and their juſt and legal privileges, had a great ſhare in his concern (6).

(6) Wynne, p. 11.

[*G*] *And was uſeful to that generous Archbiſhop upon many other occaſions.*] Indeed it was no more than a grateful and ſuitable return for the higheſt favours: ſince the Doctor's riſe and good fortune was owing to the firm and happy friendſhip contracted with that reverend prelate, during the national troubles. Therefore, he always ſpoke of his Grace in the higheſt terms and accents of reſpect; and gave in his will 20 ſhillings a year, for an anniverſary commemoration ſpeech on the 9th of November, the day of that Archbiſhop's death (7).

(7) Idem, p. 12, 69.

[*H*] *This eminent office he diſcharged with unwearied application, &c.*] During the continuance of the war, he was obliged to a conſtant *attendance* in that Court, which ſat twice every week, or oftner, as occaſion required, in vacation as well as in term time, for the diſpatch of ſhips and goods brought up as prizes; and the increaſe of buſineſs was ſo great, that in leſs than two years time he gave 436 final ſentences, according to the ſtrict rule of proceedings, and the ordinary courſe of the Court. Beſides which, the Lords Commiſſioners had from time to time a previous account in writing, by way of report, in moſt caſes: ſo that by his diſpatch, and induſtry, as well as by his exactneſs, and the *impartiality* of his proceedings, he advanced the honour and reputation of that court to a high degree. He had ſo much *integrity*, as to withſtand the importunity of the greateſt men, though he was highly obliged to them; and could not be prevailed on, to ſtretch a law in complaiſance to any one, or to give the leaſt regard to private addreſſes and recommendations in matters of juſtice. And, withal, he was of a *tender and compaſſionate nature*; not only in the trying of criminals, but alſo in generouſly remitting his juſt and moſt legal fees. For, beſides the ſtrict regard he had to juſtice and the laws, he always expreſſed an unfeigned tenderneſs for a *poor ſeaman*; ſaying, there are no ſort of people that gain a miſerable ſmall livelihood with more hardſhip and danger than they do; and none that venture their lives more freely for the honour and ſecurity of the Crown and nation (8).

(8) See Wynne, as above, p. 13, 14, 15.

[*I*] *He was appointed Judge of the Prerogative-court of Canterbury,*] In this ſtation, 'It was always an 'eſtabliſhed rule with him (as he declares himſelf) '*Nulli negare nec deferre juſtitiam*; and ever ſince he 'had the honour to preſide in that Court, he endea'voured by proper rules, as far as in him lay, and as 'he found neceſſary, to reſtrain all pretences and 'cauſes of unjuſt delays (9).' He alſo made it his conſtant endeavour to prevent all immethodical and frivolous pleadings, all clamorous and indecent practice, and to check the tedious ſallies and excurſions of the Counſel, but in the moſt mild and gentle manner, and always in terms of exact reſpect, unleſs where the matter juſtly deſerved a more ſevere remark (10).——'His ſentences, both in this and the Admi'ralty-court, were eſteemed ſo juſt and equitable, that 'all parties, more than could be expected, were ſa'tisfied with them; and there were but few, con'ſidering the number of cauſes, or the length of time 'he ſat in both courts, appealed from; and of thoſe, 'hardly any reverſed. For his opinion, whether in 'the civil or canon laws, or that of nations, generally 'paſſed as an uncontroulable authority, being always 'thoroughly conſidered, and judiciouſly founded (11).'

(9) See his Letters, Vol. II. p. 711.

(10) Wynne, as above, p. 17.

(11) Ibid. p. 18.

[*K*] *A*

For the Queen-mother, Henrietta-Maria, widow of King Charles I. dying in France Auguſt 1, 1669, a diſpute had like to have riſen about the ſucceſſion to her real and perſonal eſtate [K]. Whereupon Dr Jenkins being commanded to give his opinion of the matter, and it being approved in Council, he was ordered to prepare a commiſſion for himſelf to go to France; in which commiſſion were joined Ralph Montague, Eſq; then Ambaſſador at that court, and the Earl of St Albans, and Lord Arundel. Their buſineſs was, to demand and recover the Queen-mother's effects; to pay her ſervants and officers their arrears; and provide for her interment [L]. All which having performed to our Court's ſatisfaction, Dr Jenkins, at his return, received the honour of knighthood from his Majeſty, on the 7th of January 1669-70 (l), together with a moſt gracious approbation of his ſervices (m). Immediately after, Sir Lionel Jenkins (for ſo we muſt now call him) in conſideration of his great abilities and experience, was nominated one of the Commiſſioners of the realm of England [M], to treat with thoſe authorized from Scotland, touching an union between both kingdoms. He endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of the ſubject, as appears by a curious paper printed among his letters (n); but that project came to nothing (o). In 1671, he was choſen one of the repreſentatives in Parliament for Hyth in Kent, one of the cinque-ports (p). Upon occaſion of the freſh rupture between England and the States of the United Provinces, in 1672, he came again to be involved in great buſineſs by virtue of his office of Judge of the Admiralty; though he plainly appears not to have liked the manner of that rupture [N] But the Engliſh nation being ſoon weary of the war [O], and the Parliament apprehenſive of the power and intrigues of France, by which it had been fomented and encouraged, and ſeveral encounters having paſſed at ſea without a deciſive action, both parties began to entertain thoughts of peace. So a treaty was propoſed at Cologn, under the mediation of Sweden, between the Emperor, Spain, and Holland, and ſome Princes of the Empire, on the one part; and England and France on the other. And, in May 1673, Sir Leoline was appointed Ambaſſador and Plenipotentiary for this treaty, together with the Lord Sunderland and Sir Joſeph Williamſon. Accordingly, Sir Leoline and Sir Joſeph Williamſon ſet out for the place of treaty, and arrived there the 13th of June following: the Lord Sunderland

(l) Wood, Faſti, ut ſupra, col. 132.

(m) Wynne, p. 18, 19, 20.

(n) Vol. II. p. 675, &c.

(o) Wynne, as above, p. 20. See Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Time, under the year 1669.

(p) Wynne, p. 20.

[K] *A diſpute had like to have riſen about the ſucceſſion to her real and perſonal eſtate.*] The ground of the controverſy was this: Henrietta-Maria, widow of King Charles I, was youngeſt daughter of Henry IV. King of France, and ſiſter to Lewis XIII. and had reſided at Colombe in France, thirty leagues from Paris, ever ſince her departure from England in July 1644, being entertained there at the charge of the French King Lewis XIV. her nephew. Upon the Reſtoration, ſhe came to London, and having ſettled her revenues here, went back into France, to beſtow her daughter, the Lady Henrietta, in marriage to the Duke of Anjou. In July 1662, coming again into England, ſhe ſettled her court at Somerſet-houſe, where ſhe reſided 'till May 1665. But falling into a bad ſtate of health, ſhe returned to her native country, where ſhe died. Under theſe circumſtances it was pretended, that the ſaid Queen-mother was not only a *native*, but an *inhabitant* of France; conſequently that whatſoever eſtate ſhe was poſſeſſed of there, ought to be ſubject to the laws and uſages of that country: and that Madame Royale of France, the aforeſaid Ducheſs of Anjou, was by thoſe laws the only perſon capable of ſucceeding: King Charles II, and the Duke of York, as well as the Princeſs of Orange, her other children, being expreſsly excluded and diſabled by the *droit d'aubaine*, becauſe they were not born, nor inhabitants within the allegiance of the French King. But our Court's claim was admitted at length (12).

(12) Wynne, as above, p. 19. and Vol. II. p. 665, 667. See alſo Sandford and Stebbing's Geneal. Hiſt. of the Kings, &c. edit. 1707, p. 595.

[L] *And provide for her interment.*] She was interred at St Denis, November the 25th. At which time Father Senault made a funeral oration, wherein enquiring into the cauſes which could move the divine Providence ſo grievouſly to afflict a Prince of King Charles's excellent moral endowments, he could aſſign no other but his *Infidelity*; i. e. becauſe he was not a Roman Catholick. This paſſage Dr Jenkins took ſo heinouſly ill, that he would not let the Father reſt, 'till he had made him promiſe, that thoſe words ſhould be expunged in the printed copy (13).

(13) Wynne, p. 19.

[M] *One of the commiſſioners of the realm of England.*] The reſt of the Engliſh commiſſioners were, Arthur Anneſley Earl of Angleſey, and Sir William Jones, the Attorney-general (14).

(14) Ibid. p. 20.

[N] *He plainly appears not to have liked the manner of that rupture.*] For, he repreſented in a letter to Sir Joſeph Williamſon (15), 'That the Dutch (though 'enemies) were enabled by the declaration, to make 'their retreat even after the war begun, and had four 'or five months ſtill to withdraw their effects from 'hence;'——offering to lay down his charge at his 'Majeſty's feet, rather than give a ſentence he thought 'unjuſt upon that occaſion.' And, when a commiſſion was directed to him, as Judge of the Admiralty, by the Duke of York, to proceed to the adjudication of prizes taken from the Dutch in the encounter at Bergen, he prayed 'his Royal Highneſs ſtill to continue all humanities to the perſons of the Dutch, without putting them to hardſhips or ranſom; that he would forbid hoſtilities, confiſcation, imbezzlement, or ill treatment of all that ſhould demean themſelves reſpectfully, and not refuſe to be brought up. He deſired his Highneſs to conſider, beſides the fatal conſequences ſuch a precedent might one day or other produce to ourſelves, that the moſt juſt war was the laſt neceſſity of good men, and that mercy and forbearance were worth a thouſand victories. And therefore hoped his Majeſty and his Royal Highneſs would be pleaſed to put their ſhips only *in depoſito*, 'till juſtice were done them, or a more ſatisfactory anſwer given by the Dutch Embaſſador; but if the detainment of their ſhips would not do, and ſuch mild inſtances and applications proved ineffectual, then to make war in earneſt — (16).'

(15) See his Letters, Vol. II. p. 702.

(16) Wynne, as above, p. 21.

[O] *But the Engliſh nation being ſoon weary of the war.*] Sir William Temple is not accurate, when he ſays, that it was 'after two ſummers ſpent in a war 'between England and Holland, that both parties be'gan to enter upon thoughts of a peace.' For, in reality war had laſted not above twelve or fourteen months, before our Embaſſadors were impowered to treat of a peace: ſince the attack upon the Dutch Smyrna fleet was on the 13th of March 1671-2, and the Pleinpouvoir of the Engliſh Embaſſadors bears date May 5, 1673. However, Sir William's words are, ——'After *two* ſummers ſpent in a war between Eng'land and Holland, with ſeveral encounters at ſea, 'but no deciſive action; both parties began to enter 'upon thoughts, and indeed neceſſities, of a peace. 'The nations had been at war without being angry; 'and the quarrel had been thought on both ſides, ra'ther of the Miniſters than the people's. The Dutch 'believed it at firſt intended only againſt De Witt's 'faction; in favour of the Prince of Orange; and in 'England, ſome laid it to the corruption of Miniſters 'by the money of France; and ſome that pretended 'to think deeper, laid it to deeper deſigns. The 'Lord Clifford's violence in beginning it, gave it an 'ill air in general; and the diſuſe of Parliaments, a 'cruel maim in the chief ſinews of war (17).'

(17) Memoirs of what paſſed in Chriſtendom, edit. 1692, 8vo, p. 1, 2.

Sunderland never acting in that commiſſion (g). What their inſtructions were will be ſeen in the note below [P]. But, after ſeveral fruitleſs endeavours to bring about a general peace [Q] between the Emperor, Spain, Holland, and ſome Princes of the Empire on the one part, and England and France on the other, Sir Leoline and his colleague returned to England in May 1674. As he was upon his return, near the Briel, on the 17th of May, he took an opportunity to aſſert the prerogative of the Engliſh Crown to the Flag, by making three Dutch men of war, with four Dutch Ambaſſadors on board, ſtrike their ſail to his ſingle yatcht. And the year following, in the very ſame place, he forced the like reſpect from two other men of war belonging to the States-General (r). At his return, he gave the Privy-Council an account of his negotiation, ſome extracts whereof are given in the note [R]. England continuing deſirous of a peace, King Charles II. offered his mediation to the ſeveral parties at war in September 1674; which being accepted by them, Nimeguen in Gelderland was fixed for the place of treaty, about the month of February 1674-5. The Engliſh mediators, appointed under the Great-Seal the 13th of December following, were, John Lord Berkeley then Ambaſſador at Paris, Sir William Temple Ambaſſador-Extraordinary at the Hague, and Sir Lionel Jenkins (s). The latter ſet out for that honourable employment the 20th of December, in all the extremities of a hard winter; and arrived at Nimeguen the 6th of January (t). He was not only the firſt of our Ambaſſadors upon the place by ſeveral months [S], but reſident there throughout the whole courſe of that long and laborious negotiation; and the chief part of the buſineſs, at leaſt the drudgery of it, lay upon him [T]. We ſhall not ſwell this article

(g) Wynne, p. 21, 22. Sir William Temple's Memoirs, edit. 1692, p. 1.

(r) Wynne, p. 23. and Letters, Vol. I. p. 353.

(s) See Sir Lionel's Letters, Vol. I. p. 349, &c.

(t) Wynne, as above, p. 24.

[P] *What their inſtructions were, &c.*] The ſubſtance of their inſtructions and of their demands, was thus. 1. 'To have the honour for the future paid to 'the Flagg of England, which had been practiſed and 'acknowledged by the Dutch in all former times. 2. 'A million of pounds ſterling, to reimburſe the En'gliſh in ſome part the expences they had been at in 'making the war, &c. 3. Ten thouſand pounds *per ann.* 'as an honorary acknowledgment for their fiſhing on 'our coaſts, and 2000l. more for the like liberty 'they enjoy upon the coaſt of Scotland. 4. To ſuffer 'the Engliſh ſubjects to depart without delay out of 'the Colony of Surinam, where they were unjuſtly 'detained contrary to the peace at Breda. 5. A re'gulation of the trade in India, &c. wherein great 'violence and vexatious grievances were exerciſed by 'the Dutch upon the Engliſh. 6. The calling in and 'ſuppreſſing all libels, prints, &c. vended and diſper'ſed in Holland, &c. reflecting on the honour of King 'Charles II. 7. The eſtabliſhment of the Prince of 'Orange, as hereditary Stadtholder, General and Ad'miral of their State, to deſcend upon the heirs male 'of his body. 8. For the performance thereof, Fluſh'ing and Ramekins, or Helvoet Sluis and Goree, or 'the Brill and Goree, to be delivered into the King of 'England's hands, as cautionary——*If* the peace could 'not otherwiſe be made, 400,000l. to be abated upon 'the million firſt demanded, &c (18).'

(18) See Sir Lionel's Letters, Vol. I. p. 4, &c.

[Q] *But after ſeveral fruitleſs endeavours to bring about a general peace.*] Sir William Temple rightly obſerves, that 'there were two many parties engaged 'in this quarrel to think of a *general* peace.——For 'though all the confederates had a mind to the peace 'between England and Holland, yet none of them 'deſired it with France: this made both the Dutch 'and the Spaniards ſet on foot all the engines they 'could, to engage King Charles II. in ſome treaty of 'a ſeparate peace, to which the neceſſity of his affairs, 'the humour of his people, and the inſtances of his 'Parliament at laſt determined him towards the end of 'the year 1673 (19).' Accordingly, under the mediation of Spain, a ſeparate peace, between England and Holland, was concluded and ſigned at Weſtminſter the 9th of February 1673-4, though the King of France made large offers to King Charles to prevent it (20). And the Biſhop of Munſter, and Elector of Cologne, returning to their duty, renounced their alliance with France, and concluded a peace with the States; the former on the 22d of April, and the latter on the 11th of May 1674.

(19) Memoirs, as above, p. 3, 4.

(20) See Collection of Treaties, edit. 1732, 8vo. Vol. III. p. 275. The offers made to King Charles by the King of France, were five millions and a half, and forty men of war. Baſnage Hiſt. Tom. II. p. 496.

[R] *He gave the Privy-Council an account of his negotiation, &c.*] In this account he obſerves, that 'The Dutch in the whole courſe of that negotiation, 'were never real or in earneſt for making a peace with 'England.' For which he aſſigns the ſeveral reaſons. ——Then he goes on to obſerve, that 'The Allies 'are the ſole arbiters of the peace. The Emperor 'hath a proſpect of eſtabliſhing his authority at home, 'and ſo will be glad to continue an army on foot, 'which he is not to pay. The Dutch, whoſe intereſt 'is commerce, will go no further in this war, than the 'Prince of Orange will carry them. So that his High'neſs ſeems to be the only perſon to be taken off: but 'his inclinations are to be at the head of an army.—— 'He hath ſome reſentments that are perſonal againſt 'the French King, as well as ſome emulation for him.' ——He concludes in theſe words——'If it be con'ſidered, whether it be the intereſt of England to en'ter into a ſtricter amity with Holland and Spain, 'though to the diſſatisfaction of France. It ſeems to 'my humble apprehenſion to be ſafeſt; 1. For ſo we 'ſhall make a ſufficient counterpoize againſt France, 'whoſe puiſſance does every day threaten to turn the 'ballance, and who will be always embroiling us at 'ſea with the Dutch, in order to weaken us. 2. 'France will not offer to invade us at any time, if we 'are ſtrictly united with Spain and Holland, and ſo 'we ſhall have the leſs oppoſition in our trade. 3. 'The leſs danger of diſturbance at home; for then 'it will not be the Prince's intereſt, or any of that 'countries, that we be embroiled. Whereas, if we 'continue in the intereſt of France, our reward can 'only be, either part of its conqueſts abroad, or main'tenance of our peace and quiet at home. But as to 'the firſt, the ſhare of the weaker ally is never ſo good 'in the dividend, as in the deſignation: and we have 'no reaſon to affect new acquiſitions, unleſs we had 'the good fortune to make a better uſe of our preſent 'poſſeſſions. As for the maintenance of our peace at 'home, after the preſent diſreliſhes and jealouſies, it is 'a thing that the Parliament will never fancy or ex'pect from a friendſhip with France (21).'

(21) Letters, Vol. I. p. 345, &c.

[S] *He was not only the firſt of our Embaſſadors upon the place by ſeveral months.*] For, no other Embaſſadors arrived at Nimeguen 'till the November following (22). The chaplains that attended him in his foreign employments, were Dr Henry Maurice, and Dr Richard Lucas; men of great learning, and of an excellent character (23).

(22) Temple's Memoirs, as above, p. 188.

(23) Wynne, p. 63.

[T] *The chief part of the buſineſs, at leaſt the drudgery of it, lay upon him.*] This is in effect acknowledged by his colleague Sir William Temple, though otherwiſe extremely aſſuming and conceited. Sir William's words are,—'where there were any Ladies 'in the Ambaſſadors houſes,—the evenings were ſpent 'in dancing or play, or careleſs and eaſy ſuppers or 'collations. In theſe entertainments, as I ſeldom 'failed of making a part, and *my colleague* (24) never 'had any; ſo it gave occaſion for a good word that 'paſſed upon it, *Que la Mediation eſtoit toujours en 'pied pour faire ſa fonction*; i. e. That the Mediation 'was always on foot to go on with its buſineſs; for I 'uſed to go to bed and riſe late, while *my colleague was 'a bed by eight, and up by four*; and to ſay truth, two 'more different men were never joined in one commiſ'ſion, nor agreed better in it (25).' Sir William probably had the talking part; as Sir Lionel had the active; that is much the greateſt ſhare in managing the papers and the correſpondence. So that, what he wanted of Sir William's vivacity and courtlineſs, he amply

(24) Sir Lionel.

(25) Memoirs, as above, p. 183.

cle with a particular detail of that treaty, as ſo many accounts of it are already in print; eſpecially a moſt authentic one, in Sir Leoline's Letters, and Sir William Temple's Works. Therefore, we ſhall only obſerve, that the mediation of England was rendered ineffectual, and indeed unneceſſary, by the ſeparate articles concluded between France and the United Provinces [*U*], on the firſt of Auguſt 1678, O. S (*u*). The French Ambaſſadors deſired Sir Leoline, as mediator, to hand thoſe articles to the reſt of the confederates: but he utterly refuſed ſo to do, or to have the leaſt part in a treaty of peace, ſo hard

(*u*) Coll. of Treaties, as above, Vol. I. p. 293.

amply made up in the ſolidity of his judgment, and his indefatigable application and induſtry. This ſufficiently appears from the *two folio volumes of Sir Lionel's letters*, publiſhed by William Wynne, Eſq;——What figure each of them made in thoſe important negotiations will be more particularly evident from their reſpective characters, as given by Monſ. de St Diſdier (26). *M.* Temple *à beaucoup de belles lettres, il eſt ſingulier en ſes manieres & en ſes ſentimens. Il a paſſé pour partial dans la fonction de la mediation. Beaucoup de perſonnes ont cru reconnoitre de la vanité & de l'inegalité dans ſon humeur. D'ailleurs il eſt trés habile & tout a fait Republicain, comme l'on peut voir, par les remarques qu'il a ecrites ſur l'Eſtat des Provinces Unies des Païs-Bas. M. Jenkins ſon collegue eſt honeſte, civil, equitable, droit dans ſes ſentimens, attaché a ſa religion; il a beaucoup de belles connoiſſances, & il a toujours paru bon Mediateur*, i. e. 'Sir W. Temple is 'a man of great learning, but ſingular in his manner 'and notions. He was looked upon as partial in the 'buſineſs of the mediation. Many perſons thought 'they diſcovered both vanity and unevenneſs in his temper. Beſides he is a man of great capacity, and a 'thorough republican, as may be ſeen by his obſervations upon the united Provinces of the Netherlands. 'Sir L. Jenkins, his colleague, is ſincere, civil, juſt, 'upright in his ſentiments, attached to his religion; 'he has abundance of uſeful knowledge, and all along 'diſcharged the part of a good mediator.' Mr Baillet's character of them (27) is much to the ſame purpoſe. His concluſion of Sir William's, and that which he gives of Sir Lionel, is in theſe words.——*Il étoit d'ailleurs grand politique, & trés habile dans la connoiſſance des affaires, & avoit beaucoup de belles lettres. Jenkins n'en avoit pas moins. Il étoit outre cela honnête homme, & fort civil: il paroiſſoit droit dans ſes ſentimens, & bon Mediateur.* i. e. 'He (Sir William 'Temple) was however a great politician, and very 'ſkilful as well as knowing in the management of af'fairs, and a man of conſiderable learning. *Jenkins* 'was no leſs learned. He was beſides a very honeſt 'and civil man: appeared upright in his ſentiments, 'and a good mediator.'

(*t*) Hiſt. des Negot. de Nimeg. 12mo. p. 7.

(27) In his Hiſt. de Hollande, under the title of M. De la Neuville, edit. Paris, 1703, Tom. IV. p. 231.

[*U*] *By the ſeparate articles concluded between France and the United Provinces.*] Various reaſons are aſſigned by hiſtorians, for this haſty and indeed diſhonorable concluſion of peace between the Dutch and French; the principal of which are theſe. 1. The Dutch began to be weary of the large ſubſidies they paid to ſo many Princes, their allies, for carrying on a war, which the allies purſued for their own ſeparate intereſts or ambition; though entered into perhaps, at firſt for the defence of Holland, with whoſe ſafety theirs were complicated (28). 2. They had continued the war three years, only for the intereſts of Spain; and had engaged in it for one year longer, without the ſuitable help and concurrence of that nation (29). 3. The Dutch, ſo impatient as they were for a peace, found, they could have no dependance upon King Charles II. nor any effectual aſſiſtance from England. For King Charles was all the while a penſioner of France; and ſo violent were parties and jealouſies grown in the kingdom, that he had no proſpect of being effectually ſupported, if he had openly declared againſt France. The Parliament had indeed, in January 1677-8, granted him 1,200,000 l. for carrying on a war againſt the French, in conjuction with the Dutch and their allies: and, in ſix weeks time, he had raiſed an army of about 20,000 men, the compleateſt, and in all appearance the braveſt troops that could be any where ſeen. Some of which were already tranſported into Holland (30). But our Councils at Court were ſo in balance, between the deſires of living at leaſt fair with France, and the fears of too much diſpleaſing the Parliaments upon their frequent Seſſions, that our paces upon this whole affair looked all like croſs purpoſes, which no man at home or abroad could well underſtand, and were often miſtaken by both parties engaged in the war, as well as by both parties in the Houſe of Commons, 'till the thing was wreſted out of our hands. This is Sir William Temple's obſervation (31); who further relates, that Mr Van Lewen told him freely, 'That it was the moſt againſt their hearts in Holland 'that could be, to make a peace upon terms ſo low 'and unſafe for Flanders; and that if King Charles 'had gone into the war, as was promiſed upon France 'delaying or refuſing to accept his ſcheme, they 'would certainly have continued it: but his Majeſty's 'proceedings looked ever ſince ſo uncertain or unreſolved, that it had raiſed jealouſies in Holland of our 'meaſures being at bottom fixed and cloſe with France; 'which made moſt of the towns in Holland think, 'they had nothing elſe left to do but to go in with 'them too, as faſt as they could; and the approach of 'the French army to Antwerp left them now no time 'to deliberate: yet he profeſſed to me in private, that 'if the King would immediately declare war, he 'believed the States would ſtill go on with it, in purſuit of their alliance, and the terms therein contained. I made this report to the King, who ſeemed 'poſitive to declare the war, in caſe the Parliament 'adviſed him, and promiſed to ſupport it; when an 'unluckly peeviſh vote, moved by Sir T C 'in ſpight to my Lord-Treaſurer [Oſborne] paſſed the 'Houſe of Commons, *That no money ſhould be given*, '*'till ſatisfaction was received in matters of religion.* 'This left all ſo looſe and ſo lame, that the King was 'in a rage,—and aſked me, when or how I thought 'he could truſt the Houſe of Commons to carry him 'through the war, if he ſhould engage in it? and I 'had not much indeed to ſay, conſidering the temper 'and factions of the Houſe; nor could I well clear it 'to myſelf by my obſervation, whether the King was 'firmly reſolved to enter into the war; or if he did, 'whether the Houſe of Commons would have ſupported him in it, or turned it only to ruin the Miniſters 'by the King's neceſſities.——In ſhort, there was 'ſuch a fatal and mutual diſtruſt both in the Court 'and Parliament, as it was very hard to fall into any 'ſound meaſures between them:——But the turn that 'the King gave all this, was, That ſince the Dutch 'would have a peace upon the French terms, and 'France offered money for his conſent (32) to what he 'could not help, he did not know why he ſhould not 'get the money; and thereupon ordered me to treat 'upon it with the French Embaſſador, who had 'orders to that purpoſe.' But Sir William excuſed himſelf (33). 4. Another reaſon aſſigned for this peace, is, That it 'was brought about by the Louveſtein faction, which began to reſume ſtrength again. This is confirmed by Biſhop Burnet (34). 'The States, ſays 'he, were reſolved to have a peace. The Prince of 'Orange did all he could to hinder it (35). But 'Dewit's party began to gather ſtrength again. And 'they infuſed a jealouſy in all people, that the Prince 'intended to keep up the war for his own ends.' His marriage with the Princeſs Mary was alſo made uſe of by that faction, through the artifices of the Court of France; as Sir William Temple witneſſes.—'While, 'ſays he, this game was playing in England, they [the 'French] had another on foot in Holland, eſpecially 'at Amſterdam, by raiſing jealouſies of the meaſures 'taken between the King [Charles II.] and Prince [of Orange] upon the marriage, as dangerous to the liberties of Holland, and making it there believed, 'That by the match, the King, and Duke [of York] 'had drawn over the Prince wholly into their intereſts 'or ſentiments.——They propoſed to the Dutch other 'terms of the peace, far ſhort of the King's, and leſs 'ſafe for Flanders;——which would not have gone 'down in Holland, but for the ſuſpicions raiſed by the 'Prince's marriage, among the people there, who had 'an incurable jealouſie of our Court, and thereupon 'not that confidence of the Prince that he deſerved '(36).'

(28) Temple's Mem. as above, p. 200.

(29) Id. p. 224. See p. 194.

(30) Idem, p. 197, 315, 333. and R. Coke's Detection of the Court and State of England, edit. 1718, Vol. II. p. 234.

(31) Memoirs, as above, p. 233, 234.

(32) See theſe Memoirs, p. 312.

(33) Memoirs, p. 316, 317, 319, &c.

(34) Hiſt. of his own Time, Vol. I. edit. 1724, p. 422.

(35) See Temple's Mem. p. 211, 221, 228, 230, 280.

(36) Memoirs, as above, p. 306. See alſo R. Coke, as above, p. 220, 222, 234.

[*W*] *Whereupon*

hard and injurious to the reſt of the parties in war, ſo derogatory to the mediatorial right which had been generally accepted, and ſo different from what the King his maſter had propoſed to obtain (*w*). He continued however at Nimeguen, in the form and quality, though not in the employment, of a Mediator. But a few weeks after, the conferences being renewed between the Empire and France, Sir Leoline received orders from our Court to reſume his function of general mediator (*x*). Great part of the winter was taken up in theſe conferences between the Imperial and French Ambaſſadors, and they were ſolely managed by Sir Leoline, who went from the apartment of the one to that of the other, in the Stadt-houſe, with the alterations and amendments projected by the parties; addreſſing himſelf to, and debating with, the Imperialiſts in Latin, and with the French in their own language. After many months ſpent in this new and laborious method of treaty, which frequently engroſſed the whole day, and held 'till midnight, and withal was attended with incredible fatigue and application; Sir Leoline gave notice both to the Engliſh Court, and to Sir William Temple at the Hague, that he looked upon the Treaty between the Emperor and France as good as concluded (*y*). Whereupon Sir William, according to his orders from England, returns to Nimeguen [*W*]: but when the reſpective parties came to ſign, the French Ambaſſadors offering to yield the precedence in ſigning to Sir William and Sir Leoline as *Mediators* (which they had done very frankly in the whole courſe of the negotiation); and the Imperialiſts abſolutely refuſing it, or any other expedients propoſed, our two mediators reſolved to leave Nimeguen, in purſuance of King Charles's letters of revocation. Sir Leoline receiving his the 10th of February 1678-9 (*z*), quitted Nimeguen the 16th of that month publickly [*X*], and retired to Neerbos; where, three days after, he received a warrant from his royal maſter, dated February 14, appointing him Ambaſſador-Extraordinary at the Hague, in the room of Sir William Temple who had been recalled. Accordingly Sir Lionel arrived there March 1, but continued in that ſtation no longer than the 25th of the ſame month. For, by a new commiſſion dated February 20, and which came to his hands ſix days after, being authorized to reſume his mediatorial function (*a*), he returned to Nimeguen, March 26, at the deſire of the Prince of Orange and the States, and the earneſt intreaty of the northern princes. His inſtructions left him in a great meaſure to himſelf, without other directions than to act as he ſhould think moſt conſiſtent with his Majeſty's honour, and for the good of the general peace; which, as he was a modeſt man, and diffident of himſelf, put him into great anxiety (*b*) [*Y*]. However, he laboured to the utmoſt of his power to accommodate all remaining differences between the Imperialiſts and French, the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, the Elector of Brandenburgh, and other parties intereſted. Which being at length effected about the beginning of July 1679, his Majeſty ſent him letters of revocation, dated the 11th of that month, determining his commiſſion as Embaſſador-

(*w*) Temple's Memoirs, as above, Part II. p. 323, 341, 373.

(*x*) Sir Lionel's Letters, Vol. II. p. 437.

(*y*) Temple, as above, p. 378. and Wynne, p. 27.

(*z*) Sir Leoline's Letters, Vol. II. p. 548. and Temple's Mem. p. 378—381.

(*a*) Sir Leoline's Letters, Vol. II. p. 548, 549, 550, 552, 554, 555, 564. and Temple's Mem. p. 374.

(*b*) From his Letters, Vol. II. p. 564, 565.

[*W*] *Whereupon Sir William, according to his orders from England, returns to Nimeguen.*] He declares, that he never did any thing ſo unwillingly in his life; for 'I knew, ſays he, it was neither at all material 'that the mediators ſhould ſign this branch of the general peace, having ſigned none of the other; nor 'that two ſhould ſign it, when one alone had aſſiſted 'in the courſe of this negotiation, ſince it was renewed 'between the Empire and France; beſides, I was 'very confident it would not at laſt be ſigned by either 'of us; for I could not believe, when it came to the 'point, the Emperor's Ambaſſadors ſhould yield *that* 'of precedence to the mediators at the concluſion of 'the treaty, which they never conſented to do in the 'whole courſe of it. So that I looked upon the favour of this journey as afforded me from the particular good-will of ſome of my good friends in the foreign committee, taking a riſe from ſome inſtances of 'Sir Lionel Jenkins, who was in one of his uſual agonies, for fear of being left in the way of ſigning alone 'a treaty which he neither was pleaſed with himſelf, 'nor believed many people in England like to be ſo '[37].'

(37) Memoirs, as above, p. 379.

[*X*] *Quitted Nimeguen the 16th of that month publickly.*] Of his behaviour upon that occaſion, he gave the following account to the Earl of Sunderland, the next day, in a letter from Neerbos in the Maes-Waal, an hour from Nimeguen.— 'Upon the receipt of 'your Lordſhip's letter, which came to my hand yeſterday at ten, I left the town between three and 'four, going through the heart of it (with my people 'about me) at the time the ſtreets were full of people 'coming from church; it being, as I take it, the uſual 'courſe, in caſe of ſuch diſſatisfactions his Majeſty hath 'with a great part of this aſſembly, abruptly to go 'out, yet very openly, and about the middle of the 'day. I took leave of no Ambaſſador, nor publick 'Miniſter; only I deſired Mr Chudleigh (as Secretary 'of his Majeſty's embaſſy) to acquaint the Northern 'Miniſters with what your Lordſhip was pleaſed to direct, notwithſtanding ſome of them may be further 'advanced in their peace, than to deſerve any compleſment for their regard to his Majeſty's mediation '(38).'

(38) Sir Leoline's Lett. Vol. II. p. 550.

[*Y*] *Which, as he was a modeſt man, and diffident of himſelf, put him into great anxiety.*] His colleague, Sir William Temple, obſerves of him.—'He had ever 'ſo much diſtruſt of his own judgment, that though he 'had the moſt great deſire that could be to do well, 'yet he many times could not reſolve how to go about 'it; and was often as much perplexed about the little 'punctilio's of viſit and ceremony that were left to 'buſie that ambaſſy, as if greater affairs had ſtill attended it (39).'—In another place, he takes notice of Sir Leoline's *great modeſty* (40), — and that he was bound by 'ſuch ſtrict orders in point of forms, that he 'did not ſee how he could poſſibly with them perform 'the part of a mediator (41).' Upon which Mr Wynne makes this juſt reflexion. 'If Sir W. Temple 'means by this, a due deliberation, or a prudent precaution and behaviour in theſe matters, in expecting 'thoſe regards which were juſtly due and incident to 'his character, he is not miſtaken; or if he means an 'humble and modeſt way of expreſſing his ſentiments 'of things, and that great deference which Sir Leoline 'always paid to his experience and abilities in theſe 'ſorts of employments, he is certainly in the right of 'what he ſays. For in truth Sir Leoline was punctual 'in keeping to his inſtructions, where he was limited; 'wary and cautious, where he was left free. He was 'afraid of affecting novelties, or making any experiments where his orders were poſitive and expreſs; 'which ſhould they in the leaſt have failed of ſucceſs, 'muſt have forfeited his *reputation and ſafety*. And 'every one almoſt knows, how ſtrict an account is exacted even in matters of ceremony (42).'—Sir William himſelf gives, immediately after, an inſtance of the danger of failing even in thoſe ſeemingly trifling points; when for an undeſigned failure in them, Sir Leoline himſelf was forced to have a pardon (43).

(39) Memoirs, as above, p. 280, 281.

(40) Temple's Letters, folio edit. p. 416.

(41) Id. p. 508.

(42) Wynne, as above, p. 30.

(43) Memoirs, ubi ſupra.

[*Z*] *Sir*

Embaſſador-Extraordinary, Mediator, and Plenipotentiary at Nimeguen. 'In which, ſays 'his Majeſty, as you have ſerved us to our entire ſatisfaction; ſo we cannot but give you 'this teſtimony of our gracious acceptance, and approbation of your ſervices during your 'ſaid miniſtry (c).' Sir Leoline returned to England towards the middle of Auguſt 1679 [Z], after having been employed about four years and a half in the negotiations at Nimeguen, and was very graciouſly received by his Majeſty (d). Soon after his arrival, he was choſen one of the Burgeſſes for the univerſity of Oxford, in the Parliament which met October 17 following. In which Parliament, a bill being brought in for the excluſion of the Duke of York, he oppoſed it to the utmoſt of his power [AA]. The 11th of February 1679-80, he was ſworn a Privy-Counſellor, having been nominated to ſucceed Henry Coventry, Eſq; in the place of Secretary of State (e). He received the Seals the 26th of April 1680, being at firſt Secretary for the northern province, and for the ſouthern from the year 1681 to 1684. He entered upon this important office in critical and dangerous times, which continued ſo all the while he enjoyed it: and yet he eſcaped the then common fate of being addreſſed againſt, and of commitments, and impeachments; which he could hardly have avoided, if he had given the leaſt ground for them, either in the courſe of his embaſſies, or in his other employments (f). Being choſen a ſecond time one of the Burgeſſes for the foreſaid univerſity, in the Parliament which met at Oxford the 21ſt of March 1680-81; he oppoſed again earneſtly the excluſion of the Duke of York [BB], and the printing of the Votes [CC]. And being commanded by the Houſe of

(c) See his Letters, Vol. II. p. 631.

(d) Wynne, as above, p. 40.

(e) Wood Faſti, ut ſupra, col. 133.

(f) Wynne, as above, p. 43.

[Z] *Sir Leoline returned to England about the middle of Auguſt* 1679.] At his departure, through a moſt uncommon inſtance of generoſity and ſelf-denial, he abſolutely refuſed to accept the preſents offered him by the Emperor, the King of France, and other Princes and Potentates; though he was extremely importuned; and even had the King his maſter's orders, to receive them. The preſent from the King of France, was a very rich jewel of diamonds, roſe and crown-wiſe; and from the Emperor, a rich jewel (44). For his refuſal he gave the following reaſons, in a letter to the Earl of Sunderland.——'I hope his Majeſty will diſ'penſe with me, and not enjoin me to take any pre'ſent from the French Embaſſadors, or any other in 'this place; for it is my humble opinion, that there 'hath not been right done to his Majeſty in his figure 'of Mediator; and that I cannot receive any preſent, 'but my ſo doing will imply, that his Majeſty is ſa'tisfied with the regard had to his mediation here; 'but that his Majeſty is not ſo ſatisfied, appears by 'ſeveral occaſions he hath taken to declare, that he 'hath had ſeveral cauſes of juſt reſentment given him, 'but that he had ſacrificed them all to his zeal for the 'peace of Chriſtendom. So that I moſt humbly be'ſeech your Lordſhip to intercede for me, that I may 'not be obliged, by any order or command from his 'Majeſty, to receive this preſent, but that I be left to 'my own liberty; yet ſo, that what I do, may not 'in the leaſt reſtrain my collegues in their liberty to do 'otherwiſe: I have ſerved here much longer than 'they have done, and therefore have greater obliga'tions upon me to this ſtrictneſs; nor ſhould I deſire 'this, but that I think it moſt ſuitable to the dignity 'of the character I have the honour to ſerve in (45).' —Before Sir Lionel ſet out for England, he received a handſome letter of thanks from the Emperor Leopold, wherein are theſe compliments ——*Omittere ſane nolumus, pro eo ac diuturnus ille aſſiduuſque in re omnium gravisſimâ ac ſummè arduâ toti Reipublicæ Chriſtianæ præclara cum veſtrâ quâ fidei, quâ prudentiæ, ac dexteritatis laude*, a Vobis impenſus *labor & ſollicitudo meretur, quin vobis benevoli & grati animi noſtri teſſeram hiſce impertiremur; non felix modo iter in patriam comprecantes, ſed benignas quoque gratias pro operâ tam ſollicitâ in cauſâ omnium longè gravisſimâ ac difficillimâ adeo indefeſſe ad gratam ſatisfactionem navatâ agentes* (46).

(44) See his Letters, Vol. II. p. 628, 681.

(45) Letters, Vol. II. p. 640. See alſo his Life, p. 36, 37, 38. Sir William Temple accepted of the preſents made him. Ibid.

(46) Letters, Vol. II. p. 682.

[AA] *A Bill being brought in for the excluſion of the Duke of York, he oppoſed it to the utmoſt of his power.*] Biſhop Burnet tells us, that Sir Leoline 'was the chief manager for the Court.' And proceeds to give this character of him; 'He was a man 'of an exemplary life, and conſiderably learned: but 'he was dull and ſlow: he was ſuſpected of leaning to 'Popery, though very unjuſtly: but he was ſet on 'every punctilio of the Church of England to ſuper'ſtition, and was a great aſſertor of the divine right of 'monarchy, and was for carrying the prerogative high: 'He neither ſpoke nor writ well: but being ſo eminent 'for the moſt courtly qualifications, other matters 'were the more eaſily diſpenſed with. All his ſpeeches 'and arguments againſt the excluſion were heard with 'indignation: ſo the bill was brought into the Houſe '(47).' Two of his ſpeeches, ſpoken upon that occaſion, are printed at the end of his life (48). And five upon the ſame ſubject are printed in the 'Collection 'of the Debates of the Houſe of Commons, Oct. 21, '1680 (49).' But theſe laſt appear only to be ſnaps of diſcourſes maliciouſly patched together: not that they are entirely falſe, without any mixture of truth, but that truth in them is for the moſt part corrupted, tranſformed, and ſpitefully diſguiſed, and appear quite another thing to the world, than what was delivered upon the place (50). Roger North, Eſq; has an anecdote relating to Sir Leoline in this ſeſſion, which we ſhall inſert here. 'In the Weſtminſter Parliament— 'this good Secretary was found fault with for ſome'thing relevant he had uttered on the Court ſide. 'Divers members, from the humility of his manner in 'ſpeaking, ſuppoſed him to be a mild yielding man, 'and, to expoſe him, conſulted about cenſuring his 'words, and ordering him to the bar, and to aſk par'don upon his knees.—But for fear this, in the execu'tion, might have an unlucky return upon them, they 'reſolved firſt to ſound him.—Thereupon, ſome half'faced friends told him that he would be accuſed, and 'muſt kneel. He anſwered them in his formal way, "that he was a poor creature, not worth the reſent"ment of the houſe: he ſhould be always ſubmiſſive "to ſuch great men as they were, in every thing that "concerned himſelf. But, as he had the honour to be "his Majeſty's Secretary of State, the caſe was not "his, but his Maſter's, and, by the grace of the living "God, he would kneel to, and aſk pardon of, no "mortal upon earth, but the King he ſerved, and to "him only would he give an account of any thing "done with intent to ſerve him." This ſhewed that 'the buſineſs was like to be too hot for that time, and 'the deſign of it like to fail; and ſo it was let drop '(51).'

(47) *Hiſtory of his own Time*, Vol. I. edit. 1724, p. 481, 482.

(48) P. xcix, &c.

(49) London, 1689, 8vo. p. 35, 51, 56, 87, 257.

(50) See Wynne, as above, p. 41.

[BB] *He oppoſed again earneſtly the excluſion of the Duke of York.*] Two of his ſpeeches upon that occaſion are printed in the 'Collection of the Debates of 'the Houſe of Commons,' abovementioned (52).

(51) Life of the Lord Keeper Guilford, edit. 1742, p. 232, 233.

[CC] *And the printing of the Votes.*] On the 24th of March 1680-1, the following motion was made. 'Mr Speaker, What I am about to move concerns us 'all. The laſt Parliament when you was moved to 'print your Votes (53), it was for the ſecurity of the 'nation, and you found it ſo. It prevented ill repre'ſentations of us to the world, by falſe copies of our 'votes.—And I am confident that this Houſe will be 'no more aſhamed of their actions than the laſt was. 'Printing our Votes will be for the honour of the King, 'and the ſafety of the nation I am confident if it 'had been neceſſary, you would have petitions from 'the parts I come from, that your actions might be 'made publick.—I move therefore, that your Votes 'may be ordered forthwith to be printed, with the 'reſt of your proceedings; and I ſhall only add, that 'yourſelf (54) has done ſo well in taking that care 'upon you the laſt Parliament, that the Houſe will de'ſire you to continue them in the ſame method.' But Secretary Jenkins oppoſed it in the following words. 'I beg

(52) P. 301, 351.

(53) The Votes of the Commons began firſt to be printed 21 Octob. 1680, as is undeniably evident from ſome now before me.

(54) Wi. Williams, then Speaker.

of Commons, on the 25th of March, to carry up to the Lords the impeachment of Edward Fitz-Harris, he refuſed; which had like to have brought him into trouble [*D D*]. When the corporations came to be new-modelled by the Court, and a Quo-warranto was brought againſt the city of London in particular [*E E*], Sir Leoline ſhewed himſelf averſe to thoſe violent proceedings; and was only for puniſhing the moſt obnoxious Members in their private capacities, and not for proceeding to the entire forfeiture of the city's privileges (*g*) [*F F*]. In many other inſtances did Sir Leoline differ from the general bent and humour of the Court: for, he was a certain enemy to all chimerical projects that came before the Privy-Council; and had reſolution to diſſent, and experience enough to diſtinguiſh between what was practicable and really uſeful from what was merely chimerical. He alſo conſtantly and timely declared againſt every irregular or illegal proceeding; and where it was not in his power to hinder or mitigate the violence of ſome proſecutions, yet it was contrary to his inclination and temper to heighten them. At length, after four years ſervice in his high and laborious ſtation, being oppreſſed with buſineſs, his conſtitution was ſo waſted by his zeal and application for the public ſervice, that he became unable any longer to bear the fatigues of his office: ſo that he obtained leave of the King, on the 14th of April 1684, to reſign his place (*h*) for a valuable conſideration (*i*) [*G G*]. Thereupon

(*g*) See his Letters, Vol. II. p. 684, 685.

(*h*) Wynne, Life, as above, p. 48, 49.

(*i*) R. North's Life of Lord Guilford, p. 232.

' I beg pardon if I conſent not to the motion of print-
' ing the Votes, &c. conſider the gravity of this aſſem-
' bly. There is no great aſſembly in Chriſtendom
' does it. 'Tis againſt the gravity of this aſſembly,
' and 'tis a ſort of appeal to the people. 'Tis againſt
' your gravity, and I am againſt it (55).'

(55) Collection of Debates, as above, p. 297, 298.

[*D D*] *And being commanded by the Houſe of Commons to carry up to the Lords the impeachment of Edward Fitz-Harris.*] The caſe of this Fitz-Harris is well known, and may be learned at large from our hiſtorians. And in two words, it was this: He was accuſed of writing a libel, greatly reflecting on the King and Royal Family for being Papiſts; and affirming a Popiſh poſſeſſor might be depoſed, as well as a Popiſh ſucceſſor. Which libel was induſtriouſly reported to be written with the King's and Duke's privity and conſent, in order to be fixed upon the Diſſenters, and the moſt noiſy and diſcontented Members of Parliament, to render them odious. The Commons looking upon this affair as a ſequel of the Popiſh plot, took it into their hands; and one moved, with a kind of ſneer and ridicule, that the impeachment ſhould be ſent up to the Lords by Secretary Jenkins. Sir Leoline thereupon ſaid, ' The ſending me upon this meſſage, &c. reflects
' upon the King my maſter; and do what you will
' with me, I will not go.' Thereupon many called, *To the Bar*; and moved, That his words ſhould be written down, before he explained them. J. Trenchard in particular ſpoke thus. ' The Houſe will be
' contemptible to the extreameſt degree if this be
' ſuffered. Such a thing was never heard in Parlia-
' liament before, That the whole Houſe ſhould reflect
' on the King; and for him to ſay, Do what you will,
' I will not go.' Sir Leoline replied, ' I ſaid no ſuch
' thing, that the Houſe reflected on the King, but that
' I take it as a reflection upon the King my maſter.'
J. Trenchard added, ' His words were, This had not
' been put upon me, but for the character I bear.'
At laſt the Secretary's words were thus ſtated, " This
" meſſage is put upon me for the character I bear. I
" value not my life nor liberty, do what you will, I
" will not go." And Sir Leoline explained himſelf in theſe words, ' I ſay this is put upon me, to my appre-
' henſion, for the character I bear, and do what you
' will with me, I will not go.' Thereupon Sir William Jones ſaid, among other things,—' Let a man be
' of what quality he will, if he be too big to be your
' member, he is not to be choſen.—Secretaries are ſent
' of meſſages every day, and is he too big a meſſenger
' to accuſe a perſon of the Popiſh plot.'—Sir Leoline then replied, ' I am as ready, and think myſelf as
' much obliged to obey the commands of the Houſe,
' as any man here. The office I have excludes me not
' from it; but the thing I ſtand upon is, that the mo-
' tion was carried on in ridicule. I have an honour
' for this, and ever had for all Houſes of Commons;
' but in this meſſage I muſt and will be excuſed.' After two or three ſoftning ſpeeches, Sir Leoline went on thus, ' Since the Houſe is ſo favourable as to hear me,
' I ſhall only ſay, that I did apprehend ſending me
' with the meſſage to the Lords, was a reflection upon
' the King; if I did apprehend it a reflection upon
' my maſter, I could not but reſent it. I am heartily
' ſorry I have incurred the diſpleaſure of the Houſe,
' and I hope they will pardon the freedom of the ex-
' preſſion. I apprehended it a reflection upon the King,
' and no other conſideration whatſoever induced me to
' ſay the words.'—A little after, he added, ' I am
' ready to obey the order of the Houſe, and I am ſorry
' my words gave offence.' So he went on the meſſage (56).

(56) Collection of Debates, &c. p. 312—316.

[*E E*] *And a* Quo-warranto *was brought againſt the City of London in particular.*] Biſhop Burnet tells us, that ' Jenkins managed the whole buſineſs of the city
' with ſo many indirect practices, that the reputation
' he had for probity was much blemiſhed by it: he
' ſeemed to think it was neceſſary to bring the city to a
' dependence on the Court in the faireſt methods he
' could fall on; and, if theſe did not ſucceed, that
' then he was to take the moſt effectual ones, hoping
' that a good intention would excuſe bad practices
' (57).' But what thoſe *indirect practices* were, ' the
' Biſhop's own fruitful invention has not been able to
' inform us: nor, ſays Mr Wynne (58), am I able to
' diſcover. And therefore ſuch general and ground-
' leſs aſperſions, without one degree of real evidence
' to ſupport them, deſerve no other anſwer but con-
' tempt.—Some of the city had that grateful ſenſe of
' the part which Sir Leoline had acted in that affair [of
' the *Quo Warranto*,] that they conferred the greateſt
' teſtimony of it in their power, by preſenting him
' with his freedom, and afterwards chooſing him Ma-
' ſter of the Salters company.'

(57) Hiſt. of his own Time, p. 531.

(58) Life, as above, p. 47.

[*F F*] *And was only for puniſhing the moſt obnoxious Members in their private capacities, &c.*] That is in effect the moſt juſt and equitable method; though the contrary practice has generally prevailed: namely, to declare the privileges of a corporation forfeited, on account of ſome particular members offences, inſtead of puniſhing only the real offenders. Which is Cuſtom againſt Equity.——However; as it is ſaid above, when the bringing in of a Quo Warranto againſt the City of London was debated at Court, Sir Leoline, in order to ſoften matters; and, if poſſible, divert the blow; wrote a letter to the Duke of York, which concludes thus,—' Your Highneſs, I doubt not, will alſo
' conſider the many miſchiefs and inconveniencies that
' muſt neceſſarily follow, if this great body ſhould be
' diſſolved, for ever ſo ſmall a time, even though his
' Majeſty in his goodneſs ſhould deſign it only *in terrorem*, and to awaken them into a due ſenſe of their
' obedience; and when that gracious end is obtained,
' ſhould be pleaſed to reſtore them to their former
' franchiſes. In a word, if ſuch a rigorous courſe
' ſhould be taken, I fear it may give room to malici-
' ous ſuggeſtions, and foment the preſent heats and di-
' ſtempers of the nation, and may (though without juſt
' reaſon,) alarm all other corporations. I cannot
' therefore conceive it adviſeable, or fit for his Maje-
' ſty's preſent ſervice, (all things conſidered) to pro-
' ceed to ſuch extremities againſt *the whole body*; but
' rather to direct proceedings againſt *the moſt obnoxious*
' *members* in their private capacities (59).'

(59) Letters, as above, Vol. II. p. 685.

[*G G*] *For a valuable conſideration.*] This laſt particular we learn from Roger North, Eſq (60); but Biſhop Burnet, according to his partial cuſtom, of giving invidious and bad characters to thoſe that were called High-church-men in his time, tells us, that Sir Leoline was turned out, becauſe he was no longer neceſſary. His words are, ' Jenkins had now done all
' the

(60) Ubi ſupra, p. 232.

Thereupon he retired to an houſe in Hammerſmith, where learning and learned men continued to be his care and delight. In the middle of March 1684-5, King James II. being on the throne, Sir Leoline was ſworn again of the Privy-Council, and at the ſame time elected Burgeſs for the univerſity of Oxford. And, upon ſome little return of health and ſtrength, freſh application was made to him to appear in buſineſs; but his indiſpoſitions of body ſoon returning upon him, he was never able to ſit in that Parliament, but died the firſt of September 1685, in the 62d or 63d year of his age (*k*). His body being conveyed to Oxford, was ſolemnly buried the 17th of the ſaid month, in the area of Jeſus-college-chapel (*l*); and a marble ſtone was laid over his grave, with an epitaph [*HH*], ſuppoſed to have been made by his old friend Dr John Fell Biſhop of Oxford. As to his character; beſides what it hath already appeared from his actions, we are aſſured, that he was mild, courteous, benevolent, humble, and modeſt; ſober, and temperate; of unwearied and moſt uncommon induſtry; juſt; grateful; charitable; a true member of the Church of England; conſcientiouſly pious, and exemplary in all the duties of religion. But for a fuller view of him, ſee the account below in the note [*II*]. Having never been married,

(*k*) Wynne, as above, p. 49. See Wood, Faſti, ubi ſupra, col. 133. and Sir Leoline's Epitaph.

(*l*) Wood, ibid.

' the drudgery that the Court had occaſion for from ' him: and being capable to ſerve them in nothing ' elſe, he was diſmiſt from being Secretary of State: ' and Godolphin, one of the Commiſſioners of the ' Treaſury, ſucceeded him.' ——— But ſoon after, ' Godolphin was weary of the *drudgery* that lay on ' a Secretary of State; and choſe rather to be the Firſt ' Commiſſioner of the Treaſury (61).' Different from this is the character of Sir Leoline given by Mr North (62), ' Sir Leoline Jenkins, ſaith he, was the moſt ' faithful *drudge* of a Secretary, that ever the Court ' had.—His learning and dexterity in buſineſs, was ' great; but his fidelity ſurmounted all.——After he ' retired, the King's affairs went backward; wheels ' within wheels took place; the Miniſters turned for- ' maliſers, and the Court myſterious.' Before we diſmiſs Sir Leoline in his quality of Secretary, let us hear what Biſhop Burnet ſays further of him when conſidered in that capacity. ' The King, ſays he, was the ' more deſirous to have Lord Sunderland again near ' him, [i. e. as Secretary] that he might have ſome- ' body about him who underſtood foreign affairs. *Jen- ' kins underſtood nothing:* but he had ſo much credit ' with the High Church party, that he was of great ' uſe to the Court (63).' Now, is it really credible, That a man of good ſenſe, ſuch as Sir Leoline unqueſtionably was, who had ſpent near five years abroad in the moſt important negotiations, and converſed the greateſt part of that time with Marſhal D'Eſtrades, Monſieur Colbert, and other of the ableſt politicians in Europe, ſhould learn or know nothing of foreign affairs? therefore the accuſation of *ignorance*, together with a very great plenty of malice, muſt return back upon the right Reverend Hiſtorian. And we cannot but bewail the unhappineſs of this nation; in that, ſince parties have run ſo high amongſt us, little or no regard is had to truth, but we are perpetually miſled by falſe characters, and falſe accounts of men and things, in our Engliſh Hiſtory.

(61) Hiſt. of his own Time, p. 592.

(62) Life of Lord Keeper Guilford, p. 229, 233.

(63) Hiſt. of his own Time, p. 531.

[*HH*] *With an epitaph.*] Which is in theſe words, Depoſitum Illuſtriſſimi Viri Dni LEOLINI IENKINS L. L. Doctoris, et Equitis aurati, Admiralitatis Angliæ, et Curiæ Prærogativæ Cantuarienſis Judicis, Et ſereniſſimæ Regiæ Majeſtati à Sanctioribus Conſiliis. Ille Lanctriſantiæ Silurum, Honeſta Familia natus, Literis a prima Juventute liberaliter imbutus, et Collegio Ieſu, in Univerſitate Oxonienſi admotus, egregia illic edidit optimæ indolis Specimina; Donec ob fidem Regi præſtitam Democraticorum furoribus proſcriptus, ſolum vertere, et in Galliam ſecedere cogeretur. Academia vero una cum Principe reſtituta, Collegij Ieſu Socius, mox Præfectus renunciabatur: Deinceps Legationes crebras Auguſtiſſimi regis CAROLI nomine, feliciter adminiſtravit, primum ad Regem Galliarum miſſus, poſtea Coloniæ, nec non Novomagi Pacis Europæ ſequeſter, finitimorum undique Principum bella ſopivit, Nec minus domi quam foris utilis: Secretarius Status primarius, Conjuratorum per Angliam molimina vigiliis ſuis detexit, conſiliis diſſipavit, demum miſſione honorifica ab indulgentiſſimo principe donatus, feceſſum petiit, ut Deo & Æternitati unice vacaret: Viribuſq; quas in publica Commoda impenderat, exhauſtis, et Morbo diutino confectus, ſanctiſſimam Animam Deo reddidit Sept. 1. Ann. MDCLXXXV. Ætat. LXIII. Tumulum ſortitus, ubi prima Literarum tyrocinia poſuit, eo in Collegio quod vivus Patrocinio fovit, moriens vero hæredem Scripſit, et tantum non denuo fundavit (64).

(64) J. Le Neve Mnum. Angl. from 1650 to 1718, p. 159.

[*II*] *But for a fuller view of him, ſee the account below in the note.*] We ſhall give it chiefly in the words of Mr Wynne, the ingenious writer of his life. ' He was by nature mild, affable, courteous; of unaf- ' fected goodneſs and benevolence; friendly and inof- ' fenſive to inferiors as well as ſuperiors; and ſo hum- ' ble in his carriage, that he was almoſt beyond exam- ' ple. His great modeſty in his language and conver- ' ſation, ſometimes made a diſadvantageous impreſſion ' of him on thoſe who judged altogether by outward ' appearances. For he was not one of thoſe flaſhy men, ' who at firſt ſight or at a diſtance appear beſt, and can ' exhibit the whole experience of their narrow lives at ' a ſingle interview: but the longer he was known, ' the better he appeared; being like a piece of true ' architecture, which does not ſhew it perfectly at once; ' but will bear an agreeable view and review on all ' ſides, and the more accurately it is conſidered by a ' ſkilful artiſt, the more perfect and ſatisfactory it ap- ' pears. Though his deportment had much of a gen- ' tleman, it had more of a ſcholar, and moſt of a ' Chriſtian. His civility did not conſiſt only in words ' or courtly expreſſions, but he was ſtrictly juſt in ' in his words, as well as faithful in his promiſes; and ' had a real regard wherever he profeſſed it. He was ' an enemy to flattery of any kind, and uneaſy even at ' its firſt approaches. Of ſo grateful a temper to every ' one, that he never failed to expreſs, in the moſt pro- ' per and becoming manner, the favours he had re- ' ceived. In his moſt ſcanty circumſtances of life, he ' had an eaſy, patient, and contented mind; and in ' his greateſt affluence nothing of pride and arrogance. ' As his firſt purpoſes were to be humble and juſt, the ' poſſeſſion or acquiſition of power did not in the leaſt ' alter his manners: but, after his advancement, he ' behaved with the ſame decency, temper, and mode- ' ration, as in his loweſt parts of life. He was frugal ' and temperate in the common management of his for- ' tune, and an enemy to all ſort of luxury and extra- ' vagance. His uſual dreſs was of the beſt; but the ' emblem of his mind, grave, plain, and unaffected; ' and commonly black, which made ſome think, that ' he was in holy orders, though he was not: and in ' conſequence of that, a report ſtrongly prevailed, that ' he was to be advanced to the Archbiſhopric of Can- ' terbury, upon the death of Archbiſhop Sheldon in ' 1677, though the report was without foundation (65). His life was, as it were, one continued courſe ' of labour and induſtry for the public good. His na- ' tural capacities for buſineſs were great, much im- ' proved by conſtant ſtudy, and indefatigable diligence ' and application. All the time he could ſafely bor- ' row from the public ſervice, was ſpent in ſtudy and ' reading, which he often profeſſed to be his moſt a- ' greeable entertainment; and which was the more ſo ' to him, by reaſon of a ſtrong happy memory, and a ' regular method in reading. He was verſed in many ' modern languages, which he ſpoke fluently; and had ' ſome gleanings in moſt parts of learning, even in ' thoſe which gratify the curioſity more than the un- ' derſtanding of a man; but he had chiefly addicted ' himſelf to thoſe of real and immediate benefit. He ' was not only eminent in his particular profeſſion of ' the civil and canon laws, but had alſo a very great ' knowledge of the common and ſtatute laws of the ' realm. He was a man of little leiſure, and of no ' ſort of pleaſure, even to a voluntary abſtinence from ' innocent and agreeable diverſions; and in many ' things

(65) See Wood Faſti, ut ſupra, col. 133.

married, he bequeathed his eſtates, both real and perſonal, to charitable uſes; and, in particular, he was ſo great a benefactor to Jeſus college in Oxford, that he is generally looked upon as a ſecond founder [*K K*].

'things of life exceeded the moſt rigid Stoick. To 'this he probably owed his great ſtrength of body, 'and a conſtitution not only healthful, but alſo capa- 'ble of the cloſeſt application; and always lived in a 'ſparing, abſtemious way, that he might be the fitter 'for buſineſs, and the duties of his employments. As 'he conſtantly went to reſt early, ſo he roſe early, and 'often before the ſun, even in the midſt of ſummer; 'nature exacting very little ſleep of him. Finally, he 'was a man of excellent piety, and unaffected devo- 'tion; and, through the whole courſe and tenor of 'his life, was a ſerious, ſincere Chriſtian, of a ſtrong 'and maſculine piety, without any mixture of enthu- 'ſiaſm or ſuperſtition, and a hearty Proteſtant of the (66) Wynne, as above, p. 53—59. 'Church of England (66).' See alſo notes [*A A*] and [*G G*].

[*K K*] *So great a benefactor to Jeſus college in Oxford.*] By his will he gave to that college. 1. The manor of Molton, in the pariſhes of Llancarvan and Wenvo. 2. Lands and tenements, in Llantriſſent. 3. Lands, &c. in the pariſhes of Eglwys, Ilan, and Caerphilli. 4. Cowbridge-ſchool, which he purchaſed of Sir Edward Stradling. All in the county of Glamorgan.——5. Three acres of ground in the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's marſh in Lambeth; and ſeven acres near the ſame. 6. Lands, tenements, &c. in the pariſhes of Blakeſley, Plumpton, Weſton, and Weedon, in Northamptonſhire. 7. Lands, tenements, &c. in the pariſhes of Dambleton, and Wormington, in the county of Glouceſter.—And alſo his perſonal eſtate, which after his deceaſe, produced 4857 l. 15 s. 10 d. ¾. —The amount of the whole being upwards of 700 l. a year.

By his ſaid will, he appropriated the following yearly payments out of his eſtates.—To the ſchool-maſter of Cowbridge, ſo long as he doth not undertake any cure of ſouls, but keeps himſelf wholly to the buſineſs of his ſchool, 10 l. a year: and, without ſuch a limitation, 10 l. a year more.—To five penſioners in that ſchool, (which the maſter is to teach gratis, as well as ten hopeful youths more) 6 l. a piece, for four years.—To three Exhibitioners in Jeſus college, out of that ſchool, 10 l. a year, for four years.—For binding poor children apprentices, or clothing old poor people in the pariſhes of Llantriſſent, Llanblethian, the town of Cowbridge, and Yſtrad Owen, 20 l. per ann.—To the Principal of Jeſus college, for an augmentation of his maintenance, 50 l. a year, and the rectory of Rotherfield Peppard.—To make up the ſixteen fellowſhips there, 20 l. per ann. a piece; and the ſixteen ſcholarſhips, 10 l. per ann. a piece.—To two new fellows, 20 l. per ann. each; and, while they are either chaplains at ſea, or miſſionaries abroad, which he intended they ſhould, 20 l. a year more to each.—To two lecturers in the college. 15 l. a year each.—To the ſenior burſar, 8 l. per ann.—To four or five additional fellows, 8 l. or 10 l. a piece.—For the endowment of the Chapel Tal y garn, near the place of his nativity, which he had purchaſed and repaired, 10 l. per ann.—And to the rector of St. Bennet's Paul's-wharf, London, for his better incouragement in reading daily the ſervice of the Church, 10 l. a year, &c (67). (67) From a copy of his Will.

C

JEWEL [JOHN], Biſhop of Saliſbury, in the XVIth century, one of the greateſt ornaments and pillars of the Church of England ſince the Reformation, was born May 24, 1522 [*A*], at Buden in the pariſh of Berinerber in Devonſhire (*a*), and deſcended from an honeſt and very ancient family [*B*]. At the age of ſeven, he received the firſt rudiments of learning from his uncle John Bellamy Rector of Hamton; and afterwards was at ſchool, at Branton under Tho. Stotes; at South-Molton under Antony Simons; and at Barnſtaple under Walter Bowin (*b*). When juſt turned of thirteen, being thought fit for the univerſity, he was ſent to Oxford, and admitted a Portioniſt, or Poſt-maſter, in Merton-college: where he was put under the tuition of Mr John Parkhurſt, afterwards Biſhop of Norwich. About four years after, namely Auguſt 19, 1539, he was elected Scholar of Corpus-Chriſti college in the foreſaid univerſity. October 20, 1540, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts. His uſual method was, to riſe at four o'clock in the morning, and to ſtudy 'till ten at night; by which indefatigable induſtry he rendered himſelf a compleat maſter of moſt branches of learning, but withal he impaired his health (*c*) [*C*]. After taking his degree, he became a noted tutor (*d*), and privately inſtructed his pupils in Proteſtant principles (*e*). Shortly after, he was choſen Rhetoric profeſſor, or reader, in his college, which office he diſcharged for ſeven years with great applauſe [*D*]: and behaved in his whole conduct in a moſt amiable and exemplary manner (*f*). On the 9th of February 1544, he took the degree of Maſter of Arts (*g*). During King Henry the VIIIth's reign he was privately a Proteſtant, but he publickly declared himſelf ſuch, after that Prince's deceaſe in 1546, And, upon Peter Martyr's coming to be Divinity-Profeſſor at Oxford, he became ſtrongly attached to him; frequented his Lectures and Sermons; and, being very expert at ſhort-hand (*h*), was Notary on that Profeſſor's behalf, when he diſputed (May 28, 1549) in the Divinity-ſchool, with Dr Treſham, Dr Cheadſey, and Morgan Phillips, about the real preſence (*i*). He took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity in 1550, and frequently improved the univerſity by his excellent ſermons. Being alſo preſented to the Rectory of Sunningwell in Berkſhire; though he was lame

(*a*) J. Juelli Vita, autore L. Humfredo, Lond. 1573, 8vo. p. 14.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 17. At this laſt place he chanced to have for his ſchool-fellow, his furious antagoniſt afterwards, John Harding. Fuller's Worthies, in Devonſhire, p. 253.

(*c*) Humfr. p. 23—26.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 27.

(*e*) Wood Ath. Vol. I. edit. 1721, col. 168.

(*f*) Humfr. ut ſupra, p. 25, 28.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 30. But A. Wood ſays, it was Jan. 28. Faſti, Vol. I. col. 69.

(*h*) Humfr. ut ſupra, p. 40.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 44, 45. Vide Wood Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. L. i. p. 268.

[*A*] *Was born May* 24, 1522.] Dr Fuller ſays, by miſtake, that it was in the year 1552 (1).

(1) Worthies, in Devonſhire, p. 253.

[*B*] *And deſcended from an honeſt and very ancient family.*] *Ortus eſt honeſta, ſanè perantiqua, & haud ignobili familia* (2): which family had been then in poſſeſſion of the eſtate at Buden, or Bowden, near 200 years (3). His father's name was John, a name almoſt hereditary in his family, it being alſo that of his grandfather, and great-grand-father. On the mother's ſide, he was of the good family of the Bellamy's. Happily did they live *fifty* years together as man and wife; and were bleſſed with a numerous iſſue, leaving ten children behind them (4).

(2) L. Humfr. ut ſupra, p. 16.

(3) Ibid. p. 15.

(4) Ibid. p. 16.

[*C*] *But withal he impaired his health.*] *Hunc ad modum in umbra, domi & privatim in muſæo ſe geſſit, legendo, ſtudendo, ſcribendo, vigilando, ut valetudinem ſuam non ſatis curarit. Etenim victus nimis ſcholaſticus & ſimplex fuit, corpus macilentum & perimbecillum, ut mireris tot laboribus exhauriendis potuiſſe ſufficere.* He retiring once to Witney, (on account of an epidemical ſickneſs at Oxford) and purſuing there his ſtudies with his uſual avidity; and, without having proper accommodations, or due care taken, by himſelf or others; contracted ſuch a cold, as fixed a lameneſs in one of his legs, which accompanied him to his grave (5).

(5) Ibid. p. 26.

[*D*] *Which office he diſcharged for ſeven years with great applauſe.*] His lectures were ſo much admired, that they drew many auditors to him from other colleges; and alſo engaged his former tutor, Mr John Parkhurſt, to come out of the country, and hear him with great pleaſure: upon which occaſion he highly complimented him (6).

(6) Ibid. p. 29. See alſo our author's Life, prefixed to his Works.

[*E*] *The*

Jame, he went thither every other Sunday, and regularly diſcharged the paſtoral office, both by preaching and catechiſing (*k*). During the whole reign of King Edward VI. he was a zealous promoter of the Reformation; in conſequence whereof, he fell one of the firſt victims to Popiſh ſuperſtition and reſentment, after Queen Mary's acceſſion. For, before any law made, or order given by the Court, the reſt of the Fellows expelled him from the college, by their own private authority (*l*) [*E*], Whereupon he withdrew to Broad-gate hall (now Pembroke college) where many of his pupils, and other gentlemen, privately reſorted to him for inſtruction (*m*). But he was ſoon extremely miſſed in his college; and ſo little could the univerſity do without his aſſiſtance, that they choſe him their Orator, and were forced to make uſe of his elegant pen to draw up their addreſs to the new Queen (*n*). He ſeems to have been wavering about this time, and even was drawn in to ſubſcribe to the errors of Popery [*F*]. But his compliance not being thought ſincere, or deep and thorough enough, Dr Martial Dean of Chriſt-Church [*G*], was plotting how to deliver him up into Biſhop Bonner's bloody hands; from whence, in all probability, he could not have got off without a great injury to his conſcience and reputation, or perhaps the loſs of his life. Theſe ſnares he happily avoided; and eſcaped, on foot, and through by-ways, to London [*H*]: where concealing himſelf, firſt in Thames-ſtreet, and then in another place, for fear of being diſcovered; Sir Nicolas Throgmorton, a man of great diſtinction at that time, furniſhed him with money for his journey, and procured a ſhip to convey him beyond ſea (*o*) [*I*]. He arrived at Francfort in the year 1554, the 2d of Queen Mary, where he had Dr Edwin Sandys, afterwards Archbiſhop of York, for his board- and bed-fellow. By his perſwaſion, and the joint-advice of his two intimate friends, Richard Chambers, and Thomas Sampſon, he made, ſoon after his arrival, a public confeſſion of his ſorrow for his late ſubſcription. For, on a Sunday morning, after having preached a Sermon to the Engliſh exiles there, he bitterly bewailed his fall, and heartily begged pardon of God, and of the Church, which he had offended (*p*). After a ſhort ſtay at Francfort, he was invited to Straſburg by his intimate friend Peter Martyr; who kept a kind of college for learned men in his own houſe, and whereof he made Mr Jewel vice-maſter (*q*). The latter aſſiſted him in the publication of his Lectures on the book of Judges; and attending him afterwards to Zurich, was very helpful to that great man, in the Lectures he read for Profeſſor Conrad Pellican, who was grown extremely old and infirm (*r*). In 1558, upon the death of Queen Mary, and happy acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth, the Engliſh exiles returned to England, and Mr Jewel among the reſt. At his firſt coming over, he was entertained ſix months in the houſe of N. Culverwell, a citizen of London: and then the Lord Williams of Tame, being ill, ſent for him, with whom he continued ſome time (*s*). The 31ſt of March following, he was one of the ſixteen Divines that held a public Diſputation in Weſtminſter-Abbey, upon the chief controverted points between the Papiſts and Proteſtants (*t*). The ſubſtance and iſſue of this diſputation may be ſeen in the authors referred to in the margin. Jewel wiſhed that it had gone on, and that ſome ſuch publick conference might have been appointed for the full ſatisfaction of people in thoſe controverſies, and making the truth more evident to all (*u*). But to proceed. July 19, 1559, he was appointed one of the Commiſſioners, by virtue of the Queen's letters patent, to viſit the dioceſes of Sarum, Briſtol, Exeter, Bath and Wells, and Glouceſter; and to purge them, as much as poſſible, from Popery (*w*). As a reward for his great merit and learning, he was conſecrated Biſhop of Saliſbury January 21, 1559-60 [*K*]; in which eminent ſtation, he behaved

(*k*) Humfr. ut ſupra, p. 43, 45, 49.

(*l*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, &c. p. 419. Humfred, p. 74.

(*m*) Humfr. p. 77.

(*n*) See Fuller's Church Hiſtory, b. viii. p. 6. and Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. L. i. p. 274, &c.

(*o*) Humfr. p. 79—83.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 86.

(*q*) Fuller's Church Hiſt. b. viii. p. 36.

(*r*) Humfr. ut ſupra, p. 86, 87, 89.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 99.

(*t*) See J. Fox's Acts and Monum. Vol. II. Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 414, &c. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Ref. Part ii. Collect. of Records, p. 333, &c.

(*u*) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. edit. 1725, p. 93. See the Appendix to that volume, No. 16, &c.

(*w*) Humfr. p. 107. and Strype's Ann. Vol. I. p. 267.

[*E*] *The reſt of the fellows expelled him the college.*] He was expelled by the ſeven ſeniors, and officers (7): and the reaſons alledged for it, were: his having attended P. Martyr's lectures: preaching doctrines contrary to Popery: not being ordained by the ritual, but by the new form: And his refuſal to be preſent at maſs (8).

(7) Life prefixed to his Works, by D. Featly.

(8) Humfr. p. 74. and Fuller's Church Hiſt. book viii. p. 8.

[*F*] *He ſeems to have been wavering about this time, and even was drawn in to ſubſcribe to the errors of Popery.*] Dr Humfrey, the author of his life, imputes his wavering, to the ſpecious promiſes made by Queen Mary, that ſhe would force no man's conſcience, and intended to make no change in religion (9). He adds, that if he could have conſulted his old tutor Dr Parkhurſt, he would not have been guilty of ſo great a weakneſs. He took a journey on foot to Cleve, of which he was Rector, for that purpoſe: but the Doctor, upon the re-eſtabliſhment of Popery, was fled to London. Mr Jewel being thus diſappointed, returns to Oxford, where he lingered, and waited, 'till he was ſuddenly laid hold on by certain Inquiſitors; who preſſing him, with threats, to ſubſcribe, he took a pen in his hand, and, ſmiling ſaid, 'Muſt I ſet down my 'name too: and, have you a mind to ſee how well I 'can write.' But he ſoon became ſenſible of his apoſtaſy; and took the firſt opportunity to eſcape (10).

(9) P. 80. See Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reform. Part ii. p. 245, 246.

(10) Humfr. p. 83, 84. and Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. L. i. p. 276.

[*G*] *Dr Martial, Dean of Chriſt-church.*] He was a very bad man, and a thorough complier with all changes in religion. For he renounced Popery under King Edward; embraced it again with great zeal under Queen Mary; quitted it again under Queen Elizabeth; and turned again two or three times afterwards (11).

(11) Humfr. p. 81.

[*H*] *And eſcaped on foot, and through by-ways, to London.*] He walked 'till he was forced to lie on the ground, quite ſpent, and almoſt breathleſs: in which condition he was found by one Auguſtin Bernher, a Swiſs, firſt a ſervant to Biſhop Latimer, and afterwards a miniſter; who ſetting him up on a horſe, conducted him to the Lady Anne Warcop's, a widow, by whom he was entertained for ſome time, and then ſafely ſent to London (12),

(12) Ibid. p. 82.

[*I*] *And procured a ſhip to convey him beyond ſea.*] His eſcape was managed by Giles Laurence, tutor to Sir Arthur Darci's children, living near the Tower of London (13). This Laurence was Mr Jewel's fellow-collegian; afterwards of All-Souls college; Greek Profeſſor of the Univerſity; and made in 1564, Archdeacon of Wilts by Biſhop Jewel, whoſe life he had ſaved, as is here related (14).

(13) Ibid. p. 83.

(14) Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 117.

[*K*] *Was conſecrated Biſhop of Saliſbury, January* 21.] He was elected Aug. 21, 1559, had the royal aſſent Dec. 27, was confirmed Jan. 18, conſecrated Jan. 21, inthronized March 6, and had reſtitution of the temporalities, April 6, 1560 (15).

(15) Rymer's Acta, &c. Vol. XV. p. 555, 578.

[*L*] *In*

behaved in a moſt diligent and exemplary manner (*x*) [*L*]. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf, at the ſame time, by preaching and writing in defence of the Church of England, and againſt the Errors of Popery. For, in 1560, on the ſecond Sunday before Eaſter, he made a public challenge (in the Sermon he then preached at St Paul's croſs) to all the Roman-Catholics in the world, to produce but one clear and evident teſtimony, out of any Father, or famous writer, who flouriſhed within ſix hundred years after Chriſt, for any one of the many articles which the Romaniſts at this day maintain againſt the Church of England [*M*]. Two years after, he publiſhed his learned and excellent Apology for the Church

(*x*) Humfr. p. 108. See alſo his Life, prefixed to his Works, edit. 1609, fol.

[*L*] *In which eminent ſtation he behaved in a moſt diligent and exemplary manner*] *In hac Sariſburienſis Eccleſiæ ſpecula conſtitutus, jam non obdormiſcit, ſed in excubiis eſt, & ſuſceptam perſonam graviſſime repræſentat.* as Dr Humfrey expreſſes it (16). He became moſt remarkable for his apoſtolic doctrine, holy life, prudent government, incorrupt integrity, unſpotted chaſtity, and bountiful liberality. In his firſt viſitation he began, and in his laſt he perfected, ſuch a reformation, not only in the cathedral and parochial churches, but in all courts of his juriſdiction, as procured him, and the whole order of Biſhops, due reverence and eſteem. For he was a careful overlooker and ſtrict obſerver, not only of all the flocks, but alſo of the paſtors in his dioceſe: and he watched ſo narrowly upon the proceedings of his Chancellor and Archdeacons, and of his ſtewards and receivers, that they had no opportunities of being guilty of oppreſſion, injuſtice, and extortion, nor of being a burden to the people, and a ſcandal to himſelf. To prevent theſe and the like abuſes, for which the Epiſcopal courts are often too juſtly cenſured, he ſat often in his Conſiſtory-court, and ſaw that all things were carried rightly there: neither did he only ſit as Judge in the Conſiſtory, but alſo oftentimes as aſſiſtant on the bench of juſtice, [he being himſelf a Juſtice of the peace (17),] informing the Judges in ſuch cauſes where the law of God and the law of the land ſeemed to claſh, and exhorting the priſoners willingly and patiently to ſubmit to the ſtroke of juſtice.—With regard to his more private conduct: he roſe at four o'clock in the morning; and, after prayers with his family at five, and in the Cathedral about ſix, he was ſo fixed to his ſtudies all the morning, that he could not without great violence be drawn from them. After dinner, his doors and ears were open to all ſuitors; and it was obſerved of him, as of Titus, that he never ſent any ſad from him. Suitors being thus diſmiſſed, he heard, with great indifferency and patience, ſuch cauſes debated before him, as either were devolved to him as a judge, or referred to him as an arbitrator; and if he could ſpare any time from theſe troubleſome affairs, he reckoned as clear gain to his ſtudy. About nine o'clock at night, he called all his ſervants to an account how they had ſpent the day, and then went to prayers with them: from the chapel he withdrew again to his ſtudy 'till near midnight, and from thence to his bed; in which after he was laid, the gentleman of his bed-chamber read to him 'till he fell aſleep. This watchful and laborious kind of life, without any recreation at all, except what his neceſſary refreſhment at his meals, and a very few hours of reſt in the night afforded him, waſted his precious life too faſt, and undoubtedly haſtened his end (18).

(16) Juelli Vita, &c. ut ſupra, p. 108.

(17) Ibid. p. 246.

(18) His Life by D. Featly, prefixed to his Works; and in Fuller's Abel Redivivus, p. 307, &c. See alſo Humfr. p. 251, 252.

[*M*] *He made a public challenge (in the ſermon he then preached at St Paul's-croſs) to all the Roman catholics in the world, &c*] His text was 1 Cor. xi. 23. and the challenge he made, in theſe words.—'If any 'learned man of our adverſaries, or if al the learned 'men that be alive, be hable to bryng any one ſuffi'cient ſentence out of any olde catholike Doctour, or 'Father, or out of any old general Councel, or out of 'the holy Scriptures of God, or any one example of 'the Primitive Churche, whereby it may clearely, and 'plainely be proved, that there was any private Maſſe 'in the whole worlde at that time for the ſpace of ſixe 'hundred yeres after Chriſte: or, that there was then any 'Communion miniſtred unto the people under one kynde: 'or, that the people had theire common praier then in a 'ſtrange tongue that they underſtoode not: or, that the 'Biſhop of Rome was then called an univerſal Biſhop, 'or the head of the univerſal Churche: or, that the 'people was then taught to beleve that Chriſtes bodie 'is really, ſubſtantiallie, corporallie, carnallie, or na'turallie in the Sacrament: or, that his bodie is, or 'may be, in a thouſand places or mo at one time: or 'that the Prieſt did then holde up the Sacrament over 'his head: or, that the people did then falle downe, 'and woorſhip it with godly honour: or, that the Sa'crament was then or now oughte to be hanged up 'under a canopie: or, that in the Sacrament after the 'woordes of conſecration, there remaine onely the ac'cidentes and ſhewes, without the ſubſtance of breadde 'and wyne: or that the Prieſte then divided the Sa'crament in three partes, and afterward received him'ſelf al alone: or, that whoſoever had ſaide, the Sa'crament is a figure, a pledge, a token or a remem'braunce of Chriſtes bodie, had therefore beene judged 'for an heretike: or, that it was laufull then to have '30, 20, 15, 10, or 5 maſſes ſaid in one churche, 'in one daie: or, that images then were ſet up in the 'churches, to th intent the people might woorſhip 'them: or, that the lai people was then forbidden to 'reade the woorde of God in their owne tongue: or, 'that it was then lawful for the Prieſt to pronounce the 'woordes of conſecration cloſely, and in ſilence to 'himſelfe: or, that the Prieſt had the authoritie to of'fer up Chriſt unto his Father: or, to communicate 'and receive the Sacrament for another, as they doo: 'or, to applie the vertue of Chriſtes death and paſſion 'to any manne by the meane of the Maſſe: or, that 'it was then thought a ſound doctrine, to teache the 'people, that maſſe *ex opere operato*, that is, even for 'that it is ſaide and done, is hable to remove any part 'of our ſinne: or, that then any chriſtian man called 'the Sacrament his Lord and God: or, that the peo'ple was then taught to beleve that the bodie of Chriſt 'remaineth in the Sacrament, as longe as the acciden'tes of the bread remaine there without corruption: 'or, that a mouſe, or anye other woorme, or beaſte, 'may eate the body of Chriſt (for ſo ſome of our ad'verſaries have ſaide and taught): or, that when Chriſt 'ſaide, *Hoc eſt corpus meum*, This woord *Hoc*, pointed 'not the bread, but *individuum vagum*, as ſome of 'them ſaie: or, that the accidentes, or fourmes, 'or ſhewes of bread and wine, bee the Sacramentes of 'Chriſtes bodie and bloudde, and not rather the very 'bread and wine itſelfe: or that the Sacrament is a 'ſigne or token of the bodie of Chriſte that lieth hid'den underneath it: or, that ignorance is the mother 'and cauſe of true devotion, and obedience.—I pro'miſe to yield unto him, and to ſubſcribe.'—I. This ſermon was printed at London in 1560, 8vo. And the Catholics being thus vigorouſly attacked in it, muſtered up all their forces to ſupport their ſinking cauſe. The foremoſt in the quarrel, was Dr *Henry Cole*, between whom and our learned Biſhop, ſeveral *letters* paſſed upon that occaſion, from March 18, 1559, 'till May 18, 1560 (19).—John Raſtell a Jeſuit, publiſhed likewiſe, *A Confutation of a Sermon pronounced by Mr* Jewel, *at Paul's-croſs*. Antw. 1564. As did Tho. Dorman, *A proof of certain Articles in Religion denied by Mr* Jewel, Antw. 1564. The former of which was anſwered by W. Fulke, and the latter by Dean Nowell. —Some time after, Thomas Heſkyns, D. D. came out with a large book, intitled, *The Parliament of Chriſte avouching and declaring the enacted and receaved trueth of the preſence of his bodie and bloode in the bleſſed Sacrament, and of other articles concerning the ſame, impugned in a wicked ſermon, by M. Juell*, Antw. 1566, fol.—But our Biſhop's moſt conſiderable antagoniſt, was Thomas Harding, who put out, *An Anſwere to Maiſter Juelles Chalenge*, Louvain 1564, 4to. reprinted in 1565, 8vo. with a preface by John Martiall. To which our learned author publiſhed a full anſwer, intitled, II. "A Replie unto *M. Hardinges* Anſweare: "By perufinge whereof the diſcrete, and diligent Rea"der may eaſily ſee, the weake and unſtable groundes "of the Romaine Religion, whiche of late hath beene "accompted Catholique." Lond. 1566, fol. It was tranſlated into Latin by William Whitaker, Fellow of Trinity-college in Cambridge, and publiſhed at Geneva, in 1578, 4to. with our author's Apology for the Church

(19) Humfr. p. 123, 138.

Church of England [N]. On the 26th of May 1565, the univerſity of Oxford conferred upon him the degree of Doctor in Divinity, though he was abſent (y); and the year following, he attended Queen Elizabeth, in the viſit ſhe made to that noble ſeminary of learning, and moderated at the Divinity-diſputations then held before her Majeſty (z). He continued to defend and adorn the Church of England, during the remainder of his valuable life; which was but ſhort: for he died, September 23, 1571, in the fiftieth year of his age, at Monkton Farley in Wiltſhire, and was buried about the middle of the choir of Salisbury-cathedral (a). Two years after, Dr Laurence Humfrey, the author of his life, laid a marble-ſtone on his grave, with an inſcription in his praiſe, which may be ſeen at the beginning of that life. Beſides the books already mentioned, Biſhop Jewel was author of ſeveral pieces, of which an account is given in the note [O]. His character is ſet out to great advantage, in the numerous copies of verſes that are printed at the end of the forementioned life. By which, and all that hath been ſaid of him, it appears, that he was pious, charitable, of a pleaſant, and affable temper; modeſt, meek, temperate, and a perfect maſter of his paſſions (b). He was indefatigable in his ſtudies; and by that means not only attained a thorough knowledge of moſt of the ſciences, but alſo acquired a great ſkill in the Latin, Greek, and Italian languages (c). Though he was a conſtant preacher, yet he never attempted to do it extempore, and without due preparation (d). His memory was wonderful [P]. With reſpect to his perſon, he was of a thin habit of body;

(y) Humfr. p. 242. and Wood, Faſti, Vol. I. col. 96.

(z) Humfr. p. 245. and Wood Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. L. i. p. 288.

(a) Godwin de Præſulibus, edit. G. Richardſon, p. 355.

(b) Humfr. p. 28, 41, 247.

(c) Ibid. p. 110, 234.

(d) Ibid. p. 109.

Church of England. To this *Replie*, Mr Harding put out two *Rejoinders*, Antw. 1566, 4to. and Louvain, 1567, 4to

[N] III. *Apology for the Church of England.*] This moſt excellent Vindication of our Reformed Church, was written by the truly learned author in elegant Latin, and printed at London in 1562, 8vo. An Engliſh tranſlation of it was printed the ſame year: another tranſlation, made by Anne, (one of the ſix learned daughters of Sir Antony Cooke, and) wife of Sir Nicolas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, was publiſhed in 1564, for common uſe, with the Queen's approbation, and the conſent of the Biſhops (20). It was alſo tranſlated in ſeveral other languages, particularly in Greek; which laſt was printed at Oxford in 1614, 8vo. As it ſtruck at the great Diana of the Papiſts, numbers of them undertook to confute it; viz. in *Latin* Alanus Copus, als Nicolas Harpsfield: and in *Engliſh*, Nicolas Sanders, Thomas Stapleton, John Raſtall, Tho. Dorman, Tho. Heſkyns, and Tho. Harding. This laſt being the moſt conſiderable, Biſhop Jewel profeſſedly writ a long and particular anſwer to him, laſhing the reſt only by the by. Harding had intitled his book, *A Confutation of the Apologie of the Churche of Englande*, Antw 1563, 4to. And the Biſhop's anſwer was intitled, IV. "A Defenſe of the "Apologie of the Churche of Englande. Conteinge an Anſweare to a certaine Booke lately ſet "foorthe by M. Hardinge, and entituled, *A Confutation of, &c.*" Lond. 1564, 1567. This defence was tranſlated into Latin, by Thomas Bradoc, B. D. and Fellow of Chriſt's college, Cambridge: printed at Geneva, 1600, fol. And in ſo great eſteem was it both abroad, and at home, that it was ordered by Queen Elizabeth, King James, and King Charles I. and by four ſucceſſive Archbiſhops, to be read and chained up in all pariſh churches throughout England and Wales (21).—Harding replying to it, in a book, which he named, *A Detection of ſundrie foule Errours, Lyes, Sclaunders, Corruptions, &c. uttered and practiſed by* Mr Jewel, *in a Book lately by him ſet forth, intitled*, A Defence of the Apologie, &c. Lovain, 1568, 4to. The Biſhop thereupon publiſhed, V. "An Anſweare "unto a Book written by Mr Hardinge, entituled, *A "Detection of ſundrie foule Errours*, &c." Lond. 1568, and 1570, fol.

(20) See Strype's Annals, Vol. I. edit. 1725, p. 284, &c.

(21) Strype, ibid. p. 286. and Vol. II. p. 100. and L. Humfr. ut ſupra, p. 177, 187, 193, 194.

[O] *Beſides the books already mentioned, Biſhop Jewel was author of ſeveral pieces.*] Namely theſe; VI. *Exhortatio ad Oxonienſes.* A Speech before the Univerſity. Of which the ſubſtance is printed in Dr Humfrey's life of our author (22). VII A ſermon preached 23 Dec. 1552, in the chapel of his college, being the commemoration-day of their founder, Biſhop R. Fox. From Pſ. cxii. 6. The ſubſtance of it is printed in the ſaid life (23). VIII. *Concio in Templo D. Mariæ, Oxon. A D.* 1550, *ex* 1 *Pet.* iv. 11. A Latin ſermon, preached in St Mary's Church Oxon. the Sunday after Aſcenſion-day, for his Bachelor of Divinity's degree. Inſerted in the ſame life (24): and tranſlated into Engliſh by R. V. printed at London, 1586, 8vo. IX. *Oratio in Aulâ Collegii Corporis Chriſti.* His farewel ſpeech to his fellow collegians, when they expelled him. The ſubſtance of it is printed in the aforeſaid life (25). X. *Epiſtola ad Scipionem patritium Venetum, de Cauſis cur Epiſcopi Angliæ ad Concilium Tridentinum non convenirent*, Ann. 1559. A Latin letter to Signor Scipio, a noble Venetian, with whom he had contracted an acquaintance at the time he went to ſtudy at Padua during his exile; wherein he aſſigns the cauſes, why none of the Engliſh Biſhops went to the Council of Trent. Printed at the end of Father Paul's Hiſtory of the Council of Trent, tranſlated into Engliſh by Sir Nath. Brent, ſecond edit. Lond. 1629, fol. The ſubſtance of it is alſo in Mr Strype's Annals (26). XI. A Letter to Henry Bullinger at Zurick; concerning the State of Religion in England, dated May 22, 1559 (27). XII. Another letter to the ſame, dated 8 Feb. 1566, concerning his controverſy with Harding, &c (28).—The following were publiſhed by John Garbrand. XIII. "A View "of a ſeditious Bull ſent into England from Pius V. "Biſhop of Rome, An. 1569." Lond. 1582, 8vo. XIV. "A Treatiſe of the Holy Scriptures, Ibid. 8vo. Both gathered out of the Biſhop's ſermons, preached in the cathedral church of Sarum, in 1570. XV. "A "Treatiſe of the Sacraments; gathered alſo out of "his ſermons." Lond. 1583, 8vo. XVI. "Cer-"tain Sermons preached before the Queen's Majeſty "at Paul's croſs, and elſewhere" Six in number. Lond. 1583, 8vo. XVII "An Expoſition on the "two Epiſtles of the Apoſtle St Paul to the Theſſalo-"nians." Lond 8vo. All theſe his Engliſh works were printed together at London in 1609, fol. As was in 1641, under his name, "An Anſwer to certain "frivolous Objections againſt the Government of the "Church of England," in one ſheet, 4to.—Beſides which Mr Wood informs us, that the following pieces of his remain in manuſcript. *A paraphraſtical Expoſition of the Epiſtles and Goſpels throughout the whole Year. A Continuate Expoſition of the Creed, Lord's-Prayer, and Ten Commandments. Commentary upon the Epiſtle to the Galatians; and upon that of St Peter* (29). Many of his letters are in the Collection of Records, in Part III. of Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation.

(22) P. 35, &c.

(23) P. 45, &c.

(24) P. 49.

(25) P. 74, &c. There is alſo inſerted in that life, a ſhort Treatiſe of his *De Uſuris*, p. 227, &c.

(26) Vol. I. p. 416, &c.

(27) Ibid. Appendix, No. 20. p. 53.

(28) Ibid. No. 36, 37. p. 81, 82.

(29) See Wood Ath. Vol. I. col. 171, 241. and Humfr. p. 110, 111.

[P] *His memory was wonderful.*] It was naturally ſtrong, but he very much improved it by art: ſo that he ſeldom forgot any thing he heard, that was remarkable, and entered it in his common-place-book. He could exactly repeat whatever he had written, after once reading. During the ringing of the bell, he committed to his memory a repetition ſermon, and pronounced it without heſitation. His cuſtom was, to write the heads of his diſcourſes, and imprint them ſo firmly upon his mind, that he uſed to ſay, "If ten "thouſand people were quarrelling or fighting all the "while he was preaching, yet they could not put him "out." In order to try him, Dr Parkhurſt having propoſed to him, ſome of the moſt difficult and barbarous words out of a Calendar; and John Hooper, Biſhop of Glouceſter, forty Welſh, Iriſh, and foreign words; He, after once or twice reading, and a little recollection, repeated them all by heart, backward and forward. And, in the year 1563, Sir Nicolas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great-Seal, having read to him, out of Eraſmus's Paraphraſe, the laſt clauſes of ten lines, confuſed,

body; which thinneſs was increaſed by his abſtemious way of living, his want of exerciſe (e), and his hard ſtudying; ſo that in his laſt days, he was quite emaciated (f). He built a Library at Saliſbury, which he furniſhed with valuable books (g). Some have repreſented him as a favourer of the Puritans (h); and, indeed, he was a man of due moderation, and 'wiſhed that All the remnants of former errors were taken away (i).' But he ſoon found, that the oppoſers of the Church were in general perſons of ſqueamiſh ſtomachs (k), who ſtrained at a gnat and ſwallowed a camel. He therefore made it a rule to himſelf, to yield abſolute obedience to his Sovereign, in all things of an indifferent nature (l). And, as for his refuſing to admit Dr Humfrey to a living in his dioceſe, becauſe he would not comply with the habits (m); it does not appear, that it was in the Biſhop's power to diſpenſe upon that point.

(e) Nunquam ſe magnopere recreabat, niſi ambulando. Humfr. p. 28.

(f) Ut erat corpus perimbecillum, ita tenui dieta uſus eſt—ad incredibilem macrem perductus, & vivum quaſi cadaver effictus. Id. p. 251, 256.

(g) Ibid. p. 250.

(h) Neal's Hiſt. of the Puritans, Vol. I. edit. 2, p. 125.

(i) Ibid. p. 192.

(k) Ibid. p. [illegible] Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 556.

(l) Neal, ibid. p. 278.

(m) Strype, ibid. p. 464.

confuſed, and imperfect on purpoſe, he ſitting ſilent a while, and covering his face with his hand, immediately rehearſed all thoſe broken parcels of ſentences, the right way and the contrary, without heſitation. He profeſſed to teach others this art, and taught it his tutor Dr Parkhurſt, at Zurich: who, in the ſpace of twenty-eight days, and only by ſpending an hour a day, learned all the twenty eight chapters of St Matthew's Goſpel, ſo perfectly, that he could repeat any verſe; knowing at the ſame time what went before, and what followed (30).

(30) Humfr. ut ſupra, p. 234, &c.

C

JOHNSON [SAMUEL], a Divine remarkable both for his writings and ſufferings, was born in the county of Stafford (a) in the year 1649. Being at a proper age put to St Paul's ſchool in London, he made an extraordinary proficiency in claſſical learning, and was removed thence to Trinity-college in Cambridge (b); where proſecuting his ſtudies with diſtinguiſhed application and ſucceſs [A], he turned his thoughts after ſome time to Divinity; and entering into Holy Orders, was preſented by Mr Robert Biddulph (c) to the rectory of Corringham in the hundreds of Eſſex, on the firſt of March 1669-70 (d). But he did not reſide long upon his living; for the air of the place being found not to agree with his conſtitution, he provided a curate with a handſome ſalary (e), and ſettled himſelf in London, going occaſionally thence to his pariſh as often as his health would permit *. This ſituation proved the more agreeable, as the bent of his inclination led him ſtrongly to political ſubjects [B]. The turn he took in this ſtudy, whereon his enquiries were principally directed to the hiſtory and conſtitution of his country, ſoon brought him into the acquaintance of thoſe who oppoſed the meaſures of the Court; and in a few years, being recommended to the Earl of Eſſex [C] and the Lord Ruſſel, the latter

(a) Life of Dean Colet, by Dr Knight, p. 411. Lond. 1724, 8vo. In the Memorial of our author's Life, prefixed to his Works, edit. 1710, fol. p. iii. his birth is placed in Warwickſh ire.

(b) Iidem ibid.

(c) Probably deſcended from an ancient family of his name in Staffordſhire. Dugdale's Warwickſhire, Vol. I. 2d edit. p. 34.

(d) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. II. p. 193. If the date of his birth be not a miſtake, he was now no more than 20 years of age, and therefore could not by the Canons be ſafely in Prieſt's orders. He ſeems alſo to have taken no degree in the univerſity, his name being printed without any addition in the title-page of his Works.

(e) Viz. 40 l. a year, half the income of the living. Memorials, &c.

* Id. ibid.

[A] *He proſecuted his ſtudies with diſtinguiſhed application and ſucceſs.*] As ſoon as he was fit for the univerſity, he was made Library-keeper of St Paul's ſchool, in which ſtation he ſtudied the oriental languages with uncommon diligence, and made ſuch a progreſs therein, as was afterwards of great uſe to him in the ſtudy of Divinity (1).

(1) Memorials of Mr S. Johnſon, prefixed to his Works, p. iii.

[B] *His inclination led him to politics.*] He had even made ſome progreſs in this ſtudy when he was preſented to his living. This is more than probable from ſome words in his *Eſſay concerning Parliaments at a certainty* (2); where having quoted a paſſage out of Dr Heylin's *Obſervations upon Hammond L'Eſtrange's Hiſtory of the Reign of King Charles I.* he expreſſes himſelf thus: 'I have not the book now by me, but 'I will be anſwerable for the ſubſtance of this quota'tion, having retained this paſſage in my head above 'theſe five and twenty years.' This eſſay being evidently levelled againſt the continuation of the ſame Parliament above three years, muſt be written not later than 1695, when the ſecond Parliament of King William, which had continued five years, was diſſolved, and a new one called (3). Theſe words of our author are alſo a conſpicuous proof of the ſtrong bent of his inclination to the ſtudy of politics, a willing memory being always a good one. But there is a ſtill clearer evidence of this early bent to that ſtudy. In another piece, printed in 1689, ſpeaking of Biſhop Burnet's famous paſtoral letter, publiſhed a little before, he writes thus. 'I will preſently join iſſue with this conquering Biſhop, for I have not been afraid of a conqueror theſe eighteen years. For ſo long ſince I uſed to walk by the New-Exchange gate, where ſtood an overgrown porter with his gown and ſtaff, which gave him a ſemblance of authority; whoſe buſineſs it was to regulate the coachmen before the entrance; and would make nothing of lifting a coachman off his box, and beating him, and throwing him into his box again. I have ſeveral times, continues he, looked up at this tall maſtering fellow, and put the caſe: Suppoſe this conqueror ſhould take me up under his arm like a gizzard, and run away with me, am I his ſubject; no, thought I, I am my own man and not his: and having thus invaded me, if I could not otherwiſe reſcue myſelf from him, I would ſmite him under the fifth rib. From that time I have had a clear idea of conqueſt, and no conqueror in the world can have any more right to me than that fellow (4).' This turn of his genius was obſerved likewiſe by his patron, when he preſented him to the living; at which time he warned him againſt the danger of it to one of his profeſſion, and adviſed him to read Bracton, and Forteſcue *de Laudibus Legum Angliæ*, &c. that he might be acquainted with the old Engliſh conſtitution, but by no means to make politics the ſubject of his ſermons; becauſe he had taken notice, that many clergymen had given their hearers bad impreſſions, and filled their heads with falſe notions of thoſe things which they had a very imperfect knowledge of themſelves, and that matters of faith and practice were more ſuitable entertainment from the Pulpit. Mr Johnſon religiouſly obſerved this advice, as we are aſſured by one of his intimate acquaintance; who obſerves further, that tho' by applying himſelf to the ſtudy of the books abovementioned, he became as well verſed in the Engliſh conſtitution as any man, he never meddled with politics in the pulpit, but made a more proper uſe of them: for no man (continues this friend) wrote with more boldneſs and zeal for the legal polity of his country, or ſuited his writings better to the circumſtances of times and ſeaſons (5).

(2) Printed in his Works, p. 279, & ſeq. Lond. 1710.

(3) Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. under the years 1689 and 1695.

(4) An Argument proving the Abrogation of King James, &c. in our author's Works, p. 267, 268.

(5) Memorials, &c. p. iv.

[C] *He was recommended to the Earl of Eſſex.*] Mr Johnſon was very ſenſible of this honour, and mentions a converſation, wherein that learned Nobleman (ſo he ſtiles his Lordſhip) gave him a particular account of the arguments he made uſe of in the Houſe of Lords for the bill of Excluſion. Our author having repeated theſe, concludes in the following terms. 'Thus that great man argued, but care was 'taken that he ſhould argue for the good of his coun'try no more; and therefore we that are left behind, 'partly to bewail the loſs of ſuch great men, and 'partly to imitate them, ought to uphold their cauſe.' In proceeding, Mr Johnſon relates the account given him by his Lordſhip, of the arguments urged at the ſame time againſt the ſaid bill, and cloſes the whole

With

latter of those noblemen took him into his family in the character of his domestic chaplain [*D*]. This appointment, which must needs be of great advantage to his reputation, furnished him some time after with an opportunity of increasing it by displaying his political talents: for while the bill of exclusion against the Duke of York was carried on by that Lord at the head of his party in the House of Commons, his Chaplain, to promote the same design, engaged the ecclesiastical champion of passive-obedience, Dr Hickes, in a book intituled *Julian the Apostate* [*E*]. An attack against the established doctrine of the time, executed with so much spirit as this was, did not fail to raise the attention of the world (*f*). It was published in 1682, and several answers to it appearing in that and the following year, the chief of them were taken to task the same year, in a reply to Dr Hickes and another gentleman, by our author, in a piece printed with this title, *Julian's Arts to undermine and extirpate Christianity, together with Answers to Constantius the Apostate and Jovian* (*g*). This treatise was printed and entered at Stationers-Hall, in 1683, in order to be published; but on the seizure of his patron * in June, he yielded to the advice of his friends, in suppressing and concealing it (*b*); a caution which saved him for a while, and broke the force of a blow aimed against him by the Court about two months after the death of Lord Russel. For though, upon an examination before the Privy-Council, he was committed on the third of August to the Gate-house [*F*], yet he was presently

(*f*) Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 1002, where Mr Wood tells us, it was called by our author's party the impregnable bulwark of their cause.

(*g*) Id. ibid. col. 1003.

* Lord Russel. See his article.

(*b*) It was probably by the same advice that he suppressed his Remarks on Dr Sherlock's Case of Resistance, which was wrote this year, though not published 'till after the Revolution. Preface to that piece, in his Works, p. 237. first edit. 1710, folio.

with this remark. 'If I have broke any rules in repeating that great man's private discourse, now it is done I cannot help it: But I say, let his integrity be known, and speak as loud as his blood cries. And I am sure they that would stifle that man's honour would stifle his death (6).'

[*D*] *He was made domestic chaplain to Lord Russel.*] The exact time of this appointment, which we are told by our author's friend proved to the mutual satisfaction of both parties, is not mentioned by that friend. Perhaps it might be about the time of Mr Johnson's preaching his sermon against Popery before the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen at Guildhall-chapel, on Palm-Sunday 1679. This discourse was printed the same year, and appears again at the head of his Second five years Struggle against Popery, published in 1689, presently after the Revolution; whereby he plainly intimates, that his first five years struggle had it's æra in that discourse (7). Accordingly, he tells us in another place (8), that he threw away his liberty with both hands and with his eyes open for his country's service, some years before it was taken away from him [in 1683].

[*E*] *Julian the Apostate.*] The design of this piece * in general was to expose the doctrines of Passive-Obedience and Non Resistance, which were carried at this time to an extravagant height, and to shew the great difference between the case of the primitive Christians, who had the laws against them, and ours, who have the laws on our side. Dr Hickes, in a sermon preached before the Lord-Mayor in 1681, which was published this year, had inculcated the Court-doctrine in the strongest terms; and being reputed one of the most learned divines of the time, Mr Johnson thought proper to single out this champion in particular, and the last chapter in his treatise is employed in answering the Doctor's sermon. Besides the two persons mentioned in the text, our author's book was attacked, (1.) By Mr Tho. Long B. D. Prebendary of Exeter, in his *Vindication of Primitive Christianity in point of Obedience to their Princes, against the calumnies of a book intituled*, The Life of Julian the Apostate, *written by* Ecobolius *the Sophist*. Lond. 1683, 8vo. (2.) By an anonymous author, in *Some Remarks upon a late popular piece of nonsense, called Julian the* Apostate, &c. *Together with a Vindication of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, against many impudent Calumnies, foolish Arguments, false Reasonings, imposed upon the Public from several scandalous and seditious pamphlets, especially from one more notorious and generally virulent than the rest, intituled*, A Tory Plot, Lond. 1682, in a thin folio (9). (3.) By the author of *The Triumph of Christianity: or*, The Life of F. Julian the Apostate: *With Remarks contained in the Resolution of several Queries. To which are added, Reflections upon a pamphlet called*, Seasonable Remarks on the Fall of the Emperor Julian: *And on part of a late pernicious book, intituled*, A short Account of the Life of Julian, &c. Lond. 1683, 8vo (10). The first of these answerers (11), as well as Dr Hickes (12), charged our author with receiving large contributions in the compiling of his book, from Mr Tho. Hunt, who published *An Argument for the Bishops Right in judging in capital Causes in Parliament* †: *With a Postscript for rectifying some Mistakes in some of the inferior Clergy, mischievous to our Government and Religion*. Lond. 1682, 8vo. This charge, which is no where denied by Mr Johnson, receives some countenance from a passage in one of his treatises, where he writes thus. 'Armorum quædam sunt tuitionis parcis, &c. says Bracton. The people of England have weapons for keeping the peace, but our peaceful clergy knew a better way, and beat all our weapons into ploughshares and pruning hooks: and when Mr Hunt and I endeavoured to restore them to their former lawful shape and use, they said we had been down at the forges of the Philistines, and dealt with Jesuits; and Dr Pelling (13) could shew some pages, which Mr Hunt had plundered out of Doleman (14), though I verily believe what he told me, that he had never seen the book (15).

[*F*] *He was committed close prisoner to the Gate-house.*] He was examined by the Lord-Keeper North upon these two points, (1.) Whether he was the author of a book called *Julian's Arts and method to undermine and extirpate Christianity?* To which having answered in the affirmative, he was interrogated, Why, after that book had been so long entered at Stationers-Hall, it was not published? To which he replied, That the nation was in too great a ferment to have the matter further debated at that time. Upon this he was commanded to produce one of these books to the Council, and if they approved it it should be published. But he answered, he had suppressed them himself, so that they were now his own private thoughts, for which he was not accountable to any power on earth. The Council dismissed him at that time, but sent for him twice afterwards, pressed the same thing upon him, and received the same answers; for which they sent him presently to the Gate-house by the following commitment.

'*Sir Leoline Jenkins, Knight, one of His Majesty's most honourable Privy-Council, and Principal Secretary of State.*

'*Whereas Samuel Johnson, Clerk, hath (as appeareth by information upon oath) caused three thousand copies of a certain book, called* Julian's Arts to extirpate and undermine Christianity, &c. *to be printed, in order to the publishing thereof: and the said Samuel Johnson confesseth, that he was the author thereof, and had the said three thousand copies or thereabouts in his custody, and hath delivered the same to a friend to be kept, until he shall see it fit time for the publishing thereof; and refuseth upon his examination to produce any of the said printed copies, or to discover where and in whose custody the same are. And whereas it is justly suspected that the said book is a treasonable book, and intended to be published at such time or times as it shall be of dangerous consequence to the public peace to do it: These are therefore, in His Majesty's name, to will and require you to take the body of the said Samuel Johnson into your custody in His Majesty's prison of the Gate-house, and him safely to keep there, until he discover the said copies; to the end that if they be treasonable, they may effectually be proceeded upon and suppressed, or he the said Samuel Johnson be otherwise delivered by due course of law.*

'*And*

(6) Notes on the Phœnix edition of the Pastoral Letter, p. 313. 314. in Mr Johnson's Works.

(7) April 27, 1679, the Commons passed a vote against the Duke of York's succession, which was carried up by Lord Russel to the Lords for their concurrence. Salmon's Chron. Hist. under the year 1679.

(8) Argument to prove the Abrogation of King James, &c. Ibid. p. 265.

* It is printed in his Works; the whole title is, Julian the Apostate, *being a short Account of his Life, the Sense of the Primitive Christians about his Succession, and their Behaviour towards him; together with a Comparison of Popery and Paganism.*

(9) Mr Edward Meredith was the supposed author of this piece. Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 1064.

(10) This treatise was supposed to be written by Mr John Dowell of Christ's college in Cambridge. Id. ibid.

(11) In his epistle to the reader, prefixed to his Vindication, &c.

(12) Both in the preface to Jovian, and in the body of the book.

† See rem. [*I*]. in the article of Denzil Lord Holles, whose first piece against the Bishops Right, &c. was published in 1679, under the title of *Reasons why Bishops are not to judge in Parliament in Capital Cases.*

(13) In his Protestant Apostate, &c. Lond. 1682, 4to.

(14) Parson's book of the Succession, &c. See his article.

(15) Notes on the Phœnix edition of the Pastoral Letter, in our author's Works, p. 380.

(i) Memorials, &c. p. 7.

ſently bailed thence by two of his friends (*i*), and all poſſible endeavours to diſcover and ſeize the copies of his book being fruſtrated, the Court was obliged to drop that proſecution [*G*]. But the matter did not reſt here; every attempt upon the Duke of York's ſucceſſion gave the King great uneaſineſs; a more effectual method was therefore taken with our author, and being brought to a trial in the King's-Bench for writing his book [*H*], he was there ſentenced February 11, 1683-4, to pay 500 marks for a fine to the King; to find ſureties for his good behaviour for a year; and to be committed to the priſon of the King's-Bench, 'till this be paid and done; his book was alſo ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman (*k*). Not being able to diſcharge his fine, he continued a priſoner. However, he ſoon obtained the Rules by the aſſiſtance of his friends (*l*), who likewiſe both relieved his neceſſities [*I*], and enabled him to print ſome pieces which he wrote againſt Popery in 1685, and to diſperſe ſeveral of them about the country at his own expence (*m*). Theſe were anſwered in three Obſervators by Sir Roger L'Eſtrange, who alſo diſcovering the Printer, ſeized all the copies that were found in his hands [*K*]. He perſevered

(k) Ibid. p. 9. and Birch's Life of Tillotſon, p. 200. 2d edit. 1753.

(l) Two friends, probably the ſame as bailed him out of the Gate-Houſe, gave a bond of 1000 l. and himſelf and another of the ſame value. See Notes upon the Phœnix edition of the Paſtoral Letter, p. 299. in our author's Works, *ubi ſupra*.

(m) See the next remark [*K*].

'*And for ſo doing this ſhall be your warrant. Given* '*under my hand and ſeal at Whitehall the* 3*d day of* '*Auguſt*, 1683, *in the thirty-fifth year of His Majeſty's* '*reign.*

(16) Memorials, &c. p. 6, 7. *To Anthony Church, Keeper of His Majeſty's priſon at the Gate-houſe.* L. JENKINS (16).'

[*G*] *After the ſtricteſt ſearch to no purpoſe, &c.*] To this end a meſſenger was ſent to ſearch the houſe, where, by the information, the copies lay, but miſſed them; which was the more extraordinary, becauſe, after the firſt ſearch, his friends apprehending a further enquiry, and not thinking them ſecure enough, removed them; and when the meſſenger ſearched again, he found the firſt place but miſſed the ſecond; after which they were removed to a third place in the ſame houſe, and upon a freſh ſearch the meſſenger found the ſecond place but miſſed the third. Thus diſappointed, recourſe was had to promiſes, and a conſiderable ſum, beſides the favour of the Court, was offered for one of the copies, to the perſon in whoſe hands they were ſuppoſed to be; which was refuſed (17).

(17) Ibid. p. 8.

[*H*] *Brought to a tryal for his firſt book.*] The general propoſition of this treatiſe, which has been already given, was certainly both defenſible in itſelf, and might have been defended without any danger, by carefully keeping within the bounds there mentioned. But ſuch a cautious proceeding neither ſuited Mr Johnſon's temper in general, nor his particular deſign in this attack. On the contrary, he took care, at the entrance in the preface, to inform his readers, that the book was written purpoſely to promote the bill of Excluſion, and does not ſcruple to charge all the oppoſers of that bill with a deſign of introducing Popery through the door of Paſſive-Obedience. It may be obſerved, that the Life of Julian was the ſecond attempt with his pen in his firſt five years ſtruggle, as he terms it, againſt Popery and Tyranny, wherein we have already ſeen him declaring, that he even courted danger, and run after it with both hands and with his eyes open (18). No wonder then that he met with it at length, however righteous his cauſe may now be thought, and that the proſecution was begun and carried on, as we are told it was (19), by the intereſt of the Duke of York. Upon the tryal, our author's Counſel, Mr Wallop (20), urged in his behalf, that he had offended againſt no law of the land; that the book taken together was innocent, but any treatiſe might be made criminal, if dealt with as thoſe who drew up the information had dealt with this. However, the ordinary courſe of the law was obſerved, and the information grounded, as uſual in ſuch caſes, upon ſome obnoxious paſſages extracted from the book. On the other hand, the Lord Chief-Juſtice Jefferies upbraided Mr Johnſon for meddling with what did not belong to him, and told him ſcoffingly, that he would give him a text, which was, *Let every man ſtudy to be quiet, and mind his own buſineſs.* To which Mr Johnſon replied, that he did mind his buſineſs as an Engliſhman when he wrote that book (21).

(18) In remark [*D*].

(19) Memorials, p. 8.

(20) Our author always retained a grateful ſenſe of this gentleman's kindneſs to him, and after the Revolution reproached the government for not making him a Judge. See preface to his Laſt Five Years Struggle, &c.

(21) Memorials, p. 9.

[*I*] *His friends relieved him.*] The Duke of Monmouth's rebellion proved of great ſervice to Mr Johnſon in this reſpect; ſeveral ſuſpected perſons being taken up and ſent to priſon on that occaſion, brought him good company. This was a lucky incident; for it was reckoned criminal at that time to viſit or ſhew him any kindneſs, ſo that few had courage to come near him or give him any relief, by which means he was reduced very low. About this time his mother, whom he had maintained for many years, ſent to him for ſubſiſtence; and ſuch was his filial affection, that though he knew not how to ſupply his own wants, and thoſe of his wife and children, and was told on this occaſion, that charity begins at home, he ſent her forty ſhillings, though he had but fifty in the world, ſaying, that he would do his duty and truſt Providence for his own ſupply (22). The event ſhewed, that his hopes were not in vain; for the next morning he had ten pounds ſent him by an unknown hand, which he afterwards knew to have come from Dr Edward Fowler, afterwards Biſhop of Glouceſter. And we ſhall ſee preſently (23), that, during this impriſonment, he received a much larger ſum from Dr Tillotſon. But the greateſt relief was ſupplied by Mr Hampden, who was in the ſame priſon the whole time of his confinement (24).

(22) Ibid. p. 10.

(23) In remark [*U*], note *.

(24) See the article HAMPDEN [JOHN].

[*K*] *Sir Roger L'Eſtrange ſeized all the copies, &c.*] The firſt piece in this collection was written in the beginning of the year 1685, when there was a project on foot for reconciling of the two Churches [of Rome and England]; but by this ſtandard of the true Proteſtant doctrine of the latter, any ſuch accommodation was ſhewn to be impoſſible. So far the advertiſement prefixed informs us. The title is, *The Church of England as by Law eſtabliſhed: Being the very Doctrine and expreſs Words of the Homilies againſt Popery.* This was preſently followed by *Godly and wholſome Doctrine, and neceſſary for theſe Times: being the ſecond part of the Homily concerning the Holy Ghoſt, diſſolving this doubt, whether all Men may rightly challenge to themſelves the Holy Ghoſt or no?* The occaſion of writing this paper is likewiſe given in an advertiſement in theſe terms. 'I found it neceſſary to add this whole ſermon 'out of the Homilies to the former collection, leſt any 'Papiſt ſhould ſay that the former was weeded out of 'the Homilies, and that the tenor of them is not ſo 'oppoſite to Popery as the former collection would 'perſwade us.' The third piece, intituled *A Short Diſſuaſive from Popery, and from countenancing and encouraging of Papiſts*, was publiſhed immediately after the overthrow of the Duke of Monmouth, when the Proteſtant intereſt was at a very low ebb, and the Papiſts ſo inſolent with that ſucceſs, that there was great reaſon to uſe the utmoſt endeavours to hinder all unſteady and wavering Proteſtants from joining and complying with the then prevailing intereſt (25). Here, ſays Mr Johnſon, the Obſervator gave me a caſt of all his offices at once; for after (as ſuperintendant of the preſs) he had made a diſcovery where theſe three laſt papers were printed; in the ſecond place, as Juſtice of Peace, he forced James Aſtwood the Printer to take the oath *ex officio*, and to accuſe both himſelf as the Printer of them, and me as the author, who paid for printing of five thouſand of each, which he did by menacing him with going [being ſent] to Newgate; and by a horrid oath that he was the King's ſubject, and therefore he would make him to ſwear (26): and laſtly, as the mercenary ſcribbler of the Popiſh faction, who, under the countenance of a Church of England champion, was hired to prepare the way twice a week for Popery and ſlavery, he ſpent three virulent Obſervators upon them. 'The papers, continues our author (27), are able to ſpeak for themſelves; and as for his awkward way of wreſting and perverting them, it was ſufficiently expoſed by the following paper, which for that reaſon I took care to have every where poſted up. This laſt paper carried the following title, *A Parcel of wry Reaſons and wrong Inferences, but right Obſervator.*'

(25) This account, as well as the two former, is given in an Advertiſement prefixed by our author to the edition of them in his Second Five Years Struggle, &c.

(26) The oath *ex officio* was aboliſhed by a ſtatute in the preceding reign. See the General Hiſtories of England.

(27) See his Works, p. 143.

[*L*] *Several*

perſevered in printing occaſional pieces againſt the deſigns of King James II. to introduce Popery the following year [*L*]; and, upon the encampment of the army upon Hounſlow-heath, he drew up *An humble and hearty Addreſs to all the Engliſh Proteſtants in the preſent Army* [*M*]. He had diſperſed about 1000 copies of this paper, when the reſt of the impreſſion was ſeized, and himſelf put into cloſe cuſtody in order to his ſecond tryal at the King's-Bench [*N*]; where he was condemned to ſtand in the pillory in Palace-

[*L*] *Several pieces againſt the meaſures taken to introduce Popery the next year.*] Theſe were, (I.) *An Oration of* John Hales * *to the Queen's Majeſty* [Queen Elizabeth], *and delivered to her by a certain Nobleman at her firſt entrance into her reign.* This paper was publiſhed when the ſecond ſeſſion of the Packed-Parliament approached, which ſays Mr Johnſon) was ſo unduly elected and returned, and had done and omitted ſuch things in the former ſeſſion, when the Popiſh party was not as yet ſo victorious and triumphant as now, that all manner of miſchief might reaſonably be expected from this ſeſſion. But in order to ſhew them the invalidity of their proceedings, in caſe they ſhould be to the prejudice of their country; and withal to give them a looking-glaſs of our own times, as well as to revive the memory of a Popiſh reign, to which miſery and calamity is always inſeparably united; I thought it much better to reprint this oration of Mr Hales, which anſwers all theſe purpoſes, than venture to write any thing of my own (28). At the opening of this ſeſſion it was imperiouſly demanded, that the ſtanding army ſhould be eſtabliſhed, and the militia diſſolved; the immediate conſequence whereof was the diſarming the nation, and expoſing it naked and defenceleſs to this army, which had then been our maſters by law. The Parliament, to their honour, continues Mr Johnſon, refuſed their concurrence to ſo deſtructive a deſign, though I had ſent very many members the beſt reaſons I could think of for their compliance with that demand; which are theſe that follow (29). (II.) *Several Reaſons for the Eſtabliſhment of a Standing Army, and diſſolving the Militia.* As this paper is ſhort, and undoubtedly paved the way for Mr Johnſon's third proſecution, we ſhall lay it before the reader as follows. (1.) 'Becauſe the lords lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, and the whole militia, 'that is to ſay, the lords, gentlemen, and freeholders, 'of England, are not fit to be truſted with their own 'laws, lives, liberties, and eſtates; and therefore 'ought to have guardians and keepers aſſigned them. '(2.) Becauſe mercenary ſoldiers, who fight for twelve 'pence a day, will fight better, a having more to 'loſe than either the nobility or gentry. (3.) Becauſe there are no Iriſh Papiſts in the militia, who 'are certainly the beſt ſoldiers in the world; for they 'have ſlain men, women, and children, by hundreds 'of thouſands at once. (4.) Becauſe the dragooners 'have made more converts than all the biſhops and 'clergy of France. (5.) The Parliament ought to 'eſtabliſh one ſtanding army at the leaſt, becauſe indeed there will be need of two, that one of them 'may defend the people from the other. (6.) Becauſe 'it is a thouſand pities that a brave Popiſh army 'ſhould be a riot. (7.) Unleſs it be eſtabliſhed by 'Act of Parliament, the Juſtices of Peace will be forced to ſuppreſs it in their own defence; for they will 'be loth to forfeit a hundred pounds every day they 'riſe, out of compliment to a Popiſh rout. 13 Hen. 'IV. c. 7. 2 Hen. V. c. 8. (8.) Becauſe a Popiſh 'army is a nullity. For all Papiſts are diſabled (and 'puniſhable beſides) from bearing any office in camp, 'troop, band, or company of ſoldiers; and are ſo 'far diſarmed by law, that they cannot wear a ſword, 'ſo much as in their own defence, without the allowance of four Juſtices of Peace of the county: and 'then upon a march they will be perfectly inchanted; 'for they are not able to ſtir above five miles from 'their own dwelling-houſe. 3 Jac. c. 5. Sect. 8, 27, '28, 29. 35 Eliz. c 2. 3 Jac. c. 5. Sect. 7. (9.) 'Becauſe perſons utterly diſabled by law are utterly 'unauthorized; and therefore the void commiſſions of 'killing and ſlaying in the hands of Papiſts, can only 'enable them to maſſacre and murder.' After the Parliament was prorogued for their addreſs of the 17th of November, leaſt all Engliſh principles ſhould be forgotten in the intervals of Parliament, our author publiſhed a paper upon the following ſubjects. (III.) *Of Magiſtracy. Of Prerogative by Divine right. Of Obedience. Of Laws* †. About this time, Mr Johnſon not approving the method, taken by his brethren, in entering into the Popiſh controverſy, which he thought an ill judged ſubmiſſion, ſeeing Popery was proſcribed by the laws of the land upon the juſteſt reaſons, he therefore publiſhed thoſe reaſons in a paper, intituled, (IV.) *The Grounds and Reaſons of the Laws againſt Popery.*

[*M*] *An humble and hearty Addreſs to all the Engliſh Proteſtants, &c.*] This addreſs, which had ſo remarkable an effect upon that army, as well as upon the author of it, runs thus.

'Gentlemen,

'Next to the duty which you owe to God, which 'ought to be the principal care of men of your profeſſion (becauſe you carry your lives in your hands, 'and often look death in the face). The ſecond thing 'which deſerves your conſideration is the ſervice of 'your native country, wherein you drew your firſt 'breath, and breathed a free Engliſh air. Now I 'would deſire you to conſider how well you comply 'with theſe two main points, by engaging in this 'preſent ſervice.

'Is it in the name of God and for his ſervice that 'you have joined yourſelves with Papiſts, who will 'indeed fight for the Maſs-book, but burn the Bible, 'and who ſeek to extirpate the Proteſtant religion 'with your ſwords, becauſe they cannot do it with 'their own? And will you be aiding and aſſiſting to 'ſet up Maſs houſes, to erect that Popiſh kingdom of 'darkneſs and deſolation amongſt us, and to train up 'all our children in Popery? How can you do theſe 'things, and yet call yourſelves Proteſtants?

'And then what ſervice can be done your country, 'by being under the command of French and Iriſh 'Papiſts, and by bringing the nation under a foreign 'yoke? Will you help them to make forcible entry 'into the houſes of your countrymen, under the name 'of quartering, directly contrary to *Magna Charta* 'and the *Petition of Right*? Will you be aiding and 'aſſiſting to all the murders and outrages which they 'ſhall commit by their void commiſſions? Which 'were declared illegal, and ſufficiently blaſted by both 'Houſes of Parliament (if there had been any need of 'it); for it was very well known before, that a Papiſt cannot have a commiſſion, but by the law is utterly diſabled and diſarmed. Will you exchange 'your birthright of Engliſh laws and liberties for martial or club-law, and help to deſtroy all others, only 'to be eaten laſt yourſelves? If I know you well, as 'you are Engliſhmen, you hate and ſcorn theſe things. 'And therefore be not unequally yoked with *idolatrous 'and bloody Papiſts. Be valiant for the truth, and 'ſhew yourſelves men.*

'The ſame conſiderations are likewiſe humbly offered to all the Engliſh ſeamen, who have been the 'bulwark of this nation againſt Popery and Slavery 'ever ſince eighty-eight (30).*

[*N*] *He was put into cloſe cuſtody in order to a tryal.*] About three or four days after Whitſunday, there came an order, which our author read, and ſaw was ſigned, to make him a cloſe priſoner, though he was in *arcta cuſtodia* before, wrongfully as he ſays, having purchaſed the rules, and given two thouſand pounds ſecurity. The Marſhal purſued this order, in removing him from one cloſe hole to another 'till he had almoſt ſtifled him, and perhaps, continues he, they intended to murder me by a ſide wind. 'I ſent him word by his Steward, who is ſtill living (31), that I had rather be ſhot than be ſo uſed. It coſt me two or three fees in motions at the King's-Bench-bar to have the liberty of the priſon, and that Counſel might come to me, becauſe I had likewiſe notice of a tryal. But my friends above and the Court of King's-Bench were at that time of a mind, for the oppreſſion they laid on, the other would not take off (32).' At his tryal, he made ſome exceptions againſt the information, and, among other things, that there was no averment of an army in it, and ſaid there could be no ſuch thing, becauſe it was contrary to the law of England. Whereupon,

* Who had been Attorney General to King Henry VIII. and preſented the information in the King's-Bench againſt Cardinal Wolſey in 1529. Herbert's Hiſt. of Hen. VIII.

(28) Johnſon's Works, p. 144.

(29) Ibid. p. 151.

† This piece was printed in a ſingle ſheet, and was commonly called *The Chapters*. Ibid. p. 257.

(30) That is 1588, which year the Invincible Spaniſh armada, ſent to invade England, was deſtroyed by our fleet. General Hiſtory of England.

(31) This was written in the year 1694.

(32) Notes on the Paſtoral Letter, in his Works, p. 299.

lace-yard Weſtminſter, Charing-croſs, and the Old Exchange (*n*); to pay a fine of 500 marks, and to be whipped from Newgate to Tyburn (*o*). This ſentence was rigorouſly put in execution on the firſt of December, after he had been degraded and deprived by the Eccleſiaſtical Court [*O*]. He went through the whipping not only with firmneſs but alacrity [*P*]; and his degradation not being duly performed, he ſtill kept his Living [*Q*]; and his reſolution alſo to oppoſe the meaſures of the Court, againſt which he continued to exerciſe his pen, 'till the Revolution put an end to thoſe meaſures [*R*], and to his ſufferings. And preſently

(*n*) Or the Royal-Exchange according to Dr Birch, ubi ſupra.

(*o*) Memorials, p. 11. and Tillotſon's Life by Birch.

Whereupon, both the Attorney-General Sawyer and the Court of King's-Bench ſaid, that the camp at Hounſlow-heath was not an army, but only the King's guards. I replied, ſays he, that I thought they were too far off for guards, and in too great a number. To which the Lord Chief-Juſtice Herbert anſwered, that the King wanted a greater number to defend him from my papers. Our author obſerves alſo, that the Five diſpenſing Powers were firſt publiſhed at this tryal (33).

(33) Id. ibid. and p. 312.

[*O*] *After he had been degraded by the Eccleſiaſtical Court.*] The Biſhop of London, Dr Compton, who was Mr Johnſon's dioceſan, being himſelf then under a ſuſpenſion (34), Dr Crew Biſhop of Durham, Dr Sprat Biſhop of Rocheſter, and Dr White Biſhop of Peterborough, Commiſſioners for the dioceſe of London, performed this ceremony on the 2d of November, in the Chapter houſe of St Paul's church, where Dr Sherlock and other clergymen attended. But Dr Stillingfleet, then Dean of St Paul's, refuſed to have any hand in it. Mr Johnſon's friend already mentioned tells us, that his behaviour on this occaſion was ſo becoming that very character his enemies would have deprived him of, that it melted ſome of their hearts, and forced them to acknowledge there was ſomething very valuable in him. Among other things which he ſaid to the divines then preſent, he told them in the moſt pathetic manner, *It could not but grieve him to think, that ſince all he had wrote was deſigned to keep their gowns on their backs, they ſhould be made the unhappy inſtruments to pull off his; and begged them to conſider, whether they were not making rods for themſelves.* When they came to the formality of putting a Bible in his hand and taking it from him again, he was much affected, and parted from it with difficulty, kiſſing it, and ſaying with tears, that *they could not however deprive him of the uſe and benefit of that ſacred depoſitum* (35).

(34) For diſobeying the King's orders to ſuſpend Dr Sharp, afterwards Archbiſhop of York, for a ſermon preached by him at his pariſh church of St Giles's in the Fields. General hiſtories of England under the year 1686.

(35) Memorials, p. 12.

[*P*] *He bore the whipping with firmneſs and alacrity.*] He obſerved afterwards to one of his moſt intimate friends, that this text of ſcripture, which came ſuddenly into his mind, *He endured the croſs and deſpiſed the ſhame*, ſo much animated and ſupported him in his bitter journey, that had he not thought it would have looked like vain-glory, he could have ſung a pſalm while the executioner was doing his office, with as much compoſure and chearfulneſs as ever he had done in the church, though at the ſame time he had a quick ſenſe of every ſtripe, which was given him with a whip of nine cords, knotted to the number of 317. This was the more remarkable in him, becauſe he had not the leaſt tincture of enthuſiaſm. There is no good reaſon to call in queſtion the teſtimony here given of Mr Johnſon's fortitude on this occaſion by his intimate acquaintance; and the obſervation is very conſiſtent therewith, that he was endued with a natural hardineſs of temper to a great degree, which being inſpirited by an eager deſire (as appears from his own account) to ſuffer for the cauſe he had eſpouſed, ſeems to be the ground-work of that Chriſtian-like behaviour; neither does this truth furniſh any excuſe for the ſcoffs which were thrown upon him by his enemies, and even by the King himſelf, at this juncture. Of which we have the following ſtory. A Popiſh Prieſt, 'tis ſaid, made an offer, for two hundred pounds, to get the whipping part of the ſentence remitted: the money was lodged by one of Mr Johnſon's friends for the Prieſt, if he performed what he undertook. The man uſed his endeavours, but to no purpoſe, for the King was deaf to all intreaties; the anſwer was, *That ſince Mr Johnſon had the ſpirit of martyrdom, 'twas fit he ſhould ſuffer* (36).

(36) Id. ibid.

[*Q*] *His degradation not being duly performed, he ſtill kept his living.*] The defect lay in omitting to ſtrip him of his caſſock. So that when Mr Berrow, who was preſented February 4, 1686-7, by his Majeſty to the living, applied to the forementioned Biſhops for inſtitution; they being ſenſible of the omiſſion, told him he ſhould have it, if he could get two Common Lawyers and two Civilians to give it under their hands that Mr Johnſon was legally degraded, and thereby deprived. The Clerk brought them the hand of one inconſiderable Common-Lawyer, that the degradation and deprivation were both good. But the Civilian to whom he applied was more modeſt, and only ſigned a paper with his opinion, that if Mr Johnſon was legally degraded, he was *ipſo facto* deprived. But this not proving ſatisfactory to the three Biſhops, Mr Berrow was obliged to give them a bond of 500l. to indemnify them, before they would grant him inſtitution. Having received it, he went to Corringham for induction; but Mr Johnſon's pariſhioners oppoſed him, ſo that he could never get entrance, and was obliged to return *re infecta*. This was very extraordinary in his pariſhioners, conſidering the violence of the times. But it proceeded from their great reſpect to him, and experience of his goodneſs; for no miniſter was ever more obliging to his people than he, who was ſo far from exacting upon them, that he would rather quit his own right, than be any ways grievous to them: of which there is one remarkable inſtance among many others. One of his neighbours owing him 20l. upon bond, and falling afterwards into low circumſtances, Mr Johnſon was adviſed to put the bond in execution, while ſomething was to be had; but he abſolutely refuſed it, and choſe rather to loſe the money, ſaying, *That no man's ruin ſhould lye at his door* (37). In confirmation of what is thus alledged by his friend, we ſhall inſert the following paſſage from his notes on Biſhop Burnet's Paſtoral Letter. When our author's proſecution lay before the Parliament after the Revolution, that prelate, it ſeems, ſent to him not to name perſons. 'I know, ſays Mr Johnſon, the language 'of that day was don't ſmut, that is, let the oppreſſors 'of your country and of you eſcape ſcot-free. I gave 'an Engliſh reply to that meſſage, *Let him mind his 'buſineſs, I will mind mine.* His Bookſeller, Mr 'Chiſwell, by whom I had the meſſage, ſeemed loth 'to carry him that blunt anſwer. Oh, ſaid I, he has 'got the title of a Lord lately, I muſt qualify my an-'ſwer; *Let him pleaſe to mind his own buſineſs, I will 'mind mine.* But, continues he, the Biſhop was mi-'ſtaken in his man all over, for it was always in my 'nature, even to a fault, to ſpare every body; Sir 'Roger L'Eſtrange knows it, and many a man beſides, 'notwithſtanding very great provocations. And I 'have been ſo far from rigour all my life, that I never 'ſued any man, though I have loſt ſcores of pounds 'by it, which I have ſince known the want of (38).'

(37) Ibid. p. 13.

(38) Notes to the Paſtoral Letter, ubi ſupra, p. 318.

[*R*] *He continued to write 'till the Revolution put an end to thoſe meaſures.*] Before he was out of the Surgeon's hands for the wounds in his back, he reprinted three thouſand copies of his compariſon of Popery and Paganiſm (39); however, theſe were not then publiſhed (40). But not long after, the ſmart of his whipping being over, about the time of the general Toleration, he publiſhed, *The Trial and Examination of a late Libel, entituled,* A New Teſt of the Church of England's Loyalty; *with ſome Reflections upon the additional Libel, entituled,* An Inſtance of the Church of England's Loyalty. This was followed by *The Abſolute Impoſſibility of Tranſubſtantiation demonſtrated*; and in April 1688 came out a third piece, entituled, *The Way to Peace amongſt all Proteſtants. Being a Letter of Reconciliation ſent by Biſhop Ridley to Biſhop Hooper* †; *with ſome Obſervations upon it.* This paper was licenſed in July following, but the impreſſion ſeized ſoon after, by an order from Lord Sunderland Secretary of State. However, he went on; and upon iſſuing out writs in September for a new Parliament, he wrote a paper, which was publiſhed and diſperſed by the care and at the charge of his good friend (ſo he calls) Mr Gee *, under the following title: *A Letter from a Freeholder to the reſt of the Freeholders of England, and all others who have Votes in the choice of Parliament-*

(39) They had been printed before at the end of Julian the Apoſtate.

(40) His Works, p. 169.

† This letter is tranſcribed from the Book of Martyrs, Vol. III. in Hooper's Life. In the Obſervations, Mr Johnſon's opinion coincides with that of Archbiſhop Sancroft in the expediency of making ſome conceſſions to the Nonconformiſts. See Sancroft's article.

* Ibid. p. 210.

preſently afterwards, he collected all the papers he had publiſhed during his laſt impriſonment of five years and ten days, and republiſhed them under the title of *A ſecond five years Struggle againſt Popery and Tyranny*. This was followed by two pieces in vindication of the reſiſtance uſed in bringing about the Revolution [S]; and the proceedings againſt him in the preceding reign being reverſed by Parliament, June 11, 1689 [T], the Houſe of Lords preſented two addreſſes to King William the ſame year, recommending our author to preferment (p). Accordingly the rich deanery of Durham was offered him not long after, but he refuſed it, as an unequal reward for his ſervices; and finding himſelf unable to obtain his expectations of an Engliſh biſhopric, he changed his ſollicitations that way into one for a penſion [U]. Whereupon the King granted him 300 l. a year out of the Poſt-

(p) The votes paſſed unanimouſly, and in their addreſs it was ſaid, that his paper to King James's army was a public ſervice, which the nation enjoyed the benefit of to that day. Notes on the Phœnix edition of the Paſtoral Letter, ubi ſupra.

Parliament-Men. This year he likewiſe wrote the two following practical diſcourſes, of which the latter was then publiſhed, under the title of *Religion founded upon a Rock, or the eternal Obligation of being religious. In a Diſcourſe on 1 Tim. i. 17.* The other intituled, *The True Mother-Church, or a ſhort Practical Diſcourſe upon Acts ii. concerning the firſt Church at Jeruſalem.* To theſe he afterwards added a paper, ſhewing that *Reſiſtance may be uſed, in caſe our Religion and Right ſhould be invaded* (41), the whole impreſſion of which had been ſeized, together with that of his *Humble and Hearty Addreſs* &c. And, ſoon after the Revolution, collecting all that he had written from the time of his impriſonment in 1683, he publiſhed the whole under the title mentioned in the text, and dedicated it to King William.

(41) This was wrote in defence of Lord Ruſſel's opinion againſt Dr Tillotſon's paper, delivered to that Lord after his condemnation. See Tillotſon's article.

[S] *Two pieces in vindication of the Reſiſtance, &c.*] Theſe were, (1.) *Remarks upon Dr Sherlock's book, intitled*, The Caſe of Reſiſtance of the Supreme Power ſtated and reſolved, according to the Doctrine of the Holy Scripture. This piece was written in the year 1683, ſoon after Dr Sherlock's book came out. But Mr Johnſon now prefixed a preface †, wherein, among other things, he maintains that King William was not only a *rightful* King, but the *rightfulleſt* King that ever ſat upon the Engliſh throne; and in the concluſion he animadverts upon a piece intitled, *The Magiſtracy and Government of England vindicated*, then lately publiſhed, in defence of the proceedings againſt Lord Ruſſel; wherein he obſerves, from the inſtance of Lord Delamere ‖, that a conſult to levy war is not an overt-act of compaſſing the King's death, as that author had aſſerted. (2.) *Reflections upon the Hiſtory of Paſſive Obedience*. Some Remarks having been publiſhed upon the preface to his former piece, he takes notice of them in the concluſion of this, but treats them with contempt, declaring they were not worthy of an anſwer.

† And a dedication to his late patron's ſon, Wriothesly Lord Ruſſel.

‖ Who, when by levying war he had the late King [James] in his power at Whitehall, was ſo far from compaſſing his death, that he only delivered him a meſſage to remove in peace.

[T] *The proceedings againſt him in the preceding reign were reverſed.*] The Parliament taking Mr Johnſon's caſe into conſideration, reſolved, June 11, 1689, 'That the judgment againſt him in the King's-Bench, upon an information for a miſdemeanor, was cruel and illegal.' A committee was at the ſame time appointed to bring in a bill for reverſing that judgment; and being alſo directed to enquire how Mr Johnſon came to be degraded, and by what authority it was done, Mr Chriſty the Chairman, ſome days after, reported his caſe to this purpoſe. 'That in Trinity-term 1686, an information was exhibited againſt Mr Johnſon, in the name of Sir Robert Sawyer Attorney-General, for writing a ſcandalous and ſeditious libel, intituled, *An humble and hearty Addreſs*, &c. That the ſame term they forced him to plead, got a jury to find him guilty, and Sir Francis Withens pronounced the following ſentence upon him: *To pay five hundred marks to the King, and to lye in priſon 'till it was paid; to ſtand thrice in the pillory, in the Palace-yard, at Charing-croſs, and at the Old Exchange; and to be whipped by the common hangman from Newgate to Tyburn*. That the Judges then in Court were the Lord Chief-Juſtice Herbert, Sir Francis Withens, Sir Robert Wright, and Sir Richard Holloway. That apprehending it would be a ſcandal to have ſo infamous a puniſhment inflicted on a miniſter, they deſired Mr Johnſon might be firſt degraded: in order to which, being a priſoner in the King's-Bench in the dioceſe of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, he was ſummoned to appear the 20th of November in the Convocation-houſe of St Paul's, in the dioceſe of London, his living being within that dioceſe, and brought thither by *habeas corpus*, where he found the Biſhops of Durham, Rocheſter, and Peterborough, Commiſſioners to exerciſe the juriſdiction of the Biſhop of London during his ſuſpenſion, with ſome clergymen and many ſpectators: a libel was exhibited againſt him, charging him with great miſbehaviours, though none were ſpecified or proved. That Mr Johnſon demanded a copy of the libel and an advocate, both which the Biſhops denied him, and immediately proceeded to ſentence; *That he ſhould be declared an infamous perſon; that he ſhould be deprived of his Rectory; that he ſhould be a meer layman and no clerk; and be deprived of all right and privilege of prieſthood; that he ſhould be degraded thereof, and of all veſtments and habits of prieſthood.* Againſt which proceedings Mr Johnſon proteſted, as contrary to law and the 132d canon, not being done by his own dioceſan; but his proteſtation was refuſed, as was alſo his appeal to the King in Chancery. After which they proceeded to degrade him, by putting a ſquare cap on his head, and then taking it off; by pulling off his gown and girdle, which he demanded as his proper goods bought with his money; and they promiſed to ſend them to him, but he could not get them 'till he paid twenty ſhillings. Then they put a Bible into his hands, which he not parting with readily, they took it from him by force. That on the 22d of November, the judgment in the King's-Bench began to be executed with great rigour and cruelty. That Mr Rouſe the Under-Sheriff tore off his caſſock (42) on the pillory, and put a frize coat upon him. That he was whipped with a whip of nine cords knotted, which was ſhewn to the Committee. That Mrs Johnſon had alſo an information exhibited againſt her for the like matter as that againſt her huſband. On all which the committee came to the following reſolutions, which, on the report, were all agreed to by the Houſe. *That the judgment againſt Mr Johnſon was illegal and cruel: that the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion was illegal, and conſequently the ſuſpenſion of the Biſhop of London, and the authority committed to the three Biſhops null and illegal: that Mr Johnſon not being degraded by his own dioceſan, if he had deſerved it, was illegal: and that an addreſs be made to his Majeſty to recommend Mr Johnſon to ſome Eccleſiaſtical preferment ſuitable to his ſervices and ſufferings.* The Houſe likewiſe ordered, that in the ſaid bill the proceedings upon the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion ſhould be declared void (43).

(42) He had ſtill a right to wear this. See remark [R].

(43) Memorials, p. 15, 16.

[U] *He turned his ſollicitations into one for a penſion.*] He found a friend on this occaſion in Lady Ruſſel, who made uſe of the influence ſhe had with Dr Tillotſon; whereupon, the Dean having ſpoken to the King about it in the beginning of September this year, acquainted her Ladyſhip therewith, informing her at the ſame time how it was received by his Majeſty, 'who, ſays he, ſeemed well inclined to what I moved 'for Mr Johnſon, but did not poſitively determine to 'take that courſe (44).' Not ſatisfied with this attempt, the reſult of which was not indeed very hopeful, he reſolved to make a ſecond puſh; to which purpoſe he writes again to her Ladyſhip in a few days, as follows (45). 'I was not at Hampton-Court laſt 'Sunday, being almoſt tired out with ten weeks attendance, ſo that I have had no opportunity to try further in the buſineſs I wrote of in my laſt, but hope 'to bring it to ſome iſſue the next opportunity I can 'get to ſpeak with the King.' The Dean proceeds in theſe terms. 'I am ſorry to ſee in Mr Johnſon ſo 'broad a mixture of human frailty with ſo conſiderable 'virtues. But when I look into myſelf, I muſt think 'it pretty well, when any man's infirmities are in any 'meaſure overballanced by his better qualities. This 'good man I am ſpeaking of has at ſome times not 'uſed me very well *, for which I don't only forgive 'him, when I conſider for whoſe ſake he did it, but 'do heartily love him.' According to his promiſe, the Dean applied again to his Majeſty the Sunday following, the ſucceſs of which he acquainted Lady Ruſſel with in a letter dated September 24, 1689 (46). 'I mentioned Mr Johnſon again, ſays he, but his Ma'jeſty put on other diſcourſe; and my Lord Privy-'Seal

(44) This letter of the Dean to Lady Ruſſel is dated at Edmonton September 10, 1689.

(45) In a letter dated London September 19, 1689.

* The Dean ſent him 30 l. while he was a priſoner, and tho' his neceſſities forced him to accept the money, yet he did it with an air of the utmoſt contempt. Life of Tillotſon, p. 201.

(46) This, as well as the two preceding letters, were in the poſſeſſion of Dr Gibſon late Biſhop of London, and communicated to Dr Birch. See his Life of Dr Tillotſon, p. 198, 203, and 209. 2d edit. 1753.

Poſt-office, for his own and his ſon's life, with 1000 l. in money, and a place of 100 l. a year for his ſon (q). Thus gratified, he continued to employ his pen in defence of his Majeſty's title to the Crown, and in 1692 publiſhed his famous tract, intituled, *An Argument proving that the Abrogation of King James by the People of England from the Royal Throne, and the Promotion of the Prince of Orange, one of the Royal Family, to the Throne of the Kingdom in his ſtead, was according to the Conſtitution of the Engliſh Government, and preſcribed by it. In oppoſition to all the falſe and treacherous Hypotheſes, of Uſurpation, Conqueſt, Deſertion, and of taking the Powers that are upon content* [*W*]. His enemies were ſo much enraged at this piece, that preſently after the publication of it, an attempt was made

(q) Memorials, p. 17.

'Seal told me yeſterday morning, that the King 'thought it a little hard to give penſions out of his 'purſe inſtead of Church preferments; and tells me 'Mr Johnſon is very ſharp upon me; his Lordſhip 'called it railing; but it ſhall not move me in the 'leaſt. His Lordſhip aſked me, whether it would 'not be well to move the King to give him a good bi'ſhopric in Ireland, there being ſeveral void? I 'thought it very well, if it would be acceptable. 'His Lordſhip ſaid, that was all one, the offer would 'ſtop many mouths as well as his, which I think was 'well conſidered.' In the poſtſcript to this letter he writes thus. 'If Mr Johnſon refuſe this offer, and it 'ſhould be my hard fortune not to be able to get out 'of this difficulty (47)—I know one that will do more 'for Mr Johnſon than was deſired of the King, but ſtill 'as from the King for any thing that he ſhall know. 'But I hope ſome much better way will be found, 'and that there will be neither occaſion nor oppor'tunity for this.' We have obſerved above, that he had raiſed his expectations to a biſhopric in England, and this laſt letter of Dr Tillotſon's confirms it; and all the three letters ſhew, that his ambition therein was neither favoured by Lady Ruſſel nor the Dean. With regard to the Dean's ill uſage by Mr Johnſon mentioned in theſe letters, it muſt be obſerved, that our author at this very time had publiſhed his Five Years Struggle, &c. wherein having inſerted a piece in anſwer to Dr Tillotſon's paper delivered to Lord Ruſſel a little before his death, prefixed to it an advertiſement, which begins thus. '*At the ſame time* (48) '*almoſt the whole impreſſion of the following paper fell* '*into their hands, which was not intended to be pub*'*liſhed at that time, but was laid up againſt a time of* '*need. It was written long before, in vindication of* 'Lord Ruſſel, *of ever bleſſed memory, whoſe opinion it* 'was, *and from whom it could not be wreſted at his* 'death. The wretched author of all our miſeries, and 'the everlaſting enemy of his country, knows very 'well at what diſadvantage that great lord was taken, 'when he was practiſed upon to retract that opinion, 'and to bequeath a legacy of ſlavery to his country. 'But *they* made their aſſaults againſt a rock, and there 'were no earnings made of that ſtate-trick to uphold 'their bloody tyranny (49).' In theſe laſt words Dr Burnet is coupled with Tillotſon, both being employed on that occaſion *; and the former ſeems to have been the chief inſtrument of our author's diſappointment in his views of a biſhopric. At leaſt Mr Johnſon lays it at that Biſhop's door, in his notes on the Phœnix edition of the Paſtoral Letter (50); where, after having handled him very ſeverely in the coarſeſt language, he proceeds thus. 'I have taken this freedom with the 'Biſhop of S——, becauſe he has taken a great lati'tude with me, and has given me out for a madman 'above theſe four years.—It is an ugly imputation if 'it be but laid upon a dog, becauſe of the ill conſe'quence of it, for it amounts to the knocking out of 'his brains; but it is ſtill worſe to place it upon a 'man, becauſe it makes a fool of all his wiſeſt diſ'courſe; for if they diſlike any thing he ſays, they 'have authority to call it raving; and if they like it, 'it ſhall only have the allowance of lucid intervals. 'Beſides, it effectually ruins all a man's preferment, 'becauſe it unqualifies him, whereby his poſterity ſuf'fers for it to the end of the world. So that the mad 'man fares worſe in that caſe than the mad dog, be'cauſe the imputation never affects his breed.' After all, our author's chief enemy was himſelf; to give him a caſt of his own language, 'he ſtood in his own light with his eyes open.' Accordingly, his diſappointment is obſerved to be the effect of his own temper and conduct. For with very good abilities, conſiderable learning, and great clearneſs, ſtrength, and vivacity of ſentiment and expreſſion, of which his writings are a ſufficient evidence, whereof his few ſermons are equal in their kind to his other performances; and with a firmneſs of mind capable of ſupporting the ſevereſt trials for any cauſe, the truth or importance of which he was convinced of; he was paſſionate, impatient of contradiction, ſelf-opinionated, haughty, and apt to over-rate his own ſervices and undervalue thoſe of others, whoſe advancement above himſelf was an inſupportable mortification to him. The roughneſs of his temper and turbulency of his genius rendered him alſo unfit for the higher ſtations of the Church, of which he was immoderately ambitious? as well as his freedom in delivering his ſentiments with relation to all ſubjects and perſons without management or decorum, a liberty which he often exerciſed even in the Court itſelf; where he publickly ſaid, that upon the principle of Kings being accountable only to God, the Rump-Parliament had done right to ſend King Charles I. to him. Thus writes Dr Birch (51). But the remark bottoms upon a better authority. We have Mr Johnſon's own word for it. Speaking of the times immediately after the Revolution, 'I was ſo in'tent ſays he, upon the public welfare, and ever in'clined to give that the precedence, that I could not 'ſnatch and catch at the advantages of a Revolution, as 'others did, to whom they were not due; but when my 'friends urged me to mind my own buſineſs, my con'ſtant anſwer was, that it would keep cold: I have 'reaſon to remember it, continues he, becauſe an ho'neſt yonker in my own houſe has ſince upbraided 'me, that my buſineſs has catched cold (52).'

[*W*] *An argument proving that the abrogation of King James, &c.*] Mr Hampden's account of this piece has been already taken notice of in another place (53). That gentleman highly extols the learning and ſtrength of reaſoning therein; and after him, Mr Johnſon's other friend, ſo often mentioned in this memoir, aſſerts the ſame thing (54), both deſervedly enough. But neither of them thought fit to take notice, that their common friend charges all thoſe who differed from him with being influenced by ſelf-intereſt againſt the dictates of their conſcience, in taking the oaths to the new government, which he even inſinuates, was done with a treacherous deſign to undermine it, and reinſtate King James. So ſevere a reflection muſt unavoidably create him numerous enemies; and as the opinions, which he ſets himſelf ſo rudely to expoſe, were maintained by ſeveral divines of the firſt claſs, it is the leſs wonder that he never got any preferment in the Church. His laſt mentioned friend indeed, willing to throw a veil over his other foibles, puts this as the only block that lay in his road thereto, and tells us withal, that theſe enemies repreſented him as a republican, for maintaining that King James was dethroned for male-adminiſtration, and that King William and Queen Mary were ſet up in his ſtead by authority of Parliament (55). If ſo, he was evidently miſrepreſented; for the argument, which ſtands at the head of the reſt in this treatiſe, is built upon a declaration of the Lords and Commons, 10 Rich. II. in their meſſage to that King then at Eltham; wherein having put the caſe of the ſovereign's arbitrary government in violation of the laws and ſtatutes, they conclude in the following terms, that *Ex tunc licitum eſt eis, communi aſſenſu & conſenſu populi regni, ipſum Regem de regali ſolio abrogare, & propinquiorem aliquem de ſtirpe regia loco ejus in regni ſolio ſublimare.* From thenceforward it is lawful for them, with the common aſſent and conſent of the people of this realm, to depoſe the King from the regal throne, and to promote ſome kinſman of his of the royal family to the throne of the kingdom in his ſtead. Accordingly, we find our author both here and elſewhere careful not to omit King William's claim by propinquity of blood, in conjunction with his parliamentary right.

[*X*] *An*

(47) That is, not to avoid the archbiſhopric of Canterbury. Concerning which ſee his article.

(48) That the addreſs to King James's army was ſeized.

(49) Johnſon's Works, p. 161.

* Dr Birch thinks it probable that neither of them then underſtood the caſe of Reſiſtance ſo well as Mr Johnſon did. Life of Tillotſon, p. 114.

(50) Ibid. p. 319.

(51) Life of Tillotſon, p. 201, 202.

(52) Notes on the Paſtoral Letter, p. 319.

(53) In the article of John Hampden, remark [*K*].

(54) Memorials, p. 16, 17.

(55) Ibid.

made to murder him [*X*]. But he escaped, though narrowly, with his life, and continued writing in the same cause as long as his health would suffer him [*Y*]. However, he grew uneasy at some measures taken by the administration, became a grumbler toward the latter end of his life [*Z*], and concurred with the Tories. His last things were published in 1697

[*X*] *An attempt to murder him.*] To this end seven assassins broke into his house in Bond-street very early in the morning, and five of them, with a lanthorn, got into his chamber, where he, with his wife and young son, were in bed. Mr Johnson was fast asleep, but his wife being awaked by their opening the door, cried out thieves, and endeavoured to awake her husband. The villains in the mean time threw open the curtains; three of them placed themselves on that side of the bed where he lay with drawn swords and clubs, and two stood at the bed's feet with pistols. Mr Johnson started up, and endeavouring to defend himself from their assaults, received a blow on the head, which made him fall backward. His wife cried out with great earnestness, and begged them not to treat a sick man with such barbarity; upon which they paused a little, and one of the miscreants called to Mr Johnson to hold up his face; which his wife begged him to do, thinking they only designed to gag him, and that they would rifle the house and be gone. Upon this he sat upright, when one of the rogues cried, Pistol him for the book he wrote, which discovered their design; for it was just after the publishing of the book concerning the abrogation of King James. Whilst he sat upright in his bed, one of them cut him with a sword over the eye-brow, and those at the bed's feet presented their pistols at him; but upon Mrs Johnson's passionate intreaties they went off, without doing him further mischief, or rifling the house. A Surgeon was immediately sent for, who found two wounds in his head, and his body much bruised. However, with due care he recovered (56).

(56) Ibid. p. 18.

[*Y*] *He continued writing as long as his health permitted.*] These are, (1.) *An Essay concerning Parliaments at a certainty; or the Kalends of May.* This tract is addressed to the Parliament; which having been then continued above three years, our author puts them in mind, was not agreeable to the old constitution of the realm, and that intermissions by prorogation were inconsistent therewith. A new Parliament was anciently called every year upon the kalends of May. In the conclusion, he makes the following pathetic complaint of the ill state of his health. And thus, says he, I have finished what I at first propounded; but under such difficulties and disadvantages of a broken health, as I do verily believe never book was written. Upon which account he recommends the further prosecution of this subject to the learned and curious in antiquities. (2.) *Notes upon the Phœnix edition of the Pastoral Letter.* The book signified by this description was published about a week after the Pastoral Letter was burnt by order of Parliament (57), January 24, 1692. Mr Johnson, in his preface, gives the following account of it, and of his motive for answering it. 'When I understood, says he, that by the author's direction the Pastoral Letter was to be reprinted in the self same session of Parliament which censured it, partly out of a just disdain that an English Parliament should be treated with such contempt by an inmate, and partly out of an indignation that *that* phial of mischief should be again poured forth upon the nation, I promised that if it were reprinted, I would bestow notes upon it, hoping thereby to put a stop to that intended insolence. But a week after, out comes the fly counterfeit, as like the other as they could make it, with a false date and a dead man's name to it; and I have in part been as good as my word.' (3.) *A Confutation of a late pamphlet, intituled,* A Letter, ballancing the Necessity of keeping a Land-force in time of Peace, with the dangers that may follow it. The argument urged for keeping a standing army being grounded upon the danger of an invasion, our author observes, that this argument is fitted only to arbitrary government, where the people have no liberties to defend. And, says he, though the English have now squabbles and differences among themselves, yet a common cause and a common enemy always reconciles and unites them, and as loose as the stones may seem to be, let but an invasion come, and that will find mortar. This was first printed in 1697; and several answers to it presently appearing, our author replied in a piece, intituled, *A Second Part of the Confutation of the Ballancing Letter, being an occasional Discourse in vindication of* Magna Charta. To this treatise the editor has added in an appendix, the Capitula, or articles on which the Magna Charta of King John was formed, the original of which, with King John's seal to it (58), was found in the study of Dr Warner Bishop of Rochester, and afterwards came into the hands of Dr Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, at the time of this publication. A copy in French, or old Norman, of the Magna Charta of King John compleat, which agrees with the Latin one, printed in Matth. Paris. Both the Capitula and Charter at large are likewise translated into English.

57) See Bishop Burnet's article.

(58) It is cited by our author in his first Confutation, p. 333. in his Works.

[*Z*] *He was a grumbler to the latter end of his days.*] Mr Johnson began to express his private resentments so early as the first year of the Revolution, when he thought himself injured by not being the first prisoner that felt the fruits of it, as he was the eldest of all those that lay upon a public account in England; and I thought, says he, a thanksgiving deliverance from Popery and Slavery would have reached me in the first place by seniority (59). We find him afterwards upon the same topic expressing himself thus. '*Perhaps it may be thought, that in these papers I have mingled very much of my own private resentments together with public matters; to which I have only this to say,* Is there not a cause (60)?' And what that cause was appears in the body of the piece, where, having made very free with his antagonists, especially Burnet and Sherlock, he proceeds to defend that freedom as follows. 'Perhaps, says he, some of our fools think that great men ought not to be so treated, but let them and their great men know, that I am in the way of writing; and there, he is the greatest man that has the best arguments; and besides, that greatness does not lie in actual preferments (for that is still but like usurpation), but in having most right to them; and in doing (for I will not mention my sufferings by their barbarous hands) more for my country than they were able to do against it. But I will recount no more of their merits, least I should make them still greater men, which is no part of my intention.' He concludes with applying the story of the contest between Moses and the Magicians of Egypt to his own case, as follows. 'In short, says he, the Magicians of Egypt were in Pharaoh's project for the perpetual slavery of the Israelites, and used all their skill for that purpose; but Moses's serpent was the mastering serpent, and destroyed theirs; and therein, though not in places, he was greater than all the Magicians of Egypt; and again he was the greater in this, that what he did tended to the deliverance of an injured and oppressed people, which likewise ensued; whereas, their business was to lock them fast in the house of bondage (61).' But these clamorous railings, on account of his personal disappointments, are not intended by the character of a grumbler, so much as his murmurings against the administration with regard to the public, which had as early an epocha as the former. The truth is, they seem to be joint twins born together, and nourishing each other. Thus, for instance, we find him complaining of the long continuance of King William's second Parliament in these terms. 'I was afraid, says he, that this government 'would float and move upon the face of the waters, 'till we were at a certainty about our Parliaments; and therefore, when I waited upon my Lord 'Devonshire before the coronation, I said that we 'were never the better for this revolution 'till we had 'a settlement of Parliaments; and our ancient right 'was anniversary Parliaments, and that nothing else 'could set the government to rights.' He afterwards observes, that when Mr Johnston, the then present Secretary of State for Scotland, told him in the Court of Requests, that the bill of Rights was going up to the House of Lords, he wished at that time that all our rights were reduced to one line, which was our right to have a Parliament every kalends of May. 'I tell 'these old stories, continues he, to shew that I was 'always of the same mind, and that no Court neglects 'nor disappointments have altered me. For I am 'sure

(59) An Argument to prove the Abrogation of King James &c. In his Works, p. 265.

(60) Preface to Notes on the Pastoral Letter. Ibid. p. 295.

(61) Notes on the Phœnix edition of the Pastoral Letter, ubi supra, p. 311.

1697 (r). He had been declining ſeveral years before (s); and at length, ſinking under his diſorder, he gave way to fate about the month of May 1703 (t). In 1710, the pieces already mentioned were publiſhed in one folio volume, under the title of *The Works of the late Reverend Mr* Samuel Johnſon, *ſome time Chaplain to the Right Honourable* William Lord Ruſſel. This collection contained alſo *Several Diſcourſes upon Practical Subjects*; preached no doubt at his rectory of Corringham, that being the only Church preferment he ever had (u). The 2d edition of his Works came out in 1713, in folio.

(r) See remark [T].

(s) See remarks [X] and [T].

(t) Salmon's Hiſtory and Antiquities of York.

(u) Memorial p. 3.

' ſure I laid the bridge that brought them over, and ' am pretty certain they did not come hither in virtue ' of Paſſive Obedience (62).' Notwithſtanding what is here inſinuated, we have already ſhewn in this remark, that one of theſe Court neglects was actually put upon him as early as his firſt conference here mentioned with my Lord Devonſhire, and that he then reſented it. Accordingly, we find him a few years after complaining, that men of no principles at all, and ſuch alſo as had voted againſt the Convention-bill for placing King William in the throne, were preferred and employed in the adminiſtration (63). Preſently after this, we find him in the ſame ſtrain, murmuring againſt the continuation of the war, eſpecially by land, and taking the Dutch to our aſſiſtance againſt the French, and particularly againſt a ſtanding army; whereupon he obſerves, that the fourth part of the Petition of Right was ſpent againſt billeting of ſoldiers (64). In the ſame ſpirit we ſee him pouring forth all his artillery in 1697 againſt a ſtanding army, and the great favours ſhewn to the Dutch. Upon which ſubject, ſpeaking of the ſcheme for a general naturalization of that people, in anſwer to the ſeveral arguments produced for it, he takes notice of that drawn from gratitude to the Dutch in two expreſs treatiſes, who, it was urged, ought to ſhare in the advantages of England, ſince they bore ſo great a ſhare in preſerving them for us, and in giving us, ſays he, our preſent King. That is a debt I confeſs, continues he. which will be always paying and never paid, though the people have requited him with three kingdoms, the greateſt recompence upon earth! He maintains alſo, that the grant of this privilege to any foreigners was againſt *Magna Charta*, the great charter of our rights and liberties, which every man ought to know, and which, upon that account he ſuggeſts, ought (as by ſeveral ſtatutes it was firſt ordered) to be publickly read in all Cathedrals twice a year, and then the breakers of it to be excommunicated, and their excommunication denounced in all pariſh churches (65).

(62) Eſſay concerning Parliaments at a certainty. In his Works, p. 293.

(63) An Argument proving the Abrogation, &c. p. 270.

(64) Notes on the Phœnix edition, &c. paſſim.

(65) Confutation of the ballancing Letter, p. 336, 338.

P

JONES [INIGO (a)], the celebrated Architect, was born about the year 1572, in the neighbourhood of St Paul's in London, of which city his father, Mr Ignatius Jones, was a Citizen and Clothworker. Nothing certain being delivered concerning his education, ſome very different conjectures have been advanced upon that ſubject [A]. But in whatever way he was bred, his natural inclination leading him to the ſtudy of the arts of drawing and deſigning, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf early by the extraordinary progreſs he made in thoſe polite and uſeful arts, and was particularly taken notice of for his ſkill in the practice of Landſkip painting. Theſe admirable talents introduced him to the knowledge of William Earl of Pembroke (b), who, admiring his genius, took him into his patronage, and ſent him abroad with a handſome allowance, in order to perfect himſelf, by viewing and ſtudying the works of the beſt maſters ancient and modern, in Italy and the politer parts of Europe. Thus ſupported, he ſpent many years in compleating his education; to which end, chuſing the city of Venice for the chief place of his reſidence, he ſuffered nothing of real value or merit any where to eſcape his induſtry; and the improvements he made thereby gave ſuch an eclat to his reputation all over Europe, that Chriſtian IV. King of Denmark ſent for him thence, and appointed him his Architect-General (c). He had enjoyed this poſt ſome years, when that prince, whoſe ſiſter Anne had married King James I, made a viſit to England in 1606 (d). Mr Jones took this opportunity of returning home; and expreſſing a deſire to continue in his native country, the Queen appointed him her Architect; and being not long after taken in the ſame character into the ſervice of Prince Henry, he diſcharged his truſt with ſo much fidelity and judgment, that the King gave him the reverſion of the place of Surveyor-General of his Works (e). After the death of Prince Henry in 1612, our architect made a ſecond tour to Italy, and continued ſome years there, improving himſelf ſtill further in his favourite art (f), 'till the Surveyor's place fell to him. He then returned to England to enrich his country with the fruits of his ſtudies (g). Soon after his arrival, the office of Works being found ſeveral thouſand pounds in debt, he voluntarily gave up his own dues, and prevailed with the Comptroller and Paymaſter to do the like, whereby the whole arrears were abſolutely cleared (b). In 1620, by the King's command, he took an accurate ſurvey of the ſurpriſing group of ſtones upon Saliſbury-Plain, commonly called Stone-Henge, and drew up an account with his opinion of that famous monument of antiquity, which he preſented to his royal maſter [B]. And on the 16th of November the ſame year, he was appointed, among

(a) This name being in Spaniſh the ſame with Ignatius in Latin, has occaſioned a conjecture, that, as his father was a conſiderable dealer in the woollen manufacture, ſome Spaniſh merchant might probably be his godfather. Life of Inigo Jones, prefixed to his *Stone-Henge* reſtored. Lond. 1725, 2d edit. folio.

(b) Ibid. N. B. His Lordſhip was a great patron of all liberal ſciences; beſides our author, he ſupported in his travels, in 1626, Mr (afterwards Sir) Tho. Herbert, who attended King Charles I. in the laſt two years of his life. Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 690, & ſeq.

(c) Webb's Vindication of Stone-Henge reſtored, p. 119. edit. 1725, folio.

(d) His Majeſty arrived here July 7th that year. Salmon's Chronological Hiſt. p. 52. col. b. edit. 1723, 8vo. He made a ſecond viſit in July 1614. Ibid. p. 55. col. b.

(e) Webb's vindication, ubi ſupra.

(f) See Notes to Palladio's Architecture, printed in Leoni's edition of that work in 1742. Mr Webb tells us, that our architect ſpent his eſtate as well as his time among the Romans [in Italy]. Vindication, p. 120.

(g) Ibid. p. 119.

(b) Ibid. The debt was contracted through extraordinary occaſions in his predeceſſor's time, and the Privy-Council acquainted him that the Exchequer was empty and the workmen clamorous.

[A] *Different conjectures about his education.*] The author of his life ſays, it had been ſuggeſted, that his education was liberal, and that he laid the firſt foundations of his future knowledge in the univerſity of Cambridge; but, continues he, there ſeems to be no other ground for this ſuppoſition, than a bare conjecture (1). On the other hand, Sir Chriſtopher Wren uſed to ſay, he was bound apprentice to a Joiner; which is the more probable, as his vindicator Mr Webb had thought proper to throw a veil of abſolute ſilence over this part of his life.

(1) Life of Inigo Jones, prefixed to his Stone-Henge reſtored, fol. 1.

[B] *He preſented his opinion of Stone-Henge to his Majeſty.*] The King, in his progreſs this year, called at Wilton, the ſeat of the Earl of Pembroke; which being near Stone-Henge (2), the diſcourſe, among other things, turned upon that famous relique of antiquity. Hereupon, our architect, who was well known to have ſearched into antique buildings and ruins abroad, being ſent for, received his Majeſty's commands, to produce, out of his own practice in architecture and experience in antiquities, what poſſibly he could diſcover concerning this of Stone-Henge. In obedience to this command, he preſently ſet about the work; and having, with no little pains and expence, taken an exact meaſurement of the whole, and diligently ſearched the foundations, in order to find out the original form and aſpect, he proceeded to compare it with other antique buildings which he had any where ſeen abroad; and after much reaſoning and a long ſeries of authorities, he concludes at laſt, that this

(2) This ſeat is four miles both from Saliſbury and Stone-Henge.

among others, a Commiſſioner for repairing the cathedral of St Paul in London (*i*). Upon the demiſe of King James, he was continued in his poſts by King Charles I. whoſe

(*i*) Dugdale's Hiſtory of St Paul's Cathedral, p. 135, 136, firſt edit. in 1658. folio.

thir ancient and ſtupendous pile muſt have been originally a Roman temple, inſcribed to *Cœlus* the ſenior of the heathen gods, and built after the Tuſcan order. That it was built when the Romans flouriſhed here in peace and proſperity in Britain, and probably betwixt the time of Agricola's government and the reign of Conſtantine the Great, about 1650 years ago. The reaſons upon which he endeavours to ſupport this opinion are theſe:

Firſt, That the Romans were, and no other nation could be, founders of Stone-Henge, he argues from, 1. The magnificence. 2 The order. 3. The architectonical ſcheme. 4. The double portico in the greater circle of ſtones, and another portico in the cell or hexagon. 5. The manner and poſition of the columns of the building. And 6. From the Roman reliques frequently found near the place.

Secondly, that it was a temple, he infers from, 1. The interval or ſpacious court round about. 2. The cell and it's porticoes. 3. The altar, and it's poſition eaſtward. 4. The intermixture of orders. 5. The aſpect of the whole fabric. And 6. From the ſkulls of beaſts, as bulls, &c. digged up in the circumjacent ground.

Thirdly, That this temple was inſcribed to the God Cœlus, he concludeth from, 1. The ſituation, in an open plain country. 2. The aſpect *Hypæthros*, i. e. roofleſs. 3. The manner or form, viz. a circle ſurrounding a hexagon. 4. The order. 5. The decorum or ſtructure. 6. The pyramidal figure of the ſtones. 7. From the kinds of beaſts cuſtomarily offered in ſacrifice to that deity.

However, upon the whole, he pretends not to any abſolute deciſive evidence, but leaves the matter as a ſubject worthy of further enquiries. This opinion of our author lay by him in rude notes, imperfectly methodized, 'till his death; when, coming into the hands of his relation Mr John Webb, of Butleigh in Somerſetſhire, that gentleman, at the deſire of Dr William Harvey the celebrated Phyſician, Mr Selden, and other learned Antiquaries, perfected and publiſhed them a few years afterwards in folio, under the following title, *The moſt notable Antiquity of Great-Britain, vulgarly called Stone-Heng on Saliſbury-Plain, reſtored. Lond.* 1655. This book, of which only a few copies were printed (3), was generally approved by the Antiquaries. But Dr Walter Charlton, Phyſician to King Charles II. being diſſatisfied with it, ſent it to the famous Olaus Wormius in Denmark, who returned his ſentiments in ſeveral letters to his correſpondent. The doctor, being perſwaded that the antiquity was of Daniſh extraction, attempted a refutation of Mr Jones's opinion, which he printed in 1663 in 4to. intitled, *Chorea Gigantum, or the moſt famous Antiquity of Great-Britain, vulgarly called Stone-Heng, ſtanding on Saliſbury-Plain, reſtored to the Danes.* This diſcourſe was generally exploded by the learned in theſe things, and Mr Webb publiſhed, in anſwer to it, *A Vindication of Stone-Heng reſtored; in which the Orders and Rules of Architecture obſerved by the ancient Romans are diſcuſſed: together with the Cuſtoms and Manners of ſeveral Nations of the World in matters of building of the greateſt Antiquity; as alſo an Hiſtorical Narration of the moſt memorable Actions of the Danes in England. Lond.* 1655, *in folio.* Theſe three diſcourſes of Mr Jones, Dr Charlton, and Mr Webb, being grown very ſcarce, were reprinted together at London, 1725, folio. The two laſt pieces are both addreſſed to King Charles II. who, as Dr Charlton there obſerves, after his defeat at Worceſter, while he lay concealed at Heale near Saliſbury, made a viſit to this monument, and ſpent many hours together in viewing it. His Majeſty, however, was not ſatisfied, it ſeems, with any of theſe accounts; and in his return from Bath in 1665, happening to meet Mr Aubrey at Stone-Henge, and converſing with him upon it, was better pleaſed with his opinion in aſcribing it to the Druids. In confirmation whereof, that gentleman receiving, 'tis ſaid, the royal commands for the purpoſe, wrote his *Monumenta Britannica: or, A Diſcourſe concerning Stone Henge*, &c. and this ſentiment has been ſince embraced and further confirmed by Dr William Stukely, who, having very diligently examined this and other works of the like nature in the iſland for many years together, publiſhed a treatiſe, entitled, *Stone Henge, a Temple, reſtored to the Britiſh Druids.* Lond. 1740, in folio. That learned author obſerves, that the utmoſt account we have in writing of theſe temples, of which Stone Henge is the lateſt, comes from the ancient Britons, the remains of the people who lived here at the times of the Roman invaſion; that the oldeſt Britons ſpeak of it only by tradition, far above all memorial; and wondering at the ſtupendous work, were as far to ſeek about the founders and intent of it then as we are now; and therefore (as was uſual with them) had recourſe to magic for it's original. After the Reformation, the curious began to conſider it more intimately, though not ſucceſsfully. Mr Camden expreſsly declares he was able to give no good account of it. After him Mr Jones gave, in 1620, his opinion of it as a Roman work, and left, 'I ſuppoſe, continues this author, ſome few 'indigeſted notes in writing thereupon. From which 'his ſon-in-law (4), John Webb, compoſed an entire 'treatiſe, endeavouring to prove it. But they that 'are acquainted with Roman architecture, or have 'conſidered Stone Henge, muſt needs be of a different 'opinion. And as my Lord Bp of London *well obſerves* (5), It cannot be ſafe to cloſe with Mr Jones, "tho' *his book otherwiſe* be a learned and *ingenious* "piece." Inigo Jones lived 30 years after this, and 'yet Mr Webb makes an apology for his work, that 'if he had ſurvived to have done it with his own 'hand, it would have been better. But 'tis very reaſonably believed, that though Inigo Jones was an 'extraordinary genius in architecture, yet he wanted 'many qualifications for an author, eſpecially in ſuch 'a work as Stone-Henge. 'Tis my opinion, that had 'his architectonic ſkill been united to Mr Camden's 'learning, he could never have demonſtrated Stone-'Henge to be a Roman work. Afterwards, Dr 'Charlton publiſhed a piece againſt Webb's performance, and certainly has ſaid enough to overthrow it, 'though he could not with equal ſucceſs eſtabliſh his 'own opinion, that it was the work of the Danes. 'Whereas, Olaus Wormius finds no ſuch monuments 'among the Gothic nations, which, as Mr Toland (6) 'obſerves, is anſwer ſufficient to his allegation. Webb 'anſwered the doctor's book, and by turns effectually 'demoliſhed his opinion, but could not ſtill vindicate 'his own. Yet from all their diſputations, no ſpark 'was ſtruck towards a diſcovery of the real truth. 'What is the worſt part in both performances of Mr 'Webb, his repreſentation of the real monument in 'his drawings is fictitious; and, as Mr Aubrey rightly 'obſerves, in endeavouring to retrieve a piece of architecture in Vitruvius, he abuſes the reader with a falſe 'repreſentation of the whole. It requires no great pains 'to prove this, nor need we take much time to be ſatisfied in it: the work is ſtill extant. As ſoon as a judicious eye comes upon the ſpot, it ſees that Webb's 'equilateral triangles forming the cell are imaginary; 'that his three entrances a croſs the ditch are ſo too, 'and that he has turned the cell a ſixth part from it's true 'ſituation, to favour his imaginary hypotheſis. That 'the cell or adytum, inſtead of a hexagon, forms a 'beautiful oval, and conſiſts of 40 ſtones, and not 30, 'as Mr Webb has given them, whoſe calling it a Roman work, compoſed from a mixture of the plainneſs and ſolidneſs of the Tuſcan order with the delicacy of the Corinthian; that in aſpect they are *dipteros hypæthros*; and that in manner 'tis *pychoſtoles*; 'when applied to our antiquity, is no better than 'playing with words (7).' The doctor proceeds to ſupport his own opinion by the following arguments. (1.) From the prodigious number of theſe kind of buildings, from the Land's end in Cornwall to the utmoſt northern promontory in Scotland, where the Roman power never reached. That they are to be found in all the iſlands between Scotland and Ireland, Iſle of Man, all the Orkney iſlands, &c. and numerous in Ireland itſelf (8). (2.) Whatever is dug up in or near theſe works, are manifeſtly remains of the Druid times, urns, bones, ornaments of amber, glaſs beads, ſnake-ſtones, amulets, celts, flint-hatchets, arrow heads, and ſuch like. (3.) That there are many barrows or graves about them, over one of which runs the *Via Iceniana* (9), and conſequently was raiſed before that

(3) Several of them were alſo deſtroyed in the Fire of London. Jones's Life, ubi ſupra.

(4) This is a miſtake, for he was no more than a diſtant couſin. See remark [G].

(5) In his notes on Camden's Britannia.

(6) In his Hiſtory of the Druids.

(7) Stone-Henge, a Temple, &c. p. 2, 3.

(8) Toland, p. 23. relates, that in Geaſcopa's mount in Inſoen in the county of Donnegal, a Druideſs of that name lived; it ſignifies white-legged; on that hill is her grave and her temple, a ſort of diminutive Stone-Henge, which the old Iriſh at this day dare not any way profane.

(9) A ſimilar proof to this is fetched by him from the Roman road from Marlborough in Wiltſhire to Bath. See his Abury, &c. Lond. 1723, folio.

whose consort also entertained him in the like station *. And he soon after formed that most stately and elegant pavilion, the Banquetting-house at Whitehall, which was at first designed for the reception of foreign Ambassadors [C]. Several other designs of his, executed in this reign, are taken notice of below [D]. In 1633, he began the reparations of St Paul's cathedral (k); and, in carrying them on, he added a magnificent portico at the west end, which excited the envy of all Christendom on his country, for a piece of architecture not to be parallelled in modern times (l) [E]. While he was raising these

(l) Webb, ubi supra, p. 2.

* Webb, where last cited.

(k) The order for it was sent to him June 26, 1633, and it was begun soon after at the east end, the first stone being laid by Dr Laud then Bishop of London, and the fourth by Mr Jones. Dugdale's History of St Paul's, &c. p. 142. ad edit. 1716, folio.

Roman road. (4.) That Stone-Henge was built before the boundary called Wansdyke was made by the Belgæ, and probably before the Belgæ set footing in Britain; as appears from the barrows, which no doubt were the burial places of Kings and great men. (5). That the proportions of Stone-Henge falling into fractions, when measured by the English, French, Roman, or Grecian foot, shew, that the architects were neither English, French, Romans, or Greeks; and that the same proportions, when measured by the Phœnician cubit, producing always whole numbers, is an undeniable proof that it was built by that cubit (10). Upon the whole, he concludes, from the elegant and magnificent structure of Stone-Henge, that it was the temple of the Arch-Druid, as the metropolitical church of the chief Druid of Britain; the *Locus Consecratus* (11), where they met at some great festivals in the year, as well to perform the extraordinary sacrifices and religious rites, as to determine causes and civil matters. That it was built by the descendants of those Phœnicians, who probably came hither under the conduct of the Tyrian Hercules, in or about the time of the Patriarch Abraham, and built this temple about the year of Rome 280, that is, about 460 years before Christ, and 420 years before Cæsar invaded Britain. Whence he observes, that as the Wansdyke north of Stone-Henge was made about 100 years before Christ by Divitiacus, who drove the possessors of this fine country of the Wiltshire-Downs northwards; so the Druids enjoyed their magnificent work of Stone-Henge but about 360 years (12). To conclude, it is remarkable, that almost all the different inhabitants of our island have had their advocates in claiming the honour of this antiquity. Mr Samms, in his Britannia, will have the structure to be Phœnician; Mr Jones and Mr Webb believe it to be Roman; Mr Aubrey thinks it to be British; Dr Charleton derives it from the Danes. And yet, if the true old writing of the name be S T A N - H E N - G E S T, as the Monasticon seems to tell us, I cannot see, says Bishop Nicholson, why the Saxons may not have as just a title as any. At last, Dr Stukely begins the round again, and maintains with Mr Samms that it is of Phœnician original.

(10) This cubit was the same with the Hebrew and Egyptian, containing 20 $\frac{4}{5}$ inches English measure. See Greaves's Roman Foot, &c. and Arbuthnot of Coins, &c.

(11) It is so called by Cæsar in his Commentaries, B. G. VI. 13.

(12) Our author raises this opinion upon the rule of the variation of the compass, laid down by Dr Halley, who visited Stone-Henge in 1720, and brought a piece of the stone to the R. S. which was examined by our author; to whom the doctor gave it as his opinion, that Stone-Henge might be 2 or 3000 years old. Stone-Henge, a Temple, p. 5 and 65.

[C] *The Banquetting house at Whitehall.*] The cieling was painted some years after with the felicities of King James's reign by Sir Peter-Paul Rubens, and prints from these by Simon Gribelin were published in 1724. The late Lord Burlington, about the year 1740, published *A North-west View of the Palace designed for Whitehall by Inigo Jones* (13) where this pavilion appears in it's proper place as part of that palace. In which, among other most beautiful drawings, there is seen a noble circular portico, the first hint whereof might perhaps be suggested by the circular portico in Stone Henge. But to understand this, it must be observed, that Stone Henge consists of an outward circle, 60 cubits in diameter, wherein are set 30 stones, each 9 cubits high and 4 cubits broad, with an interval of two cubits between; and over each upright stone lies another of 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ cubit thick. At 5 cubits distance from this exterior circle within, there is another, whose radius from the common center of the work is 24 cubits, wherein are placed 40 stones at equal distances, each a cubit thick, and 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in height; so that between these two circles there is a circular walk 300 foot in circumference. Whence it appears, that the circular portico in the design for Whitehall bears a resemblance to this. But to finish the description of Stone-Henge. Within the portico, i. e. within the inner circle, at 10 cubits distance, stand 5 *trilithons*, i. e. a compages of 3 stones, two uprights, with a third upon the top as an impost. These are set with suitable intervals between them, nearly in the form of a semi-oval, and by Dr Stukely called the *cancelli*, because within them, at a lesser distance, stand 19 lesser upright stones, nearly in the same oval form, but lesser; within which, near the upper end, lies a large single stone, flat, supposed to be the altar; the whole being called by Webb the *cell*, by Stukely the *adytum*, or the *sanctum sanctorum*; and from this adytum the Doctor imagines, that Inigo Jones projected the plan of the Surgeons theatre in London, a fabric for seeing and hearing, continues he, much admired by all good judges, and which my Lord Burlington, out of a spirit truly noble, and a great love for the architect's memory, has lately repaired at his own charges and with excellent skill. I find the Surgeons theatre, or rather amphitheatre, is formed from the same proportions as our adytum, the transverse and conjugate diameters being as 4 to 3, viz. 40 foot and 30 foot. And this appears to me a strong presumption that Inigo Jones did not make the ground-plot of Stone-Henge published under his name (15).

(13) This view is what is called a bird's eye prospect, or as it is seen by a bird in flying over it; by which artifice all the parts are brought distinctly into view.

(14) At the other end the oval is not enclosed with stones.

(15) Stone-Henge, a Temple, &c. p 25.

[D] *Several other designs are taken notice of below.*] Besides Surgeons-Hall already mentioned, we owe to Mr Jones the Queen's Chapel at St James's palace, and her Majesty's new buildings fronting the gardens at Somerset house in the Strand (16). The church, and piazza of Covent-Garden; the first of which is universally allowed to be a master piece of the Tuscan order, the portico at the west end, majestic in it's plainness, and the roof so happily contrived, by extending itself beyond the wall, as both to cast a shade, which adds to the solemnity of the sacred edifice, and at the same time serves to strengthen the wall, by resting thereon in it's center of gravity. In the last performance he had in view the piazza of Leghorn, but has vastly surpassed the original in the beauty and largeness of his pillars. Our architect also laid out the ground-plot of Lincoln's inn fields (17), and designed the Duke of Ancaster's house, which stands on the west side of that noble square, and which is no inconsiderable instance of the *softness* and *sweetness* of his touches. The royal chapel at Denmark-house, and the King's house at Newmarket, and the Queen's buildings at Greenwich, were also of his design (18). But it is not in our power to describe the number, or form a judgment upon the excellence of all his buildings; views of several of them may be seen in Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*, to which we must be content to refer the reader.

(16) See a description of them in Mr Waller's poem to the Queen on that subject.

(17) Dr Stukely says this was laid out by the Egyptian cubit. Stone-Henge, a Temple, &c. p. 6, 7.

(18) Webb's Vindication, &c. p. 119.

[E] *Portico at the west end of St Paul's.*] This portico consisted of solid walls on each side, with rows of Corinthian pillars set at distance from the walls within to support the roof (19). The whole was built at the expence of King Charles I (20), who adorned it also with the statues of his royal father and himself. The intention of it was to be an ambulatory for such as usually, by walking in the body of the church, disturbed the solemn service in the choir (21). Mr Jones was not a little proud of this portico, at least if those are indeed his words which we read in his *Stone Henge restored*; where, in answer to Mr Camden's wonder by what means such huge stones as those of Stone-Henge were set up, having mentioned much larger stones raised by the Ancients, he closes the paragraph as follows: 'Had I not been thought worthy (by 'him who then commanded) to have been sole Architect thereof, I would have made some mention of 'the great stones used in the work and portico at the 'west end of St Paul's church London, but I forbear; 'though in greatness they were equal to most in this 'antiquity [Stone-Henge], and raised to a far greater 'height than any there (22).' To this we shall add a remark of Mr Webb's, which may help to form some idea of the extraordinary expence and magnificence of this portico. He is handling the objection of his antagonist, that Stone-Henge could not be a Roman work, because the diminishing of the stones was not equal in all as in Roman columns. Mr Webb admitting that inequality, answers thus, 'Do not we find that the Ro-'mans upon occasion, in one and the same temple, some-'times diminished the pillars, sometimes the pylasters, 'not in regard of the thrust at the angles? and might 'not these then in our antiquity be diminished more 'or less in regard of some pressing necessity, some vent

(19) Ibid. p. 59.

(20) The King built all, but Charles built the west end. Waller, in his poem on his Majesty's repairing St Paul's.

(21) Dugdale's History of St Paul's, p. 143.

(22) Stone-Henge restored, &c. p. 24.

'or

these noble monuments of his extraordinary genius as an Architect, he employed his leisure hours in designing decorations for dramatic entertainments; and there appeared a happy intermixture of fancy and judgment in his pompous machinery of masques and interludes, which were the vogue in his time [F]. By these means he acquired a handsome fortune

'... in an architrave, or the like? Stones, I will tell you, for such use, which in all columnations is the principal bearing, and of such mighty scantlings, are not easily to be come by; a crack in an upright stone may be of no imminent danger, when a vent in an architrave may ruin the whole pile, and bring down all on a sudden. *Had he known what search was made in the royal quarries of Portland, for to find out an architrave for the middle inter-column of the portico at the cathedral of St Paul, which is in length not fully twelve foot, he would never have made this objection* (23). And (continues this author) I wish it may not be found, that by the thrusting up of those sacrilegious buildings, to obscure purposely that kingly work (24), that architrave is prejudiced; *which if it be, such a sound and solid stone, for that use, will scarcely, without much sweat and treasure, be procured again in all the quarries of this kingdom and the next* (25).

(23) Those in the outward circle of Stone-Henge are 16 foot, according to Dr Charlton. See Stone-Henge restored to the Danes.

(24) These were raised during the usurpation.

(25) Stone-Henge, a Roman Work, &c. p. 44, 45.

[F] *He shewed fancy and judgment in the machinery of masques and interludes.*] Several of these representations are still extant in the Works of Chapman, D'Avenant, Daniel, and particularly Ben. Jonson. The subject was chosen by the poet, and the speeches and songs were also of his composing; but the invention of the scenes, ornaments, and dresses of the figures, were the contrivance of Mr Jones. An instance will make the distinct province of each clearly understood. Jonson's masque of Queens begins thus. 'His Ma-'jesty being set, and the whole company in full ex-'pectation, the part of the scene which first repre-'sented itself was an ugly hell, which, flaming be-'neath, smoaked unto the top of the roof (26). And, 'in respect, all evils are morally said to come from 'hell; as also from that observation of Torrentius 'upon Horace's Canidia, *Quæ tot instructa venenis, ex Orci faucibus profecta videri possit. Who being fraught with so many kinds of poison, might seem to come from the jaws of hell.* These witches, with a 'kind of hollow and infernal music, came forth from 'thence; first one, then two and three, and more, 'till their number increased to eleven, all differently 'attired, some with rats on their heads, some on their 'shoulders; others with ointment-pots at their gir-'dles; all with spindles, timbrels, rattles, or other 'venefical instruments, making a confused noise with 'strange gestures. The device of their attire was Ma-'ster Jones's, with the invention and architecture of the 'whole scene and machine; only I [Jonson] prescribed 'them their properties of vipers, snakes, bones, herbs, 'roots, and other ensigns of their magic.'—These eleven witches beginning to dance, on a sudden one of them missed their chief, and interrupted the rest with this speech.—Here follow the several speeches made by Jonson; and, after the last speech, they fell into a magical dance.—In the heat of their dance, on a sudden was heard a sound of loud music, as if many instruments had made one blast; with this, not only the hags themselves, but the hell into which they ran, quite vanished, and the whole face of the scene altered, scarce suffering the memory of such a thing. But in the place of it appeared a glorious and magnificent building, figuring the house of Fame. In the top of which were discovered the twelve masquers (27), sitting upon a throne triumphal, erected in form of a pyramid, and circled with all store of light. From whence a person by this time descended in the furniture of Perseus, and expressing heroic and manly virtue, began to speak. The speech ended, the throne whereon the masquers sat, being *machina versatilis*, suddenly changed; and in the place of it appeared *Fama bona*, good Fame (as she is described in *Iconolog. di Cæsare Ripa*), attired in white, with white wings, having a collar of gold about her neck, and a heart hanging at it, which Orus Apollo, in his *Hierogl.* interprets the note of a good Fame. In her right hand she bore a trumpet, *in her* left an olive branch; and for her state, it was as Virgil describes her at the full, her feet on the ground, and her head in the clouds. She, after the music had done, which waited on the turning of the machine, called from thence to Virtue, and spake this following speech.—At the end the loud music sounded as before, to give the masquers time of descending. Next follows the poet's description of the several personages represented by them, which is closed by these words. 'There rests only, 'that we give the description we promised of the 'scene, which was the house of Fame. The struc-'ture and ornament of which (as is profest before) was 'intirely Master Jones's invention and design. First, 'for the lower columns, he chose the statues of the 'most excellent poets, as Homer, Virgil, Lucan, &c. 'as being the substantial supporters of Fame. For the 'upper, Achilles, Æneas, Cæsar, and those great 'heroes whom these poets had celebrated. All which 'stood as in massy gold. Between the pillars, under-'neath, were figured land-battles, sea-fights, triumphs, 'loves, sacrifices, and all magnificent subjects of Ho-'nour, in brass, and heightened with silver. In 'which he professed to follow that noble description 'made by Chaucer of the place. Above were sited 'the masquers, over whose heads he devized two e-'minent figures of Honour and Virtue for the arch. 'The friezes, both below and above, were filled with 'several-coloured lights, like emeralds, rubies, sap-'phires, carbuncles, &c. the reflex of which, with 'our lights placed in the concave, upon the masquers 'habits, was full of glory. These habits had in them 'the excellency of all devise and riches, and were 'worthily varied, by his invention, to the nations 'whereof they were queens. Nor are these alone his 'due; but divers other accessions to the strangeness 'and beauty of the spectacle: as the hell, the going 'about of the chariots *, and binding the witches, 'the turning machine, with the presentation of 'Fame. All which, continues Jonson, I willingly 'acknowledge for him; since it is a virtue planted in 'good natures, that what respects they wish to obtain 'fruitfully from others, they will give ingenuously 'themselves.' From these last words especially it appears, that, at the time of celebrating this masque [Feb. 2, 1609 †], there subsisted a good harmony between our architect and Father Ben. But it did not continue long uninterrupted. We find the poet ridiculing his associate under the character of *Lanthern Leatherhead*, a hobby-horse-seller, in his comedy of Bartholomew fair, acted in 1614. And the rupture seems not to have ended but with Jonson's death. A very few years before that happened, he wrote a most virulent coarse satire, which he called *An Expostulation with Inigo Jones*. The time when this was written is ascertained by Howell's Letters, among which there is one, dated May 3, 1635, addressed to his friend and father Ben. Jonson, concluding in these terms:

(26) It was, perhaps, this scene, that furnished Milton with the first hint of his Hell, drawn in his *Paradise Lost*; as there is a tradition that he conceived the first idea of that hell from some theatrical representations, invented by Inigo Jones. And this, by the bye, will possibly be recollected by the reader of the new *Compleat History of England*, &c. in perusing § xv. p. 162. Vol. III. of that work. edit. 1757, 4to.

(27) These were, the Queen, the Countesses of Arundel, Derby, Huntingdon, Bedford, Essex, and Montgomery; the Viscountess Cranbourne; the Ladies, Elizabeth Guilford, Anne Winter, Windsore, and Anne Clifford.

* The masquers, on their descent from the temple of Fame, mounted into three triumphant chariots, respectively drawn by eagles, griffons, and lions, attended with torch-bearers, and four hags bound before each. After which, a full triumphant music singing a song, while they rode in state about the stage.

'I heard you censured lately at Court, that you 'have lighted too foul upon Sir Inigo, and that you 'write with a porcupine's quill dipped in too much 'gall. Excuse me that I am so free with you; it is, 'because I am in no common way of friendship.

'Your's,

'J. H. †'

† Jonson's Works, Vol. V. p. 316, edit. 1756.

† Howell's Letters, Vol. I. §. 6. No. xx. edit 1650.

But the poet, it seems, was too much incensed, and too vain withal to listen to the first advice of his friend. Whereupon Mr Howell addressed the following letter to him entirely upon this subject, assuring him that the King was much offended, especially with the coarseness of his abuse.

'Father Ben,

'The fangs of a bear, and the tusks of a wild boar, 'don't bite worse, and make deeper gashes, than a 'goose-quill sometimes; no, not the badger himself, 'who is said to be so tenacious of his bite, that he 'will not give over his hold, 'till he feels his teeth 'meet and bone crack. Your quill hath proved so to 'Mr Inigo; but the pen, wherewith you so gashed 'him, was made rather of a porcupine than a goose 'quill, it is so keen and firm.

'*Anser*,

(m) Ibid. p. 119.

fortune (*m*). But his loyalty, the effect both of his integrity and gratitude, expoſed him to conſiderable loſſes; and he bore a part in the ruins of his royal maſter. Upon the opening of the Long-Parliament in November 1640, he was called before the Houſe of Lords, upon a complaint of the pariſhioners of St Gregory's in London againſt him, for damages done to that church [G]; and afterwards, during the uſurpation, he was conſtrained

Anſer, apes, vitulus, populos & regna gubernant.

'The gooſe, the bee, and the calf (meaning wax, 'parchment, and the pen), rule the world; but 'of the three, the pen is moſt predominant. I 'know you have a commanding one; but you muſt 'not let it tyrannize in that manner, as you have 'done lately. Some give out there was a hair in your 'pen, and that your ink was too thick with gall; 'elſe it would not have beſpattered and ſhaken the re'putation of a Royal Architect; for reputation, you 'know, is like a fair ſtructure, long time a raiſing, 'but quickly ruined. —— If your ſpirit will 'not let you retract, yet you ſhall do well to re'preſs any more copies of the ſatire; for, to deal 'plainly with you, you have loſt ſome ground at 'Court by it; and as I hear from a good hand, the 'King, who hath ſo great judgment in Poetry as in 'other things elſe, is not well pleaſed therewith. 'Diſpenſe with this freedom of your reſpectful ſon 'and ſervant,

Weſtminſter, 3 July, 1635. ‖ 'J. H.'

‖ Ibid. Vol. 2. No. 11. p. 2, 3.

After the Expoſtulation juſt mentioned, Jonſon added another piece, intitled, *To a Friend. An Epigram of him.* And alſo a third, inſcribed *To Inigo Marquis Would be. A Corollary.* Howell, in his firſt letter, plainly points to the epigram, which runs thus:

Sir Inigo doth fear it, as I hear,
And labours to ſeem worthy of this fear;
That I ſhould write upon him ſome ſharp verſe,
Able to eat into his bones, and pierce
The marrow. Wretch! I quit thee of thy pain,
Thou 'rt too ambitious, and doſt fear in vain:
The Lybian lion haunts no butterflies;
He makes the camel and dull aſs his prize.
If thou be ſo deſirous to be read,
Seek out ſome hungry Painter, that for bread,
With rotten chalk or coal upon the wall,
Will well deſign thee to be view'd of all
That ſit upon the common draught or ſtrand;
Thy forehead is too narrow for my brand.

Father Ben. ſeems at length to have followed his ſon's advice, finding it neceſſary, perhaps, to comply thereto, and accordingly ſuppreſſed the whole. Whence it happened, that the contents were little known; and this occaſioned the confuſion in a ſtory which we ſee in print, '*That Jonſon wrote a ſevere ſatire againſt* '*Inigo Jones, in which he ſtiled him Sir Lanthern* '*Leatherhead* §, *but that it was forbid by the King to* '*be printed at that time, and is ſtill extant in manu*'*ſcript* ‡. The reader will be beforehand with me in obſerving, that the ninth line in this epigram alludes to ſome attempts of our architect in the poetical way, either in the buſineſs of maſques † or otherwiſe, or perhaps both. There is a copy of verſes by him, publiſhed in the *Odcombian Banquet*, prefixed to *Tom. Coryat's Crudities.* London, 1611, 4to. And to that the line here mentioned ſeems moſt directly to point. This intruſion into the poet's province had raiſed Ben's ſpleen; and, in the beginning of the quarrel, one principal ſtroke of the ridicule beſtowed upon Lanthern in *Bartholomew Fair*, conſiſts in the title there given him of *Parcel Poet* *.

§ This abuſive title does no where occur in any of the three pieces of which the ſatire conſiſts.

‡ It has been printed ſince, from a MS. of the late Mr Vertue the Engraver, and inſerted among the epigrams, in the 6th volume of Jonſon's Works, edit. 1756, in 7 vols 8vo.

† See Sir Will. Davenant's article, remark [D], No. x.

* Act II. ſcene ii.

[G] *A complaint of the pariſhioners of St Gregory's, &c.*] The quarrel which occaſioned this complaint, ſeems to have commenced at leaſt ſoon after the order mentioned in note (*k*) above. The firſt part of Jonſon's ſatire, which has been ſaid was written in 1635, concludes with theſe lines:

Live long the feaſting room, and e'er thou burn
Again, thy Architect to aſhes turn;
Whom not ten fires, nor a Parliament, can,
With all remonſtrance, make an honeſt man.

If theſe laſt words refer to this quarrel, the point is clear. But it cannot be denied, there is ſome difficulty in that ſuppoſition; for, though we ſhould allow that the quarrel commenced in 1635; yet 'tis notorious, no remonſtrance could then have been made to Parliament, none being called in the interval between the order for repairing St Paul's, and the writing of this ſatire; nor, indeed, at any time afterwards, during Jonſon's life. This paſſage therefore of the ſatire, if underſtood to refer to a remonſtrance of the pariſhioners of St Gregory's upon this occaſion, muſt mean an intended or threatened remonſtrance only; which, indeed, might not improbably be the caſe, ſince the quarrel had certainly begun ſome time before the order was made out for pulling the church down, as may be unqueſtionably inferred from the tenor of the remonſtrance or complaint of the pariſhioners to the Houſe of Commons in 1640; the ſubſtance of which was contained in the paper ſent up by them to the Lords, in theſe terms:

The Declaration of the Commons upon the complaint and in the behalf of the pariſhioners of St Gregory's London, againſt Inigo Jones, Eſq;

'The pariſh church of St Gregory's, adjoining to 'the cathedral church of St Paul's in London aforeſaid, 'is, and from the time whereof the memory of man is 'not to the contrary, hath been the pariſh-church for 'the inhabitants of that pariſh, lately computed to be '3000 perſons, for the adminiſtration of divine ſervice 'and ſacraments. The ſaid Inigo Jones, Eſq; being Sur'veyor of his Majeſty's works, and particularly thoſe 'deſigned for the re-edifying the ſaid church of St 'Paul's, would not undertake the work, unleſs he 'might be, as he termed it, the *ſole Monarch*, or 'might have the principality thereof, and conceiving 'the ſaid work would not well be done without pulling 'down the ſaid church of St Gregory's, preſented a 'plot to his Majeſty accordingly. The ſaid Inigo 'Jones having preſented the ſaid plot, his Majeſty 'thereupon ſignified his pleaſure, and in purſuance 'thereof, ſeveral orders were alſo made at the Coun'cil-board, that the ſaid church ſhould be taken down 'by the pariſhioners, for the more convenient repair'ing of the cathedral church of St Paul's; which the 'pariſhioners refuſing to obey, as was lawful for them 'to do, the ſaid Inigo Jones, in execution of the plot 'and deſign by him preſented as aforeſaid, and of his 'Majeſty's ſignification, and the orders at the Council'board thereupon had, in or about March 1639, did 'pull down, and cauſe to be pulled down, part of the 'ſaid church; and did alſo threaten, *That if the ſaid* '*pariſhioners would not take down the reſt of it, then* '*the galleries ſhould be ſawed down, and with ſcrews* '*the materials of the ſaid church ſhould be thrown down* '*into the ſtreet.* And the ſaid Inigo Jones did further 'threaten the ſaid pariſhioners, *That if they did not* '*take down the ſaid church, they ſhould be laid by the* '*heels.* Whereby the pariſhioners being thus affright'ed, and to ſave the materials, which not long before 'had coſt them 1500 l. were inforced to take down 'ſome part of the ſaid church, inſomuch, as thereby 'it was made altogether uſeleſs, and the ſaid pariſhio'ners, to that great number, have been wholly deſti'tute of any place within their own pariſh for the 'public exerciſing of religion. The damages the pa'riſhioners have hereby ſuſtained are very great, and 'the charge of re edifying the ſaid church, and reſto'ring it to as good plight as it was in before it was ſo 'wrongfully taken down, will amount at leaſt to '3000 l. All which the ſaid pariſhioners are ready to 'prove and maintain. For remedy therefore and re'dreſs herein, and chiefly to the end that the ſaid 'church of St Gregory's may be fully repaired and 'reſtored to the plight and condition wherein it for'merly was, by and at the charge of him and them,

'by

ſtrained to pay 400 l. by way of compoſition for his eſtate as a Malignant (*n*). After the death of King Charles I. he was continued in his poſt by King Charles II. But grief in one of his years for the fatal calamity of the former, prevented him from doing the latter any actual ſervice, by cutting him off many years before the Reſtoration (*o*). He died moſt probably about Midſummer 1652, and was interred June 26, in the chancel of St Benet's church near St Paul's wharf London, where there was a monument erected to his memory upon the north wall, at ſome diſtance from his grave; but it ſuffered greatly in the Fire of London, September 1666 (*p*). Our author left ſeveral manuſcripts, which have been publiſhed ſince his death, and there is ſome account of them below [*H*]. With reſpect to his character, we are told by Mr Webb, that his abilities in all human ſciences ſurpaſſed moſt of his age (*q*). However that be, 'tis certain he was perfectly well ſkilled in the Mathematics, and had ſome inſight into the two learned languages, Greek and Latin, eſpecially the latter (*r*); and we have already taken notice of his taſte for Poetry (*s*). However, theſe accompliſhments were no more than the decorations and counterparts of his proper character, which was, indeed, that of an Architect the moſt eminent in his time. Accordingly, he was then, and is ſtill, generally ſtiled the *Britiſh Vitruvius*; and it is obſervable, that the art of deſign, little known in England before, was brought into uſe and eſteem by him, under the patronage of King Charles I. and Thomas Earl of Arundel (*t*). In ſhort, Mr Jones was generally learned, eminent for Architecture, a great Geometrician, and, in deſigning with his pen (as Sir Anthony Vandyke uſed to ſay), not to be equalled, by whatever great maſters in his time, for the *boldneſs*, *ſoftneſs*, *ſweetneſs*, and *fureneſs* of his touches (*u*).

(*n*) Dr David Lloyd's Memoirs, and Mercurius Rusticus, 57°. Lond. 1685.

(*o*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 113, one of whose informations from Mr Webb, viz. that our architect died July 21, 1652, ſeems to be a miſtake; though as to his age, viz. about 79 years, not unlikely. Ibid. col. 423.

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(*q*) Vindication, p. 119.

(*r*) This appears from his Works, eſpecially Stone-Henge reſtored, if that be his in ſubſtance.

(*s*) In remark [*F*].

(*t*) Webb, p. 19.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 11.

'by whoſe undue means it was in part taken down, 'or cauſed to be taken down as aforeſaid, it is deſired, 'that ſuch proceedings may be uſed and had againſt 'the ſaid offenders herein, as to right and juſtice doth 'appertain (28).'

This being read, the ſaid Inigo Jones, Eſq; deſired he might have ſome time to anſwer by his Counſel; whereupon it was ordered, that he have a copy of the declaration againſt him, and ſhall put in his anſwer thereto on Tueſday come ſe'ennight (29). Accordingly he did put in his anſwer, and appearing the ſame day before the Lords in Parliament, and being demanded what he could ſay in anſwer to the Declaration, &c. he the ſaid Inigo Jones, for anſwer thereunto ſaith, that he is not guilty of the offence charged in the ſaid Declaration, in ſuch manner and form as therein is expreſſed. Whereupon, Friday fortnight was ordered for hearing the cauſe (30). How this matter ended does not appear in Nalſon, but we have it in the Continuation of Sir William Dugdale's Hiſtory of St Paul's, where we are aſſured, that when the repairing of that cathedral ceaſed in 1642, ſome part of the materials remaining, were, by order of the Houſe of Lords, delivered to the pariſhioners of St Gregory's, towards the rebuilding of that church, which being old had been pulled down, in regard it was thought to be a blemiſh to this ſtately cathedral, whereunto it ſo nearly adjoined (31).

(28) Nalſon's Collections, Vol. II. p. 728.

(29) Ibid. p. 729.

(30) Ibid. p. 772.

(31) Dugdale's Hiſtory of St Paul's, &c. ſecond edit. 1716, p. 146.

[*H*] *Some account of his manuſcripts.*] The author of Mr Jones's Life, wrote in 1725, intimates, that ſome noble perſons had then been at the labour and expence of procuring the plans of his deſigns. 'And, 'continues he, as the public is now to be obliged with 'a view of them in ſculpture, the reader may expect a 'finiſhed diſcourſe upon their nature and value. And 'thus there will be raiſed a monument to Mr Jones's 'memory, even more laſting than his own great per'formances (32).' Accordingly, the principal of theſe deſigns were publiſhed two years afterwards (33) by Mr Kent; and the ſame gentleman publiſhed ſome of our author's leſſer deſigns in 1744, folio. Others of theſe have been publiſhed alſo by Mr Iſaac Ware *. Our author left in manuſcript likewiſe ſome very curious notes upon Palladio's Architecture, inſerted in a copy of that book; which coming to the hands of George Clerke, Eſq; Fellow of All-Souls college in Oxford, and Member of Parliament ſeveral years for the univerſity, that gentleman gave it to the library of Worceſter-college there; and a few years ago, Mr Leoni, an Italian, went to Oxford, and took a copy of the ſaid notes, which he inſerted in an edition of Palladio, publiſhed by him in 1744, and which he obſerves, raiſes the value of his edition greatly above all that had been publiſhed before. Our author was a great admirer of antiquities, and we are aſſured by Mr Webb, that he had in his poſſeſſion the chieſeſt of all Chriſtendom, deſigned by his relation (34). That gentleman alſo obſerves, that Mr Jones was not only the Vitruvius of England, but of all Chriſtendom; and that it was *vox Europæ* that named him ſo; being much more than at home, famous in remote parts; where he lived many years, deſigned many works, and diſcovered many antiquities, before unknown, with general applauſe (35). To conclude, Mr Webb, who appears to have been our architect's heir, was born in London, bred at Merchant-Taylors ſchool, afterwards reſided in Mr Jones's family, married his kinſwoman [the daughter of his couſin-german], was inſtructed by him in Mathematics and Architecture, and deſigned by him for his ſucceſſor in the office of Surveyor-General, but was prevented by Sir John Denham (36). That he publiſhed an *Hiſtorical Eſſay, endeavouring to prove, that the Language of China is the primitive Language* (37). He alſo tranſlated, from the Italian into Engliſh, *The Hiſtory of the World*, written by George Tarſagnota; which came to the hands of his ſon James. And laſtly, dying at Butleigh, his ſeat in Somerſetſhire, October 24, 1672, was buried in that church (38). P

(32) Memoirs of the Life of Inigo Jones, ubi ſupra.

(33) They are intitled, The Deſigns of the late Inigo Jones, Eſq; &c. by Mr Kent, in 2 vol. 1727, fol.

* In 1743, 4to.

(34) Vindication, p. 119, 120.

(35) Ibid. p. 8.

(36) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1113.

(37) There is an account of this book in Phil. Tranſ. No. 48.

(38) Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 1113, 1114.

JONSON [*A*] [BENJAMIN], the renowned father of the poets in the beginning of the laſt century, was the fruit of a poſthumous birth, and came into the world about a month after the death of his father (*a*) in 1574 (*b*). Being born in Weſtminſter, he was put firſt to a private ſchool in the church of St Martin's in the Fields (*c*); but removed thence, at a proper age, to that of the royal foundation, where Camden became his maſter (*d*) [*B*].

(*a*) Drummond of Hawthornden's Works. Edinb. 1711. fol. p. 222.

(*b*) See the text at note (*w*).

(*c*) Sir Thomas Pope Blunt's Cenſura Authorum, &c. p. 105. edit. 1694. 4to.

[*A*] *Jonſon.*] It was thus Father Ben conſtantly ſpelt his name (1). upon all occaſions, at leaſt after he began to have a name in the learned world. Yet we find it uſually wrote Johnſon by all others, not excepting even his beſt friends and fondeſt ſons; nay, what is ſtill more, it is ſo wrote in the inſtrument for raiſing his ſalary as Poet Laureat (2). The late editor of his works plainly agrees with the general opinion, that this was one inſtance, among innumerable others, of that affectation, which ſo ſtrongly marks the character of our poet; and it is obſervable, that tho' his deſcent was far from being a diſcredit to him (3), yet we never find him (as I remember) once mentioning his family upon any occaſion: an enquiry, which that might produce would perhaps have diſcovered his ſingularity in this reſpect. So much at leaſt is certain, that Drummond of Hawthornden, himſelf a Scotchman, writes the name *Johnſon*, in the uſual way. However, as we have not ſeen proof ſufficient abſolutely to decide the queſtion againſt his own practice, it would not be doing him juſtice to reject his authority; and, for that reaſon, we have accordingly complied thereto.

(1) Several inſtances of this may be ſeen in the preface, p. xxvii and xxviii. to his Works, edit. 1756. to which we ſhall add another or two in remark [*KK*].

(2) See remark [*T*].

(3) See remark [*C*].

(d) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 608.

(d) [B]. As his father was a gentleman and a clergyman [C], this ſtep ſeems to have been taken in the view of breeding him to the Church. But the widow being left in narrow circumſtances, thought fit not to refuſe an offer of marriage, which was made to her by a Bricklayer; and, after her ſon had continued ſome years at Weſtminſter-ſchool, and made an extraordinary progreſs in claſſical learning, ſhe took him away, and obliged him to work under his ſtep-father [D]. This was nipping the firſt ſprig of his dawning hopes in the bud; his ſpirit was not of a temper to take the bent to ſo mortifying a change. In the depth of his reſentment, he left his mother; and inliſting himſelf a ſoldier, was carried to the Engliſh army, then engaged againſt the Spaniards in the Netherlands. Here he acquired a degree of military glory, which rarely falls to the lot of a common man in that profeſſion. In an encounter with a ſingle man of the enemy, he ſlew his opponent; and ſtripping him, carried off the ſpoils in the view of both armies (e) [E]. Upon his return home, he followed the bent of his inclination; and reſuming his ſtudies (f),

(e) Drummond's Works, ubi ſupra.

[B] *Camden was his maſter.*] As this method of breeding was ſuitable to his birth, ſo it was very agreeable to his genius and inclination, and he retained the higheſt eſteem and value for his maſter ever after, which he took the firſt opportunity he had of ſhowing in the dedication of *Every Man in his Humour*; where having declared, that he had always deſtined to preſent his maſter with the firſt effects of his education as ſhould bear any worth proportionable to that benefit, he begs his acceptance of this; 'Such, 'ſays he, wherein neither the confeſſion of my manners ſhall make you bluſh; nor of my ſtudies repent 'you to have been the inſtructor: And for the profeſſion of my thankfulneſs, I am ſure it will, with good 'men, find either praiſe or excuſe.

'Your true lover,

'*BEN. JONSON.*'

We likewiſe find the ſame maſter among thoſe good and great names, which this ſcholar reſolved to conſecrate to poſterity in his epigrams; and which therefore may well claim a place in theſe memoirs, as follows:

'Camden, moſt reverend head, to whom I owe
'All that I am *in arts*, all that I know;
'(How nothing's that?) to whom my country owes
'The great renown and name wherewith ſhe goes.
'Than thee the age ſees not that thing more grave,
'More high, more holy, that ſhe more would crave.
'What name, what ſkill, what faith haſt thou in things!
'What fight in ſearching the moſt antique ſprings!
'What weight, and what authority in thy ſpeech!
'Man ſcarce can make that doubt but thou canſt teach.
'Pardon free truth, and let thy modeſty,
'Which conquers all, be once o'ercome by thee.
'Many of thine, this better could, than I;
'But for their powers, accept my piety (4).'

(4) Epigram xiv. at p. 228, 229. in Vol. VI. of Jonſon's Works, edit. 1756.

[C] *His father being a gentleman*, &c.] The family was originally of Annandale in Scotland, whence our author's grand-father removed to Carliſle, in the time of Henry VIII. under whom he held ſome poſt or office. But his ſon being deprived both of his eſtate and liberty in the reign of Queen Mary, perhaps on account of his religion, afterwards went into holy orders, and leaving Carliſle, ſettled in Weſtminſter, where he died (5).

(5) Drummond of Hawthornden's Works, ubi ſupra, in note (e) in the text.

[D] *Obliged to work under his ſtep-father.*] It is not certain how long he continued in this ſituation. We are told by one writer, that he ſoon left his father, and went to Cambridge; but that the want of a maintenance there forced him back to his father in a few weeks; and that he worked in the New Building, at Lincoln's Inn, with a trowel in his hand, and a book in his pocket (6). This may paſs well enough. But not ſo the account given by Mr Wood, who having told us firſt, that when Ben worked with his father, he was pitied by ſome generous gentlemen, aſſerts farther, that he was recommended by Camden to Sir Walter Ralegh, whoſe ſon he attended in his travels abroad; that on his return to England he and his pupil parted, not in cold blood; that Johnſon then went to Cambridge, &c (7). This ſtory is inconſiſtent both with the age of Sir Walter's ſons, and the incidents of Johnſon's life; and indeed to do *Mr* Wood juſtice, the manner of his narrative plainly implies ſome diſtruſt of his vouches for it.

(6) Fuller's Worthies, &c. under London.

(7) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 608.

[E] *He carried off the ſpoils in the view of both armies.*] He was not a little elated with this incident of his life. He took occaſion early to touch, by the way, upon it in the apologetical dialogue, which was once ſpoken by way of epilogue to, and is now printed at the end of his *Poetaſter* (8); and he afterwards gave it a place in his collection of epigrams (9). It is addreſſed in theſe terms,

(8) The Poetaſter was firſt acted in 1601.

(9) 'Tis the cviiith epigram in his Works, Vol. VI. p. 268.

To true Soldiers.

'Strength of my country, whilſt I bring to view,
'Such as are miſcalled captains, and wrong you;
'And your high names: I do deſire that thence
'Be not put on you, nor you take offence.
'I ſwear by your true friend, my muſe, I love
'Your great profeſſion, which I once did prove:
'And did not ſhame it with my actions then,
'No more than I dare now do with my pen.
'He that not truſts me having vow'd thus much,
'But's angry for the captain ſtill, is ſuch (10).'

(10) This and the two firſt lines ſhew, that the epigram was wrote as a kind of compenſation for the character of Captain Tucca in the Poetaſter.

We find him again alluding to it with the ſame elation of heart ſeveral years afterwards, when King Charles, then Prince of Wales, was in Spain on the buſineſs of the Spaniſh match. He writes thus to a friend:

'Whether the diſpenſation yet be ſent,
'Or that the match was never meant?
'I wiſh all well, and pray high heaven conſpire,
'My prince's ſafety, and my king's deſire:
'But if for honour we muſt draw the ſword,
'And force back that which will not be reſtor'd,
'I have a body yet that ſpirit draws
'To live or fall a carcaſe in the cauſe (11).'

(11) In his Works, Vol. VI. p. 418, 419.

The glory of this action receives a particular heightning from the reflection, that he thereby ſtands ſingularly diſtinguiſhed above the reſt of his brethren of the poetical race, very few of whom have ever acquired any reputation in arms. On the contrary, it may be obſerved that Jonſon's favourite author Horace in particular, thought the eſſential part of his character ſo little concerned therein, that he has not ſpared to introduce a moſt ſhameful inſtance of his own cowardice, as a heightening incident into one of his Odes, addreſſed to Pompeius Varus, upon the ſafe return of that general from an unſucceſsful expedition againſt Cæſar (12). The ſecond ſtanza of which is thus tranſlated by Mr Francis:

(12) Horatii Opera, Lib. ii. ode vii. N. B. It is no ſmall aggravation of his ſhame, that he was then *Tribunus Militum*, a poſt in the Roman army, equal at leaſt to a modern Colonel.

'With thee I ſaw Philippi's plain,
'It's fatal rout, a fearful ſcene,
'And dropp'd, alas! th' inglorious ſhield,
'Where valour's ſelf was forc'd to yield,
'Where ſoil'd in duſt the vanquiſh'd lay,
'And breath'd th' indignant ſoul away.
'But me when dying with my fear,
'Through warring hoſts enwrapp'd in air,
'Swift did the God of wit convey.'

[F] *He*

(*f*), went to St John's college in Cambridge [*F*]. But here he had ſoon the misfortune to undergo a ſecond mortification. The ſhortneſs of his purſe not ſupplying him with the decent conveniencies of a learned eaſe, he found himſelf under a neceſſity of quitting that ſeat of the Muſes after a ſhort ſtay there. In this exigence he took a courſe, not uncommon to perſons of genius under the like diſtreſs. He applied to the play-houſes, and was admitted into an obſcure one, called the Green-Curtain, in the neighbourhood of Shoreditch or Clerkenwell (*g*). He had not been long in this ſtation, when, not contenting himſelf with the buſineſs of an actor only, he took up his pen, and wrote ſome pieces for the ſtage. But his performances either way did no credit to his genius [*G*]. During his continuance in this humble ſtation, he had a quarrel with one of the players; who ſending him a challenge, there enſued a duel, wherein Jonſon killed his adverſary. For this offence being thrown into priſon, under that misfortune his ſpirit, tough as it was, ſunk into ſome degree of melancholy, ſo that he became a fit object to be ſubdued by the crafty attacks of a Popiſh Prieſt; who, officiouſly viſiting him in his confinement, prevailed upon him to renounce his religion and embrace the Roman-Catholic Faith; and he remained twelve years within the pale of that Church (*h*). Not long after this change in his religious condition, he alſo made a change in his civil one, and took to himſelf a wife [*H*], having firſt obtained his releaſement from priſon. His ſpirit revived with his liberty; and maugre all the diſcouragements he met with, he went on digging in the poetic mine, and, by dint of unappalled induſtry, improved his genius ſo much, that at length he produced a play; which having the good fortune to fall into the hands of Shakeſpeare, that humane good-natured bard reſolving to do full juſtice to it's merit, brought it upon the ſtage, where he was a manager, and acted a part in it himſelf (*i*) [*I*]. Thus encouraged, his genius

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(*h*) Heads of a converſation with Drummond, in that author's Works, where laſt cited.

(*i*) Shakeſpeare's good-nature was the more conſpicuous, as the play was undoubtedly condemned by Jonſon himſelf in the riper age of his genius; otherwiſe we ſhould have ſeen it at the head of his Works in 1616, inſtead of *Every Man in his Humour*.

[*F*] *He went to St John's college in Cambridge.*] This fact is not indeed abſolutely certain. It ſtands chiefly upon the ſtrength of a conſtant tradition in that college, confirmed by his gift of ſeveral books, now in the library, with his name in them. The ſame tradition delivers him down as a ſizar, who made a ſhort ſtay; which accounts for his name's not being found among the admiſſions, where no notice was taken for a long time of any that had not ſcholarſhips. Neither was the regiſter of the univerſity kept for ten or twelve years, about the time of his ſuppoſed matriculation; ſo that his name cannot be expected to appear there.

[*G*] *His performances either way did no credit to his genius.*] In the character of a player his awkwardneſs furniſhed a topic of ſatire to his antagoniſt Decker, who in his Satyromaſtix (13), reproaches him with having left the occupation of a mortar-trader to turn actor, and with having put up a ſupplication to be a poor journeyman player, in which he would have continued, but that he could not ſet a good face upon it, and ſo was caſhiered. That he performed the part of Zuliman at the Paris-garden (14) in Southwark, and ambled by a play-waggon in the highway, and took mad Jeronymo's part to get ſervice among the mimicks. This play called *The Spaniſh Tragedy, or Jeronymo is made again*, was no leſs admired by the populace than derided by our old comedians; Shakeſpear and Fletcher particularly, and after them by Jonſon himſelf (15.) As a poet, Ben's genius partook of his temper, it was hardy and ſullen, and was not beat out without much ſweat and hammering; beſides, it was certainly overtopt by his learning, which at firſt, conſequently, rather damp'd and held it in awe as a maſter, than waited upon it in its proper office as a ſervant.

[*H*] *He took to himſelf a wife.*] Neither the day nor year of his marriage is any where taken notice of. But there is a circumſtance related by Mr Drummond, which was thought ſufficient to fix it about the time mentioned in the text. Ben, ſays that gentleman, told me, that about the time the plague raged in London, being in the country, at Sir Robert Cotton's houſe with old Cambden, he ſaw in a viſion his eldeſt ſon, then a young child, and at London, appear unto him, with the mark of a bloody croſs on his forehead, as if it had been cut with a ſword; at which amazed, he prayed unto God, and in the morning he came to Mr. Cambden's chamber to tell him; who perſuaded him it was but an apprehenſion, at which he ſhould not be dejected. In the mean time there came letters from his wife of the death of that boy in the plague. He appeared to him, he ſaid, of a manly ſhape, and of that growth he thinks he ſhall be at the Reſurrection (16.) The plague here mentioned muſt be that which raged with ſo much fury in the ſummer of 1603, when the court retired to Wilton (17); and thence it follows that this boy was born in 1596, ſince he died upon his birth-day, on the completion of his ſeventh year, as appears from a copy of verſes wrote on that occaſion by his fond father, which under this title, *On my firſt ſon*, begins thus:

'Farewel thou child of my right hand and joy;
'My ſin was too much hope of thee, lov'd boy:
'Seven years thou wert lent to me, and I thee pay
'Exacted by thy fate on the juſt day (18).'

However, this was not all the fruits of his wife's womb, ſhe had before brought him a girl, which did not ſurvive her birth many months. The father's muſe was not wanting to pay a tribute to her memory in the following epitaph:

On my firſt daughter.

'Here lies to each her parents ruth,
'Mary the daughter of their youth,
'Yet all heav'n's gifts being heaven's due,
'It makes the father leſs to rue.
'At ſix months ſhe parted hence,
'With ſafety of her innocence,
'Whoſe ſoul heav'n's queen (19) (whoſe name ſhe bears)
'In comfort of her mother's tears,
'Hath plac'd among her virgin-train,
'Where, while that ſever'd doth remain,
'This grave partakes the fleſhy birth;
'Which cover lightly, gentle earth (20).'

The ſeventh line ſhews our poet to have been then a Papiſt; and that he continued ſuch at the death of his boy is evident from Drummond's ſtory concerning it. Upon the whole, by comparing dates and facts, the reader will eaſily collect the grounds we had for fixing our poet's marriage about the time already mentioned.

[*I*] *That humane good-natured bard brought it upon the ſtage.*] Our author had wrote a play or two which had been abſolutely condemned, and was now offering another to the ſtage, and had put it into the hands of a perſon who having run it over in a careleſs way, was juſt upon returning it to him, with anſwer, that it would be of no ſervice to their company, when Shakeſpeare happened luckily to caſt his eye upon it, and found ſomething ſo well in it, as to engage him firſt to read it through, and then bring it upon his own ſtage. He afterwards continued to recommend our poet and his productions to the publick, and even occaſionally did not diſdain to lend his hand in the finiſhing of ſome of them *. Nor was Jonſon wanting to acknowledge it after his manner. In the cloſe of his preface to the tragedy of Sejanus (21), we read theſe words: 'Laſtly, I would inform you, that this book in all 'numbers is not the ſame with that which was acted 'on the publick ſtage, wherein a ſecond pen had ſo ſha-

(13) A piece written againſt Jonſon's Poetaſter. See below in remark [*N*].

(14) The Bear-garden, ſo called at that time from the man's name who kept it.

(15) See Every Man in his Humour, Act I. ſcene v. and the Poetaſter, Act III. ſcene iv. and ſeveral other places in his Works.

(16) Drummond's Works, ubi ſupra.

(17) Smollet's Complete Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 155. edit. 1757. 4to.

(18) Epigram xlv. in the 6th volume of Jonſon's Works, ubi ſupra, p. 238.

(19) i. e. The Virgin Mary, ſo ſtiled by the Church of Rome.

(20) Epigram xxii. p. 231. ubi ſupra.

* This goodneſs was the more remarkable, as Jonſon was in his perſonal character the very reverſe of Shakeſpeare; as ſurly, ill-natured, proud, and diſagreeable, as Shakeſpeare, with ten times his merit, was gentle, good-natured, eaſy, and amiable. Drummond's Works, Edinb. 1711. fol. p. 222.

(21) Printed in 1605. 4to. The play was firſt acted in [illegible]

genius ripened apace, and his comedy, intitled, *Every Man in his Humour*, made it's appearance on the ſame ſtage in 1598 [*K*]. This was followed the next year by *Every Man out of his Humour* [*L*]. And he continued in like manner to furniſh a new play every year [*M*].

' ſhare'. In place of which I have rather choſen to put ' weaker, and no doubt leſs pleaſing of mine own, than ' defraud ſo happy a genius of his right by my lothed ' uſurpation.' No body can doubt that this genius was Shakeſpeare; but I believe the remark is juſt, That poſterity wiſhes thoſe numbers had been ſuffered to keep their ſtanding, with ſome note of diſtinction by Jonſon, whatever was his true motive for putting the change upon us. After Shakeſpeare's death, Jonſon inſcribed a copy of verſes to his memory, ſo artfully penned, that two great poets have been divided in their opinions about it; Mr Dryden calling it invidious and aſperſing, while Mr Pope thinks it an ample and honourable panegyric to the memory of his friend.

[*K*] *Every man in his humour.*] This play ſtands at the head of the reſt, in the firſt edition of our author's works publiſhed by himſelf in 1616, Fol. and in his Induction to *the Magnetic Lady* (22), he calls it the beginning of his ſtudies of this kind. It ſeems he did not chuſe to own thoſe abortive brats which his unripe brain had produced before. The late editor of Jonſon's works, has inſerted in his edition (23) a comedy called *The caſe is altered*, which he thinks has plain marks of being one of theſe earlier compoſitions of our author; and it is certain that piece, tho' acted ſeveral times by the children of Black-friars, was never fathered by him. It was printed indeed, according to the title page, in 1609, 4to, but moſt probably from the play-houſe copy(24) without his knowledge. Whence it was become in a manner loſt and forgotten by the reſt of the world, 'till the juſt mentioned late revival (25) by Mr Whalley, who grounds his opinion chiefly upon this remark, that the ſcene of the action is placed abroad, and the characters foreign, which being the general practice when Jonſon firſt applied himſelf to write for the ſtage, he conformed to it. Thus the ſcene of *The caſe is altered*, is Milan, the principal perſonages are of the ſame place, and the ſentiments they have occaſion to uſe, are what nature in any climate would expreſs her thoughts in upon a ſimilar occaſion. The droll and comic part of the drama ſhews itſelf in the manners of the ſervants, the mechanics, and lower characters of the comedy; and altho' theſe are exhibited to us, under the ſounding names of Sebaſtian, Balthaſar, and Vicentio, their whole dialogue and humour are a lively copy from the home-ſpun wit of the clowns and artiſans of the poet's native country. But he ſoon obſerved the inconſiſtency, and reformed it. *Every man in his humour* made it's firſt appearance in this abſurd form. The ſcene was at Florence, the perſons repreſented were Italians, and the manners in great meaſure conformable to the genius of the place: But here too the humours of the under-characters are local, expreſſing, not the manners of a Florentine, but the gulls and bullies of the times and country in which the poet lived; and in the ſame manner it was printed in 1601, 4to. But when it appeared again in the collection of his works, it had a more becoming and conſiſtent aſpect. The ſcene was transferred to London, the perſons had Engliſh names given to them, and the dialogue, incidents, and manners, were ſuited to the place of action. Thus, for inſtance, the names of the perſons prefixed to the 4to edition in 1601, are, Lorenzo de Pazzi, ſen. Lorenzo, jun. Muſeo, Stephano, Guilliano, Proſpero, Doctor Clement, Peto, Thorello, Heſperida, Biancha, Mattheo, Pizo, Cob, Tib, Bobadilla; ſcene Florence. In fol. edit. 1616, Old Know'ell, Edward Know'ell his ſon, Brainworm, Mr Stephen, Downright, Wellbred, Juſtice Clement, Roger Formal, Kitely, Dame Kitely, Mrs Budget, Mr Matthew, Caſh, Cob, Tib, Capt. Bobadill; ſcene London. It was no ſmall merit in our author to proceed thus far in his reform, by the choice of a domeſtic fable; but ſtill it muſt be confeſſed, the work is not fully compleated; there remains one remarkable inſtance of Italian manners, I mean, an alluſion to the cuſtom of poiſoning, ſo common in the revenges of Italian jealouſy (26). But notwithſtanding this fault, if it be one, yet it cannot be denied, that the character of Kitely is well imagined and ſupported; his jealouſy is conſtantly returning, and creates him freſh ſcruples in every thing he ſets about. This ſhews itſelf no where in ſo ſtriking a light, as in the incident which makes the third ſcene of act the third; and it is no diſparagement to the author of *The Suſpicious Huſband*, that in this particular, at leaſt, I ſet Jonſon before him.

[*L*] *Every man out of his humour.*] A late excellent critic ſends his reader to this play, for a ſight of the extravagance of building dramatic manners on *abſtract ideas* in it's full light. ' *Every man out of his humour*, ' ſays he, under the name of a play of character, is ' in fact an unnatural, and, as the painters call it, *hard* ' delineation of a group of ſimply exiſting paſſions, ' wholly chimerical, and unlike to any thing we ob' ſerve in the commerce of real life. Yet, continues ' he, this comedy has always had it's admirers, and ' Randolph in particular was ſo taken with the deſign, ' that he ſeems to have formed his *Muſes looking-glaſs* ' in expreſs imitation of it (27).' To this cenſure it hath been obſerved on the part of Jonſon, that the characters are indeed very ſtrongly marked, yet ſome of them have been thought to glance at particular perſons of the author's acquaintance; and that his enemies did not ſcruple to tax him with quarrelling with his friends, and afterwards repreſenting them on the ſtage; and particularly in the characters of this very play (28). So that far from being thought at that time to build his characters upon abſtract ideas, he was really accuſed of repreſenting particular perſons then exiſting; and that even thoſe characters which appear to be the moſt exaggerated, are ſaid to have had their reſpective archetypes in nature and life (29). But this ſolution does not go to the bottom; nay, indeed rather eludes than diſſolves the force of the objection, which does not mean to aſſert the exaggeration of the leading or predominant quality above nature or the life, in any of the characters; but that every other quality, as it really exiſts in nature, is dropped, ſo that the man is turned all into a ſingle paſſion, of which nature affords no ſpecimen. Thus the Ancients obſerved of the famous ſtatue of Apollodorus, by Silarius, that *it expreſſed not the angry Apollodorus, but his paſſion of anger* (30).

[*M*] *He furniſhed a new play every year.*] The firſt of theſe, *Cynthia's Reveh*, he called a comical ſatire, as being not properly a comedy, ſince there is little or no plot, and the perſons of the play are rather vices or paſſions perſonalized, than characters copied from real life. His deſign was a compliment to Queen Elizabeth, under the allegorical perſonage of the goddeſs Cynthia. It was acted in 1600 by the children of her Majeſty's chapel. Upon the death of one of theſe children, Jonſon wrote his epitaph as follows:

An Epitaph on S. P. (31) *a child of Queen Elizabeth's chapel.*

' Weep with me all you that read,
' This little ſtory:
' And know for whom a tear you ſhed,
' Death's ſelf is ſorry.
' 'Twas a child that ſo did thrive,
' In grace and feature,
' As heav'n and nature ſeem'd to ſtrive,
' Which own'd the creature.
' Years he numbred ſcarce thirteen,
' When fate turn'd cruel,
' Yet three fill'd zodiacks he had been
' The ſtage's jewel;
' And did act (what now we moan)
' Old men ſo duly,
' As ſooth the *Parcæ* thought him one,
' He play'd ſo truly.
' So by error to his fate
' They all conſented;
' But viewing him ſince, (alas! too late,)
' They have repented.
' And have ſought (to give new birth)
' In baths to ſteep him;
' But being ſo much too good for earth,
' Heav'n vows to keep him (32).'

(22) Vol. IV. p. 372.

(23) At the end of Vol. VII.

(24) This is more than probable, from the numerous errors in it, as uſual in thoſe copies.

(25) Though the title had been inſerted in the liſt of his productions, yet the play itſelf was become very ſcarce, and hardly to be met with.

(26) Act IV. ſcene viii.

(27) Horatii Flacci Epiſtolæ ad Piſones, &c. p. 239. 2d edit, 1753.

(28) Life of Jonſon, p. xxxviii.

(29) Every Man out of his Humour, p. 149. note (12). Jonſon's Works, Vol. I. edit. 1756.

(30) Non hominem ex ære fecit, ſed iracundiam. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. xxxiv. c. 8.

(31) Theſe initial letters probably denote Sal. Pavy, who was one of thoſe children.

(32) Jonſon's Works, Vol. VI. Epigr. cxx. p. 275, 276.

We

[illegible] 'till he was called off by the maſques and entertainments made for the reception of King James the Firſt on his acceſſion to the throne of England [N]. He was continually employed in this employ on all occaſions during his whole life afterward. But theſe ſlighter efforts of his muſe did not wholly occupy his genius. Both inclination and ambition concurred in prompting him to the graver and weightier works of the drama. Accordingly, in 1605, came out his comedy of *Volpone, or the Fox*; which being wholly finiſhed in the ſpace of five weeks (*k*), did not hinder him from indulging the ſourneſs of his temper, in a ſatirical comedy called *Eaſtward-Hoe*, written about this time againſt the Scottiſh nation. In this piece of intemperance, Chapman and Marſton were his coadjutors; and they were all three committed to priſon, and brought in danger of loſing their ears and noſes in the pillory (*l*); but, however, had the good fortune to obtain a pardon [O]. To repair this fault, Jonſon ſacrificed both his time and his muſe almoſt entirely to gratify the taſte of the Court in maſques (*m*) for ſome years; ſo that his next play did not make its appearance 'till 1609. But he made ſome amends for the length of this interval by the perfection of the piece, which he intitled *Epicene, or the Silent Woman*; this being generally eſteemed the moſt exact and finiſhed comedy that our nation hath produced [P]. And

(*k*) See his prologue to that comedy, in anſwer to a reproach, that he was not leſs than a year about every play.

(*l*) Drummond's Works, ubi ſupra.

(*m*) See his Works, Vol. V. and VI. edit. 1754. where ſeveral of them are printed.

we here that theſe children or choriſters vyed with the moſt celebrated players of that time. Accordingly the next piece of our author, the *Poetaſter*, had the ſame performers in 1601. The conteſt between Jonſon and Decker has been already mentioned; and this ſatire was the genuine offſpring of it, wherein that competitor is ridiculed under the character of Criſpinus. Our author was alſo taxed with reflecting in it on ſome profeſſors of the Law and military men, both well known at that time. As the popular clamours againſt him ran very high, he thought proper to make a reply in an epilogue, which however was ſpoken only once (33). Decker reſolved to attack the aggreſſor at his own weapons, and wrote a play intitled *Satiromaſtix; or, The untruſſing the humorous poet*; where, under the character of Horace junior, he laſhes Jonſon, who in the Poetaſter had ſtiled himſelf Horace, and given many long and direct verſions from that favourite author, in contempt, as it ſhould ſeem, of the vulgar clamour, which had before cenſured him for his imitations. To compleat the oppoſition, as Jonſon's piece was acted by the children of the chapel, ſo Decker's revenge was performed by thoſe of St Paul's, who were the only rivals to the former.

(33) This is the Apologetical Dialogue referred to in remark [E].

After this our author tried his ſkill in tragedy writing, and produced his Sejanus, which was acted in 1603, and we ſhall ſpeak of it preſently.

[N] *'Till interrupted by the maſques and entertainments, &c.*] In theſe performances Jonſon was the chief factor for the Court, the writer's ſhare in moſt of them was furniſhed by him, and there ſeldom paſſed a year wherein he did not provide one or two poetical pieces of this kind. The firſt piece of this ſort which he had a hand in, was an entertainment compoſed for King James as he paſſed thro' the city from the Tower, to his coronation in Weſtminſter-Abbey, on Thurſday March 15, 1603. Our poet applied the firſt and laſt pageants, only the other three were deviſed by Decker, that antagoniſt being aſſociate with Johnſon on this occaſion, and he publiſhed his own part under this title, *The magnificent entertainment given to King James and Henry Frederic the Prince, upon the day of his Majeſty's paſſage from the Tower, thro' his honourable city and chamber of London, being the 15th of March* 1603. *Lond. 4to.* 1604. This rival of our author projected a device too, at the King's firſt arrival in the city, but it was never executed. In that he had introduced the genius of London; and Jonſon afterwards having done the like in this, and printed his part of the work, with explanatory notes of the ancient rites and paſſages alluded to therein, Decker attempted to ridicule his taſte in theſe words: 'To make a falſe flouriſh 'here with the borrowed weapons of all the old 'maſters of the noble ſcience of poeſy; and to 'keep a tyrannical wit in anatomizing genius from 'head to foot, only to ſhew how nimbly we can carve 'up the whole maſs of the poets, were to play the 'executioner, and to lay our city's houſhold-god on 'the rack, to make him confeſs how many pair of 'Latin ſheets we have ſhaken, and cut into ſhreds, to 'make him a garment. Such feats of activity are ſtale 'and common among ſcholars, before whom it is pro-'teſted we come not now (in a pageant) to play a 'maſter's prize.' This cenſure is ſuppoſed to be the legitimate offſpring of envy or malice in Decker, who had no genius or learning himſelf, and thought to be even with his betters, by endeavouring to rail or laugh them out of countenance; however that be, it is evident the preſent attack is not defective either in point of wit or ſpirit. But the truth is, Jonſon's taſte was the taſte of their common maſter, who, as is well known, was no leſs pedant than pageant-wiſe (34). No wonder then that he became the court-factor in general for theſe ſhews, which he took care to perfume with another eſſence ſtill more grateful than the former. I mean the incenſe of the moſt ſervile and abject adulation. He ſaw how very acceptable this tribute was, and provided it with no unſparing hand. For this all the ſtores of his learning were ranſacked and rifled; and in that ſearch he has been lucky enough to find out the foundation of a handſome compliment to prince Henry (that darling of the people as long as he lived), which has eſcaped the diligence of our beſt hiſtorians, I mean his reſemblance in the face to Henry the Vth. It is introduced in a piece called *The ſpeeches at Prince Henry's barriers*, where Merlin addreſſing himſelf to that prince, recounts the heroical deeds of his anceſtors, Kings and Princes of England; and in that detail, after the Black Prince, he deſcends to Henry V. in theſe lines:

Yet reſts the other thunderbolt of war,
Harry the fifth, to whom in face you are
So like as fate would have you ſo in worth (35).

(34) Jonſon's addreſs is ſhewn particularly in introducing ſeveral copies of Latin verſes into his firſt entertainment; and he obſerved the ſame courtlineſs in ſeveral of the ſubſequent productions of that caſt, and it is remarkable, that this talent was ſparingly exerted upon any other occaſion.

(35) Jonſon's Works, Vol. V. p. 362, 363.

[O] *In danger of the pillory, but obtained a pardon.*] Sir James Murray repreſented the affront to his Majeſty, who ordered the puniſhment above mentioned. Upon his releaſement our poet gave an entertainment to his friends, among whom were Camden and Selden, who not improbably had been very inſtrumental in procuring his pardon (36). In the midſt of the entertainment his mother, more an antique Roman than a Briton, drank to him, and ſhewed him a paper of poiſon, which ſhe intended to have given him in his liquor, after having taken a potion of it herſelf, if the ſentence upon him had been carried into execution (37). It is not improbable that the motive for making a ridicule upon the Scots the ſubject of a play, was the almoſt certain proſpect of it's welcome reception. It muſt have been a popular topic at this time with the Engliſh. We have before had occaſion to obſerve, that ſome of the beſt ſpirits among theſe, were irreconcilably diſguſted (38) at the crowd of blue caps which then filled every corner of the Court. However that be, ſo much will not be denied, that the undertaking is a proper contraſt to the extreme courtlineſs of our poet's muſe, mentioned in the preceding remark, ſets it in a clear light, and demonſtrates, her goddeſſſhip to be a mere occaſional conformiſt.

(36) If ſo, he had an opportunity of returning the favour which was acknowledged by Selden, when he had incurred the royal diſpleaſure by his Hiſtory of Tithes. See the preface to his Titles of Honour.

(37) Life of Drummond, ubi ſupra.

(38) In the Life of Holles Earl of Clare.

[P] *The Silent Woman is the moſt exact play that our nation hath produced.*] Mr Dryden was ſo much ſtruck with the perfection of this performance, that he ſets it down for a pattern of a perfect play, wherein all the unities inſiſted on by the niceſt and moſt ſcrupulous critics are moſt ſtrictly obſerved. For inſtance, the length of the action, ſo far from exceeding the compaſs of a natural day, does not make up an artificial one, but is all included in the limits of three hours and an half, which is no more than is required for the preſentment on the ſtage. The ſcene is laid in London. The latitude of the place is almoſt as little

And the next year brought forth *The Alchemiſt* [Q], one of the beſt of his comedies; but that was followed the enſuing year, 1611, by the worſt of his tragedies, intitled *Cataline* [R]. In 1613 our author took a tour to Paris, where he was admitted to an interview

as you can imagine; for it lies all within the compaſs of two houſes, and after the firſt act in one. The continuity of ſcenes is obſerved more than in any of ours, except his own Fox and Alchemiſt (39). The action of the play is entirely one; the end or aim of which is the ſettling of Moroſe's eſtate upon Dauphine. The intrigue is the greateſt and moſt noble of any pure unmixed comedy in any language. The converſation of gentlemen in the perſons of Truewit and his friends is deſcribed with more gaiety, air, and freedom, than in the reſt of Jonſon's comedies. The contrivance of the whole is ſtill the more to be admired, becauſe it is a comedy where the perſons are only of a common rank, and their buſineſs private, not elevated by paſſions or high concernments as in ſerious plays. Laſtly, the unravelling of the plot is ſo admirable, that when it is done, no one of the audience would think the poet could have miſſed it; and yet it was concealed ſo much before the laſt ſcene, that any other way would ſooner have entered into your thoughts (40). Thus that excellent poet, who may be ſaid to have governed the opinion of the public ſo far, which muſt needs be pleaſed, as he was, to view the Engliſh theatre rivalling that of France in it's moſt boaſted quality, viz. a ſtrict obſervation of the unities. But when his fondneſs carried him farther to juſtify the character of Moroſe as quite in nature, and not overcharged, it is no wonder, that ſome criticks appeared, who being of a ſourer diſpoſition, judged with leſs partiality to the author in this point §. It has been obſerved that Jonſon might probably borrow the character and marriage of Moroſe from the declamation of the Greek ſophiſt Libanius upon a moroſe perſon; who having married a talkative wife, is ſuppoſed to plead his own accuſation before the judges, in order to obtain a ſentence of death againſt himſelf. The remark is Mr Theobald's (41), and whoever reads that harangue will be apt to concur with him. For tho' he gave no proofs of any imitations from it, yet that omiſſion only ſhews he had not actually compared the two pieces together with this view, otherwiſe the following inſtance is ſo plain and direct, that it could not have eſcaped his eye. In the declamation, Moroſe mentioning the device of ſtopping his wife's mouth, declares, that having tried the experiment, it was ſo far from curing her, that afterwards ſhe grew much worſe for it, which he enforces by the following ſimile: ὥσπερ οἱ τὰς κρουνὰς ἐπισχοντες, εἶτ' ἀφιεντες, τὸ κωλυόν σφοδρότερον εἰργάσαντο τὴν φοράν, ὕτως ἐγὼ μικρὸν ἀνασείλας τὴν φωνὴν μεῖζον ἐπασπασάμην τὸ ῥεῖθρον *, of which Greek the following ſpeech of Moroſe in the play is a plain and direct imitation, in anſwer to Truewit's officiouſneſs, who offers to entreat Epicene to hold her peace, he cries out, O no, labour not to ſtop her. *She is like a conduit-pipe, that will guſh out with more force when ſhe opens again* †. It may be obſerved alſo, that the extravagant exaggeration of the original throughout, which in the declamatory ſtile is leſs inexcuſable, ſeems to have drawn our imitator to follow it in general (as has been obſerved he did the Roman hiſtorian in his Cataline) beyond the juſt bounds of the province of comedy. Mr Dryden tells us ‖ from tradition, that Jonſon was really acquainted with a perſon of this whimſical turn of mind; which indeed is very poſſible in nature; and then the deſign being to expoſe the foible of a real perſon, it was very convenient to exaggerate the peculiarities and enlarge the features of the character; notwithſtanding he may be cenſured therein ſinking beneath the true dignity of the comic ſcene, and degenerating into farce ‡.

[Q] *The Alchemiſt.*] Mr Dryden intimates, that the character of the Alchemiſt was copied from the Aſtrologer in the comedy of Albumazar, a play which was revived in his time, and a prologue wrote by him, wherein are theſe lines:

Subtle was got by our Albumazar,
That Alchemiſt by this Aſtrologer,
Here he was faſhioned, and we may ſuppoſe,
He liked the faſhion well who wore the clothes.

The author of this play is unknown, but the earlieſt edition of it is ſeveral years later than the Alchemiſt; and the ſilence of Jonſon's enemies on this head, is a preſumption in his favour, wherein it has been ſuggeſted, that Mr Dryden might poſſibly be miſinformed or miſtaken (42).

The very judicious critic mentioned in a preceding remark, having ſhewn the incongruity there is between farce and comedy; and in conſequence thereof the abſurdity of the modern practice in perpetually mixing them together, proceeds thus: 'Of our own comedies, ſuch of them, I mean, as are worthy of criticiſm, Ben Jonſon's Alchemiſt and Volpone, bid the faireſt for being written in the genuine unmixed manner. Yet, tho' their merits are very great, the impartial critic will hardly allow them this perfection. The Alchemiſt is, I think, throughout exaggerated; and at beſt belongs to that ſpecies of comedy, which we have before called particular and partial. The extravagant purſuit ſo ſtrongly expoſed in that play, hath been now of a long time forgotten; and we therefore find it difficult to enter fully into the humour of this highly wrought character. We may remark in general of ſuch ſubjects, that they are a ſtrong temptation to the writer to exceed the bounds of truth and mediocrity in his draught of them at firſt, and are farther liable to an imperfect, and even unfair ſentence from the reader afterwards. For the welcome reception, which theſe pictures of prevailing local folly meet with on the ſtage, cannot but induce the poet, almoſt without deſign, to inflame the repreſentation, and the want of archetypes in a little time makes it paſs for immoderate, were it originally given with ever ſo much diſcretion and juſtice. The plan of the Alchemiſt is then eſſentially ſuch as ſubjects this comedy to the imputations of farce.

'The Volpone, on the other hand, is a ſubject fitted for the entertainment of all times, and is therefore of the ſort a great writer would chuſe, when he wanted to tranſmit a monument of his art and genius to poſterity. Such appears to have been the generous purpoſe of the poet in this admirable comedy, and the fate of it has been anſwerable to his intentions; yet neither, I am afraid, is this a complete model. There are even ſome incidents of a farcical invention; particularly, the mountebank's ſcene, and Sir Politique's tortoiſe, are in the taſte of the old comedy. Beſides, the humour of the dialogue is ſometimes on the point of becoming inordinate, as may be ſeen in the pleaſantry of Corbaccio's miſtakes through deafneſs; and in other inſtances. The caſt of his plays indeed could hardly be any other, if we attend to the character of the writer. For his nature was ſevere and rigid; and this in giving a ſtrength and manlineſs, gave at times too an intemperance to his ſatire. His taſte for ridicule was ſtrong but indelicate, which made him not over curious in the choice of his topics. And laſtly, his ſtile in picturing characters, tho' maſterly, was without that elegance of hand, which is required to correct and allay the force of ſo bold a colouring. Thus the biaſs of his nature leading him to Plautus rather than Terence, for his model, it is not to be wondered that his wit is too frequently cauſtic, his raillery coarſe, and his humour exceſſive.' This impartial pen concludes the remark in the following terms: 'Some late writers for the ſtage have, no doubt, avoided theſe defects in the exacteſt of our oldeſt dramatiſts. But do they rival his excellencies? Poſterity, I am afraid, will judge otherwiſe, whatever may be now thought of ſome more faſhionable comedies. And if they do not, neither the ſtate of general manners, nor the turn of the public taſte appears to be ſuch, as countenances the expectation of greater improvements. To thoſe who are not over ſanguine in their hopes, our forefathers will perhaps be thought to have furniſhed (what in nature ſeem linked together) the faireſt example of *dramatic* as of *real* manners (43).

[R] *The worſt of his tragedies Cataline.*] This and the Sejanus are the only trials of his ſkill and taſte in tragedy, and they have both been condemned by the general ſentence, from their firſt appearance down to this day. Nevertheleſs our poet himſelf appears to have

(39) They are not broken above twice or thrice at moſt, and in Corneille's Cid and Cinna we find them interrupted once.

(40) Dryden's Eſſay on Dramatic Poetry, p. 32. & ſeq. edit. 1693. 4to.

§ See Congreve's Letter to Dennis upon the ſubject of Humour, and Gildon's Laws of Poetry explained and illuſtrated, p. 246. Lond. 1721, 8vo.

(41) Jonſon's Works, ubi ſupra, Vol. II. p. xlv. in note (9).

* Libanii Orationes & Declamationes, &c. Vol. I. Declam. vi. p. 311. Par. 1606, fol.

† Silent Woman, Act IV. ſcene iv.

‖ Where laſt cited.

‡ Heard's Horace's Art of Poetry, Vol. I. p. 274, 275. edit. 1753.

(42) Whalley, in Jonſon's Life, p. 44.

(43) A Diſſertation concerning the Provinces of the ſeveral Species of the Drama, p. 277, & ſeq. Lond. 1753. 8vo.

[illegible] new and converſation with Cardinal Perron, whom he treated with all that frankneſs and bluntneſs which was ſo much his nature (*n*). It was about this time that he commenced a [illegible] with Inigo Jones, whom he therefore made the ſubject of his ridicule in his next comedy, called *Bartholomew-Fair*, acted in 1614 (*o*). That was ſucceeded by the *Devil is an Aſs*, in 1616. This year he publiſhed his Works in one folio volume; and [illegible] Laureat's ſalary, of a hundred marks per annum, was ſettled upon him for life by King James I. the ſame year (*p*). Crowned with theſe honours by his Prince, he [illegible] the moſt diſtinguiſhed wits of his time crowding his train and courting his acquaintance. And, in that ſpirit, he was invited to Chriſt-Church in Oxford by Dr Corbet [*S*], then

(*n*) See an account of this quarrel in the preceding article, remark [*F*].

(*o*) See remark [*T*].

(*p*) See remark [*T*].

[illegible] ſome ſmall value on each of them (44), a conſtant proof of the common remark how ill a judge [illegible] of the merit of his own productions. The following extract will juſtify this cenſure; Horace [illegible] his art of poetry has theſe lines:

> *Publica materies privati juris erit,*
> *Si non circa vilem patulumque moraberis orbem;*
> *Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus*
> *Interpres, nec deſilies imitator in arctum,*
> *Unde pudor proferre pudor vetet, aut operis lex.*'

Here are three rules laid down to be obſerved by every dramatic writer in the management of his fable. (1.) Not to follow the trite obvious round of the original work, i. e. Not ſervilely and ſcrupulouſly to adhere to its plan or method. (2.) Not to be tranſlators inſtead of imitators, i. e. If it ſhall be thought fit to imitate more expreſsly any part of the original, to do it with freedom and ſpirit, and without a ſlaviſh attachment to the mode of expreſſion. (3.) Not to adopt any particular incident, that may occur in the propoſed model, which either decency or the nature of the work would reject. A late ingenious commentator upon this paſſage having obſerved, 'That tho' 'the poet refers to the Iliad of Homer for an illuſtration of theſe rules, probably without an eye to particular inſtances of the errors here condemned, in 'the Latin tragedies, proceeds thus: For want of 'theſe, ſays he, it may be of uſe to fetch an illuſtration from ſome examples in our own; and we need 'not look far for them. Almoſt every modern play 'affords an inſtance of one or other of theſe faults. 'The ſingle one of Cataline by B. Jonſon is, itſelf, a 'ſpecimen of them all. This tragedy, which hath 'otherwiſe great merit, and on which it's author 'appears to have ſet no ſmall value, is, in fact, the 'Catalinarian war of Salluſt put into poetical dialogue, 'and ſo offends againſt the firſt *rule* of the poet, in '*following too ſervilely the plain beaten road of the chronicle*. Next the ſpeeches of Cicero and Cataline, of Cato and Cæſar, are, all of them, direct 'and literal tranſlations of the hiſtorian and orator, in 'violation of the ſecond rule, which forbids *a too cloſe attachment to the mode or form of expreſſion*. 3. There are ſeveral tranſgreſſions of that rule which 'enjoins a *ſtrict regard to the nature and genius of the work*: One is obvious and ſtriking. In the hiſtory, 'which had for it's ſubject the whole Catalinarian 'war, the fates of the conſpirators were diſtinctly to 'be recorded, and the preceding debates concerning 'the manner of their puniſhment afforded an occaſion 'too inviting to be overlooked by an hiſtorian (and 'above all a republican hiſtorian) of embelliſhing his 'narration by ſet harangues. Hence the long ſpeeches 'of Cæſar and Cato in the ſenate have great propriety, 'and are juſtly eſteemed amongſt the leading beauties 'of that work. But the caſe was totally different in 'the drama; which, taking for it's ſubject the ſingle 'fate of Cataline, had no concern with the other conſpirators, whoſe fates, at moſt, ſhould only have 'been hinted at, not debated with all the circumſtances of pomp and rhetoric on the ſtage. Nothing 'can be more flat and diſguſtful than this calm impertinent pleading; eſpecially in the very heat and 'winding up of the plot. But the poet was miſled 'by the beauty it appeared to have in the original 'compoſition, without attending to the peculiar laws 'of the drama, and the indecorum it muſt needs have 'in ſo very different a work (45).' Thus that judicious critic. And in aggravation of Jonſon's fault it hath been farther obſerved, that tho' he was conſcious of what might poſſibly be objected to him upon thoſe heads, yet he was ſo far from regarding them as errors or imperfections in his poem, that he, in truth, conſidered them as beauties, and prided himſelf upon his tranſlations as ſo many real excellencies, and the chief ornaments of his play. However, in juſtice to him it muſt be acknowledged, that he hath diſcovered great art and ſpirit in deſigning and ſupporting his characters; and has occaſionally deviated from the leading thread of the ſtory, and varied the arrangement of circumſtances in the manner that was moſt conducive to draw out his characters, and diſplay the ruling paſſion inherent in the breaſt of each (46). Theſe remarks upon the Cataline, continues the ſame editor, are, in ſome degree, applicable to the Sejanus of Johnſon *. In this indeed the narration from which he copied was leſs obvious and direct; and hence it demanded a greater ſhare of judgment to combine and connect the diſtinct periods and members, to form a regular and conſiſtent whole; but as the ſtory lay before him, from which he drew his incidents, he copied with too cloſe an attachment to hiſtoric compoſition; and in breach of the ſecond rule, what he hath tranſlated in the Latin, is expreſſed with too exact a conformity to the mode and letter of the original expreſſion. And laſtly, he hath adopted incidents which the law and nature of his work would reject. The play ſhould naturally have ended with the fall and tragical death of Sejanus. For this reaſon the ſubſequent deſcriptions taken from Juvenal, of the indignities and inſults offered by the multitude, both to himſelf and his ſtatues, are wholly out of place. Nor was it leſs improper to deſcribe with the attendant circumſtances, the unfortunate end of the ſon and daughter of Sejanus; who with brutal violence were dragged from home, and inhumanly put to death by the public executioner. But the poet intended to recount a tale of horror, and excite pity in the breaſts of the ſpectators, by relating the untimely fate of the innocent and tender ſufferers; and this farther contributed, in concurrence with the moral, that to inſinuate divine vengeance would not fail to puniſh and exterminate the whole race of thoſe, who contemned the providence and power of heaven (47). He might alſo have ſtill another deſign in his view in not concluding his play without theſe ſtories, as they ſerved to take off the force of the objection made to the choice of his ſubject, that Sejanus and Cataline were hiſtorical characters ſo well known, that no diſtreſs which befals them, can poſſibly raiſe any kind of pity, the chiefeſt and nobleſt paſſion belonging to tragedy, in the breaſt of the beholder. However, after all, it muſt be acknowledged, that pity is not the only paſſion, which the tragic poet is concerned with. To excite dread and terror in the mind of the ſpectator, is equally the deſign of tragedy with raiſing the ſofter and more tender emotions of the heart. Wickedneſs and guilt, when they are repreſented to an audience, ſhould naturally create no other ſenſations but thoſe of fear and horror; and the cataſtrophe ſhould be deſigned as a monitory leſſon to deter others from perpetrating the like crimes. Our poet is not ſingular in the choice of his ſubjects. One of them has lately been exhibited on a ſtage that is no way remarkable for preſenting ſcenes of cruelty to the beholder. The rival wits of France, Mr Crebillon in his *Catalina*, and Mr Voltaire in his *Rome ſauvé*, have actually pitched on the ſame event with Jonſon, in their conteſt for the dramatic laurel.

(46) Preface to edition of Jonſon's Works, ubi ſupra, p. xx, xxi.

* In both he copied after Seneca the Tragedian.

(47) Ibid. p. xxi, xxii.

(48) In the Life of Harriot.

(49) See the latter end of his poems.

(50) In Jonſon's Works, Vol. VI. p. 358. There is an epitaph upon him, wherein Ben. expreſſes a great regard for his memory.

[*S*] *He was invited to Chriſt-Church by Dr Corbet.*] We have had occaſion to mention this gentleman before in the courſe of this work (48), and therefore ſome account ſhall be given of him here. He was deſcended of a genteel family at Ewel in Surrey (49), tho' his father Vincent Corbet followed the buſineſs of a gardiner at Twickenham in Middleſex (50). He was born in 1582, and being bred firſt at Weſtminſter-ſchool was removed thence to Broadgate-hall, (now Pembroke-

(45) Epiſtolæ ad Piſones, &c. with an Engliſh Commentary and notes, ſecond edit. 1753. Vol. I. p. 84, 85.

then Senior-Student of that college. Our Poet gladly accepted the invitation; and, having paſſed ſome time in cultivating his muſe in that delightful ſeat, he received an additional atteſtation of his merit from the univerſity, who preſented him with the honorary degree of Maſter of Arts, at the Act in 1619 (*q*). On the death of the Laureat, Samuel Daniel, in October following, Jonſon ſucceeded to that poſt, the duty of which had been chiefly performed by him a long time before [*T*]. The year had not expired, when our new-

(9) He was created *A. M.* July 10, that year. Wood's Faſti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 215.

Pembroke-college) in Oxford in 1597-8, and choſen ſtudent of Chriſt-Church the following year. In 1605 he proceeded *A. M.* being then eſteemed one of the moſt celebrated wits of the univerſity, and particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by making extempore verſes, jeſts, and high flights in the romance taſte, which was the wit then in vogue. Afterwards entering into holy orders he became a moſt quaint preacher in the faſhion of that age; and was therefore admired, and eſpecially taken notice of by King James I, who made him one of his chaplains, and promoted him to the deanery of of Chriſt-Church (51), in 1620. By the recommendation of the Earl of Dorſet he was made biſhop of Oxford in 1629, whence he was tranſlated to Norwich in 1632, where he died in 1635, and was buried in that cathedral, having a flat ſtone upon his grave, with a ſhort Latin inſcription, and the arms of the Corbets of Shropſhire, viz. *Or, a raven paſſant ſable.* Mr Wood tells us, that he was of a very hoſpitable temper, and generous in promoting public deſigns; particularly in 1634, upon the repair of St Paul's, London, he exerted himſelf both in ſpeech (52), and exemplary gifts to advance that pious work, not only contributing largely himſelf, but alſo giving money to ſome poor miniſters for them to give, in order to excite others to contribute who were better able. After his death was publiſhed a piece, intituled, *Poetica Stromata*, or a collection of ſundry pieces of poetry, London, 1647, 48, &c. 8vo*. Theſe were made in his younger years, and never intended for the preſs by him. There is alſo extant *Richardi Corbet oratio in funus Henrici principis.* MS. in Muſeo Aſhmoliano, at Oxford (53).

(51) He was then Senior-Student of the college, Vicar of Caſſington in Oxfordſhire, and Prebendary of Bedmington-Secunda in the church of Sarum.

(52) The MS. of this ſpeech is in the Aſhmolean Muſæum at Oxford.

* See a copy of verſes cited from it upon Arabella Stuart, in the article of STUART [ARABELLA].

(53) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 600, 601.

[*T*] *He was made Poet Laureat, &c.*] It is ſomething ſtrange, ſays Mr Whalley, that when Daniel was Laureat, his province for many years ſhould have been diſcharged by Jonſon, altho' Daniel wanted not for genius, and was honoured with the good opinion of the Queen. He might alſo have obſerved that Jonſon had the ſalary of the Laureat ſettled upon him for life, ſome years before Daniel's deceaſe, or elſe one of the ſame value, unleſs there be a miſtake in the date of the inſtrument, as it is referred to in the ſubſequent one for augmenting that ſalary of a hundred marks to ſo many pounds, with the addition of a tierce of Canary wine in 1630, by King Charles I. To ſupport this remark, it will be neceſſary to lay before the reader a copy of that warrant, as follows:

'CHARLES R.

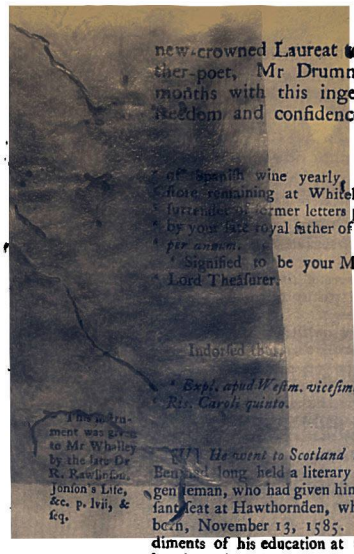
'Charles by the Grace of God, Kinge of England, 'Scotland, Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the faith, '&c. to the Theaſurer, Chancellor, Under Theaſurer, 'Chamberlains, and Barons of the Exchequer of us, 'our heirs and ſucceſſours, now beinge, and that hereafter ſhall be, and to all other the officers and miniſters of the ſaid court, and of the receipt there now 'beinge, and that hereafter ſhall be, and to all others, 'to whom theſe preſents ſhall come, or to whom it 'ſhall or may apperteyn, greeting. Whereas our late 'moſt deare father King James of happy memorie, 'by his letters pattents under the great ſeale of Eng'land bearing date at Weſtminſter the firſt day of Fe'bruary in the thirteenth year of his reign of England '(for the conſiderations therein expreſſed) did give and 'graunt unto our well-beloved ſervaunt Benjamin John'ſon, an annuitie or yearly penſion of one hundred marks 'of lawful money of Englande, duringe his life, to be 'paid out of the ſaid Exchequer, at the feaſt of the 'annunciation of the bleſſed Virgin Mary, the nativity 'of St John Baptiſt, St Michael the Archangel, and 'the birth of our Lord God, quarterly, as by the ſaid 'letters patents more at large may appear; which an'nuity or penſion, together with the ſaid letters pa'tents, the ſaid Benjamin Johnſon hath lately ſurren'dered unto us. Know yee now, that wee, for di'verſe good conſiderations us at this preſent eſpecially 'movinge, and in conſideration of the good and accept'table ſervice done unto us, and to our ſaid father by 'the ſaid Benjamin Johnſon, and eſpecially to encou'rage him to proceed in thoſe ſervices of wit and penn, 'which wee have enjoyned unto him, and which we 'expect from him, are graciouſly pleaſed to augment 'and encreaſe the ſaid annuitie or penſion of one 'hundred marks, unto an annuitie of one hundred 'pounds of lawful money of England, for his life. 'And for the better effecting thereof, of our eſpecial 'grace, certain knowledge, and meer motion, we have 'given and graunted, and by theſe preſents for us, 'our heirs, and ſucceſſors, upon the ſurrender afore'ſaid, do give and graunt unto the ſaid Benjamin 'Johnſon, one annuitie or yearly penſion of one hun'dred pounds of lawful money of England, by the 'year, to have, hold, and yearly to receive the ſaid 'annuitie or yearly penſion of one hundred pounds 'of lawful money of England, by the year, unto the 'ſaid Benjamin Johnſon, or his aſſignes, from the laſt 'of our Lord God laſt paſt before the date hereof, for 'and during the natural life of him the ſaid Benjamin 'Johnſon, at the receipt of the exchequer of us, our 'heirs and ſucceſſours, out of the treaſure of us, our heirs 'and ſucceſſours, from time to time there remayning, by 'the Theaſurer and Chamberlens of us, our heirs and 'ſucceſſours there, for the time beinge, at the afore'ſaid four uſual terms of the year, (that is to ſay) at 'the feaſt of the annuntiation of the bleſſed Virgin 'Mary, the nativity of St John the Baptiſt, St Michael 'the Archangel, and the birth of our Lord God, by 'even and equal potions, quarterly to be paid. The 'firſt payment thereof to begin at the feaſt of the an'nuntiation of the bleſſed Virgin Mary next before the 'date of theſe preſents. Wherefore our will and plea'ſure is, and we do by theſe preſents for us, our heirs 'and ſucceſſors require, command and authoriſe 'the ſaid Theaſurer, Chancellor, Under-Theaſurer, 'Chamberlens, and Barons, and other Officers and Mi'niſters of the ſaid Exchequer, now and for the time be'ing, not only to paie, or cauſe to be paid unto the ſaid 'Benjamin Johnſon, or his aſſignes, the ſaid annuitie 'or yearly penſion of one hundred pounds, of lawful 'money of England, according to our pleaſure before 'expreſſed: And alſo from time to time to give full al'lowance of the ſame, according to the true meaning 'of theſe preſents: And theſe preſents, and the in'rollment thereof ſhall be unto all men whom it ſhall 'concern, ſufficient warrant and diſcharge for the 'payinge and allowinge of the ſame accordingly, without 'any farther or other warrant to be in that behalf pro'cured or obtained. And further know yee, that wee 'of our more eſpecial grace, certain knowledge, and 'mere motion, have given and graunted, and by theſe 'preſents, for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, do give 'and graunt unto the ſaid Benjamin Johnſon and his 'aſſignes, one terſe of Canary Spaniſh wine yearly: 'To have, hold, perceive, receive and take the ſaid 'terſe of Canary Spaniſh wine unto the ſaid Benjamin 'Johnſon and his aſſignes, during the term of his natu'ral life, out of our ſtore of wines yearly, and from 'time to time remayninge at or in our cellars, within, 'or belonging to our palace of Whitehall. And for 'the better effecting of our will and pleaſure here'in, we do hereby require and command all and ſin'gular officers whom it ſhall or may concerne, or who 'ſhall have the care or charge of our ſaid wines, that 'they or ſome one of them do deliver, or cauſe to 'be delivered the ſaid terſe of wine yearly, and once 'in every year unto the ſaid Benjamin Johnſon or his 'aſſignes, during the term of his natural life, at ſuch 'time and times, as he or they ſhall demand or deſire 'the ſame. And theſe preſents or the inrollment 'thereof ſhall be unto all men whom it ſhall concerne, 'a ſufficient warrant and diſcharge in that behalf, al'tho' expreſs mention, &c. In witneſs, &c.

Ex. per Ro. HEATH.

'Maie it pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty,

'This conteyneth your Majeſtie's graunte unto Ben'jamin Johnſon, your Majeſtie's ſervaunte, during his 'life, of a penſion of 100 l. *per annum*, and of a terſe

'of



This instrument was given to Mr Whalley by the late Dr R. Rawlinson. Jonſon's Life, &c. p. lvii, & ſeq.

new-crowned Laureat took a tour into Scotland (*r*), on purpoſe to viſit a favourite brother-poet, Mr Drummond of Hawthornden [*U*] in that country. He paſſed ſome months with this ingenious friend, to whom he opened his heart with a moſt unreſerved freedom and confidence, the ſweeteſt gift of friendſhip [*W*]. Our author was much pleaſed

(r) Mr Drummond dates the minutes of his converſation, January 1619.

of Spaniſh wine yearly, out of your Majeſtie's ſtore remaining at Whitehall. And is done upon ſurrender of former letters patents granted unto him by your late royal father of a penſion of 100 marks *per annum*.

'Signified to be your Majeſtie's pleaſure by the Lord Theaſurer.

RO. HEATH.

Indorſed thus:

March 1630.

'*Exhi. apud Weſtm. viceſimo ſexto die Martii anno R. Rs. Caroli quinto.*

Per WINDEBANK *.'

[*U*] *He went to Scotland to viſit Drummond, &c.*] Ben had long held a literary correſpondence with this gentleman, who had given him an invitation to his pleaſant ſeat at Hawthornden, where this brother-poet was born, November 13, 1585. He received the firſt rudiments of his education at the high-ſchool in Edinburgh, and thence removed to that univerſity, where he was made A. M. In 1606, he was ſent to Bourges in France, to ſtudy the Civil-Law under his countryman, the Preſident Lockhart; and he made himſelf ſo much a maſter of it, that if he had followed the practice, he might have made the beſt figure of any Lawyer in his time. But he ſaw more charms in the claſſics than in that dry ſtudy, and relinquiſhed all thoughts of the Bar. After the death of his father, he retired to Hawthornden; and, continuing his application to the Greek and Latin Poets and Hiſtorians, he there enriched the world with the product of his leiſure hours. In this retirement he fell in love with a beautiful young lady, daughter to Mr Cunningham of Barnes, of an ancient and honourable family. He made his addreſſes to this lady, and was happy enough to raiſe a mutual paſſion in her. The day of marriage was fixed, and all things ready for completing his felicity, when ſhe was ſnatched from him by a fever. To divert the melancholy occaſioned by this ſhock (54), he made the tour of Italy; and paſſing through Germany and France, he viſited all the famous univerſities, and converſed with the Literati of each country. He continued abroad eight years, and reſiding chiefly at Rome and Paris, he made an excellent collection of the beſt ancient Greek and Latin, and of the modern French, Italian, and Spaniſh books. Upon his return to Scotland, he went to the ſeat of his brother-in-law Sir John Scott, of Scots-Tarvant, a gentleman of good ſenſe and learning, with whom he lived 'till about 1630; when he entered into a marriage with Elizabeth, grand-daughter of Sir Robert Logan (55). He had ſeveral children by this lady. Two ſons, William, who was knighted by Charles II; Robert; and a daughter, Elizabeth, who was married to one Dr Henderſon a Phyſician at Edinburgh. After the breaking out of the civil war, he retired to his brother, with whom he continued during the times of the confuſion. In this interval it is ſuppoſed, that he drew up his Hiſtory of the Five James's, ſucceſſively Kings of Scotland. He likewiſe wrote ſeveral tracts againſt the meaſures of the Covenanters, and thoſe engaged in the oppoſition of Charles I. one of theſe, called *Icæne*, he was deſired to print, as the beſt means to quiet the minds of the diſtracted people, by the Marquis of Montroſe, who likewiſe ſent him a protection, dated Auguſt 1645, immediately after the battle of Kylſyth, with another letter, wherein he highly commends Mr Drummond's learning and loyalty (56). When a tax was laid by the reformers for raiſing the army which fought againſt the King, as his eſtate lay in three different counties, it happened, that the money levied upon him as his ſhare upon any one of the eſtates, did not amount to the maintaining of one man, but a half, or perhaps a quarter only. Whereupon he addreſſed the following lines to the King.

(54) His grief for this loſs is the ſubject of ſeveral of his letters and poems; wherein he obſerves, that he was the firſt in the iſland that ever celebrated a dead miſtreſs.

(55) Mr Hall calls her Margaret Logane of the Houſe of Reſterrig. See preface to his Hiſtory. in the concluſion. 'Tis ſaid he was ſmitten by the reſemblance ſhe bore to his firſt love.

(56) At this time he wrote alſo the *London Star*, and *an Addreſs* to thoſe *who were called the Leaguers*; the purport of which is the ſame with that of the *Icæne*.

'Of all theſe forces rais'd againſt the King,
'Tis my ſtrange hap not one whole man to bring.
'From diverſe pariſhes, yet diverſe men;
'But all in halves and quarters: Great King, then,
'In halves and quarters if they come 'gainſt thee,
'In halves and quarters ſend them back to me.'

Under the appellation of a Malignant he was extremely harraſſed by the prevailing party, and for his verſes and diſcourſes frequently ſummoned before their circular tables. The news of his Sovereign's death upon a ſcaffold ſo overwhelmed him with grief, that, worn down by ſtudy as he was, he did not long ſurvive the ſhock. He died the ſame year, 1649; and though he never was in arms for the King, yet he may be ſaid in ſome ſenſe to have fallen a ſacrifice to his loyalty. A little before his death, he gave a conſiderable part of his books to the univerſity of Edinburgh (57). His general character is thus ſummed up by the writer of his Life. He was a man of fine natural endowments, cultivated by reading and travelling; he was poſſeſſed of all the perſonal accompliſhments of muſic, dancing, fencing, &c. and ſpoke the Spaniſh, Italian, and French languages, as well as his mother-tongue. He was a judicious and great Hiſtorian, a delicate Poet, a maſter of polite erudition, a loyal ſubject, a friend to his country, and, to ſum up all, a pious Chriſtian. After his death, his Hiſtory was publiſhed at London, 1655, in fol. with a preface or introduction by Mr Hall of Gray's-Inn. In this Hiſtory, Mr Drummond has chiefly followed Biſhop Elphinſton, and has given a different turn to things from Buchanan, whom a party of the Scotch accuſe of being a penſioner of Queen Elizabeth; and as he joined intereſt with the Earl of Murray, who wanted to diſturb the reign of his ſiſter Mary Queen of Scots; he is ſtrongly ſuſpected of being a party-writer, and of having miſrepreſented the Scotch tranſactions of old, in order to ſerve ſome ſcheme of policy. His Works were printed at Edinburgh, 1711, in fol. to which there is prefixed an account of his life (58); as alſo a preface by Milton's nephew, Mr Edward Philips, who ranks him with Taſſo and Guarini among the Poets, and places him next to Thuanus among the Hiſtorians. Among his poems, there is one called by him *Polemio Middiana*; 'tis a kind of Macronic poetry, in which the Scots words are put into Latin terminations; it was reprinted in Queen Anne's time, with a preface concerning Macronic poetry; and it has been often reprinted in Scotland as a very humerous performance.

(57) Hall, where laſt mentioned.

(58) 'Tis from that account that moſt of the particulars of this remark are taken.

[*W*] *The ſweeteſt gift of friendſhip.*] His ſentiments of the authors and poets of thoſe times will no doubt be an agreeable entertainment to the reader; and we ſhall lay it before him, from the minutes which were taken of it by Drummond himſelf, as follows. With regard to the Poets, he ſaid, that Sydney did not keep a decorum, in making every one ſpeak as well as himſelf. That Spenſer's ſtanza pleaſed him not, nor his matter; the meaning of the allegory of the fairy-queen he delivered in writing to Sir Walter Ralegh, which was, that, by the bleating beaſt he underſtood the Puritans; and by the falſe Dueſſa the Queen of Scots. Spenſer's goods, he ſaid, were robbed by the Iriſh, and his houſe with a little child burnt, he and his wife eſcaped, and after died for want of bread in King-ſtreet; he refuſed 20 pieces ſent him by Lord Eſſex, and ſaid he had no time to ſpend. That Samuel Daniel was a good honeſt man, had no children, and was no poet; he had wrote the Civil Wars, and had not yet one battle in all his book. That Drayton's Poly-Olbion, if he had performed what he promiſed to write, the Deeds of all the Worthies, had been excellent; that he was challenged for writing one book, *Mortimeriades*. That Sir John Davis played on Drayton in an epigram, who in a ſonnet concluded his miſtreſs might have been the ninth worthy, and ſaid, he uſed a phraſe like Dametas in Arcadia, who ſaid, his miſtreſs for her wit might be a giant. That Sylveſter's tranſlation of Du Bartas was not well done, and that he wrote his verſes before he underſtood to conſer, and thoſe of Fairfax were not good (59). That the tranſlation of Homer and Virgil into long Alexandrines was but proſe.

(59) His cenſure of Fairfax moſt probably aroſe from the ſame principle as that of Spenſer, which was his diſlike of the ſtanza form in epic poetry.

pleaſed with the adventures of this journey, and celebrated them in a particular poem; which, together with ſeveral more of his productions, being accidentally burnt, about two or three years afterwards, that loſs drew from him a poem, which he called *An Execration upon Vulcan* [*X*]. He ſeems to have let no year paſs without the amuſement of writing

proſe. That Sir John Harrington's *Arioſto*, of all tranſlations, was the worſt. He ſaid Donne was originally a poet, his grandfather on the mother's ſide was Heywood the epigrammatiſt; that Donne, for not being underſtood, would periſh. He eſteemed him the firſt poet in the world for ſome things (60); his verſes of the *loſt Ochadine* he had by heart, and that paſſage of the calm, that duſt and feathers did not ſtir, all was ſo quiet. He affirmed, that Donne wrote all his beſt pieces before he was 25 years of age. The conceit of Donne's transformation or metempſychoſis was, that he ſought the ſoul of that apple which Eve pulled, and hereafter made it the ſoul of a bitch, then of a ſhe-wolf, and ſo of a woman: his general purpoſe was to have brought it into all the bodies of the heretics from the ſoul of Cain, and at laſt left it in the body of Calvin. He only wrote one ſheet of this, and ſince he was made doctor repented hugely, and reſolved to deſtroy all his poems (61). He told Donne, that his anniverſary was prophane and full of blaſphemies; that if it had been written on the Virgin Mary it had been tolerable; to which Donne anſwered, that he deſcribed the idea of a woman, and not as ſhe was (62). He ſaid farther to Drummond, that Shakeſpeare wanted art, and ſometimes ſenſe; for in one of his plays he brought in a number of men, ſaying they had ſuffered ſhipwreck in Bohemia, where is no ſea near by 100 miles (63). That Sir Walter Raleigh eſteemed fame more than conſcience; that the beſt wits in England were employed in making his hiſtory, and he himſelf had written a piece to him on the Punic war, which he altered and ſet in his book*. He ſaid there was no ſuch ground for an heroic poem as King Arthur's fiction; and that Sir Philip Sidney had an intention to have transferred all his Arcadia to the ſtories of King Arthur. That Owen was a poor pedantic Schoolmaſter, ſweeping his living from the poſteriors of little children, and had nothing good in him, his epigrams being meer narrations. That Francis Beaumont died before he was 30 years of age, who he ſaid was a good poet, as were Fletcher and Chapman, whom he loved. That Sir W. Alexander (64) was not half kind to him and neglected him, becauſe a friend to Drayton. That Sir R. Ayton loved him dearly. That he fought ſeveral times with Marſton, and ſaid Marſton wrote his father-in-law's preachings, and his father-in-law his comedies. This was his judgment of the poets of his own country. With regard to foreigners, he thought Bartas no poet, but a verſer, becauſe he wrote no fiction. He curſed Petrarch for reducing verſes into ſonnets, which he ſaid was like that tyrant's bed, where ſome who were too ſhort were racked, others too long cut ſhort. That Guarini, in his *Paſtor Fido*, kept no decorum in making ſhepherds ſpeak as well as himſelf. That the beſt pieces of Ronſard were his odes (65). That of the ancient Latin poets, Petronius, Plinius Secundus, and Plautus, ſpoke beſt Latin; and Tacitus wrote the ſecrets of the Council and Senate, as Suetonius did thoſe of the Cabinet and Court. That Lucan taken in parts was excellent, but all together nought. That Quintilian's 6th, 7th, and 8th books, were not only to be read, but altogether digeſted. That Juvenal, Horace, and Martial, were to be read for delight, and ſo was Pindar, but Hippocrates for health. Of the Engliſh he ſaid, Hooker's Eccleſiaſtical Polity was beſt for Church matters, and Selden's Titles of Honour for Antiquities (66).

[*X*] *An Execration upon Vulcan.*] This poem was printed ſoon after his death (67), in a collection, intitled, *Ben Johnſon's Execration againſt Vulcan: with divers Epigrams by the ſame Author, to ſeverall Noble Perſonages in this Kingdome. Never publiſhed before.* It begins with theſe lines:

'And why to me this, thou lame lord of fire?
'What had I done, that might call on thine ire,
'Or urge thy greedy flames thus to devour
'So many my years labour in an hour.
'I ne'er attempted, Vulcan, 'gainſt thy life.—
'Had I wrote treaſon there, or hereſy,
'Impoſture, witchcraft-charms, or blaſphemy,
'I had deſerv'd then thy conſuming looks.'

In proceeding, he enumerates the ſeveral kinds of looſe or low writing, and particularly the unnatural romances, ſpawned in the age of Chivalry, together with the factious pamphlets, written eſpecially by the Puritans in this and the preceding age; all which being condemned to the flames, he goes on thus:

'Theſe had'ſt thou pleaſed either to dine or ſup.
'Had made a meal for Vulcan to lick up.'

Then he paſſes to his own loſs in the following lines:

'But in my deſk what was there to excite
'So ravenous and vaſt an appetite:
'I dare not ſay a body, but ſome parts
'There were of ſearch and maſt'ry in their arts.
'All the old Venuſine in poetry,
'And lighted by the Stagyrite could ſpy (68),
'Was there made *Engliſh* with the Grammar too,
'To teach ſome, *that* their nurſes could not do,
'The purity of language (69); and, among the reſt,
'*My journey into Scotland ſung, with all th'adven-*
'tures;
'Three books not afraid
'To ſpeak the fate of the Sicilian maid
'To our own ladies; and in ſtory there
'Of our fifth Henry*, eight of his nine year,
'Wherein was oil, beſide the ſuccour ſpent,
'Which noble Carew, Cotton, Selden, lent:
'And *twice twelve years*, ſtor'd up humanity,
'With humble gleanings in Divinity,
'After the Fathers, and thoſe wiſer guides,
'Whom faction had not drawn to ſtudy ſides.

Upon theſe laſt lines it is that the conjecture in the text is built concerning the date of this preſident, the probability of which is left to the reader's judgment.

We muſt not forget to obſerve, that there are two poems ſtill extant, wrote upon the ſame number of love adventures. One of theſe is intitled, *The Hour-Glaſs*, and the other, *Upon my Picture left in Scotland.* They are both inſerted in the laſt edition of his Works, Vol VI (70). The ingenious editor of which, in a note to the latter poem, has theſe words. 'This and 'the preceding copy were both wrote in Scotland, 'when Jonſon paid a viſit to Drummond of Haw-'thornden in the year 1619.' But in this there is ſome difficulty, as will appear from peruſing the verſes, which run thus:

'I now think Love is rather deaf than blind;
'For elſe it could not be, that ſhe,
'Whom I adore ſo much, ſhould ſo ſlight me,
'And caſt my love behind:
'I 'm ſure my language to her was as ſweet,
'And every cloſe did meet,
'In ſentence of as ſubtil feet,
'As hath the youngeſt he,
'That ſits in ſhadow of Apollo's tree.
'Oh! but my conſcious fears,
'That fly my thoughts between,
'Tell me that ſhe hath ſeen
'My hundreds of grey hairs,
'Told ſeven and forty years.
'Read ſo much waſte, as ſhe cannot embrace
'My mountain belly and my rocky face,
'And all theſe thro' her eyes have ſtopt her ears.'

Now if he was forty-ſeven years of age in 1619, his birth could not have happened later than 1572, two years

(60) See Jonſon's epigram to John Donne, Vol. VI. p. 260.

(61) Jonſon had a literary correſpondence with Donne, and ſeveral of the letters may be ſeen in *A Collection of Letters made by Sir Tobie Matthews, Knt.* 2ond. 1660, 8vo.

(62) It appears from his letters, that he never ſaw the lady whom he made the ſubject of this poem.

(63) See the Winter's Tale, Act III. ſcene vi. and vii. However, the magic of that tale is ſuch as makes this abſurdity undiſcerned.

* In his Diſcoveries Jonſon ſays, that Sir Walter was not to be contemned either for judgment or ſtile.

(64) Afterwards Earl of Stirling and a Poet.

(65) But all this Drummond ſays was to no purpoſe; for he never underſtood the French or Italian languages, that is, not ſo perfectly as Drummond. He was, indeed, entirely ignorant of the French; yet there are proofs of his having a tolerable ſkill in the Italian. Perhaps he might borrow what he ſaid of Ronſard from Cardinal Perron, whoſe favourite Poet he was, and who preferred an uncommon admiration of his odes.

(66) In the preface to that book, publiſhed in 1614, he calls Jonſon his beloved friend and ſingular Poet, whoſe ſpecial worth in literature, accurate judgment and performance, known only to the few who are only able to know him, hath had from me, ever ſince I began to learn, an increaſing admiration. See alſo in the body of the book, part ii. p. 466. in Vol. III. of his Works, edit. 1726. fol.

(67) In 1640, 4to. The imprimatur bears date December 1639. It was printed alſo the ſame year in 12mo.

(68) Meaning his tranſlation of Horace's Art of Poetry, with notes from Ariſtotle. The tranſlation is in his Works, but the notes were moſt of them inſerted in his Diſcoveries.

(69) Of this alſo he either had another copy, or ſupplied the loſs by a new one; for we find it among his Works, Vol. VII. edit. 1756.

(70) P. 355, 356.

years

writing ſome of theſe ſmaller pieces. And thoſe, with the maſques, which the office of Poet-Laureat then particularly called for every Chriſtmas, filled up the interval to the year 1625 (s); when his comedy, intitled *The Staple of News*, appeared upon the ſtage. Not long afterwards he fell into an ill ſtate of health, which, however, did not hinder the diſcharge of his duty at Court. And he found time alſo to gratify the more agreeable exerciſe of play-writing; for, in 1629, he brought another comedy, called *The New Inn, or the light Heart*, to the theatre. But here his adverſaries prevailed over him; the play was hiſſed out of the houſe on it's firſt appearance there; and our Laureat had recourſe to his pride for a revenge, which dictated an *Ode to himſelf*, threatening to leave the ſtage [*Y*]. This diſappointment added to the continuance of his illneſs; and the Poet's ordinary foible, bad œconomy, having reduced his finances to a low ebb, the king graciouſly ſent him a purſe of a hundred pounds. That goodneſs was properly and in character repaid by an epigram, addreſſed to his royal benefactor, which, for ſome ſpecial reaſons, is inſerted below [*Z*]. But

(s) Theſe are printed in the 6th volume of his Works, edit. 1756.

years before the date of it, as fixed by this editor himſelf, viz. 1574. And as this latter date is confirmed by ſo many concurring teſtimonies, it remains, that we fix the date of his poem in 1621, two years after the journey to Scotland; to which time the contents of it are plainly conſonant enough.

[*Y*] *An Ode to himſelf.*] It conſiſts of ſix ſtanzas. The two firſt are as follow:

'Come leave the loathed ſtage,
'And more the loathſome age,
'Where pride and impudence in faſhion knit,
'Uſurp the chair of wit;
'Indicting and arraigning every day
'Something they call a play.
'Let their faſtidious, vain,
'Commiſſion of the brain
'Run on and rage, ſweat cenſure, and condemn;
'They were not made for thee, leſs thou for them.

'Say that thou pour'ſt them wheat,
'And they will acorns eat:
'Twere ſimple fury ſtill thy ſelf to waſte
'On ſuch as have no taſte.
'To offer them a ſurfeit of pure bread,
'Whoſe appetites are dead;
'No, give them grains their fill,
'Huſks, draft to drink and ſwill.
'If they love lees, and leave the luſty wine,
'Envy them not their palates with the ſwine.

The preſumption and vanity of this ode was ſuch, as provoked even Jonſon's friends to animadvert upon it. Mr Owen Feltham (71) anſwered it in another ode of the ſame meaſure, the ſecond ſtanza of which runs thus:

'Tis known you can do well,
'And that you do excel
'As a tranſlator. But when things require
'A genius and a fire
'Not kindled heretofore by others pains,
'As oft you've wanted brains
'And art to ſtrike the white.
'As you have levell'd right,
'Yet if men vouch not things apocryphal,
'You bellow, rave, and ſpatter round your gall.'

(71) A writer of note in that age, and author of a book, which had it's day of fame, intituled, *Reſolves*. That he was a friend to Jonſon's real merit appears by his verſes in Jonſonus Virbius. See remark [*D D*].

This is ſevere and coarſe. But he is touched more ſenſibly, becauſe much more delicately, by Sir John Suckling, in the concluſion of the lines following in *The Seſſions of the Poets*.

'The firſt that broke ſilence was good old Ben,
'Prepared before with Canary wine,
'And he told them plainly he deſerved the bays,
'For his were call'd Works, where others were
'but plays (72).
And
'Bid them remember how he had purged the ſtage
'Of errors that had laſted many an age;
'And he hop'd they did not think the Silent
'Woman,
'The Fox and the Alchemiſt out-done by no man.
'Apollo ſtopt him there, and bade him not go on,
'Twas merit he ſaid, and not preſumption,
'Muſt carry 't. At which Ben turned about,
'And in great choler offer'd to go out.
'But
'Thoſe that were there thought it not fit
'To diſcontent ſo ancient a wit;
'And therefore Apollo call'd him back again,
'And made mine Hoſt of his own *New Inn* (73).

(72) Pieces, &c. as in the text.

(73) Fragmenta Aurea, &c. p. 7. edit. 1748, 8vo.

However, Ben, on the other hand, had his adherents, who even did not ſcruple to maintain, that the pride and preſumption of this poem was no more than his juſt right, and what he had a fair claim to from the undoubted ſuperiority of his merit. *Sume ſuperbiam quæſitam meritis*, was the advice of Horace, the father of the Latin ode. In this ſpirit his fond and faithful ſon, Thomas Randolph, incenſed at the too ſevere attack of Feltham, addreſſed an ode to our poet, of which we ſhall give a ſtanza or two from Langbaine.

'Ben, do not leave the ſtage,
'Cauſe 'tis a loathſome age;
'For pride and impudence will grow too bold,
'When they ſhall hear it told
'They frighted thee. Stand high as in thy cauſe;
'Their hiſs is thy applauſe.
'Moſt juſt were this diſdain,
'Had they approv'd thy vein.
'So thou for them and they for thee were born;
'They to incenſe, and thou too much to ſcorn.

'Wilt thou engroſs thy ſtore
'Of wheat, and pour no more;
'Becauſe their bacon-brains have ſuch a taſte,
'As more delights in maſt?
'No; ſet them forth a board of dainties, full
'As thy beſt muſe can cull;
'Whilſt they the while do pine,
'And thirſt 'midſt all their wine.
'What greater plague can hell itſelf deviſe,
'Than to be willing thus to tantalize.

[*Z*] *An Epigram which is inſerted below.*] The title is an Epigram to King Charles for an hundred pounds he ſent me in my ſickneſs, 1629.

'Great Charles, among the holy gifts of grace,
'Annexed to thy perſon and thy place,
'Tis not enough (thy piety is ſuch)
'To cure the call'd King's evil with a touch,
'But thou wilt yet a kinglier maſt'ry try,
'To cure the poet's evil, Poverty:
'And in theſe cures doſt to thyſelf enlarge,
'As thou doſt cure our evil at thy charge.
'Nay, and in this thou ſheweſt to value more,
'One poet, than of other folks ten ſcore.
'O piety! ſo to weigh the poor's eſtates.
'O bounty! ſo to difference the rates.
'What can the poet wiſh his King may do,
'But that he cure the people's evil too (74).

(74) Jonſon's Works, &c. Vol. VI. p. 434. The two laſt lines allude to the murmurs of that time upon the diſſolution of the Parliament, &c. See the General Hiſtory of England under this year.

This poem is inſerted at length, not ſo much to confute as to ſhame a printed ſtory (75), which tells us, that

(75) Cibber's Lives of the Poets under Jonſon's article, and Smollet's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III. p. 316.

But his Majeſty's munificence did not ſtop there; he augmented the Laureat's ſalary of a hundred marks to a hundred pounds a year, together with the addition of a tierce of Canary wine; which penſion has been continued to his ſucceſſors in that office ever ſince. [*AA*] King

that the King hearing of our poet's ſickneſs, ſent him a benevolence of ten pounds; and that Ben taking the money into his hand, ſaid to the meſſenger, *His Majeſty hath ſent me ten pounds, becauſe I am old and poor, and live in an alley, go and tell him that* his ſoul lives in an alley (76). This diſorder of Jonſon's, whatever it was, ſeems to have been of the chronical ſpecies. We find him in 1631 pouring forth his complaints in the following triplet:

(76) There is an expreſſion like this laſt in our author's Works, that furniſhed the words, which, with the bluntneſs of his temper, was ground more than enough for the coinage and ready reception of a calumny.

'Diſeaſe the enemy, and his engineers,
'Want, with the reſt of his conceal'd compeers,
'Have caſt a trench about me theſe five years.'

This ſtanza is the ſecond of five which make up an epiſtle mendicant to the then Lord Treaſurer (77). The whole tenour whereof diſcovers a greater affliction for the emptineſs of his purſe, than for the diſorder of his perſon; and the ſucceſs he had met with in that article encouraged him to make uſe of his muſe afterwards, in ſeveral leſs direct, but not leſs underſtood, nor leſs effectual applications of the adulatory kind, with the ſame view. We are told particularly, that he received forty pounds for one of theſe, which he intituled an *Epigram*, and begins thus:

(77) In his Works, Vol. VI. p. 446.

'If to my mind, great Lord, I had a 'ſtate,
'I would preſent you now with curious plate,
'Of Norimberg or Turkey, &c (78).'

(78) Ibid. Vol. VII. p. 9.

[*AA*] *Which penſion is ſtill continued.*] Our poet drew up a petition for this favour in the following form:

'The humble petition of poor Ben,
'To th' beſt of monarchs, maſters, men,
'King Charles.
Doth moſt humbly ſhow it,
'To your majeſty, your poet:
'That whereas your Royal Father
'James the bleſſed, pleas'd the rather,
'Of his ſpecial grace to letters,
'To make all the muſes debtors
'To his bounty: By extenſion
'Of a free poetic penſion,
'A large hundred marks annuity,
'To be given me in gratuity,
'For done ſervice, and to come:
'And that this ſo accepted ſum;
'Or diſpenſed in books or bread,
'(For on both the muſe was fed)
'Hath drawn on me from the times
'All the envy of the rhimes,
'And the rattling pit-pat noiſe
'Of the leſs poetic boys,
'When their pot-guns aim to hit,
'With their pellets of ſmall wit,
'Parts of me (they judg'd) decay'd,
'But we laſt out ſtill unlay'd.
'Pleaſe your majeſty to make,
'Of your grace, for goodneſs ſake,
'Thoſe your father's marks your pounds:
'Let their ſpite (which now abounds)
'Then go on, and do it's worſt,
'This would all their envy burſt:
'And ſo warm the poet's tongue,
'You'll read a ſnake in his next ſong (79).

(79) Ibid. p. 8.

We have the rather been induced to infert this epiſtle to his majeſty, in order to contraſt the latter part of it with the Ode addreſſed to himſelf in *Rem.* [*Y*]. The raillery here upon his poetic foes, tho' poignant, is perfectly genteel and eaſy, and at a great diſtance from the foul-mouthed coarſe virulence of the Ode. The occaſion indeed required it; and this ſhews him to be a compleat maſter in the œconomy of ſatirical wit; and that he knew when to take the ſwitch, and when the bludgeon or the flail, and could manage both with a ſkill to be envied, but not equalled by his antagoniſts. But there is another part of his conduct wherein his want of œconomy is both notorious and contemptible, I mean in the article of his finance, which notwithſtanding the handſome addition made to it as here mentioned, were continually in diſorder and deficient; and and that defect made him a beggar. Some inſtances of this have been mentioned in the preceding remark, and many more might be produced. There is good reaſon to believe, that he had alſo expenſion from the City, from ſeveral of the nobility [illegible] and particularly from Mr Sutton the founder of Charter-houſe hoſpital in London (80). Mr Wood indeed inſinuates, what is ſtill more contemptible, that theſe penſions were paid him to prevent [illegible] the laſh of his ſatire; as if Jonſon, like another Aretine, was the ſcourge of the Great, who refuſed to become tributaries to his muſe. But this ſeems to have no better a foundation than the known ſeverity of that muſe when provoked. It is certain the applications which we have of his in this way, are of a very different ſtrain; and the following addreſs is ſufficient to ſhew, that Ben's foibles were the uſual ones generally incident to a head poetically turned, heedleſſneſs and extravagance (81).

(80) Mr Wood had [illegible] both of Biſhop Corn. Vol. I. col. 9.

(81) To this purpoſe Cowley comforts himſelf, that ſuch
Were all th' inſpired tuneful men,
Such all his great grandfathers were, from Homer down to Ben.

To Mr John Burges.

'Father John Burges,
'Neceſſity urges
'My woeful cry
'To Sir Robert Pye,
'And that he will venture
'To ſend my debenture.
'Tell him his Ben
'Knew the time when
'He lov'd the Muſes,
'Tho' now he refuſes
'To take apprehenſion
'Of a year's penſion,
'And more is behind:
'Put him in mind,
'Chriſtmas is near;
'And neither good cheer,
'Mirth, fooling, nor wit,
'Nor any leaſt fit
'Of gambol or ſport
'Will come at the Court;
'If there be no money,
'No plover or coney
'Will come to the table,
'Or wine to enable
'The muſe or the poet,
'The pariſh will know it.
'Nor any quick warming pan help him to bed;
'If th'Chequer be empty, ſo will be his head (82).

(82) Ibid. Vol. VI. p. 431, 432. His ſhift too for ſqueezing five pounds of Arthur Squib was perfectly mean and contemptible. See his epiſtle to that friend, p. 428, 429.

It is true we find him threatning to ſatirize the King's houſhold, if he were not reſtrained by the fear of offending his Majeſty. It ſeems he had met with ſome difficulty and delay in procuring his butt of ſack from the board of Green Cloth, whereupon he ſent the following verſes, which he intituled, *An Epigram to the Houſhold*, 1630.

'What can the cauſe be, when the King hath given
'His poet ſack, the houſhold will not pay?
'Are they ſo ſcanted in their ſtore, or driven
'For want of knowing the poet to ſay him nay?
'Well, they ſhould know him, would the King but grant
'His poet leave to ſing his houſhold true;
'He'd frame ſuch ditties of their ſtore and want,
'Wou'd make the very green cloth to look blue:
'And

(t) That Prince is observed to have up against the torrent of his own afflictions with a princely resolution, but always to melt and mix his tears, on receiving or hearing of those sorrows which his friends suffered on his account.

King Charles the First's personal character makes it no improbable supposition, that these acts of favour might be in some measure the effects of his compassion for this servant (*t*), who began now to sink into a visible decay both of body and mind. 'Tis true, we have two comedies wrote by him afterwards; but they are such, as have not unfitly been called his dotage (*u*) [*BB*]; and he found himself under a necessity of absolutely laying down his pen soon after the year 1634 [*CC*]. His disorder was the palsey, which put a period to his life Aug. 6, 1637, in the 63d year of his age (*w*). He was interred three days afterwards in Westminster-abbey, at the north-west end near the belfrey. Over his grave was laid a common pavement-stone, with this Laconic inscription, O Rare Ben Jonson. It was done

(*u*) So they are called by Dryden, but yet they are the dotages of Jonson, as Mr Whalley observes in his Life, p. 51.

(*w*) See his monument in Westminster-abbey.

'And rather wish in their expence of sack,
'So the allowance of the King to use,
'As the old bard should no Canary lack,
'Twere better spare a butt than spill his praise:
'For in the genius of the poet's verse (83)
'The King's fame lives. Go now deny his tierce.'

(83) Ibid. p. 438, 439.

[*BB*] *Have not unfitly been called his dotages.*] It is the character given by Mr Dryden of our author's last performances, which are his *Tale of a Tub*; and *the Magnetic Lady, or Humours reconciled*. This last piece was smartly and virulently attacked by Dr Alexander Gill, who succeeded his father as master of St Paul's school (84), of which we shall give the reader the following specimen:

(84) There is some account of both Father and Son in Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 602. and Vol. II. col. 22, 23.

'But to advise thee, Ben, in this strict age,
'A brick-kill's better for thee than the stage;
'Thou better knows a groundsill for to lay,
'Than lay a plot or ground-work for a play.
'And better canst direct to cap a chimney,
'Than to converse with Clio or Polyhymay.
'Fall then to work in thy old age agen,
'Take up thy trug and trowel, gentle Ben,
'Let plays alone, or if thou needst will write,
'And thrust thy feeble muse into the light;
'Let Lowen cease, and Taylor scorn to teach
'The loathed stage; for thou hast made it such.'

These lines have neither much wit nor poetry. The reflection upon Ben's original employment is very mean, it shews no good heart; and Gill was really a man of bad morals. But he was paid in kind, and Ben answered him with equal virulence; and, in truth, it cannot be said either with more wit or poetry, as follows:

'Shall the prosperity of a pardon still,
'Secure thy railing rhimes, infamous Gill,
'At libelling? Shall no Star-chamber peers,
'Pillory nor whip, nor want of ears,
'All which thou hast incurred deservedly,
'Nor degradation from the ministry,
'To be the Dennis of thy father's school,
'Keep in thy bawling wit, thou bawling fool.
'Thinking to stir me, thou hast lost thy end,
'I'll laugh at thee, poor wretched tyke, go send
'Thy boltant muse abroad, and teach it rather
'A tune to drown the ballads of thy father.
'For thou hast nought to cure his fame,
'But tune and noise, and echo of his shame.
'A rogue by statute, censured to be whipt,
'Cropt, branded, slit, neck-stockt: go, you are
'stript.'

[*CC*] *He laid down his pen after* 1634.] His last masque, called *Love's Welcome*, &c. was personated July 30, 1634 (85). The only piece we have with a date after that is his new-year's Ode for 1635 (86). There are indeed two dramatic pieces left unfinished; the time of writing them is uncertain. These are intituled, *The sad Shepherd, a Pastoral Tragedy*, and *the Fall of Mortimer*. Of this last there is only the plan of the Drama, and one or two scenes. It is said he died and left it unfinished. His Editor is of opinion that had he compleated his design with the same spirit in which he began it, we should have been able to boast of one perfect tragedy at least, formed upon the ancient model, and giving us the happiest imitation of the ancient drama (87). The Sad Shepherd is carried on almost to the conclusion of the third act. Upon which Mr Whalley makes the following remark, 'I cannot but lament, says he (88), with the reader, the loss of the remaining parts of this play, which we could have borne with the greater patience had even this act been fortunately compleated. We have no account how it came down to us in this mutilated condition, and conjectures can be at best but precarious. Possibly it might have been in the number of those pieces, which were accidentally burnt; tho' indeed there is no particular mention of it in the execration upon Vulcan. Or, Jonson might have undertaken it in the decline of his days, and did not live to finish it; and to this conjecture we are induced *by the* first line of the prologue:

(85) Jonson's Works, Vol. VII. p. 62.

(86) Ibid. p. 12.

(87) Ibid. Vol. V. p. 160.

(88) Ibid. p. 151, 152.

'He that hath feasted you these forty years (89).'

(89) This round number must not be taken precisely; for it, as *Every Man in his Humour*, which he declares himself to be his first feast of this kind, did not appear 'till 1598, the addition of 40 years extends a full year after his decease. But if the time of his first feast is to be dated from his first writing for the stage, that indeed will bring us probably as far back as 1594, and then the two years will end in 1634, which will confirm the assertion in the text.

'There is indeed, continues this editor, one reason which might induce us to believe, that the poet left it unfinished by design. He beheld with great indignation the ungenerous treatment which Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess* met with from the people at it's first appearance; and he was witness also to the small encouragement that was given to it's revival under the patronage of King Charles I. Possibly these circumstances deterred him from going thro' with the performance. As his composition was of a kindred nature to that of Fletcher, he might presage the same unfortunate event, should he ever introduce it on the stage; so that posterity can only bewail the perversity of taste in their injudicious ancestors, whose discouragement of the first, contributed to deprive us of the second pastoral drama, that would do honour to the nation. What we now have serveth only to increase our regret; like the remains of some ancient master which beget in us the most inexpressible desire of a perfect statue by the same hand. When a work is not compleated by it's author or maimed by the hand of time, one would either wish the remains to be inconsiderable, or the beauties less exquisite and charming. In the former case, the deficiency is not so much deplored from our inability to judge of the perfection of the whole; and in the latter we are very little anxious for what appears to be hardly worth preserving: But when a piece is so far advanced as to convince us of the excellence of the artist, and of it's own superior delicacy, we are naturally touched with concern for what is lost, and set a proper value on the parts which still subsist.'

The remaining pieces of our author to be taken notice of here, are his translation of Horace's *Epistola ad Pisones*; *An English Grammar*; and his observations on men and things, called *Discoveries*. The first of these was translated in his youth. In the preface to *Sejanus* he says, he intended shortly to publish it with notes; but it did not appear in print 'till after his death, and then without notes, the fate of which has been already mentioned (90); and also that much of what was intended for them, is inserted in the *Discoveries*. These make a very excellent piece, the fruits of mature and judicious age, valuable not only for the sentiments and observations, but as a pattern of a nervous and concise stile. His Grammar was also written by him when advanced in years; and Mr Wotton speaking of it observes, that it was the first considerable attempt with regard to the subject. But we must agree with that author, that herein Jonson made Lilly's Grammar his pattern; and for want of reflecting upon the grounds of a language which he understood as well as any man of his age, he drew it by violence to a dead language that was of a quite different make, and so left his book imperfect.

(90) In note (68).

(91) Reflections on ancient and modern Learning,

done at the expence of Mr (afterwards Sir) John Young of Great-Milton in Oxfordſhire (*x*). But a much better monument was raiſed to his memory ſix months afterwards, when there came out a collection of elegies and poems, intitled, *Jonſonius Virbius: or, the Memory of Ben. Jonſon revived by the Friends of the Muſes* [*D D*]. And preſently after, there was a deſign ſet on foot to erect a marble monument with his ſtatue, and a conſiderable ſum of money was collected for the purpoſe; but the breaking out of the Rebellion prevented the carrying of it into execution, and the money was returned (*y*). The buſt, in bas-relieve, with the former inſcription under it, that is now fixed to the wall in Poets Corner, near the ſouth-eaſt entrance into the abbey, was ſet up by that great patron of learning, the ſecond Earl of Oxford of the Harley family. As to our Poet's own family, it became extinct with him, for he ſurvived all his children (*z*). It remains that we exhibit a kind of portrait of his perſon and character. As to the firſt, then, if we may depend upon his own deſcription, his body was large, corpulent, and bulky (*a a*), and his countenance hard and rocky (*b b*); ſo that his figure greatly reſembled that of Sir John Falſtaff, and conſequently could not be much leſs apt to raiſe a laughter. Nor was the caſt of his temper and natural diſpoſition at all more reſpectable, as repreſented by his friend Mr Drummond, who obſerves him to be 'A great lover and praiſer of himſelf; 'a contemner and ſcorner of others; chuſing rather to loſe his friend than his jeſt; 'jealous of every word and action of thoſe about him, eſpecially after drink, which was 'one of the elements in which he lived [*E E*]; a diſſembler of the parts which he reigned

(*x*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 609. where Mr Wood calls him Jack Young.

(*y*) Ibid. col. 610.

(*z*) Winſtanley's Lives of the Poets, p. 127. edit. 1687.

(*a a*) He weighed 20 ſtone wanting two pounds. See his Epiſtle to Arthur Squib. Works, Vol. VI. p. 428.

(*b b*) In the poem, intitled, *My Picture left in Scotland*. Works, Vol. VI. p. 355. However, his friends ſaid to have reſembled Menander's, as we ſee it in antique gems and medals. So Vida (ſay theſe admirers of Jonſon) reſembled Virgil.

[*DD*] *Jonſonius Virbius, &c.*] This collection was publiſhed by Dr Brian Duppa, Biſhop of Chicheſter, and tutor to King Charles *II.* then Prince of Wales (92). Beſides Howell's Decaſtic, it contains poems by the following perſons; Lords Falkland and Buckhurſt, Sir John Beaumont, and Sir Francis Wortley, Barts. Sir Thomas Hawkins, Mr Henry King, Henry Coventry, Tho. May, Dudley Diggs, George Forteſcue, Will. Habington, Edmund Waller, J. Vernon, J. Cl. (probably Cleveland) Jaſper Mayne, Will. Cartwright, John Rutter, Owen Feltham, George Donne, Shakerley Marmion, A. M. John Ford, R. Brideoak, A. M. Rich. Weſt, R. Meade, H. Ramſay, T. Terrent, Rob. Waſing, Will. Bew, and Sam. Evans, L.L.B. Lord Falkland, who was himſelf one of the beſt ſcholars of this time, has the following encomium upon that of Jonſon:

(92) He did not ſet his name to it, and for that diſcovery we are obliged to Mr Howell, who contributed a Decaſtic to it. Howell's Familiar Letters, Vol. I. §. vi. No. 31.

'His learning ſuch, no author old or new,
'Eſcaped his reading, that deſerved his view;
'And ſuch his judgment, ſo exact his teſt,
'Of what was beſt in books, or what was beſt,
'That had he joined thoſe notes his labours took,
'From each moſt praiſed, and praiſe deſerving book;
'And could the world of that choice treaſure boaſt,
'It need not care if all the reſt were loſt;
'And ſuch his wit, he wrote paſt what he quotes,
'And his productions far exceed his notes.
'So in his works where ought inſerted grows,
'The nobleſt of the plants engrafted ſhews,
'That his adopted children equal not,
'The generous iſſue his own brain begot.
'So great his art, that much which he did write,
'Gave the wiſe wonder, and the crowd delight.'

His Lordſhip afterwards celebrates Jonſon's merit in reforming the ſtate of the drama, and the great reverence that was univerſally paid to him in theſe lines:

'How in an ignorant and learned age he ſway'd,
'(Of which the firſt he found, the ſecond made)
'How he, when he could know it, reap'd his fame,
'And long out-lived the envy of his name:
'To him how daily flock'd, what reverence gave
'All that had wit, or would be thought to have,
'Or hope to gain, and in ſo large a ſtore,
'That to his aſhes they can pay no more,
'Except thoſe few, who cenſuring thought not ſo,
'But aim'd at glory from ſo great foe.'

[*EE*] *Drink was one of the elements in which he lived.*] This is ſo notoriouſly true, that it was made a ſtanding jeſt among his greateſt admirers; and this jovial diſpoſition he had power enough to tranſmit to late poſterity, and to render immortal the room in the Devil Tavern near Temple-bar, by the name of the Apollo, where he preſided in a club, for whoſe uſe he drew up in Latin his *Leges Convivales*, in number 24, which were engraven on a ſtone, and are ſtill to be ſeen in that room over the chimney. We ſhall give the tranſlation of them into Engliſh as follows:

Rules for the Tavern Academy: Or, Laws for the Beaux Eſprits.

I.

'1. As the fund of our pleaſure let each pay his ſhot,
'Except ſome chance friend whom a member brings in.
'2. Far hence be the ſad, the lewd fop, and the ſot;
'For ſuch have the plagues of good company been.

II.

'3. Let the learned and witty, the jovial and gay,
'The generous and honeſt compoſe our free ſtate,
'4. *And the more to exalt our delight while we ſtay,*
'Let none be debarr'd *from his choice female mate.*

III.

'5. Let no ſcent offenſive the chamber infeſt,
'6. Let fancy not coſt prepare all our diſhes.
'7. Let the caterer mind the taſte of each gueſt,
'And the cook in his dreſſing comply with their wiſhes.

IV.

'8. Let's have no diſturbance about taking places,
'*To ſhew your nice breeding, or out of vain pride.*
'9. Let the drawers be ready with wine and freſh glaſſes.
'Let the waiters have eyes, tho' their tongues muſt be tied.

V.

'10. Let our wines without mixture or ſtum, be all fine,
'Or call in the maſter, and break his dull noddle.
'11. Let no ſober bigot here think it a ſin,
'To puſh on the chirping and moderate bottle.

VI.

'12. Let the conteſt be rather of books than of wine.
'13. Let the company be neither noiſy nor mute.
'14. Let none of things ſerious, much leſs of divine,
'When belly and head's full, profanely diſpute.

VII.

'reigned in him; a bragger of ſome good that he wanted; he thought nothing right, 'but what either himſelf or ſome of his friends had ſaid or done. He was paſſionately 'kind and angry; careleſs either to gain or keep; vindictive; but if he was well an- 'ſwered, greatly chagrined; interpreting the beſt ſayings and deeds often to the worſt. 'He was for any religion, being verſed in both; oppreſſed with fancy, which over-ma- 'ſtered his reaſon (*cc*), a general diſeaſe among the Poets.' He had a very ſtrong memory; for he tells us himſelf in his Diſcoveries, that in his youth he could have repeated whole books that he had read, and poems of ſome ſelect friends, which he thought worth charging his memory with (*dd*). Laſtly, as to his genius, the character of it, in reſpect of dramatic poetry, has been already touched upon (*ee*). To which muſt be added Mr Pope's remark, that 'When our author got poſſeſſion of the ſtage, he brought critical 'learning into vogue; and that this was not done without difficulty, which appears from 'thoſe frequent leſſons (and indeed almoſt declamations) which he was forced to prefix to 'his firſt plays, and put into the mouths of his actors, the grex, chorus, &c. to remove 'the prejudices and inform the judgment of his hearers. 'Till then, the Engliſh authors 'had no thoughts of writing upon the model of the Ancients: their tragedies were only 'hiſtories in dialogue, and their comedies followed the thread of any novel as they found 'it, no leſs implicitly than if it had been true hiſtory.' Thus that much admired Poet (*ff*), who followed Jonſon in borrowing from the Ancients, as much as he ſurpaſſed him in harmonious verſification, for which Jonſon ſeems to have had no nice ear. However, Mr Drummond declares (*gg*) that his inventions were ſmooth and eaſy [*FF*]. He does not

(*cc*) As an inſtance of this, he told this friend, that he had ſpent many a night in looking at his great toe, about which he had ſeen Turks and Tartars, Romans and Carthaginians, fight in his imagination.

(*dd*) Diſcoveries, in his Works, Vol. VII. p. 85, 86.

(*ee*) In remark [*B*].

(*ff*) In the preface to his own Works.

(*gg*) In his Works, ubi ſupra.

VII.

'15. Let no ſaucy fidler preſume to intrude,
'Unleſs he is ſent for to vary our bliſs,
'16. With mirth, wit, and dancing, and ſinging, conclude,
'To regale every ſenſe with delight in exceſs.

VIII.

'17. Let raillery be without malice or heat.
'18. Dull poems to read, let none privilege take.
'19. Let no poetaſter command or entreat
'Another extempore verſes to make.

IX.

'20. Let argument bear no unmuſical ſound,
'Nor jars interpoſe ſacred friendſhip to grieve.
'21. For generous lovers let a corner be found,
'Where they in ſoft ſighs may their paſſions relieve.

X.

'22 Like the old Lapithites, with the goblets to fight
'Our own 'mongſt offences unpardon'd will rank;
'Or breaking of windows or glaſſes for ſpite,
'And ſpoiling the goods for a rakhelly prank.

XI.

'23. Whoever ſhall publiſh what's ſaid or what's done,
'Be he baniſh'd for ever our aſſembly divine.
'24. Let the freedom we take be perverted by none,
'To make any guilty by drinking good wine.

Over the Door at the Entrance into the Apollo.

'Welcome all that lead or follow,
'To th' oracle of Apollo.
'Here he ſpeaks out of his pottle,
'Or the tripos his tower bottle:
'All his anſwers are divine,
'Truth itſelf doth flow in wine,
'Hang up all the poor hop-drinkers,
'Cries old Sim, the king of ſkinkers (93).
'He the half of life abuſes,
'That ſits watering with the Muſes.
'Thoſe dull girls no good can mean us,
'*Wine it is the milk of Venus* (94).
'And the poet's horſe accounted.
'Ply it, and you all are mounted.
'Tis the true Phœbeian liquor,
'Chears the brains, makes wit the quicker.
'Pays all debs, cures all diſeaſes,
'And at once three ſenſes pleaſes.
'Welcome all that lead or follow
'To th' oracle of Apollo.

(93) Old Sim. means Simon Wadloe, who then kept the Devil-tavern; and of him probably is the old catch, beginning, *Old Sir Simon the King*.

(94) From the Greek Anacreontic, Ουδεν γαλα Αφροδιτης.

[*FF*] *He had no ear for harmony in verſe, tho' his inventions were ſmooth and eaſy.*] Tho' the general run of Ben's verſes be a ſufficient vindication of this cenſure, wherein he is uſually much more attentive to the matter than to the muſic of his poetry; yet in many places they are ſmooth and eaſy as his invention; we are even ſurprized with the moſt beautiful harmony. The following hymn will juſtify our remark; it is taken from the piece called Cynthia's Revels (95), and addreſſed to that goddeſs, under which character he means to compliment Queen Elizabeth.

(95) Act V. ſcene vi.

'Queen and Huntreſs chaſte and fair,
'Now the ſun is laid to ſleep,
'*Seated in thy ſilver chair,*
'*State in wonted manner keep;*
'Heſperus intreats thy light,
'Goddeſs excellently bright.

'Earth, let not thy envious ſhade
'Dare itſelf to interpoſe;
'Cynthia's ſhining orb was made
'Heav'n to clear when day did cloſe.
'Bleſs us then with wiſhed ſight,
'Goddeſs excellently bright.

'Lay this bow of pearl apart,
'And thy cryſtal ſhining quiver;
'Give unto the flying hart,
'Space to breathe how ſhort ſoever.
'Thou that mak'ſt a day of night,
'Goddeſs excellently bright.

This little hymn is delicate both in ſentiment and expreſſion; the images are picturesque, the verſe eaſy and flowing. Such is the juſt remark of Mr Whalley, who goes farther; and having obſerved a thought in Milton's poem upon Melancholy, not unlike that of the two lines here printed in *Italics*, ventures from the ſimilitude of the expreſſion, to declare himſelf of opinion that they were taken from hence. Milton's lines are:

'*Come, but keep thy wonted ſtate,*
'*With even ſtep, and muſing gate.*
Il Penſeroſo.

Whatever may be thought of this conjecture, which indeed is advanced by the author of it with a ſuitable modeſt diffidence, no doubt can ariſe in reſpect to ſeveral other inſtances produced by him, where ſome of our beſt poets have not diſdained to copy from this original. Among theſe he has pointed out Dryden

(96)

not appear to have had much conception of thoſe breaks and reſts, or of adapting the ſound of his verſe to the ſenſe, which are the chief beauty of our beſt modern poets [*G G*]. 'Tis univerſally agreed with his laſt mentioned friend, that tranſlation or imitation was his moſt diſtinguiſhed talent [*H H*], wherein he excelled all his contemporaries (*b b*); and beſides his

(*b b*) Id. ibid.

(96) In Every Man out of his Humour, Act V. ſcene iv.

(97) His character of Bluff in the Old Bachelor is formed upon Bobadil in the ſame comedy.

(98) His Works, Vol. VII. p. 17.

(96) and Congreve (97) in their plays; and what is more ſtill to Jonſon's honour, that moſt ſtriking ſentiment, which, in the famous verſes *To the Memory of an unfortunate Lady*, ſeems to burſt out originally from Mr Pope as the pure effect of his grief, was firſt conceived by Jonſon, who begins his Elegy on the Lady Jane Pawlet, Marchioneſs of Winton with theſe lines:

'What gentle ghoſt, beſprent with April dew,
'Hails me ſo ſolemnly to yonder yew (98).'
'And beckoning wooes me————

Thus imitated in that moſt tender poem of Mr Pope.

'What beck'ning ghoſt along the moon-light ſhade,
'Invites my ſteps, and points to yonder glade.'

This has been generally, I think, the moſt admired of Pope's leſſer poems; and to this we ſhall venture to add another no leſs admired piece, and wrote alſo by an author not much leſs diſtinguiſhed than Pope by the ſweet harmony of his verſification; I mean Mr Waller, who begins his moſt beautiful Anacreontic to Phyllis perfectly as Jonſon does his ſong to Celia in Volpone (99), as will appear by the contraſt:

(99) Act II. ſcene vii. 'Tis printed in the Collection called the Foreſt.

JONSON.

'Come, my Celia, let us prove,
'While we can the ſports of Love;
'Time will not be our's for ever,
'He at length our good will ſever;
'Spend not then his gifts in vain;
'Suns that ſet may riſe again;
'But if once we loſe this light,
'Tis with us perpetual night.
'Why ſhould we defer our joys.——

WALLER.

'Phyllis, why ſhould we delay,
'Pleaſures ſhorter than the day;
'Could we, which we never can,
'Stretch our lives beyond their ſpan,
'Beauty like a ſhadow flies,
'And our youth before us dies,
'Or would youth and beauty ſtay,
'Love has wings and will away (100).'——

(100) Waller's Poems, p.

It is true they are both imitations from Catullus, but I cannot help thinking that in penning the addreſs to Phyllis, the latter Engliſh poet had the former Engliſh copy, as well as the original Latin before him.

[*GG*] *Which are the chief beauty of our beſt modern poets.*] This, like the foregoing, holds true in general; yet he was not without his brighter moments, when a ray of enthuſiaſm darting into his genius, raiſes it unexpectedly to the height of this excellence. Read the following lines from his Sad Shepherd (101):

(101) Act I. ſcene v.

'No ſun or moon, or other chearful ſtar,
'Look'd out of heaven! but all the cope was dark
'As it were hung ſo for her exequies!
'And not a voice or ſound to ring her knell,
'But of that diſmal pair, the ſcreeching owl,
'And buzzing hornet! Hark! hark! hark!
'The foul bird! how ſhe flutters with her wicker wings.
'Peace! you ſhall hear her ſcritch.'

Thus we ſee him once, at leaſt, tranſported above himſelf. This was plainly the work of a true poetical inſpiration. The three long ſyllables preceding the Iambic foot at the cloſe of the one verſe, which is immediately connected with the beginning of the other, and the pauſe placed upon the firſt ſyllable, are as fully expreſſive of the ſentiment as can poſſibly be imagined.

'Hark! hark! hark! the foul
'Bird.——

There is nothing finer in all Shakeſpeare or Milton (102). Now we are upon the ſubject of our author's beauties, it will not be improper to mention his epitaphs, in which he was excellent. Several of them have been inſerted in the former editions of his works, beſides theſe, Mr Whalley has enriched his edition with that moſt celebrated one upon the Counteſs of Pembroke, Siſter to Sir Philip Sidney:

(102) See the notes at p. 112. Vol. V. of Jonſon's Works, edit. 1756.

'Underneath this marble herſe,
'Lies the ſubject of all verſe,
'Sidney's ſiſter, Pembroke's mother;
'Death, ere thou haſt ſlain another
'Learn'd and fair, and good as ſhe,
'Time ſhall throw a dart at thee'. (103)

(103) Vol. VI. p. 297.

This has no rival, unleſs the following lines in another of Jonſon's, on Elizabeth L. H. may be deemed ſuch.

'Underneath this ſtone doth lie,
'As much beauty as could die,
'Which in life did harbour give,
'To more virtue than doth live (104)'.

(104) Ibid. p. 277.

[*HH*] *Imitation was his moſt diſtinguiſhed talent*] It is ſo difficult to keep any ſtrong talent within it's proper bounds, that if we find him ſometimes carrying this to exceſs, even ſo far as juſtly to incur the cenſure of plagiariſm (105), yet it would be carrying the cenſure to the like exceſs to charge pardonable eſcapes to the diſcredit of his genius. It is true his learning ſhews itſelf foremoſt in almoſt every thing he wrote; and ſometimes it may appear where we could wiſh it might not be ſeen; but he ſeldom tranſgreſſeth in this point, for a juſt decorum and preſervation of character, with propriety of circumſtance and of language, are his ſtriking excellencies, and evidently diſtinguiſh his correctneſs and art. What he borrows from the Ancients is generally improved by the uſe and application; and by this means he improved himſelf in contending to think and expreſs his thoughts like them. However, it is acknowledged that his creative powers, whatever were the degree of them, undoubtedly received ſome check from thence; and that we ſhould have ſeen them exerting themſelves with greater force and vigour, had he been leſs acquainted with the ancient models. Jonſon was naturally turned to induſtry and reading; and as to treaſure up knowledge muſt be the exerciſe and work of memory, by the aſſiduous employment of that faculty he would neceſſarily be leſs diſpoſed to exert the native inborn ſpirit of genius and invention; and as his memory was thus fraught with the ſtores of the ancient poetry, the ſentiments impreſſed upon his mind could eaſily intermix and aſſimilate with his own; and when tranſfixed into the language of his country, would appear to have all the graces and the air of novelty; and hence he might be inſenſibly led to imagine that equal honours were due to ſucceſsful imitation, as to original and unborrowed thinking. However that be, it is certain that he was at a great diſtance from that anxious dread of imitation, which when it ſeizes the polite and cultivated writers in any country, has been aſſigned for the principal cauſe of a thorough degeneracy of taſte; and hence the ſame ingenious writer (106) has not ſcrupled to give it as a ſeaſonable admonition to the poets of our time, to relinquiſh their vain hopes of originality, and turn themſelves to a ſtricter imitation of the beſt models; and to inforce this advice he mentions 'the deſigns of two excellent perſons, who are already 'well known to the public by ſome ſlighter eſſays; 'but are preparing much greater things, and in the 'pure and ſimple ſtile of claſſical antiquity. The 'genuine merit, continues he, of theſe performances, 'when they ſhall appear, will be the beſt apology for 'their authors. One of whom profeſſes to form him'ſelf on the model, and would give an exact image 'of the Greek drama (107); while the Other adven'tures to project a ſtill nobler deſign on the plan of the 'ancient and legitimate epic (108)'.

(105) See Dryden's Eſſay on Dramatic Poeſy, and his poſtſcript to the Conqueſt of Granada.

(106) Mr Heard, in his Horace's Art of Poetry, Vol. II. p. 230.

* Ibid. p. 231.

(107) This has appeared ſince under the following title. *Elfrida; a Dramatic Poem, written on the model of the ancient Greek tragedy. By Mr Maſon.* Lond. 1752.

(108) The author of the Obſervations upon Lord Shaftſbury's Characteriſtics is the perſon meant.

[*I I*] *The*

his new forming our drama after the ancient models, he gave us the firſt Pindaric ode in the Engliſh language that has a juſt claim to that title [*II*]. After the edition of his Works already mentioned, they were reprinted in 1716, in 6 volumes 8vo. and another edition has been lately printed in 1756, in ſeven volumes 8vo. with ſome notes and additions by P. Whalley, late Fellow of St John's college in Oxford; who hath alſo inſerted Jonſon's comedy, intitled, *The Caſe is altered*, not in any former edition. And ſince this laſt editor declares, he ſhould not have omitted our author's verſes, prefixed to *May's tranſlation of Lucan*, had they come to his hands in time, we have thought proper not to conclude this memoir, without inſerting a copy of thoſe verſes in remark [*KK*]. There is reaſon to believe

[*Ll*] *The firſt Pindaric ode in our language that has a juſt claim to that title.*] 'Tis among his *Underwoods*, under the title of ODE PINDARIC, *To the immortal memory and friendſhip of that noble pair, Sir Lucius Cary and Sir H. Morifon*. The manner of Pindar is followed with great exactneſs in the ſtructure of this poem. But to do juſtice to our poet's merit in this article, it will be neceſſary to explain the true nature of the Pindaric, and to that end we ſhall cite the following paſſage from the Scholia on *Hephæſtion*. The Ancients, ſays the Scholiaſt, in their odes framed two larger ſtanzas, and one leſs: The firſt of the large ſtanzas they called *Strophe*, ſinging it on their feſtivals at the altars of their gods, and dancing at the ſame time: The ſecond they called *Antiſtrophe*, in which they inverted the dance: The leſſer ſtanza was named the *Epode*, which they ſung ſtanding ſtill. Hence it is evident that theſe odes were accompanied with dancing, and that they danced one way while the *Strophe* was ſinging, and then danced back again while the *Antiſtrophe* was ſung; which ſhews, ſays a late ingenious writer, why theſe two parts conſiſted of the ſame length and meaſure: Then when the dancers were returned to the place whence they ſet out, before they renewed the dance, they ſtood ſtill while the *Epode* was ſung. Such was the ſtructure of the Greek ode, in which the *Strophe* and *Antiſtrophe*, i. e. the firſt and ſecond ſtanzas, contained always the ſame number and the ſame kind of verſes. The *Epode* was of a different length and meaſure; and if the ode run out into any length, it was always divided into triplets of ſtanzas, the two firſt being conſtantly of the ſame length and meaſure; and all the epodes, in like manner, correſponding exactly with each other (109). To apply theſe obſervations to Jonſon's ode now under conſideration; the whole running into twelve ſtanzas, it is accordingly diſtinguiſhed into four triplets of ſtanzas; the two firſt of which conſiſt each of ten lines, and the third of twelve, which are marked in order thus, *the firſt turn of ten, the firſt counter-turn of ten, the firſt ſtand of twelve; the ſecond turn of ten, the ſecond counter-turn of ten, the ſecond ſtand of twelve*, and ſo on; but that there may be no room left for the leaſt heſitation in underſtanding it, we ſhall inſert the third triplet. Thus then,

(109) Preface to an Engliſh tranſlation of Pindar, by Gilbert Weſt, Eſq;

The third turn of ten.

' It is not growing like a tree
' In bulk, doth make men better be;
' Or ſtanding long an oak, three hundred year,
' To fall a log at laſt, dry, bald, and ſear.
' A lilly of a day
' Is fairer far in May.
' Altho' it fall and die that night,
' It was the plant and flower of light.
' In ſmall proportions we juſt beauties ſee,
' And in ſhort meaſures life may perfect be.'

The third counterturn of ten.

' Call, noble Lucius, then for wine,
' And let thy looks with gladneſs ſhine;
' Accept this garland, plant it on thy head,
' And think, nay know, thy Moriſon's not dead.
' He leapt the preſent age,
' Poſſeſt with holy rage,
' To ſee that bright, eternal day,
' Of which we prieſts and poets ſay
' Such truths as we expect for happy men,
' And there he lives with memory, and Ben.'

The third ſtand of twelve.

' Jonſon, who ſung thus of him e'er he went
' Himſelf to reſt,
' Or taſte a part of that full joy he meant
' To have expreſt,
' In this bright aſteriſm!
' Where it were friendſhip's ſchiſm
' (Were not his Lucius long with us to tarry)
' To ſeparate theſe twi-
' lights, the Dioſcuri;
' And keep the one half from his Harry.
' But Fate did ſo alternate the deſign,
' Whilſt that in heav'n, this light on earth muſt ſhine.'

The reader will be before-hand with me in obſerving, that the ſtructure of this ode is a little different from that of the Ancients, as laid down by the Scholiaſt above cited, who ſuppoſes the *Epode* to be always the leſſer ſtanza, or to contain fewer verſes than either the *Strophe*, or *Antiſtrophe*; but this is a miſtake of the Scholiaſt; for the epodes of Pindar are various, ſome falling ſhort, ſome being equal, and others exceeding the *Strophe* in the number of verſes. Jonſon therefore has not deviated from the original, in making his ſtand longer than the *turn* and *counter-turn* by the addition of a couplet. To conclude from what has been ſaid, the ancient regularity of theſe kind of compoſitions is ſufficiently evident, as well as our poet's learning and knowledge in ancient criticiſm; and hence we are taught what to think of thoſe heaps of lines of all lengths and ſizes, which have been paſſed upon the world for tranſlations, or imitations of Pindar, that they are no better than ſo many caricaturas, or diſtorted likeneſſes, of the great original.

[*KK*] *Not to cloſe this memoir without a copy of them*] As we have ſucceeded in our enquiry for theſe verſes, they are inſerted here by way of ſupplement to Mr Whalley's edition of our author's works. The addreſs is as follows:

TO MY CHOSEN FRIEND,

The learned Tranſlator of LUCAN,

THOMAS MAY, *Eſq;*

' When Rome I read thee in thy mighty paire,
' And ſee both climbing up the ſlippery ſtaire
' Of fortune's wheel, by Lucan driv'n about,
' And the world in it, I begin to doubt,
' At every line ſome pin thereof ſhould ſlacke
' At leaſt, if not the general engine cracke.
' But when again I view the parts ſo peiz'd,
' And thoſe in number ſo, and meaſure rais'd;
' As neither Pompey's popularity,
' Cæſar's ambition, Cato's liberty,
' Calme Brutus tenor ſtart, but all along
' Keep due proportion in the ample ſong.
' It makes me, raviſh'd with juſt wonder, cry,
' What muſe, or rather god of harmony,
' Taught Lucan theſe true moods? Replyes my ſenſe,
' What gods but thoſe of arts and eloquence?
' Phœbus and Hermes? they whoſe tongue or pen,
' Are ſtill th' interpreters betwixt gods and men.
' But who hath them interpreted, and brought
' Lucan's whole frame unto us, and ſo wrought,
' As not the ſmalleſt joint, or gentleſt word,
' In the great maſs, or machine, there is ſtirr'd.

believe that he had a deſign to write an epic poem, and was to call it *Chrologia*; *or the Worthies of his Country*, all in couplets, as he deteſted all other rhime *(i i)*. 'Tis likewiſe ſaid, that he actually wrote a diſcourſe on poetry, both againſt Campion and Daniel, eſpecially the laſt, where he proved couplets to be the beſt ſort of verſes *(k k)*. (k k) Ibid.

(i i) Heads of a converſation taken by Drummond, ubi ſupra. He ſeems alſo to have formed the plan of a Geographical Account, or Preſent State of Scotland; by which he was ſupplied by this friend with ſeveral materials, whereof ſome curious ones were ſent in a letter to Jonſon, dated July 1, 1619, printed, p. 365, & ſeq. among *The Familiar Epiſtles*, at the end of *Drumm. of's Hiſtory of Scotland*, ſecond edit. Lond. 1682. N. B. This was probably the occaſion of Jonſon's journey to Scotland mentioned in the text.

' The ſelf-ſame genius, ſo the work will ſay,
' The ſunne tranſlated, or the ſonne of MAY.

' Your true friend to Judgment,

BEN JONSON *.

* So his name is ſpelt in the title-page of his *Execration upon Vulcan*; yet in the print of his head prefixed it is wrote Johnſon.

We are informed by Wood, that after Ben's death this May put in for the Laureat's place, but was ſet aſide for D'avenant, and afterwards became a great enemy to the King's cauſe (110), and wrote a hiſtory of the Long Parliament, in defence of their proceedings againſt his Majeſty, before which is his picture, with the head laureated, (111) P

(110) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 413.

(111) Ibid. col. 415.

JUXON or JUXTON [WILLIAM], ſucceſſively Biſhop of Hereford and London, and Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the laſt century; was the ſon of Richard Juxon of Chicheſter in Suſſex [*A*], and born within that city in the year 1582 *(a)*. He received his education at Merchant-Taylors ſchool in London, and from thence was elected Fellow of St John's college at Oxford in 1598, where, applying himſelf to the ſtudy of the Civil-Law, he took the degree of Bachelor in that faculty July 5, 1603 *(b)*, being about that time a ſtudent in Gray's-Inn. But Law did not ſo wholly engroſs his thoughts, as to make him neglect other branches of learning, particularly Divinity. For, entering ſoon after into Orders, he became in 1609 Vicar of St Giles's near his college; where he officiated about ſix years, and was much admired for his plain and improving way of preaching *(c)*. He was alſo for ſome time Rector of Somerton in Oxfordſhire *(d)*. On the 29th of November 1621, he was elected Preſident of St John's college, upon the reſignation of Dr William Laud, newly promoted to the biſhopric of St David's *(e)*. And, on the 12th of December following, took the degree of Doctor of Laws *(f)*. He executed the office of Vice-chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford in the years 1626 and 1627 *(g)*. About the ſame time he was appointed one of the Chaplains in Ordinary to King Charles I. who conferred on him, January 7, 1627-8, the Deanery of Worceſter, he being then alſo Prebendary of Chicheſter *(b)*. Through the intereſt of Biſhop Laud, who had been the chief inſtrument of his former promotions, he was ſworn Clerk of the Cloſet to his Majeſty [*B*], on the 10th of July, 1632 *(i)*. And, through the ſame intereſt, he was nominated and elected to the Biſhopric of Hereford in 1633; but, before conſecration, tranſlated to the See of London [*C*], vacant by the advancement of Biſhop Laud to the Archbiſhopric of Canterbury. He was alſo made Dean of the Royal Chapels, and ſworn one of the Privy-Council *(k)*. Thus far his preferments were very ſuitable, and ſeemed to have given umbrage to no one: but his exaltation to the office of Lord High-Treaſurer procured him much envy [*D*], as it did implacable rage and malice againſt his

(a) Wood Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 1144.

(b) Idem, Vol. I. Faſti, col. 165.

(c) Idem, Athenæ, ut ſupra.

(d) Whitelock's Memorials, edit. 1732. p. 24.

(e) Wood, Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 305.

(f) Idem, Faſti, ut ſupra, col. 219.

(g) Idem, Hiſt. & Ant. L. ii. p. 435. and J. Le Neve's Faſti, p. 464.

(b) J. Le Neve, p. 301. Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Eſq; Vol. I. p. 659.

(i) See the Archbiſhop's Diary, in his Life by Mr H. Wharton: and in Rushworth's Hiſtor. Coll. Vol. II. edit. 1680. p. 139. and Wood Ath. ut ſupra, col. 1145.

(k) Willis, p. 525. P. Heylin's Life of Abp Laud, edit. 1671. p. 248.

[*A*] *Was the ſon of Richard Juxon of Chicheſter.*] Which Richard was ſon of John Juxon of London (1).

(1) Wood, Ath. ut ſupra.

[*B*] *Through the intereſt of biſhop Laud—he was ſworn clerk of the cloſet to his Majeſty.*] This appears from the following entry in biſhop's Laud's diary, under the year 1632. 'July 10. Dr Juxon, the Dean of 'Worceſter, at my ſuit, ſworn Clerk of his Majeſty's 'cloſet; that I might have one that I might truſt near 'his Majeſty, if I grew weak or infirm, as I muſt have 'a time.'

[*C*] *Tranſlated to the See of London.*] His election was confirmed October 23, 1633. He was conſecrated the 27th of the ſame month, and inthronized the 5th of November following (2). In this ſtation, as D. Lloyd expreſſes it (3), the Biſhop, 'being to have St 'Paul's combat with beaſts, he uſed St Paul's art, *be-'came all things to all*; and, (as thoſe that were of 'old expoſed to beaſts,) overcame by yielding; being 'moſt mild, and moſt vigilant; a lamb, and a ſhep-'herd: The delight of the Engliſh nation, whoſe 'reverence was the only thing all factions agreed *in*, 'all allowing that honor to the ſweetneſs of his man-'ners, that ſome denied to the ſacredneſs of his func-'tion; being by love, what another is in pretence, an 'univerſal Biſhop.'

(2) J. Le Neve, as above, p. 281.

(3) Memoirs of thoſe that ſuffered, &c. Lond. 1668, fol. p. 596.

[*D*] *But his exaltation to the office of Lord High-Treaſurer, procured him much envy, &c.*] This high office was alſo obtained for him by Archbiſhop Laud's intereſt, as appears by this entry in the Archbiſhop's Diary. '1635, March 6, Sunday, William Juxon, 'Lord Biſhop of London, made Lord High-Treaſurer 'of England, no church-man had it ſince Henry the '7th's time (4): I pray God bleſs him to carry it ſo, 'that the Church may have honour, and the King 'and the State ſervice and contentment by it: And 'now if the Church will not hold up themſelves, *under 'God I can do no more.*' (5) —— But 'though Biſhop Juxon had Abilities for that place, and an Integrity that his enemies could never queſtion, yet his education and order made it a moſt invidious honour to him: The nobility thought themſelves injured; and moſt of the courtiers had their peculiar indignation;' as Biſhop Kennett obſerves. (6) This promotion, therefore, was but a wrong and unadviſed ſtep, even in the judgment of King Charles's friends. Let us hear what Lord Clarendon ſays upon that occaſion. 'The Treaſurer's 'is the greateſt office of benefit in the kingdom, and 'the chief in precedence next *the* Archbiſhop's, and 'the Great Seal; ſo that the eyes of all men were at 'gaze who ſhould have this great office; and the 'greateſt of the nobility, who were in the chiefeſt 'employments, looked upon it as the prize of one of 'them; ſuch offices commonly making way for more 'removes, and preferments; when on a ſudden the 'ſtaff was put into the hands of the Biſhop of Lon-'don, a man ſo unknown, that his name was ſcarce 'heard of in the kingdom, who had been, within two 'years before, but a private chaplain to the king, and 'the preſident of a poor college in Oxford. This in-'flamed more men than were angry before, and no 'doubt did not only ſharpen the edge of envy and 'malice againſt the Archbiſhop, (who was the known 'architect of this new fabrick) but moſt unjuſtly indiſ-'poſed many towards the Church itſelf; which they 'looked upon as the gulph ready to ſwallow all the 'great offices, there being others in view, of that 'robe, who were ambitious enough to expect the reſt. 'In the mean time the Archbiſhop himſelf was infi-'nitely pleaſed with what was done, and unhappily 'believed he had provided a ſtronger ſupport for the 'Church.' (7) — To the ſame purpoſe ſpeaks Dr P. Heylin. Upon the death of Jerom Weſton Earl of Portland, Lord Treaſurer, Archbiſhop Laud being appointed one of the commiſſioners of the Treaſury, 'carries on the commiſſion the whole year about, ac-'quaints himſelf with the myſteries and ſecrets of it, 'viz. the honeſt advantages which the Lord Treaſu-'rers had for inriching themſelves (to the value of ſe-'ven

(6) Complete Hiſt. of Engl. Vol. III. p. 82. edit. 1719.

(4) Henry the VIth, viz. anno 1454, when William Grey Biſhop of Ely was poſſeſſed of it.

(5) See Rushworth, as above, Vol. II. p. 288.

(7) Hiſt. of the Rebellion, edit. 1732, 8vo. Vol. I. p. 99.

his promoter Archbiſhop Laud. However, laying paſſion and prejudice aſide, Biſhop Juxon is univerſally allowed to have been one of the beſt and moſt unexceptionable perſons that ever filled the place of High-Treaſurer in England. He enjoyed that office 'till the beginning of the troubles; namely, 'till May 1641, when he reſigned the Treaſurer's ſtaff (*l*): finding it unſafe to ſtand in ſo high and ſlippery a poſt any longer. Then he ſhared the common fate of the epiſcopal clergy; but, by reaſon of his meekneſs, and genteel as well as inoffenſive behaviour, was ſpared longer than any of his brethren, not being deprived 'till 1649 (*m*). And ſo well had he behaved in his employments, that neither as Biſhop or Treaſurer came there any one accuſation againſt him in the Long-Parliament, whoſe ears were open, nay itching, after ſuch complaints (*n*). As he wiſely and timely withdrew from the ſtorm, he enjoyed the greateſt tranquillity of any man in the three kingdoms, throughout the calamities of the civil wars. For he continued moſtly undiſturbed, 'till the period juſt now mentioned, at his houſe in Fulham; where he was ſometimes viſited by the greateſt perſons, and found reſpect from all, though he walked ſteadily in his old paths. And he retained ſo much of his maſter's favour, that his Majeſty conſulted him upon many occaſions (*o*) [*E*]. His advice was always plain and ſincere; and, if followed, might have kept the King from thoſe moſt dangerous precipices in which he fell. Thus, for inſtance, when the bills for the continuance of the Parliament, and the attainder of the Earl of Strafford, had paſſed both Houſes, and King Charles was in the utmoſt perplexity and doubt about giving the royal aſſent thereto; Biſhop Juxon reſolutely told his Majeſty, that if he were not ſatisfied in his conſcience, he ought not to do it (*p*) [*F*]. In 1648, he was one of thoſe divines who attended upon the King, at the

(*l*) Whitelock's Memorials, as above, p. 46.

(*m*) D. Lloyd's Memoirs of thoſe that ſuffered, from 1637 to 1660, &c. Lond. 1668, fol. p. 696.

(*n*) Sir Ph. Warwick's Memoirs, edit. 1701. p. 95.

(*o*) Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, edit. 1732, 8vo. Vol. I. p. 2. and Sir Ph. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 95.

(*p*) Dr Nalſon's impart. Collection, Vol II. p. 192. and Ruſhworth's Hiſt. Collect. Vol. IV. p. 262. and Vol. VIII. p. 755.

'ven thouſand pound a year and upwards, as I have 'heard from his own mouth) without defrauding the 'king, or abuſing the ſubject. He had obſerved, that 'divers Treaſurers of late years had raiſed themſelves 'from very mean and private fortunes to the titles and 'eſtates of earls, which he conceived could not be done 'without wrong to both; and therefore he reſolves to 'commend ſuch a man to his Majeſty for the next 'Lord Treaſurer, who having no family to raiſe, no 'wife and children to provide for, might better manage the incomes of the Treaſury to the King's advantage than they had been formerly. And who 'more likely to come into his eye for that preferment 'than Juxon, his old and truſty friend, then Biſhop of 'London; a man of ſuch a well tempered diſpoſition 'as gave exceeding great content both to Prince and 'People, and one whom he knew capable of as much 'inſtruction as by a whole year's experience in the 'commiſſion for the Treaſury he was able to give him. 'It was much wondered at, when firſt the ſtaff was 'put into this man's hand; in doing whereof the 'Archbiſhop was generally conceived neither to have 'conſulted his own preſent peace nor his future ſafety. 'Had he ſtudied his own preſent peace, he ſhould have 'given Cottington leave to put in for it, who being 'Chancellor of the Exchequer pretended himſelf to be 'the next in that aſcendant, the Lord Treaſurer's aſſociate while he lived, and the preſumptive heir to 'that office after his deceaſe. And had he ſtudied his 'own ſafety and preſervation for the times to come, 'he might have made uſe of the power by recommending the ſtaff to the Earls of Bedford, Hertford, 'Eſſex, the Lord Say, or ſome ſuch man of popular 'Nobility; by whom he might have been reciprocated by their ſtrength and intereſs with the people in 'the change of times. But he preferred his Majeſtie's advantages before his particular concernments, 'the ſafety of the publick before his own. Nor did 'he want ſome ſeaſonable conſiderations in it for the 'good of the Church. The peace and quiet of the 'Church depended much on the conformity of the 'city of London, and London did as much depend in 'their trade and payments upon the love and juſtice of the Lord Treaſurer of England. This therefore was the more likely way to conform the citizens 'to the directions of their Biſhop, and the whole kingdom unto them; no ſmall encouragement being thereby given to the London Clergy for the improving of 'their Tythes. For with what confidence could any 'of the old cheats adventure on a publick examination in the Court of Exchequer (the proper court for 'ſuits and grievances of that nature) when a Lord 'Biſhop of London ſate therein as the principal judge? 'Upon theſe counſels he proceeds, and obtains the 'ſtaff, which was delivered to the Biſhop of London 'on Sunday March 6, ſworn on the ſame day Privy-'Counſellor, and on the firſt of the next term con-'ducted in great ſtate from London-houſe to Weſtmin-'ſter-hall, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury riding by 'him, and moſt of the Lords and Biſhops about the 'town, with many gentlemen of chief note and quality, following by two and two to make up the pomp. 'It was much feared by ſome, and hoped by others, 'that the new Treaſurer would have ſunk under the 'burden of that place, as Williams did under the cuſtody of the Seal: but he deceived them both in that 'expectation, carrying himſelf with ſuch an even and 'ſteady hand, that every one applauded, but none envied his preferment to it; inſomuch as the then 'Lord Faulkland, in a bitter ſpeech againſt the Biſhops, 'about the beginning of the Long Parliament, could 'not chuſe but give him this fair teſtimony, viz. '*That in an unexpected place and power he expreſſed 'an equal moderation and humility, being neither ambitious before, nor proud after, either of the crozier 'or white ſtaff.*' (8) How great his Honeſty and Abilities were, appears from this undeniable inſtance; that by his prudent management, in leſs than five years, he lodged nine hundred thouſand pounds in the Exchequer (9)

(8) Heylin's Cyprianus Anglicanus, or Life of Abp Laud, &c. p. 285, &c.

(9) R. Coke's Detection, &c. edit. 1719. Vol. I. p. 324.

[*E*] *That his Majeſty conſulted him upon many occaſions.*] 'I remember, ſays Sir Ph. Warwick, (10) 'that the King, being buſy in diſpatching ſome letters with his own pen, commanded me to wait on 'the Biſhop, and to bring him back his opinion in a 'certaine affaire: I humbly pray'd his Majeſtie, that I 'might rather bring him with me, leaſt I ſhould not 'expreſſe his Majeſtie's ſenſe fully, nor bring back his 'ſo ſignificantly, as he meant it; and becauſe there 'might be need for him further to explain himſelfe, 'and leaſt he ſhould not ſpeake freely to me: To 'which the King replied, *Go, as I bid you, if he will 'ſpeak freely to any body, he will ſpeak freely to you: 'This* (the King ſaid) *I will ſay of him, I never gott 'his opinion freely in my life, but when I had it, I was 'ever the better for it.*'

(10) Memoirs, p. 95, 96.

[*F*] *Biſhop Juxon reſolutely told his Majeſty, that if he were not ſatisfied in his conſcience, he ought not to do it.*] The King being much perplexed, upon the Parliament's tendring to him the two bills, *For the attainder of the Earl of Strafford*; and *the Continuance of that Parliament*; between the clamours of a diſcontented people, and an unſatisfied conſcience, he took advice of the Judges, and of ſeveral of the Biſhops, (11) what to do in this intricate affair. Biſhop Juxon, as is ſaid above, adviſed his Majeſty not to do any thing againſt his conſcience, upon any conſideration in the world: But J. Williams Biſhop of Lincoln, made a diſtinction between a private and a public conſcience. (12) And the major part of the Biſhops, and of the King's intimate counſellors, urged on by the Queen's fears, preſſed his Majeſty to comply with the opinions of the Judges and the Votes of the Parliament; alledging, that no other expedient could be found out to appeaſe the enraged people; and that the conſequences of a furious multitude would be very terrible. Upon all which he was perſuaded to paſs the Bills. (13) —— But, as the King afterwards well obſerved, — 'It is 'a bad

(11) Namely, Uſher Abp of Armagh, Morton Bp of Durham, Potter of Carliſle, Williams of Lincoln, and Juxon. D. Lloyd, as above, p. 44.

(12) Lord Clarendon, as above, Vol. I. p. 257.

(13) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 45. Warwick's Memoirs, as above, p. 163. and Sir Roger Manley's Hiſt. of the Rebellions, edit. 1691. p. 19.

the treaty in the Isle of Wight (*q*): and, by his Majesty's particular desire, waited upon him at Westminster, January 21, 1648-9, which (as the King said) was 'no small re-'freshing to his spirit, especially in that his uncomfortable condition.' The most part of that day was spent by the good Bishop in prayer and preaching to the King (*r*). From that time he frequently waited upon his Majesty [*G*], 'till the 30th day of the same month. On that fatal day, he attended his royal master upon the scaffold, having prayed with and preached before him, and also administred to him the Sacrament. After that King's barbarous murther, the pious and sorrowful Bishop retired to his own manor of Little-Compton in Gloucestershire; where he spent several years in a retired and devout condition, and now and then, for health's sake, rode a hunting with some of the neighbouring and loyal gentry (*s*) [*H*]. At the Restoration, he was deservedly set at the head of the Church of England [*I*], being translated to the Archbishopric of Canterbury in September 1660 [*K*]. He repaired very much his palace at Lambeth, and built the great hall

(*q*) Warwick's Memoirs, p. 321.

(*r*) Sir Tho. Herbert's Memoirs, 8vo. Lond. 1702. p. 113.

(*s*) Wood Ath. as above; and Whitelock's Memorials, p. 24.

'a bad *exchange* to wound a man's own conscience, 'thereby to salve State-sores; to calm the storms of 'popular discontents, by stirring up a tempest in a 'man's own bosom. Nor hath God's justice failed in 'the event and sad consequences, to shew the world 'the fallacie of that maxim, *Better one man perish '(though unjustly) than the people bee displeased, or 'destroied*. In all likelihood, adds he, I could never 'have suffered, with my people, greater calamities, '(yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Strafford*'s 'innocencie, at least by denying to sign that destruc-'tive Bill, according to that justice, which my con-'science suggested to mee, then I have don since I gra-'tified som mens unthankful importunities with so cruel 'a favor. And I have observed, that those, who coun-'selled mee to sign that bill (14), have been so far 'from receiving the rewards of such ingratiateings 'with the people, that no men have been harrassed 'and crushed more than they. Hee only hath been 'least vexed by them (15), who counselled mee not to 'consent against the vote of my own conscience.'— (16) Irresolution, and want of steddiness, at first, was the ruin of K. Charles's affairs. For, had he stood unmoveable upon some occasions, especially against the Bill for perpetuating the Parliament, he would never have been plunged into those miseries, which He and these Kingdoms fell into: But all differences might have been amicably adjusted between him and his people, before they came to those dangerous extremes. In some cases a Prince ought not to yield, unless it is plainly right. This our late King William of glorious and immortal memory was well apprized of. For, when the Bill *touching free and impartial proceedings in Parliament*, was offered to him for the royal assent, he rejected it one year after another, though the Clerk of Parliament read the title of it two or three times times successively. (17)

(14) The Judges and Bishops abovenamed.

(15) Viz. Bishop Juxon.

(16) Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, chap. ii.

(17) See Kennet's Hist. of England, edit. 1719. Vol. III. p. 699.

[*G*] *From that time he frequently waited upon his Majesty.*] We shall here lay together before the Reader, what passed between Majesty and the Bishop, 'till his Majesty's death. On the 27th of January, the last day of the King's trial, and before he was carried into Westminster-hall, he and the Bishop were private near an hour, at Cotton-house. The same night, after sentence, Col Hacker, who commanded the guards at St James's about the King, would have placed two musqueteers in the King's bed-chamber; but Bishop Juxon and Mr Herbert apprehending the disturbance it would give the King in his meditations, never left the Colonel 'till he had reversed his order by withdrawing those men. The King now bidding farewel to the world, spent the remainder of his time in prayer and other exercises of devotion, and in conference with that meek and learned Bishop, who, under God, was a great support and comfort to him in his afflicted condition. That evening the Bishop prayed with him, and read some select chapters out of the holy Scripture. The next morning, being Sunday Jan. 28, Bishop Juxon was early with the King, prayed with him, and preached on Rom. ii. 16. Monday Jan. 29, his Lordship spent also most part of the day with his Majesty, and prayed with him, not taking leave of him 'till some hours after night; and, at parting, the King desired him to come early the next morning. He came accordingly at the appointed hour; and, after having continued a considerable time in prayer and meditation, attended his Majesty from St James's to Whitehall, walking through the Park on the King's right hand. When they came to Whitehall, he prayed there again with his Majesty in his cabinet-chamber, and administered the sacrament to him. (18) To conclude this melancholy scene, he attended the King upon the scaffold, where these words passed between them.

(18) Sir Tho. Herbert's Memoirs, printed in 1702, 8vo. See also Wood's Athen. edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 693, &c.

Dr Juxon. 'Will your Majesty (though it may be 'very well known your Majestie's affections to religion, 'yet it may be expected that you should) say somewhat 'for the world's satisfaction.'

King. 'I thank you very heartily (my Lord), for 'that, I had almost forgotten it. In troth, Sirs, my 'conscience in Religion, I think, is very well known 'to all the world; and, therefore, I declare before 'you all, that I die a Christian, according to the pro-'fession of the Church of England, as I found it left 'me by my father; and this honest man,* I think, 'will witness it.'

* Pointing to Dr Juxon. He had called him before, in this last speech, *a good man*.

His Majesty then called to Dr Juxon for his night-cap, and having put it on, he said to the executioner, Does my hair trouble you? — And then turning to Dr Juxon, the King said, 'I have a good cause, and a 'gracious God on my side.'

Dr Juxon. 'There is but one stage more. This 'stage is turbulent and troublesome; it is a short one: 'But you may consider it will soon carry you a very 'great way: it will carry you from earth to heaven; 'and there you shall find a great deal of cordiall joy 'and comfort.'

King. 'I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible 'crown; where no disturbance can be, no disturbance 'in the world.'

Dr Juxon. 'You are exchanged from a temporal 'to an eternal crown, a good exchange.'

Then the King took off his cloke and his George, giving his George to Dr Juxon, saying, Remember — (19) After the execution, the pious Bishop took care of the King's body, and accompanied it to the royal chapel at Windsor; standing ready, with the Common-prayer-book in his hands, to have performed his last duty to his kind master: but was not permitted by Col. Whitchcott, governor of the castle. (20)

(19) From the Account published by authority, 1649, 4to.

(20) Herbert, as above.

[*H*] *Rode a hunting with some of the neighbouring and loyal gentry.*] Mr Whitelock tells us, that Dr Juxon 'was much delighted with hunting, and kept 'a pack of good hounds, and had them so well or-'dered, and hunted, and chiefly by his own skill and 'direction, that they exceeded all other hounds in 'England, for the pleasure and orderly hunting of 'them. He was a person of great parts and temper, 'and had as much command of himself, as of his 'hounds. (21)

(21) Memorials, p. 24.

[*I*] *He was deservedly set at the head of the Church of England.*] Such was the general voice and opinion of the nation. But the late Bishop Burnet, who gives in general a bad or a mean character of the Royalists, especially if they are of the clergy, thinks that Bishop Juxon did not *deserve* that advancement. His words are these. 'At the Restoration, Juxon, the ancientest 'and most eminent of the former Bishops, who had 'assisted the late King in his last hours, was promoted 'to Canterbury, more out of decency, than that he 'was then capable to fill that post; for as he was never 'a great divine; so he was now superannuated.' (22) The most bookish man, or the most loaden with learning, though it be divinity, is far from being always the fittest to fill that high post. And if Bishop Juxon's age was great, he being then 78, it does not appear by any action of his that he had lost his understanding. So that the Bishop's reflection is unjust, at least undecent.

(22) Hist. of his own Time, edit. 1724. Vol. I. p. 176.

[*K*] *Being translated to the Archbishoprick of Canterbury in* 1660.] The *Conge d'elire* was granted September 3. He was elected Sept. 13, and confirmed in King

hall [*L*]. Alſo he augmented the vicarages, of which the great tithes were appropriated to his ſee (*t*) [*M*]. But being broken with age and infirmities, and eſpecially with the moſt racking torture of the ſtone, he died June 4, 1663, aged 81, and was buried the 9th of the ſame month, in St John's-college chapel, Oxon. by the ſide of Archbiſhop Laud. He bequeathed 7000 pounds to that college, which were afterwards laid out in the purchaſe of an eſtate of 350 pounds per annum. He left alſo 100 pounds to the poor of St Giles's pariſh in Oxford, the like to four other pariſhes; and ſums for the repair of St Paul's and Canterbury cathedrals, and other charitable uſes, in all to the amount of near 5000 pounds (*u*). His contemporaries give him the following character; That he was a comely perſon; of an active and lively diſpoſition; of great parts and temper; full of ingenuity and meekneſs, not apt to give offence to any, and willing to do good to all (*w*): of great moderation, ſincerity, and integrity; inſomuch, that he was the delight of his time, and extorted a reverence and reſpect from thoſe very perſons who had deſtroyed and ruined his Order (*x*). In a word, he was a man of primitive ſanctity, wiſdom, piety, learning, patience, charity, and all apoſtolical virtues (*y*). He publiſhed but a very few things [*N*].

(*t*) Bp Kennett's Caſe of Impropriations, &c. p. 256, 257.

(*u*) J. Le Neve's Lives of the Proteſtant Biſhops, edit. 1720, 8vo. Vol. I. p. 161, 162, and Wood Hiſt. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. ut ſupra, p. 384.

(*w*) Whitelock, p. 24.

(*x*) See Calamy's Continuat. Vol. I. p. 218. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 48. and Warwick's Memoirs, p. 94, 95.

(*y*) Publick Intelligence, No. 39.

[redacted] King Henry VIIth's chapel at Weſtminſter, September 20 (23)

(23) Kennett's Regiſter, &c. edit. 1728, p. 252.

[*L*] *And built the great hall.*] He rebuilt it in the antient [illegible] not be perſuaded to rebuild it in the modern way, and unite it to the Library, tho' it would have coſt leſs money. He expended in buildings and repairs at Lambeth-palace and Croydon-houſe 142*l.* 7*s.* 10*d.* Notwithſtanding which, his ſucceſſor Archbiſhop Sheldon ſued Sir Wm Juxon his executor in the court of Arches for dilapidations, and, 24th May 1667, recovered of him 800*l.* more. (24)

(24) Aubrey's Surrey, Vol. V. p. 273.

[*M*] *Alſo he augmented vicarages, &c.*] The vicarages augmented by him, and the ſums, were as follow.—In the county of *Kent*: He added to Aſh (beſides the old penſion of 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* *per annum*. To Beauxfield, alias Whitfield, 20*l.* To Buckland, 12*l.* To Brabourn, 16*l.* To Challock, 10*l.* To Colrade, 20*l.* To Eaſton, 10*l.* To Hougham near Dover, 25*l.* To twelve or thirteen Vicarages, or Curacies, belonging formerly to the Priory of St Gregory's in Canterbury, 210*l.* To Gulſton, 10*l.* To Ledes and Bromfield, 30*l.* beſides the old Penſion of 22*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* To Maidſtone, 37*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* beyond the former penſion of 20*l.* To Marden, 20*l.* St Margaret's Cliff, 26*l.* St Laurence in Thanet, 40*l.* St Nicolas in the ſame iſland, 30*l.* Lydden, 18*l.* Nunnington, 20*l.* Overland, 10*l.* Reculver, 20*l.* Sibbard's-wold, 20*l.* Sutton-eaſt, 24*l.* Tonge, 10*l.* Walderſhare, 20*l.* Walmer, 20*l.* Weſtwell, 30*l.* Wotton, 40*l.* and to Folkſton, 60*l.* beſides the old penſion of 20*l.* — In Buckinghamſhire; to Brickhill-Parva, 14*l.*—In Suſſex; to Portſlade, 16*l.* — In Lancaſhire; to Blackbourn, 70*l.* for Vicars, beyond the old Penſion of 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* To Rochdale, to the Curates, 42*l.* Whaley, 120*l.* to Curates. In all 1103*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* a year. (25)

(25) Kennett's Caſe of Impropriations, as above; and J. Le Neve's Lives of the Proteſtant Biſhops, &c. Vol. I. p. 158, &c.

[*N*] *He publiſhed but a very few things.*] Ant. Wood ſays, he hath extant only one Sermon on Luke xviii. 31. (26) But Biſhop Kennet aſcribes alſo to him, (27) a treatiſe intituled, 'Χαρὶς καὶ Εἰρήνη. Or ſome 'Conſiderations upon the Act of Uniformity. With 'an expedient for the ſatisfaction of the Clergy within 'the Province of Canterbury. By a Servant of the 'God of Peace.' Lond. 1662, 4to. And, a 'Catalogue of Books in England, alphabetically digeſted,' Lond. 1658, 4to, bears likewiſe Biſhop Juxon's name, in one of Mr Thomas Oſborne's Catalogues. (28)

(26) Athen. ut ſupra, col. 1146.

(27) Regiſter and Chronicle, &c. p. 812.

(28) See Mr T. Oſborne's Catalogue for 1755, p. 40.

C

K.

KAYE, KEYE, CAY, or CAIUS [*A*] [JOHN], a very learned Engliſh Phyſician in the XVI. century, and co-founder of Gonevile and Caius-College in Cambridge, was the ſon of Robert Keye [*B*], and born at Norwich, Octob. 6, 1510. After having received his ſchool-education in that city, he was admitted very young into Gonevile-hall in Cambridge, of which he became Fellow (*a*); and at the age of 21, commenced author [*C*]. For his further improvement he went, according to the cuſtom of that age, into Italy, and ſtudied Phyſick in the univerſity of Padua under the learned Johannes Baptiſta Montanus, the moſt eminent Phyſician of his time (*b*). He ſoon became ſo eminent in his faculty, that he was Reader of Phyſick at Padua for ſeveral years, and a ſingular ornament to that univerſity (*c*). He took his degree of Doctor firſt at Bononia [*D*], and read public Greek Lectures at Padua, eſpecially about the year 1542, being the 32d of his age *. In 1543 he travelled through the greateſt part of Italy, Germany, and France (*d*). Upon his return to England, he commenced Doctor of Phyſick at Cambridge, and practiſed with ſuch induſtry and ſucceſs, at Shrewſbury (*e*), and at Norwich (*f*), that he came to be reputed one of the beſt Phyſicians in the nation. And, on that account, was ſucceſſively made Phyſician to K. Edward VI. Q. Mary I. and for many years to Q. Elizabeth. In 1547, he was admitted Fellow of the College of Phyſicians in London; and, afterwards, paſſed with applauſe through all the offices of that learned body, having for ſeveral years been choſen Cenſor, often Regiſter and Treaſurer, and for ſeven years or more, Preſident of that royal foundation. He was the firſt inventor of thoſe enſigns of honour, by which the Preſident of the College is diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the Fellows [*E*]. Upon all occaſions, he proved an earneſt and zealous defender of the College Rights and Privileges [*F*]. And ſo religious was he in obſerving its ſtatutes; that,

(*a*) F. Blomefield's Eſſay towards a Hiſtory of Norfolk, Vol. II. p. 210, 212. T. Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 133. and Worthies, in Norwich, p. 275.

(*b*) J. Pits de Illuſtribus Angliæ Scriptoribus, edit. Paris, 1619, p. 755, vel ætas xvi. No. 1007. & Caius de Libris propriis, p. 133, 138. edit. Lond. 1729, 8vo.

(*c*) R. Parker's Hiſt. of Cambridge, edit. 1721, 8vo. p. 75.

* See his book De Ephemeris Britannicâ, &c de Libris propriis, p. 163.

(*d*) De Libris propriis, p. 194, 201.

(*e*) See his book De Ephemeris, &c. and Freind's Hiſtory of Phyſick, as below, note [*Q*].

(*f*) Blomefield, as above, p. 211.

[*A*] *KAYE, KEYE, CAY, or CAIUS.*] Dr Freind writes his name *Kaye*; (1) others *Key*, or *Keye*, and Mr Blomefield tells us, (2) that the latter was his true name. The Doctor himſelf, according to the faſhion of his age, latinized it into *Caius*, which others have engliſhed into *Cay*.

(1) Hiſtory of Phyſick, Part ii. p. 408. edit. 1726.

(2) Eſſay towards a Hiſtory of Norfolk, Vol. II. p. 210.

[*B*] *Was the Son of Robert Keye.*] R. Parker, (3) and T. Fuller, (4) ſay, that this Robert Keye, alias Caius, was of Yorkſhire, or a Yorkſhire man. But Mr Blomefield informs us, that, 'as far as ever he 'could learn, it is without foundation. For, as he 'goes on, it is evident he was not of the ſame family 'with Thomas Key or Cay of Oxford, who was deſcended from the Yorkſhire family of Woodſome: '(5) whoſe book, intituled *Aſſertio Antiquitatis Oxonienſis Academiæ*, our Caius anſwered in his book intituled, *De Antiquitate Cantabrigienſis Academiæ*, 'under the name of *Londinenſis*, in 1568, reprinted 'under his own name in 1574; to which Thomas 'wrote a Reply, [publiſhed by T. Hearne, in 1730.] '(6) So that there being no relation between them, 'I am apt to believe he was of the Norfolk family of 'that name, who had been ſettled in Norwich, and 'different places in this county, a long time, though 'in truth of no great fortunes; which appears to me 'the more likely, our Caius not ſo much as pretending (that I can find) to bear any arms from his family; 'for which reaſon, he procured a coat for his own 'bearing, with licence for his college to bear it impaled with that of Gonvile, as they do at this day; 'being, Or, ſemé of ſlips of amarant or flower-gentle, 'purple; on a pedeſtal, two ſerpents erect, with their 'tails knotted together, azure; between them, a book, 'ſable; boſſed, or; the leaves edged, gules. On it, 'a root and ſpringing branch of ſemper-vive, or houſe-'leek, proper.' (7)

(3) Hiſt. of Cambridge, as above, p. 74.

(4) Hiſt of the Univ. of Cambr. p. 133.

(5) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. edit. 1721. col. 136.

(6) Mr Blomefield by miſtake ſays, 'it was 'never printed.'

(7) Blomefield, as above, p. 210.

[*C*] *And at the age of twenty-one commenced author.*] He informs us himſelf, that, at that age, he tranſlated out of Greek into Latin *Nicephorus Calliſtus*'s Treatiſe of Confeſſion in Prayer, and another of *Chryſoſtom, de modo orandi Deum:* And out of Latin into Engliſh *Eraſmus*'s paraphraſe on Jude, and epitomized his book *de Vera Theologia*. (8)

(8) J. Cai de Libris propriis, edit. ut ſupra, p. 127, 128.

[*D*] *He took his degree of Doctor firſt at Bononia.*] For this we have the ſole authority of Dr Goodall; who adds, that our author was alſo for ſome years Greek Lecturer there. (9) But it is more probable that he was Lecturer at Padua, for which a ſalary was paid by the Republic of Venice. (10) However Dr Goodall's authority is not to be ſlighted; he having collected materials for writing Dr Caius's Life. (11)

(9) Epiſtle Dedicatory, &c. as above.

(10) Vide Caium de Libris propriis, p. 163.

[*E*] *He was the firſt inventor of thoſe enſigns of honor by which the Preſident of the college is diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the Fellows.*] Thoſe are, a Cuſhion before him, a ſilver verge, a book, and a ſeal. And that Dr Cay was the inventor of them, appears by the following memorandum entered by him in the College regiſter. *Ante hunc annum nulla a Collegio condito reddita ratio fuit acceptorum & expenſorum; nullave ſolennis ratio inſtituendi aut honorandi Præſidentem Pulvinari, Caduceo, Libro & Sigillo, aut excogitata aut uſitata; ullave deponendi munus & officium; primuſque hos honores & excogitavit Caius & uſus eſt.* (12)

(11) Jebb Dedicat. ejuſdem D. Mead. p. xv.

(12) Goodall, ubi ſup a.

[*F*] *Upon all occaſions, he proved an earneſt and zealous defender of the College Rights and Privileges.*] For inſtance, there happening, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, a difference to ariſe betwixt the Phyſicians and Surgeons; whether the Surgeons might give inward

that, though old, he durſt not abſent himſelf from the College's *comitia*, or aſſemblies, without a diſpenſation. He did another eminent ſervice to that learned body, in compiling the Annals of the College, from the year 1555 to 1572 (*g*). This book was the firſt that ever was written of their affairs, and is managed with that excellent method, clearneſs of ſtile, and fulneſs of matter, that all the memorable tranſactions of the College are there to be found entered in their due time and order (*b*). In 1557, being Phyſician to Queen Mary I. and in great favour, nay, as one expreſſes it (*i*), a moſt acceptable oracle, with her, he obtained a licence to advance the Hall, in which he had been educated, to a College [*G*]. This he accordingly performed in 1558, endowing his foundation with conſiderable eſtates [*H*], for the maintenance of three Fellows, twenty Scholars, and a Porter; and giving them a new body of ſtatutes. Moreover, he added, at his own expence, to Gonvile-hall a new ſquare, called Caius's-Court [*I*] all of durable free-ſtone, and uniform in every reſpect; the charge of which amounted to above 1834 *l.* And that this Society might the better flouriſh under his immediate care and inſpection, he accepted, on the 24th of January 1559, of the Maſterſhip of it; which he kept almoſt as long as he lived. Some little time before his deceaſe, having cauſed Dr Thomas Legge of Norwich to be placed in his room, he remained as a Fellow-commoner in his own College, aſſiſting daily at divine ſervice in a private ſeat in the chapel, which he had built for himſelf (*k*). He is ſaid by ſome authors to have been a Papiſt, or Popiſhly inclined [*K*]; and is taxed by others with being unſettled in his religion [*L*]. Beſides what hath been already ſaid of him,

(*g*) He ſeems to ſay himſelf, that he began at the year 1520, and ended at 1565. Cujus nos Annales a collegio condito ſcripſimus, & ad annum Domini 1565. ultimum Præſidentiæ noſtræ annum produximus. *De Libris propriis*, p. 142.

(*b*) Epiſtle Dedicatory to Hiſtorical Account of the College's Proceedings againſt Empiricks, &c. by C. Goodall. Lond. 1684. It is not paged.

(*i*) R. Parker, as above, p. 75.

(*k*) R. Parker, p. 81. and Blomefield, as above, p. 212.

ward remedies in the ſciatica, French-pox, or any kind of ulcer or wound, &c. Dr Caius was ſummoned (as President of the College) to appear before the Lord-Mayor and others of the Queen's Delegates; before whom he ſo learnedly defended the college-rights, and the illegality of the Surgeons practice in the foremention'd caſes, againſt the Biſhop of London, Maſter of the Rolls, &c. (who brought many arguments in behalf of the Surgeons) that it was unanimouſly agreed by the Queen's Commiſſioners, that it was unlawful for them to practiſe in the aforementioned caſes. (13)

(13) Goodall, ibid.

[*G*] *He obtained a licence to advance the Hall, in which he had been educated, to a College.*] 'Till that time Gonvile's hall was not incorporated, but had only ſeveral licences of mortmain, to receive or purchaſe lands, tenements, &c. The Maſter and Fellows did indeed ſuppoſe themſelves a corporation, though they were only incorporated by Biſhop Bateman's authority, and letters confirmed by the Chancellor of the Univerſity, and the Biſhop of Ely; which, without letters patent under the great ſeal of England, gave them no legal power to be a corporation or body politic, but were what they thought they had been, rather by the piety, goodneſs, and ſimplicity of thoſe ages, than by any right of law. Wherefore the Maſter and Fellows, by the advice of Caius, petitioned the King and Queen for a Charter of Foundation, and Confirmation of all their Rights, Eſtates, and Privileges; which was obtained by Caius, who thereby was made a Founder, and added to Gonvile and Bateman, with full power aſſigned him, to appoint Rules and Statutes, for the Maſter, Fellows, and Scholars, to obſerve and keep, provided they were not repugnant to Bateman's ſtatutes, or any way incroaching on the prerogative of the Queen, or her ſucceſſors. The ſame charter alſo impowered him to ſettle 70*l. per ann.* more, and to found two Fellows or more, and twelve Scholars or more, the College being hereafter to be called, *The College of Gonvile and Caius*; and to be incorporated by the name of, The Maſter and Fellows of Gonvile and Caius College, founded in honor of the Annunciation of the bleſſed Virgin Mary. The year following, on the feaſt of the Annunciation, Dr Caius re-dedicated and conſecrated the college to the honor of the Annunciation aforeſaid, to which it was formerly dedicated by Gonvile and Bateman, and endowed it with plate, money, books, &c. (14)

(14) Blomefield, as above, p. 211.

[*H*] *Endowing his Foundation with conſiderable eſtates.*] Namely, the manor of Croſſeley in Rickmanſworth, in Hertfordſhire, formerly parcel of the Abbey of St Alban's; the manor of Runcton in Norfolk, formerly belonging to the monaſtery of St Edmund's-bury in Suffolk; together with the patronages of Holme, and Wallington, and the manor of Burnhamthorp in Norfolk, formerly belonging to the monaſtery of Wimondham: All which eſtates, being veſted in the Crown upon the diſſolution of the Monaſteries, Dr Caius purchaſed of King Philip and Queen Mary, February 12, 1557-8, for the ſum of 1030*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* (15)—He gave, beſides, to the college, the manor of Bincombe with the Advowſon; and Woobourn in the county of Dorſet; and the manor of Crokeſley at Caxton in Cambridgeſhire.—In his will he appropriated his Fellowſhips and Scholarſhips to his own countrymen of the dioceſe and city of Norwich.

(15) Blomefield, ibid. and R. Parker, p. 75.

[*I*] *He added, at his own expence, to Gonvile-hall a new ſquare, called Caius's-Court.*] And that the gates of his new edifice might read a lecture of morality to the perſons that go through them, as one expreſſes it, (16) he cauſed that which leads into the college by St Michael's church, being low and little, to be inſcribed, *Humilitatis*, or the Gate of Humility; the next is inſcribed, *Virtutis*, the Gate of Virtue: On the other ſide of this portico, which is a piece of very good architecture, are theſe words, *Jo. Caius poſuit Sapientiæ*, 1567, i. e. 'John Caius placed this in honor of Wiſdom.' The gate on the ſouth ſide of his court, leading to the publick ſchools, is inſcribed, *Honoris*, or the Gate of Honor; which all that paſs through it for their degrees, are ſuppoſed to have attained.

(16) Blomefield, p. 212.

[*K*] *He is ſaid by ſome authors to have been a Papiſt, or Popiſhly inclined.*] T. Fuller informs us, (17) that 'ſome have fought to blaſt his memory, by reporting 'him a Papiſt,' without mentioning his authorities. But it is certain, that in 1565, three of his Fellows, whom he had expelled, drew up articles againſt him, wherein they charged him, not only with 'ſhew of a 'perverſe ſtomach to the profeſſors of the Goſpel, but 'alſo with Atheiſm.' Upon which Mr Strype obſerves, (18) that 'probably Caius thought the better to cover 'his former inſtability in religion, by throwing out 'expreſſions occaſionally, whereby he would pretend 'to have had little zeal for any religion: Or his aim 'might be, to obſcure his ſecret kindneſs for the old 'Popiſh Religion. For, that he had a kindneſs for it, 'appeared in his private reſervation of abundance of 'Popiſh trumpery — ſuch as Veſtments, Albes, Tunicles, with the Pix, Sindon, Canopy, &c.' which upon ſearch were found in his college, and burnt and defaced on the 13th of December 1572.——But it is to be remembered, that ſuch things might be kept only as matters of curioſity, without any veneration for them. — And the perſons by whom the accuſations were laid againſt him, appear to have been highly prejudiced, as well as violently exaſperated; and thought themſelves greatly injured: In ſuch a caſe, what would moſt men not ſay to blacken an enemy? Let us hear what apology T. Fuller makes for Dr Caius upon this ſubject. His being reported a Papiſt, was 'no great 'crime to ſuch who conſider the time when he was 'born, and foreign places wherein he was bred. However this I dare ſay in his juſt defence, he never mentioneth Proteſtants but with due reſpect, and ſometimes occaſionally doth condemn the ſuperſtitious credulity of *Popiſh miracles*. (19) Beſides, after he had reſigned his maſterſhip to Dr Legge,—he was conſtantly preſent at *Proteſtant* prayers. If any ſay, all 'this amounts but to a lukewarm religion, we leave 'the heat of his faith to God's ſole judgment, and 'the light of his good works to mens imitation.' (20)

(17) Hiſt. of the Univ. of Cambridge, p. 134.

(18) Life of Abp Parker, edit. 1711. p. 199, 200.

(19) Hiſt. Cantebr. Academiæ, 4to. L. i. p. 8.

(20) T. Fuller's Hiſt. of the Univerſ. of Cambr. p. 134.

[*L*] *And is taxed by others with being unſettled in his religion.*] So he is taxed particularly by J. Pits, in the following words. *Unicum illud in eo vehementer*

ſane

him, it must be remembered, that in 1557 he erected a monument in St Paul's church in London, to the memory of the great Linacer (*l*). And in 1563 or 1564, he obtained a grant, that the College of Physicians might for ever yearly take two dead malefactors bodies at their discretion, and dissect them, without the prohibition or control of any person whatever, or without paying any thing for them, and settled *1l. 6s. 8d.* a year for the expences of dissecting such bodies (*m*). Dr Caius was undeniably one of the most learned men in his time; particularly famous for his exquisite knowledge in the Greek and Latin languages; and a person of a happy wit (*n*). He revised and corrected Galen's books in numberless places, and translated some of them into Latin [*M*]. He also greatly corrected Corn. Celsus, and Scribonius Largus [*N*]. And published Hippocrates his treatise of Medicines [*O*]: A Practice of Physick [*P*]: An Account of the Sweating Sickness in England [*Q*]: The History of the University of Cambridge [*R*]: An Account

(*l*) Weever's Funeral Monuments, fol. 370.

(*m*) Blomefield, as above, p. 213. note.

(*n*) Goodall, as above.

sane dolendum, quod qui aliorum corpora tam peritè sanare profitebatur, suam animam neglexisse feratur, dum ipse non sanus in fide, pro occasionibus in omnem partem fluctuabat dubius, imo se flectebat inconstans, & non solum nutabat, verum etiam pro principum arbitrio religionem sæpe mutabat. Itaque scripta ejus nonnulla sunt prohibita. Sed forsan hoc omne, quicquid fuit vitii, potius hominis levitati quam perversitati tribuendum est.(21) i. e. One thing he is greatly to be pitied for, that he who professed to be so skilful in the cure of other people's bodies, is said to have neglected his own soul; for, being unsound in faith, he proved upon all occasions doubtful and wavering, nay flexible and inconstant, and not only tottering, but also changing his religion often at the pleasure of princes. Therefore some of his writings are forbidden. But perhaps this fault, whatever it be, is rather to be attributed to the man's levity than to his perverseness.

(21) De Illustribus Angliæ Scriptoribus, ut supra, p. 755, 756.

[*M*] *He revised and corrected Galen's books in numberless places, and translated some of them into Latin.*] According to his own list,(22) he revised and corrected thirty-one Treatises of Galen, and wrote Notes, or Commentaries, upon nine of them. The chief of which were, Galen's Anatomical Exercises, in nine books: Of the motion of the Muscles, in two books: Of the composition, or making up of Medicines, 17 books: Of the powers of Simple Medicines, 11 books: Of the opinions of Hippocrates and Plato, nine books: A body, or method, of Physic, 14 books: How to preserve health, six books: Of the use of the parts of the human Body, 17 books: Of the causes of Symptoms, three books: Of the Bones, one book, &c. Besides twenty other Treatises, comprised in one single book, each ——— And he intended a further correction of them if he had lived. (23)

(22) De Libris propriis, &c. p. 138, &c. 206—210.

(23) Ibid. p. 194, 210. Most of his corrections are now lost. Jebb, præfat. p. x.

Such of them as he translated into Latin, were, *De placitis Hippocratis, primum. De libris Galeni suis, unum, De ordine Librorum suorum, unum. De Dicæta in morbis acutis, unum.*

And such as he published, were, 1. Galen's two books of the Anatomy of the Muscles and Nerves. Basil 1544. Froben. and 1551, by Rouille. 2. Of *Succedaneums*, or substituted remedies. 3. Part of the 7th book of the use of the Parts; which he first found out. 4. Of a Coma, or Lethargy; reprinted in 1556. 5. Of the means of preserving Health, Gr. 1549. Basil, by Oporinus; and with commentaries, in 1563. 6. Galen's book to Thrasybulus. 7. Of the small Sphere. 8. Galen's account of his own books. 9. And the order of them. Lovan. 1556. 8vo. Basil 1563. 10. Of Ptysan. Basil 1557. 11. Galen's first book of the Opinions of Hippocrates and Plato. Περὶ τῶν Ἱπποκράτους καὶ Πλάτωνος δογμάτων. *De Decretis Hippocratis & Platonis, lib.* 1. (24)

(24) De Libris propriis, p. 138, &c. 169, 172, 173.

[*N*] *He also greatly corrected Corn. Celsus, & Scribonius Largus.*] We do not find that he ever published them, though he made them quite ready for the Press; adding at the end, An Account of the Weights and Measures therein mentioned. (25)

(25) Vide de Libris propriis, p. 163—169.

[*O*] *And published Hippocrates his Treatise of Medicines.*] Περὶ Φαρμάκων, or *De Medicamentis.* This he was the first who discovered.—He published, moreover, Hippocrates his Regimen, or method of Diet, in acute diseases. *De ratione Victus [vel dicæta] secundum Hippocratem in morbis acutis. Lov.* 1556. 8vo.

[*P*] *A Practice of Physic.*] Written in Latin, and intituled, Joannis Caii *Britanni* de *Medendi Methodo, libri duo, ex Cl.* Galeni Pergameni, & Jo. Baptistæ Montani Veronensis, *principum Medicorum Sententia. Opus utile & jam natum.* Basileae, apud Froben. 1544. *item* Lovan. 1556. 8vo.

[*Q*] *An Account of the Sweating Sickness in England.*] This is intituled, *De Ephemera Britannica*; because it lasted but a natural day of 24 hours. The learned Dr Freind justly calls it 'something very remarkable and wonderful, a distemper, which was 'never heard of before in any age or nation; and 'which, after returning now and then for the space 'of some years, has ever since entirely disappeared.' He proceeds to give the following curious account of it from Dr Cay's book. — 'It originally was a native 'of our own island; and upon this account it is the 'less strange, that it should be the most accurately described by one of our own countrymen, the great 'and learned *Caius*. It began at first in 1483, in 'Henry the Seventh's army, upon his landing at Milford-haven, and spread itself in London, from the '21st of September to the end of October. It returned here *five* times, and always in Summer: first 'in 1485; then in 1506; afterwards in 1517; when 'it was so violent, that it killed in the space of three 'hours: So that many of the nobility died, and of 'the vulgar sort, in several towns, half often perished. 'It appeared the fourth time in 1528, and proved 'mortal then in the space of six hours: Many of the 'courtiers died of it, and Henry the Eighth himself 'was in danger. In 1529, and only then, it infested 'the Netherlands and Germany; in which last country it did much mischief, and destroyed many, and 'particularly was the occasion of interrupting a conference at Marpurgh between Luther and Zuinglius 'about the Eucharist. The last return of it with us, 'was in 1551: In Westminster it carried off 120 in a 'day, and the two Sons of Charles Brandon, both 'Dukes of Suffolk, died of it. At Shrewsbury particularly, where our Author, Caius, resided, it broke 'out in a very furious manner. The description he 'gives of it is terrible, like the plague of Athens. He 'very properly calls it a pestilent contagious Feaver, 'of one natural day: The Sweat itself he reckons 'only as a symptom or crisis of this Feaver. The 'manner of its seizure was thus; first it affected some 'particular part, attended with inward heat and burning, unquenchable thirst, restlessness, sickness at stomach and heart, (though seldom vomiting) head ach, 'delirium, then faintness, and excessive drowsiness. 'The pulse quick and vehement, and the breath short 'and labouring. Children, poor, and old people, less 'subject to it. Of others, scarce any escaped the attack, and most died: *In* that town, where it lasted '*seven* months, perished near a thousand. Even by 'travelling into France, or Flanders, they did not escape: And what is stranger, even the Scotch were 'free, and abroad the English only affected, and foreigners not affected in England. None recovered 'under 24 Hours. At first the Physicians were much 'puzzled how to treat it; the only cure was to carry 'on the sweat, which was necessary, for a long time; 'for if stopt, it was dangerous, or fatal. The way, 'therefore, was to be patient, and lie still, and not to 'take cold. If Nature was not strong enough to do 'it, Art should assist her in promoting the sweat, by 'cloaths, medicines, wine, &c. The violence of it 'over, in 15 hours; but no security 'till 24 were passed. In some there was a necessity to repeat the 'sweating; in strong constitutions, *twelve* times. Great 'danger to remove out of bed; some who had not 'sweated enough fell into very ill Feavers. No flesh 'in all the time, nor drink for the *first* five hours. For 'in the *seventh*, the distemper increases; about the '*ninth*, delirium; sleep to be avoided by all means. 'It appeared by experience, as the Lord Bacon ob-

'serves

count of the Baths in Britain [S]; of some rare Animals and Plants [T]; and of British Dogs [U]: Of the right pronunciation of the Greek and Latin languages [W]; and some other pieces mentioned below [X]. He dyed at Cambridge July 29, 1573, in his grand climacteric, having foretold his own death (o), and was buried in a grave which he had made before his deceaſe, in the chapel of his own college. His epitaph is ſhort, but expreſſive and ſublime [Y]. He was a man of very great learning; particularly, maſter of a fine Latin ſtile. And he ſhewed his zeal, love, and true regard for learning, by endeavouring to promote and perpetuate it; in his generous benefactions to the place of his education, of which he muſt be allowed to be the chief and moſt munificent Founder.

(o) Goodall, as above.

'ſerves, that this diſeaſe was rather a ſurprize of na-
'ture, than obſtinate to remedies, if it were in time
'well treated. For when proper care was taken, the
'patient generally recovered.' (26) Dr Keye's ac-
count of this ſickneſs was publiſhed in 1556; and very neatly reprinted at London in 1721, 8vo. The Dedi-
cation to Antony Perrenot, Biſhop of Arras, is dated
Cand. Janu 11. 1555. To the firſt edition the author
ſubjoined Galen's two books, *De Libris propriis, Ga-
leno* and *ordine librorum ſuorum*; and Hippocrates
his book, *De ratione victus in morbis acutis.* (27)

[Z] *The History of the University of Cambridge.*] [illegible] the occaſion of [illegible] a Vindication of the Anti-
quity of that University. And the occaſion of his
writing of them was this; Queen Elizabeth coming to
Cambridge in Aug. 1564, the Orator made a ſpeech
before her, wherein he extolled the Antiquity of that
Univerſity, and affirmed that it was much ancienter
than Oxford. The Oxonians being offended at this,
Thomas Key Fellow of All-Souls college wrote in ſeven
days a little book, (28) wherein he ſtrenuouſly aſſerted
the antiquity of his own Univerſity; ſaying, that it
was founded by ſome Greek Philoſophers, companions
of Brutus, and reſtored by K. Alfred about the year
of Chriſt 870; conſequently was ancienter than Cam-
bridge; and this book he preſented to Q. Elizabeth,
at her coming to Oxford. Upon that, Dr Caius, at
the motion of Archbiſhop Parker, (29) enters the liſts,
like a true champion, and in the ſtile of one; and
makes out undeniably (as he thinks) that Cambridge
Univerſity had for its founder Cantaber, 394 years be-
fore Chriſt, and in the year of the world, *four thouſand
three hundred* and odd; and therefore was 1267 years
ancienter than Oxford. The Doctor's book is intituled,
*De Antiquitate Cantabrigienſis Academiæ Libri duo. In
quorum ſecundo de Oxonienſis quoque Gymnaſii Antiqui-
tate diſſeritur, & Cantabrigienſe longe eo antiquius eſſe
definitur.* Londinenſi Authore. For the Doctor con-
cealed himſelf under the name of *Londinenſis*. At the
end of it is ſubjoined, Thomas Key's book, or *Aſſer-
tio Antiquitatis Oxonienſis Academiæ, incerto Authore
ejuſdem Gymnaſii:* (30) *Ad illuſtriſſ. Reginam Anno*
1566. *Cum fragmento Oxonienſis Hiſtoriolæ, ex libro
Procuratorum.* Theſe were very neatly printed by
Henry Bynneman, in 1568, 8vo.—They were reprint-
ed by John Day in 1574, 4to, *auctiori ab ipſo Authore
plurimum*, with two other books, intituled *Hiſtoriæ
Cantebrigienſis Academiæ ab Urbe condita, Lib.* 2. which
are properly the Hiſtory of the Univerſity. The firſt
contains the *ancient* ſtate of the place, a deſcription of
the town, an hiſtory of the Univerſity, and the foun-
dation of the ſeveral colleges. The ſecond is a de-
ſcription of the town *as it was in his time*; officers of
the Univerſity, Exerciſes, &c. Schools, Library, &c.

[S] *An Account of the Baths in Britain.*] *De Ther-
mis Britannicis, liber.* In which he treats of the na-
ture, uſe, effects, and diſcovery of the baths in Britain.
We do not find that it was ever printed. (31)

[T] *Of ſome rare Animals, and Plants.*] He drew
up that account for the uſe of the very learned Conrad
Geſner, and it was inſerted in his Hiſtories of Animals
and Plants. Our author had it printed afterwards more
complete, by W. Seres, at London 1570, 4to.

[U] *And of Britiſh Dogs.*] *De Canibus Britannicis
libellus.* This was drawn up at firſt in haſte, for the
uſe alſo of his learned friend C. Geſner. But he being
carried off by the plague in 1565, our author reviſed
and enlarged it; cauſing it to be printed by W. Seres
in 1570. It hath been reprinted, with the former, by
Dr Jebb. Lond. 1729, 8vo.

[W] *Of the right pronunciation of the Greek and
Latin Languages.*] *De Pronunciatione Græcæ & La-
tinæ Linguæ, cum Scriptione nova libellus.* Printed by
J. Day, Lond. 1574, reprinted by Dr Jebb, with the
two former. In this he oppoſes the pronunciation in-
troduced by J. Cheke, (32) and confirmed by a decree
of the Univerſity of Cambridge, 14 June 1542. (33)
With regard to the Latin, he was for retaining the
manner of pronunciation uſed in foreign parts, viz.
ſibi, tibi, vita, ita,—not, *ſaibai, taibai, vaitai, aitai,*
as the Engliſh ſound thoſe words. And as to the Greek,
he was abſolutely againſt the manner of pronouncing
it, introduced by Cheke and Smith: Alledging, that
the Ancients, as appeared by their own books and
commentators, pronounced *Achilles, Tydes, Theſes,* not
Achillews, Tudeus, Theſeus, &c. *Certe Antiqui Achilles,
Tydes, Theſes, & Uliſſes dicebant, non Achillews, Tudeus,
Theſews, & Uluſſews, quemadmodum recentes: uti ex
eorum & interpretum libris ea adhuc referentibus ſcire
licet.* (34) That exploded manner of pronouncing
Greek is ſtill eſpouſed by ſome perſons; witneſs *D.
Gregorii Placentini de recta Græci ſermonis Pronuncia-
tione Diſſertatio,* Romæ 1735, 4to. and *Commentar. in
Veteres Inſcriptiones,* Romæ 1751. 4to.

[X] *And ſome other pieces.*] Namely, 1. *De Libris
propriis liber unus; ad Thomam Hatcherum.* An ac-
count of the Books written by himſelf. Printed by W.
Seres, Lond. 1570, and reprinted by Dr Jebb with the
forementioned ones. It were to be wiſhed, every learn-
ed man, who hath written many things, would leave
ſuch an account of them behind him. 2. *De Sympho-
nia vocum Britannicarum, lib.* 1. 'Of the agreement
of many Britiſh words with the like in the Greek and
Latin languages.' Never printed. 3. *De antiquis Bri-
tanniæ Urbibus, lib.* 1. 'Of the ancient cities and
towns in Britain.' Containing an account of their for-
mer and modern names; which of them are extinct,
&c. Not printed. 4. *De Libris Galeni qui non extant,
lib.* 1. 'Of the books of Galen which are loſt.' Not
printed. 5. *Annales Collegii Medicinæ, Lond. lib.* 1.
'The Annals of the College of Phyſicians London.'
6. *De Annalibus Collegii Gonevilli & Caii, lib.* 1.
'The Annals of Goneville and Caius College.' Theſe
two he never intended for the preſs. (35) — He had
alſo an intention of writing the Hiſtory of his native
place, the city of Norwich. (36)

[Y] *His epitaph is ſhort.*] It is compriſed in theſe
few words.

Fui Caius.
Vivit poſt Funera Virtus.
Obiit xxix Julii Ætatis ſuæ
Anno Dni 1573. LXIII.

i. e.

I was Caius. Virtue outlives Death.
He died 29 July, A. D. 1573, aged 63.

His monument, when the chapel was rebuilt ſome time ſince, was raiſed from the floor, and placed in the wall as it now ſtands, and then his body was found whole and perfect. (37)

(26) Dr Freind's Hiſt. of Phyſick, Part ii. p. 333—336.

(27) De Libris propriis, p. 160.

(28) Wood. Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 173.

(29) Strype's Life of Abp Parker, p. 257.

(30) For Tho. Key did not put his name to it.

(31) De Libris propriis, p. 193.

(32) See above, the article CHEKE [Sir JOHN.]

(33) Hiſt. Cantebr. Acad. L. ii. p. 124.

(34) De Pronunciatione, edit. Jebb, p. 225, 231.

(35) De Libris propriis, p. 142, 143, 206.

(36) Ibid. p. 133, 210.

(37) Blomefield, as above, p. 212.

KEBLE [JOSEPH], the laborious compiler of Law-Reports, was youngeſt ſon of Richard Keble of Ipſwich in the county of Suffolk, Eſq; a lawyer of ſufficient note during the Uſurpation (*a*) [*A*], and deſcended from a very ancient family in Wales (*b*). His ſon Joſeph, the ſubject of the preſent article, had his birth in the pariſh of St Giles's in the Fields in the year 1632, and having laid a proper foundation of grammar learning at the pariſh ſchool of St Andrew's, Holbourn (*c*), was ſent thence to Jeſus college in Oxford; but after a ſhort ſtay there, he removed to that of All-Souls, of which Society he was appointed a Fellow by the Parliament Viſitors in 1648 (*d*). In this ſituation he proſecuted his ſtudies with diligence, and being of the Law line, he proceeded to take his bachelor's degree in that profeſſion, March 15, 1654 (*e*). Not long afterwards, leaving the univerſity, he ſettled at Gray's-Inn, where he had been admitted a ſtudent, and became a Barriſter about the year 1658 (*f*). The following year he made the tour of Paris, and ſaw the Court there. After the Reſtoration, he attended the King's-Bench bar with very extraordinary aſſiduity, continuing there daily as long as the court ſat, in all the terms from 1661 to the year 1710, which was the more remarkable, as he was very rarely, if ever, known to be retained in any cauſe, or ſo much as to make a motion there. Agreeable to this courſe, his whole life was very regular and orderly: Riſing before ſix in the morning, he employed himſelf in his ſtudy, with unwearied writing, 'till eleven; then met company in the walks; from thence to dinner: thence back to his ſtudy; and at ſix to the walks again. This was in a manner the conſtant method of his labours and diverſions (*g*). In the vacation time he uſually walked to Hampſtead, having purchaſed an North-end (*h*) in that pariſh, a ſmall copyhold eſtate for the ſake of the air. In this retirement he remained Mondays. Tueſdays, and Wedneſdays, but employed his time there moſtly in writing, as he did at London [*B*]. Towards the latter end of his life, growing too feeble to perform the walk, he ſometimes rode thither; and as he was going to take coach for that purpoſe on Monday Auguſt 28, 1710, his legs failed him on the ſudden, and he fell back into a perſon's arms in Holborn-Gate at Gray's-Inn, and expired immediately, without a groan, in the 78th year of his age (*i*) [*C*]. His corps was ſoon afterwards conveyed in a hearſe out of town, and buried at Tuddenham near Ipſwich in Suffolk, where he had a real eſtate of about a hundred pounds a year, which, as he was never married, deſcended after his deceaſe to Walter Keble Eaves, Eſq; his heir at law (*k*). He publiſhed ſeveral Books in his Life-time; beſides which, he left above a hundred large folios, and more than fifty thick quartos, in manuſcript, of his own hand-writing: We ſhall give an account of the whole below [*D*]. He had alſo a very good ſtudy of printed books,

(*a*) Poſt-Boy, No. 4704. from Thurſday Sept. 17 to Saturday Sept. 19, 1719.

(*b*) His pedigree is now in the hands of Mr Sam. Keble, Bookſeller in Fleet-ſtreet, where the family is traced as far back as before the time of Will. the Conqueror.

(*c*) Poſt-Boy.

(*d*) Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Ibid. Faſti, col. 105.

(*f*) Poſt-Boy. Mr Wood obſerves, that he afterwards became a Bencher of that ſociety. Ath. Ox. where laſt cited.

(*g*) Poſt-Boy.

(*h*) The value of it was about 10*l.* a year, as we are informed by Mr. Sam. Keble, Bookſeller in Fleetſtreet; who ſays, his relation generally performed the walk in the ſame number of ſteps, which were often counted by him.

(*i*) Poſt-Boy.

(*k*) Mr Keble's information.

[*A*] *A Lawyer of ſufficient note during the Uſurpation, and of an ancient family in Wales.*] He was Serjeant at Law when he was appointed a joint Commiſſioner of the Great Seal with Bulſtrode Whitlocke and John Liſle, Eſq; in February 1648 (1); and while he was in this ſtation he was appointed preſident of the extraordinary commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer for the trial of the famous John Lilburne, in Oct. 1649(2).

(1) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1007.

(2) See the tryal of Lieutenant-Colonel John Lilburne, printed that year in 4to.

[*B*] *He employed time in writing at London.*] This faculty was ſo habitual to him, that he continually laboured with his pen, not only to report the Law at the King's-Bench Weſtminſter, but all the Sermons at Gray's-Inn Chapel, both forenoon and afternoon, amounting to above 4000. This was the mode in thoſe times when he was young; and being once got into the faſhion of writing ſermon-notes, he continued it to his laſt, as will appear in remark [*D*].

[*C*] *He expired without a groan.*] The perſon in whoſe arms he expired, was the late Mr Williamſon, bookſeller, who then kept a ſhop under the gate, and obſerving him to faulter in his walking, ſtept up to his aſſiſtance; to whom his laſt words were, *My legs are too weak to ſupport my body.* He had frequently in his life-time expreſſed a deſire to die in this manner; and often declared with ſome warmth, his diſlike of the petition in the Litany againſt ſudden death (3).

(3) From the information of Mr S. Keble, Bookſeller in Fleet-ſtreet.

[*D*] *We ſhall give an account of the whole below.*] The firſt work he undertook for the public, was making a new Table with many new References, &c. to the Statute Book in the year 1674. He was engaged in it by two of the King's Printers (4), who agreed to give him three hundred pounds; and had it licenſed by Lord Chancellor Finch, with all the Judges. He finiſhed it in two years. II. The next book he publiſhed was in the year 1681, intituled, *An Explanation of the Laws againſt Recuſants, &c. abridged,* in 8vo. Licenſed May 7, 1681, with the following approbation: 'Knowing the learning and induſtry of the author of this work, who hath therein very ſeaſonably beſtowed his pains upon explaining the ancient laws made againſt Recuſants, I do recommend the ſame to the public. Fr. North. III. His next work for the public was intituled, *An aſſiſtance to Juſtices of Peace for the eaſier performance of their duty; licenſed by all the Judges,* viz Fr. Pemberton, Fr. North, W. Montague, Hugh Wyndham, Tho. Jones, Will. Dolben, Tho. Raymond, Ed. Atkins, W. Gregory, J. Charlton, Creſwel Levinz, T. Street. Publiſhed in 1683, Fol. The bookſellers paid him two hundred pounds for the copy. IV. He publiſhed *Reports taken at the King's-Bench at Weſtminſter, from the 12th to the 30th Year of the reign of our late Sovereign Lord King* Charles II. in 3 volumes folio. Licenſed by the Judges, and publiſhed in 1685. He received of the bookſeller three hundred pounds for the copy. But the whole not being digeſted in the ordinary method of ſuch collections, and coming out without any table of references, the book was not ſo well received as was expected; and the credit of it being once ſunk could not be retrieved, tho' the table was added in 1696. V. *Two Eſſays; one on human nature, or, the creation of mankind; the other on human actions.* Pamphlets in 8vo.

(4) H. Hills and T. Newcomb.

Our author's manuſcripts in folio bound, are, I. Thirteen volumes (as large and thick as the Statutes) in Demy-paper, being an abridgment of the law under ſeveral heads. II. One volume of the ſame ſize on the Excom. of the 5th of Eliz. cap. 23. III. Ten volumes as thick as Poulton's Statutes, being a Digeſt of the Statutes at large under ſeveral proper heads. IV. Three volumes of the ſame ſize concerning Taxes. V. Three volumes of Abridgments throughout the Alphabet. VI. Two volumes being a Table to Lord Coke's Reports. VII. Four volumes, being an Alphabetical Table to all the Books of the Common Law. VIII. One volume, being an Abridgment of Eccleſiaſtical Law. IX. Twenty-five volumes of Abridgments of Law. X. Thirty-five volumes being an Explanation of all the Statutes, which the Lord Chancellor Finch put him upon doing. XI. Six volumes of Tables to the Abridgments. XII. One volume of Miſcellanies under fifteen Heads: 1. Religion. 2 Exerciſe of the Spirit. 3. Happineſs 4. Chriſtian Patience. 5. Faith. 6. Villenage. 7. Original Sin. 8. Life. 9. Charity. 10. Senſuality 11. Death. 12. Myſtery of Faith. 13. Direct of taking Sermon-notes. 14. Myſtery of Godlineſs. 15. Chriſtian Philoſophy. *His Manuſcripts in Quarto bound are:* 1. Two volumes of Pleadings at Gray's-Inn, beginning 1663, and ending 1677.

books, in Divinity, Hiſtory, Common and Civil Law; in which there was ſcarcely a ſingle one but where he had written very large marginal notes, particularly in all the books that relate to Convocations, and many obſervations upon Mr Locke's Human Underſtanding [*E*]. He was of a friendly and affable behaviour, and his good nature eminently appeared in the frequent aſſiſtance he gave to his relations [*F*], and in his charity to the poor.

1677. 2. Twenty-two volumes of Reports taken at the King's-Bench from King Charles II. to the 8th Year of her late Majeſty. 3. Thirty-three volumes of Sermons preached at Gray's-Inn in the Morning and Afternoon, from 1660 to 1709, which are above four thouſand. (5).

(5) The Poſt-Boy, cited in the text.

[*E*] *He had a very good ſtock of books, &c.*] All his books and manuſcripts (except twenty volumes given to Gray's-Inn) were left by his will to his couſin Sam. Keble, bookſeller in Fleet Street, London, by his will, wherein he alſo bequeathed his eſtate at Tudington to Mr Keble's ſon, the preſent bookſeller, as well as his copy-hold at North End: But tho' the will was all written by himſelf, and regularly ſigned; and ſo was ſufficient in Law for the copy-hold; yet being left without any witneſſes names, it proved ineffectual for conveying the real eſtate in Suffolk, which by that defect fell to the ſhare of the heir at law, as mentioned in the text.

[*F*] *He frequently aſſiſted his relations.*] The following inſtance of this was truly worthy of him. In building Coney-court, at Gray's-Inn, one ſide of the chambers in the ſtair-caſe, No. 3. was done at the expence of Mr Keble, who ſold thoſe on the ground and ſecond floor, but reſerving thoſe on the firſt for his own uſe, he placed in the third floor ſuch of his poor relations, eſpecially of the female ſex, as were rendered by age and infirmities the fitteſt object of his beneficence (6). P

(6) Communicated by Mr S. Keble, Bookſeller in Fleetſtreet, to whom we are obliged for ſo many other particulars in this memoir.

KEILL (John), an eminent Mathematician and Philoſopher was born December 1, [illegible] at Edinburgh (*a*) where he received the firſt rudiments of learning; after which, being ſent to that univerſity, he continued there till he took the degree of Maſter of Arts. His genius leading him to the Mathematicks, he made a great progreſs in thoſe ſtudies under Dr David Gregory, the mathematical Profeſſor, who having embraced the Newtonian philoſophy ſoon after it was publiſhed, read a courſe of lectures to explain it (*b*). By this means our author became early acquainted with Sir Iſaac's Principia, and making himſelf maſter of a good ſhare of the immenſe treaſure of mathematical and philoſophical learning contained therein, he formed his future ſtudies upon that plan. In 1694 he followed his tutor to Oxford, and was incorporated Maſter of Arts there February the 2d that year (*c*); and being admitted of Baliol college, obtained one of the Scotch Exhibitions in that Society. It was not long after this, that he procured ſuch an apparatus of inſtruments as his fortune could command, and began to read lectures upon Natural Philoſophy according to the Newtonian Syſtem, which he explained by proper experiments in his private chamber at the college (*d*). This happy method of teaching Sir Iſaac Newton's principles by the experiments on which they were grounded, how natural ſoever, yet had not 'till then been attempted in either univerſity: Mr Keill was the firſt [*A*], and he diſtinguiſhed himſelf to great advantage it it. In 1698 he brought his character this way into the knowledge of the public, by his *Examination of Dr Thomas Burnet's Theory of the Earth* [*B*], which though his firſt eſſay in print, yet was generally received as a maſterpiece P

(*a*) Communicated by his ſon.

(*b*) Mr Whiſton's Life by himſelf, Vol. I. p. 32. 2d edit. 1753.

(*c*) Dr Rawlinſon's Catalogue of Degrees, &c. at Oxford, p. 121.

(*d*) The memory of this was freſh at Oxford in 1715, and was often mentioned by Mr John Whiteſides, who then read the ſame lectures there.

[*A*] *The firſt who read lectures in Experimental Philoſophy.*] As Sir Iſaac Newton, who was bred at Cambridge, read in the public ſchools there thoſe lectures which contained the ſubſtance of his Principia, it may ſeem a little ſurprizing, that the only proper lectures for explaining his philoſophy, which was built upon experiments, ſhould have been firſt introduced at the ſiſter univerſity (1). This was owing in a great meaſure to Dr Aldrich, Dean of Chriſt Church; who to an exquiſite taſte in all polite literature, having joined a conſiderable ſkill in the Mathematics, did not only give encouragement, but reputation alſo to thoſe ſtudies at Oxford. In the mean time, the Carteſian philoſophy ſtill held the vogue at Cambridge, even in the year 1693. (2) Notwithſtanding that ſoon after the year 1687, when Sir Iſaac's book was publiſhed, thoſe Principles had been taught at Edinburgh by Dr David Gregory, then Mathematical Profeſſor there, who had alſo cauſed his ſcholars to keep exerciſe for their degrees upon ſome branches of this new doctrine; whence it is no wonder if Mr Keill had imbibed a kind of veneration for it before he came to Oxford. He was ſucceeded in reading lectures there by Dr Deſaguliers, who ſome time after removing to London, firſt brought theſe lectures into general vogue in the metropolis.

(1) The Plumian profeſſorſhip was founded at Cambridge in 1705, and Mr Roger Cotes, the firſt Profeſſor, was likewiſe the firſt who read lectures of this kind there.

(2) Whiſton's Life by himſelf, ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *An examination of Dr Burnet's Theory.*] Notwithſtanding ſeveral things by way of anſwer to this Theory had been publiſhed before, yet they were all very defective; the authors thereof having not only left the greateſt faults unchaſtized, but run into as great abſurdities as any of thoſe they pretended to correct in the Theory itſelf. Mr Keill, therefore, undertook to give a full and ſolid refutation of that hypotheſis. As it was his ſuperior ſkill in the Newtonian philoſophy which rendered him equal to this province, ſo he made it an opportunity of recommending that philoſophy, both with regard to its method of applying geometrical calculations to diſcover the exact degree of thoſe forces that are found by obſervation actually to exiſt in nature, and likewiſe on account of its modeſty and ſobriety, in keeping the great author of Nature conſtantly in view, in confining philoſophy within its proper ſphere, and not preſuming to extend the force of ſecond intermediate cauſes to the production of ſuch effects as are wrought by the immediate hand of the Firſt. A method contrary to this, he obſerves, had been always the diſgrace of philoſophy. Thus, for inſtance, he imputes the wild notions of Anaxagoras, and ſeveral of the old Greeks, mentioned by Diogenes Laërtius, and Plutarch (3), concerning the nature and phænomena of the ſun and ſtars to the neglect of this method, and eſpecially marks thoſe of Anaximenes, Heraclitus, and another, concerning the cauſe of an eclipſe of the Sun, as tho' ſtrange enough in themſelves, yet appearing much ſtranger '*when*, ſays he, *we conſider that theſe men lived after Thales, who had foretold an eclipſe of the Sun by his knowledge, that the moon was to be at ſuch a time in a direct line between him and it. Such an averſion had theſe men to build upon other mens obſervations that had gone before them, though both older and wiſer than themſelves.*' From the Ancients he deſcends to the Moderns, 'who pretend, ſays he, to have found out the intimate eſſence of all things; to have diſcovered nature in all her works, and can tell you the true cauſe of every effect from the ſole principles of matter and motion; can inform you (for inſtance) how God made the world, and declare the whole œconomy of living bodies. Nay, they underſtand alſo very exactly the theory of the ſoul, how it thinks, and by what methods it operates on the body, and the body on it.' In confirmation of this laſt remark, he mentions the aſſertion of Spinoſa concerning an unity of ſubſtance; that of Mr Hobbes, of the abſolute impoſſibility of any incorporeal ſubſtance;

(3) The firſt In *Vitis Philoſophorum*, and the ſecond *De Philoſoph. Placitis.*

piece by thoſe who were beſt acquainted with the ſubject. In this work he had ſubjoined ſome *Remarks upon Mr Whiſton's New Theory of the Earth*, which occaſioned that gentleman

ſubſtance; Dr Henry More's fourth dimenſion, or eſſential Spiſſitude of the ſoul; Mr Malbranch's doctrine about ſeeing all things in God, and occaſional cauſes; together with ſome others then lately publiſhed, of leſs note, though not leſs extravagant (4), and then lays all theſe fooleries to the charge of Des Cartes, who encouraged this preſumptuous pride in the philoſophers of accounting for all the works of nature; 'and was alſo, continues he, the firſt world-maker this '[the ſeventeenth] century has produced. For he ſup-'poſes that God at the beginning created only a certain 'quantity of matter and motion, and from thence en-'deavours to ſhew how by the neceſſary laws of me-'chaniſm, without any extraordinary concurrence of 'the divine power, how the world, and all that there-'in is, might have been produced; nay, he pretend-'ed, that having a quantity of matter and motion, he 'could produce an animal; though he was ſo extreme-'ly ignorant in the laws of motion, that of the ſeven 'rules he has given about it, there is but one of them 'true.' He proceeds to overthrow the whole ſyſtem of Des Cartes's philoſophy, by ſhewing the falſeneſs of his Theory of the Vortices, upon which that ſyſtem is founded, and in concluſion obſerves, that Dr Burnet's Theory is formed in the ſame ſpirit with that of Des Cartes, from the cobweb threads of a fine imagination, without a due regard to obſervations and calculations. However intimating withal, that the philoſophy of his antagoniſts was made of no better ſtuff; among thoſe he expreſsly takes notice of Mr Warren, and makes very free with that gentleman's little gift of reaſoning (5).

(4) Viz. Dr Burthogge and Dr Connor, the firſt in a treatiſe upon Reaſon, had, revived the doctrine of the *Anima Mundi*, or one univerſal ſoul; and the latter had denied all miraculous facts in general, in a book entitled *Evangelium*.

(5) Mr Warren's book is intitled, *Geologia, or a Diſcourſe concerning the Earth before the Deluge, &c.* edit. 1690, 4to.

In the body of the book, our author conſiders ſeven of the Theoriſt's poſitions, upon which, as the main pillars, he ſuppoſes the whole fabrick to ſtand. Theſe are made the ſubjects of ſo many chapters. In the firſt of which he examines the general argument brought for its truth, as furniſhing the only poſſible method to explicate Noah's flood; all other ways requiring more water than can be found, and more, if found, than can be diſpoſed of. Mr Keill, for anſwer, obſerves, that he has ſelected this argument, becauſe he thinks it an evident demonſtration of the impoſſibility of all natural and mechanical explications whatſoever of the Deluge, even this of the Theoriſt not excepted, as we ſhall ſhew in the ſequel, whence he concludes it to be wrought in a miraculous way, which he thinks is evidently declared in Scripture, particularly in thoſe remarkable words, *Behold I, even I, do bring a flood of waters upon the earth**. The ſecond chapter ſhews that the Theoriſt's method of forming the world from a chaos, is not agreeable to the laws of nature and gravitation. The third chapter proves the poſſibility of mountains in the antediluvian earth, even upon the Theoriſt's principles, though contrary to his poſition; herein explaining the uſe of mountains to ſupply ſprings and rivers, our author borrows Dr Halley's account of the original of ſprings. (6) The fourth chapter examines the effects ariſing from the perpendicular poſition of the earth's axis to the plane of the ecliptic, aſſerted by the Theoriſt, which is proved to be ſo far from being excellent, and fitted for a paradiſiacal world, that it would make the greateſt part of the earth not habitable. Here likewiſe, in demonſtrating the advantages of the preſent oblique poſition of the earth's axis above that of a right one, or even any other, our author is again obliged to Dr Halley (7). The fifth chapter expoſes the abſurdity of the Theoriſt's method in forming the antediluvian rivers without any ſea. The ſixth chapter contains an eaſy and clear demonſtration of the true figure of the earth, viz. that of an oblate ſpheroid, and not an oblong, as the Theoriſt maintained (8). This chapter is twice as long as any of the reſt. The Theoriſt's aſſertion of the earth's oval form was not only the moſt commonly received opinion at that time, wherein he had been particularly defended, (9) but was granted too by his former antagoniſts(10). And the contrary doctrine of an oblate ſpheroidical form was one of the moſt remarkable diſcoveries in Sir Iſaac Newton's Principia. Mr Keill therefore thought proper eſpecially to exert himſelf upon this point, in order to make it clear and intelligible, even to readers of an ordinary attainment in geometrical learning, and the rather becauſe it had been truſted to the publick with the ſole force of a ſtrict and ſevere demonſtration by the diſcoverer. In handling it, our author makes uſe of Mr Huygens's Theorems of the centrifugal force; whereupon being afterwards aſperſed by Dr Burnet, in his *Reflections upon the theory of the earth*, as a plagiary, he returned the following anſwer. 'It is well known, 'ſays he, that Mr Newton was the firſt that made the 'diſcovery, and ſhewed the method of calculating the 'gravity of bodies at different latitudes, whom there-'fore I mentioned as the ſole inventor. Mr Huygens, 'indeed, I did not name, ſeeing he had the notion in-'tirely from Mr Newton, as that learned gentleman 'does freely acknowledge. But after all this, I have 'not ſo much tranſcribed from theſe two learned au-'thors, as I have endeavoured to explain their notions, 'and make them intelligible to men of lower capaci-'ties. Thoſe two excellent and learned men had 'ſomething elſe to do, and matters of greater concern 'to mind, than to publiſh their diſcoveries at large, 'ſo that every reader might underſtand them. I thought 'therefore, that it would not be altogether diſpleaſing 'to the world, if I endeavoured to explain their theo-'rems about the figure of the earth, and the effects 'of gravity joined with a centrifugal force; ſo that 'they might become intelligible to thoſe who under-'ſtand the elements of Geometry, and the common 'principles of Staticks, *and I doubted not but it would 'be more acceptable, becauſe there has not (at leaſt to 'my knowledge) been any diſcourſe publiſhed of this na-'ture in Engliſh.*' (11) In the ſeventh chapter, our author examines the manner of the Theoriſt's accounting for the Deluge by the great heat of the ſun's breaking the outward cruſt (12), and thereby occaſioning its fall into the water beneath; and having ſhewn this pretended heat of the ſun to be inſufficient for that purpoſe, he proves that even granting that to be ſufficient, there could follow no univerſal deluge from the Theoriſt's own principles, there being not ſo much water, according to theſe, in the abyſs, as was ſufficient to cover the face of the whole earth: And as he has here ſhewn, that this Theoriſt has not provided water enough to make ſuch a deluge, ſo with regard to the other Theoriſt, Mr Whiſton, whom he allows to have furniſhed water enough for his purpoſe from the atmoſphere of a comet; yet he proves that gentleman to be very ſhort in providing a ſufficient means of the earth's recovering from ſuch a deluge, ſince of twenty-three oceans neceſſary to be brought upon its ſurface in order to make it, he had only contrived a receſs for one, the other twenty-two being left without any proviſion to carry them off (13). We muſt not diſmiſs this remark without obſerving, that as on one hand Mr Keill, by his method of explaining the figure of the earth from Mr Huygens's theorems, muſt needs have recommended himſelf to the good opinion of Sir Iſaac Newton, who always profeſt the higheſt regard for that author, and his manner of demonſtration (14); ſo on the other hand, the animadverſions in this treatiſe upon ſome glaring miſtakes of Mr Wotton, and particularly of Dr Bentley, muſt undoubtedly have rivetted him in the favour of Dean Aldrich, the diſpute about Phalaris's epiſtles being then at the height (15). The paſſage relating to Mr Wotton is in the Introduction (16), and runs thus. 'I wonder, therefore, why Mr Wot-'ton, in his Reflections on ancient and modern learn-'ing (17), ſhould ſay, that Des Cartes joined to his 'great genius an exquiſite ſkill in Geometry, ſo that he 'wrought upon intelligible principles, in an intelligible 'manner, though he very often failed of one part of 'his end, namely, a right explication of the phæno-'mena of nature; yet by marrying Geometry and Phy-'ſics together, he put the world in hopes of a maſcu-'line offspring. *This*, ſays Mr Keill, *I think, is a clea-'rer demonſtration than any in Des Cartes's principles of 'philoſophy, that Mr Wotton either underſtood no Geome-'try, or* elſe that he never read Des Cartes's principles, 'for from the beginning to the end of them, there is not 'one demonſtration drawn from Geometry, or indeed 'any demonſtration at all, except Mr Wotton will ſay, 'that every thing that is illuſtrated by a figure is a de-'monſtration, and then indeed he may produce enough 'of ſuch demonſtrations in his philoſophical works. 'So far was Des Cartes from marrying Phyſics with 'Geometry, that it was his great fault that he made 'no

(11) Examination of the Reflections of the Theory of the Earth, p. 144, 145.

(12) Dr Burnet ſuppoſes the earth to be compoſed of a ſpherical body of water, covered with a cruſt of dry land.

(13) Remarks on Mr Whiſton's Theory of the Earth, p. 221, & ſeq. and the Defence of thoſe Remarks, p. 203, & ſeq. See other particulars in theſe remarks. See Mr Whiſton's article.

(14) See Dr Pemberton's preface to his View of Sir Iſaac's Philoſophy.

(15) See Dr Bentley's article.

(16) P. 14, 15, 16.

(17) Cap. xxvii. p. 348. edit. 1705.

* Gen. vi. 17.

(6) In Phil. Tranſ. No. 192.

(7) In a paper ſhewing the exact proportion of the ſun's heat in all latitudes. Ibid. No 203.

(8) He provides a current for his rivers from this oval figure.

(9) In a book titled *Diatribe de Figura Telluris Elliptico-Sphæroide*. Edit. Straſburgh, 1691. by Joh. Caſp. Eiſenſchmidt. Med. & Philoſ. Doct. An Extract of this piece was alſo publiſhed in the *Acta* Erudit. Lipſiæ for that year.

(10) Particularly Mr Eraſmus Warren, ubi ſupra; with whoſe aſſertion of 104th deg. of latitude, Mr Keill makes very merry in his introduction, p. 24.

gentleman to publiſh a vindication of his new Theory; and *Reflections upon the Theory of the Earth* being printed by Dr Burnet about the ſame time, theſe pieces drew another performance from our author, which he publiſhed with the title of *An Examination of the Reflections on the Theory of the Earth, together with a Defence of the Remarks on Mr Whiſton's new Theory* (e), in 1699, 8vo. The following year Dr Thomas Millington, Sedleian Profeſſor of Natural Philoſophy at Oxford, who had been appointed Phyſician in Ordinary to King William (f), ſubſtituted Mr Keill to read lectures, as his deputy, in the public ſchools (g). Our author diſcharged this office with uncommon reputation; and the term for enjoying the Scotch exhibition at Baliol college expiring, he accepted an invitation given him by Dr Henry Aldrich, Dean of Chriſt-Church, to reſide there (h). In 1701 he publiſhed his celebrated treatiſe intitled, *Introductio ad Veram Phyſicam* [C]. This contained the ſubſtance of ſeveral lectures upon the new Philoſophy, and he continued to read in the ſame way for ſome years after his removal to Chriſt-Church. About this time he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society, and in 1708 he publiſhed, in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (i), a paper *of the laws of attraction, and its phyſical principles* [D]. At the

(e) In anſwer to this Mr Whiſton publiſhed a ſecond defence of his new theory againſt Mr Keill and others; but of this our author took no notice.

(f) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 226.

(g) See the preface to his *Introductio ad Veram Phyſicam.*

(h) Communicated by Mr Murray, our author's nephew.

(i) No. 315.

no uſe at all of Geometry in Philoſophy. It may, perhaps, be thought that he underſtood Geometry as well as moſt of his contemporaries, and therefore Mr Wotton might have reaſoned that he ought to have ſome Geometry in his Philoſophy; but ſince he aſſerts that he actually did ſo, I think it a convincing argument that he makes himſelf a judge of things he does not underſtand.' The ſtroke at Dr Bentley falls in theſe terms: 'I know Dr Bentley in his laſt lecture for the conſutation of Atheiſm aſſerts, that though the axis [of the earth] had been perpendicular, yet, take the whole year about, we ſhould have had the ſame meaſure of heat we have now. But I am not ſurprized to find an error of this nature aſſerted by one, who as it appears is not very well ſkilled in Aſtronomy; for in the ſame lecture he confidently ſays, that *'tis matter of fact and experience, that the moon always ſhews the ſame face to us, not once wheeling about her own center*; whereas 'tis evident to any one who thinks, that the moon ſhews the ſame face to us for this very reaſon, becauſe ſhe does turn once in the time of her period about her own center.* But it were to be wiſhed that great critics would confine their labours to their lexicons, and not venture to gueſs in thoſe parts of learning which are capable of demonſtration.' (18) This bluntly ſevere diſcipline, ſo much in the Doctor's own manner, was highly reliſhing to his antagoniſts, and the whole body of Mr Wotton's defence (19) was weak enough to be taken, and the particulars led as ſo many captives to grace the triumph.† After all, Mr Keill's pen did not move in this piece without making ſome ſlips, though indeed they are ſuch as affect not his main argument: For inſtance, in meaſuring the degrees of an ellipſis, in aſſigning fifteen Paris feet for the ſpace a body falls through in a ſecond of time, (20) and in giving a number of feet a little leſs than true for the diameter of the earth, which was not ſo well known at that time. Theſe miſtakes in the 8th chapter were taken notice of by Dr Deſaguliers, (21) and our author himſelf has remarked another in that very chapter, the fourth, where his laſh falls ſo heavy upon Dr Bentley; in which he aſſerts Jupiter's axis to be inclined to the plane of his orbit. This aſſertion, he tells us, proceeded from too haſtily truſting to his memory; and experience has ſince ſhewn, that a like uncautious ardour (not to be found in his maſter Sir Iſaac Newton) led him into a belief, that no menſuration of a degree of the meridian in different latitudes could be made exact enough for determining the true figure of the earth. (22) Throughout the whole work, our author vindicates the literal ſenſe of the Moſaic account of the Creation and Deluge, and in his Examination of the Reflections has given ſome no contemptible rules concerning literal and allegorical interpretations of Scripture. To conclude, the whole tenour of the treatiſe now under conſideration, ſhews our author's belief in the inſpiration of the Pentateuch, whence it may be known what credit is to be given to a ſtory told of him, that in a diſpute with a Jew, who perſiſted in denying the divine authority of the New Teſtament, he ſaid, Then I deny the divine authority of your Old Teſtament.

[C] *Introductio ad Veram Phyſicam.*] This is univerſally eſteemed the beſt and moſt uſeful performance of our author. In the preface [illegible] little progreſs that Sir Iſaac Newton's Principia had then made in the learned World, obſerving that though the mechanical philoſophy was then in repute, yet in moſt of the writings on this ſubject ſcarce any thing of it was to be found beſides the name; and that inſtead of it, the philoſophers had introduced the figures, pores, and interſtices of corpuſcles which they never ſaw, and talked of the inteſtine motion of the parts, of the ſtruggles and conflicts between the acid and alkali, with a variety of ſuch other miraculous effects of the *Materia Subtilis*; all which were abſurdities of the Carteſian philoſophy, which ſtill held a place in the eſteem of the generality, notwithſtanding the invincible foundation that had been laid for the mechanic philoſophy, and the noble diſcoveries made therein by Mr Newton (23). In the firſt lecture he treats of the method of philoſophizing, which he intends to take in the reſt. This he divides into four branches, viz. (1.) The Pythagorean and Platonic, which explain the nature of things by numbers and geometrical figures. (2.) The Ariſtotelian, which does the ſame thing by matter and forms, privations, elementary virtues, occult qualities, ſympathies, and antipathies, &c. (3.) Experimental; and (4.) Mechanical, proceeding by the laws and rules of Mechaniſm, as matter and motion, the various figures and contextures of the parts, ſubtile particles, and the like. From each of theſe our author takes what beſt ſuits his purpoſe, and to avoid error, preſcribes to himſelf theſe three rules: firſt, to lay down requiſite definitions; then to conſider the qualities of things only as thus defined, abſtracted from all others; and thirdly, beginning with the moſt ſimple caſes, thence to proceed to the more compounded. Upon this plan, after he has treated of the ſolidity and extenſion of body, the diviſibility of magnitude, (24) the ſubtility of matter, and thoſe minute particles into which it may be actually divided, of time, and of place, he proceeds to conſider motion (25) in general. The firſt edition of this book contained only fourteen lectures, but to the ſecond edition in 1705 he added two more upon the motions ariſing from given forces. About twenty years ago, when the Newtonian philoſophy began to be cultivated in France, this piece was in great eſteem there, being looked on as the beſt introduction to Sir Iſaac's Principia, and a new edition in Engliſh was printed at London in 1736, at the inſtance of Monſieur Maupertuis (26), who was then in England; and after our author's much admired demonſtrations of Mr Huygens's theorems of centrifugal force, printed at the end of it, ſubjoined a new hypotheſis of his own concerning the ring of the planet Saturn.

[D] *The laws of attraction, and its phyſical Principles.*] This piece is built upon ſome propoſitions in Sir Iſaac Newton's Principia, and our author gives the following account of the origin of it. 'After frequently revolving, ſays he, in my mind the divine diſcoveries of this moſt ſagacious man, I fell at laſt upon this thought, that a certain principle might be applied, not unlike to thoſe of Newton, to the explication of the terreſtrial phænomena; and after experiments often repeated, I perceived there was a certain attractive force in terreſtrial matter, from whence the reaſon of many terreſtrial phænomena is to be derived: And this thought of mine about five years ago I opened to Mr Newton, and I underſtood from him, that he had long ago obſerved the ſame thing; and I found that he had propoſed ſome queries relating to this attractive force at the end of his Optics, publiſhed in Latin about two years ago. Now as it can't be expected, that this great man ſhould

(23) He gives the following liſt of Sir Iſaac's predeceſſors in this philoſophy, viz. Archimedes, Roger Bacon, Cardan, Galilæo, Boyle, and Wallis, with others.

(24) Here, from the limited nature of body, he proves, that geometrical ſuperficies, as lines and points, are not meer ideas, but have an actual exiſtence in nature, ſince every natural body is actually bounded by ſuch a ſuperficies, the actual limits of which are lines, and the limits of thoſe lines actually geometrical points.

(25) Our author maintains both the reality of ſpace and of abſolute motion.

(26) An eminent Mathematician, and one of thoſe who were ſent by the King of France to meaſure a degree of the meridian near the north-pole.

(27) Viz. Prop. 39 and 74. lib. i. and prop. 8. lib. iii.

* The ſlip was the more unpardonable in Dr Bentley, as the ſermon where this remark occurs is among thoſe at Boyle's Lecture, a great part whereof is borrowed from Sir Iſaac Newton's *Principia*, where this obſervation had been particularly inſerted. Lib. iii. prop. 17.

(18) Examin. of the Theory, p. 70.

(19) Page 3, 4, 5, 6. printed at the end of the Reflections, ubi ſupra.

† See more of this in Dr Wallis's article.

(20) The true ſpace is 15 feet, 1 inch, and 2 lines.

(21) In Phil. Tranſ. No. 387.

(22) See chap. vi. in the Examination of the Theory, and his Defence of it in the Examination of the Reflections on the Theory. And it is remarkable, that the reſult of this menſuration firſt brought Sir Iſaac's philoſophy into vogue in France.

the ſame time being offended at a paſſage in the *Acta Eruditorum Lipſiæ*, wherein Sir Iſaac Newton's right to the firſt invention of the method of Fluxions was called in queſtion, he communicated to the Royal Society (*k*) another paper, in which he aſſerted the juſtice of that claim [*E*]. In 1709 he was appointed Treaſurer to the Palatines, and in that ſtation attended them in their paſſage to New-England. Soon after his return in 1710, he was choſen Savilian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Oxford. In 1711, being attacked by Mr Leibnitz, he entered the liſts againſt that illuſtrious Mathematician in the diſpute about the invention of Fluxions, which he maintained with great ſpirit and equal penetration for ſeveral years [*F*], with the approbation of the inventor (*l*). Nor did he content himſelf

(*k*) Publiſhed in Phil. Tranſ. No. 317.

(*l*) See a letter of Sir Iſaac, in Recueil de divers Pieces, &c. Meſſieurs Leibnitz, Clarke, Newton, & autres auteurs celebres, publie par Des Maizeaux, Tom. II. p. 121. Amſterd. 1720.

'proceed ſtill to improve theſe ſtudies, both by reaſon 'of his age and other buſineſs, I thought it not amiſs 'if I ſhould purſue his ſteps herein, though at a great 'diſtance from him.'

[*E*] *A paper, wherein he aſſerted the juſtice of that claim.*] The title of it is, De Legibus virium Centripetarum. In this piece Mr Keill not only aſſerted that Sir Iſaac firſt invented the method of fluxions, as appeared by his letters publiſhed by Dr Wallis, but that Mr Leibnitz had taken this method from him, only changing the name and notation, *Hæc omniaque ſequuntur, inquit, ex celebratiſſima nunc dierum fluxionem Arithmetica, quam ſine dubio primus invenit Dominus Newtonus, ut cuilibet ejus epiſtolas a Walliſio editas facile conſtabit. Eadem tamen Arithmetica poſtea mutatis nomine & notationis modo a D. Leibnitio in actis Eruditorum edita eſt.*

[*F*] *Being attacked by Mr. Leibnitz, &c.*] That gentleman wrote a letter to Dr Hans Sloane, then Secretary to the Royal Society, dated March 4, 1711, where he required in effect that Mr Keill ſhould make him ſatisfaction for the injury which he ſaid had been done to him. 'He proteſted that he was ſo far from aſſuming to 'himſelf the method of Sir Iſaac Newton, after having only changed the name and notation, that he 'was abſolutely ignorant of the name of the *method of* 'fluxions, and of the notation uſed by Sir Iſaac, 'till 'they appeared in the mathematical works of Dr 'Wallis.' He deſired, therefore, the Royal Society to oblige Mr Keill to diſown publickly the bad ſenſe which his words might bear. This letter was communicated to the Royal Society, and Mr Keill to juſtify himſelf to Sir Iſaac Newton, ſhewed him the extract of his book of the *Quadrature of curves* in the *Acta Eruditorum*. (28) He deſired the Society at the ſame time, not to condemn him without hearing him, and to give him leave to explain and defend what he had advanced. This was the more readily granted to him, as Sir Iſaac, and ſeveral other members of the Society, found the ſame ſenſe as he had done in the compariſon (29) of the *Acta Eruditorum*. Upon this, Mr Keill wrote to Dr Sloane a letter, (30) in which he obſerved, 'That when he aſſerted that Mr Leibnitz had publiſh-'ed as his own Sir Iſaac Newton's method, after hav-'ing changed the name and notation, he did not mean, 'that the name which Sir Iſaac had given to his me-'thod, or the notation which he made uſe of, were 'then known to Mr Leibnitz; but only that Sir Iſaac 'was the firſt inventor of the method of fluxions, or 'differential method; and that the letters which he 'had written to Mr Oldenburgh, and which had been 'ſent to Mr Leibnitz, furniſhed light enough to a man 'of Mr Leibnitz's penetration, to diſcover the prin-'ciples of that method. But that not having found 'the name which Sir Iſaac Newton gave his method, 'and the notation uſed by him, it was natural for him 'to invent a new name, and a new manner of nota-'tion. Mr Keill added, that the authors of the *Acta* 'Eruditorum had obliged him to publiſh what he had 'aſſerted, by their having affirmed in their extract of the 'book of *Quadratures*, that Mr Leibnitz had invented 'the differential method, in the room of which, Sir 'Iſaac Newton had ſubſtituted his fluxions. That he ac-'knowledged with pleaſure the great obligations which 'the learned world had to Mr Leibnitz, and his pro-'found ſkill in the mathematics; but that as he had 'ſo great a fund of his own, there was no occaſion to 'adorn him with the ſpoils of others. And that hav-'ing obſerved, that Mr Leibnitz's countrymen gave 'him commendations which did not belong to him, he 'thought that it would not be an inſtance of miſtaken 'zeal for the Engliſh nation, if he endeavoured to 'maintain Sir Iſaac Newton's right.' He then entered upon the ſubject, and ſhews firſt, from a letter of Sir Iſaac's to Mr Collins, dated December 10, 1672, that he had this method before 1670, when Dr Barrow's lectures were publiſhed, and then from his *Analyſis per Equationes infinitas*, which was ſent to Mr Collins in 1699, that he uſed it before that time; and laſtly, from his two letters (and particularly the latter) to Mr Leibnitz in 1676, that he had invented it before the plague which happened in 1665 and 1666. Having thus clearly proved that Sir Iſaac was the firſt and true inventor of the method of fluxions, or the differential method, in the next place he proceeds to evince in what particular manner the two letters of Sir Iſaac to Mr Leibnitz in 1676, which he received from Mr Oldenburgh, contained hints of that method clear enough to enable him to diſcover it. He concludes with declaring, 'that among the great ſervices which Mr Leibnitz had 'done in regard to mathematicks, his having firſt pub-'liſhed this method was one, and that all lovers of 'that ſcience were obliged to him, becauſe he had not 'been willing that ſo uſeful an invention ſhould be 'longer concealed. And he did not doubt but that 'what he had written would juſtify his zeal for his 'country, and furniſh a convincing proof, that he had 'not aſſerted raſhly, or out of a ſpirit of calumny, in 'the Philoſophical Tranſactions, what he had now de-'monſtrated with ſo much clearneſs and evidence.' This letter having been read to the Royal Society May 24, 1711, they ordered a copy of it to be ſent to Mr Leibnitz, who found new matter of complaint in it; and in a ſecond letter which he wrote to Dr Sloane, dated at Hanover December 29, 1711, he repreſented that Mr Keill had attacked his candor and ſincerity more openly than before; adding, that it was not ſuitable for a man of his age and experience to engage in a conteſt with an *Upſtart, who was unacquainted with what had paſſed ſo long before*, and acted without any authority from Sir Iſaac Newton, who was the party concerned. That it was in vain for Mr Keill to pretend to juſtify his proceeding by the example of the *Acta Eruditorum*, ſince in that Journal no injuſtice had been done to any man, but every one had received what was his due. He concluded with deſiring that the Royal Society would enjoin Mr Keill ſilence. Our author ſeeing himſelf treated as an *Upſtart*, who was not informed of what had paſſed formerly, appealed to the Regiſters of the Royal Society, and affirmed that they would find there convincing proofs of what he had advanced. Upon this a ſpecial committee was appointed for the purpoſe, who made the following report. 'We have conſulted the letters, and letter-books, in 'the cuſtody of the Royal Society, and thoſe found 'among the papers of Mr John Collins, dated between 'the years 1699 and 1677 inclusive; and ſhewed them 'to ſuch as knew and avouched the hands of Mr Bar-'row, Mr Collins, Mr Oldenburgh, and Mr Leibnitz, 'and compared thoſe of Mr Gregory with one another, 'and with copies of ſome of them taken in the hand 'of Mr Collins; and have extracted from them what 'relates to the matter referred to us; all which ex-'tracts herewith delivered to you, we believe to be 'genuine and authentic, and by theſe letters and pa-'pers we find,

'I. That Mr Leibnitz was in London in the begin-'ning of the year 1673, and went thence, in or about 'March, to Paris, where he kept a conſtant correſpon-'dence with Mr Collins, by means of Mr Oldenburgh, 'till 'about September 1676, and then returned by Lon-'don and Amſterdam to Hanover. And that Mr Col-'lins was very free in communicating to ſible mathe-'maticians what he received from Mr Newton and Mr 'Gregory.

'II. That when Mr Leibnitz was the firſt time in 'London he pretended for the invention of another 'differential method, properly ſo called; and notwith-'ſtanding that he was ſhewn by Dr Pell that it was 'Mouton's method (31), perſiſted in maintaining it to be 'his

(28) In the Journal of January 1705, p. 30, & ſeqq.

(29) They put him in the ſame relation to Leibnitz, as Honoratos Faber ſtood in with regard to Cavallerius.

(30) Commercium Epiſtolicum D. Johan. Collins, &c. No. LXXXI.

(31) See the book intitled, Obſervationes Diametrorum Solis & Lunæ apparentium, &c. Auctore Gabriele Mouton, Lugdunenſi Sacerdote in eccleſia col'egiata S. Paulli Lyons, 1670, in 4to.

himſelf with laying open to the root the ingratitude of his antagoniſt, as well as injuſtice of his pretenſions, but much indirect art and induſtry under the conduct of the greateſt ſkill and capacity being employed to gain credit to thoſe pretenſions, by diſparaging the true inventor's mathematical abilities, our author extended the ſame ſpirit to the expoſing of Mr John Bernoulli, whom he proved notoriouſly guilty of a like baſe attempt upon Sir Iſaac Newton's character, in another point of that ſcience [G]. About this time ſeveral

written in defence of Sir Iſaac's right, which had been inſerted in the *firſt tome of the ſaid Journal*. The author of theſe remarks, a friend of Mr Leibnitz, charged the London letter-writer with ignorance in the diſpute, and among other things aſſerted, that when Sir Iſaac publiſhed his Principia, he did not underſtand the true differential method. To all theſe pieces Dr Keill publiſhed an anſwer at London in French, entitled, *Reponſe de M. Keill, M. D. Profeſſeur d'Aſtronomie Savilien, aux Auteurs des Remarques ſur le different entre* M. de Leibnitz & M. Newton, *publiées dans le Journal Literaire de la Haye de Novembre & Decembre* 1713. A few copies only were printed of this piece, but it was inſerted in *Journal Literaire, Tom. IV.* The diſpute being ſtill carried on, particularly in the Acta Eruditorum Leipſiæ, our author publiſhed the following piece in 1720 at London, in 4to. *Johannis Keill, M. D. & R. S. S. in Academia Oxonienſi Aſtronomiæ Profeſſoris Epiſtola ad virum clariſſimum Johannem Bernoulli in Academia Baſilienſi Mathematum Profeſſorem; in qua Dominum Newtonum & ſeipſum defendit contra criminationes a Cruſio quodam objectas, & in Actis Lipſienſibus publicatas: Ubi etiam quæritur de nova calumniandi methodo ab authoribus Actorum Lipſienſium inventa & uſurpata, qua in indicibus ſuis probra & convitia in alios fundunt.* ‡

‡ In the title-page, our author put the arms of Scotland, viz. a thiſtle, with this motto, *Nemo me impune laceſſit.* See an account of the contents in Sir Is. Newton's article.

[G] *Whom he proved guilty of a like baſe attempt upon Sir Iſaac Newton's character in another ſubject.*] This is printed in the Phil. Tranſ. Numb 340. with this title, *The inverſe problem of centripetal forces, with remarks on Mr John Bernoulli, by* John Keill. In which our author obſerves, that to find a curve deſcribed by a body which is urged by a given law of centripetal force, when projected with a given velocity from a given place, according to a given right line, is a problem of the greateſt dignity. Sir Iſaac Newton has given us long ſince (ſays he) a compleat ſolution of it in his Principia, granting the quadrature of curvelinear figures, ſince which the celebrated John Bernoulli has again undertaken the ſame problem. I have compared his ſolution with that of Sir Iſaac Newton's, and made the following remarks upon them. 1. Mr Bernoulli premiſes the ſame propoſition which Mr Newton makes uſe of for demonſtrating his problem, which is the 40th in the Principia, and is no leſs elegant than eaſy to be underſtood. Mr Bernoulli ſays, the demonſtration of this propoſition is delivered by Mr Newton in too perplexed a manner; and therefore he ſubſtitutes his own in it's room, which he calls a more ſimple one. But Mr Newton's is more eaſy and leſs perplex. ——He afterwards ſhews, that in reality Mr Bernoulli's formula for the ſolution of this problem does not differ from that of Mr Newton, any otherwiſe than as any thing written in Latin characters differs from the ſame thing, if written in Greek characters. 3. Mr Bernoulli complains that Mr Newton ſuppoſes, without any demonſtration, that curves deſcribed with a force reciprocally as the ſquare of the diſtance will be conic ſections. But Mr Bernoulli muſt know, that Mr Newton was acquainted with the demonſtration. For he knew very well that Mr Newton was the firſt and only one, that had treated of this doctrine about centripetal forces in a geometrical manner, and had brought it to ſuch perfection. Mr Bernoulli alſo knows, that beſides giving the general ſolution of the inverſe problem, Mr Newton had ſhewn how curves might be conſtructed, which are deſcribed by a centripetal force decreaſing in a triplicate proportion of the diſtance, and therefore he could not be ignorant of that caſe. Nor indeed can I ſee for what reaſon he objects to Mr Newton, that he had omitted the demonſtration of this caſe, ſince he himſelf has even premiſed theorems, whoſe demonſtration he has no where given; and why might not Mr Newton do the ſame, when in haſte to proceed to other matters. But now in this new edition of the Principia, he has a demonſtration of this very thing; which tho' very ſhort, is yet much eaſier and clearer than that of Mr Bernoulli.

[H] *Singular*

' his own invention, by reaſon that he had found it
' by himſelf, without knowing what Mouton had done
' before, and had much improved it. And we find
' no mention of his having any other differential me-
' thod than Mouton's, before his letter of the 21ſt of
' June, 1677, which was a year after a copy of Mr
' Newton's letter of the 10th of December 1672 had
' been ſent to Paris to be communicated to him, and
' about four years after Mr Collins began to commu-
' nicate that letter to his correſpondents; in which
' letter the method of Fluxions was ſufficiently deſcribed
' to any intelligent perſon.
' III. That by Mr Newton's letter of the 13th of
' June, 1676, it appears that he had the method of
' Fluxions above five years before the writing of that
' letter. And [illegible] *per Equationes numero*
' *terminorum infinitas*, communicated by Dr Barrow
' to Mr Collins in 1669, we find that he had invented
' the method before that time.
' IV. That the differential method is one and the
' ſame with the method of Fluxions, excepting the
' name and mode of notation; Mr Leibnitz calling
' thoſe quantities differences which Mr Newton calls
' moments, or fluxions, and marking them with the
' letter *d*, a mark not uſed by Mr Newton. And there-
' fore we take the proper queſtion to be not, who in-
' vented this or that method, but who was the firſt
' inventor of the method. And we believe that thoſe
' who have reputed Mr Leibnitz the firſt inventor,
' knew little or nothing of his correſpondence with Mr
' Collins and Mr Oldenburgh long before; nor of Mr
' Newton's having that method above 15 years before
' Mr Leibnitz began to publiſh it in the *Acta Erudito-*
' *rum of Leipſic*.'
' For which reaſons, we reckon Mr Newton the firſt
' inventor, and are of opinion, that Mr Keill, in aſ-
' ſerting the ſame, has been no ways injurious to Mr
' Leibnitz.'

After the publication of the *Commercium Epiſtolicum* in 1712, an extract of it being tranſlated into French, and printed at London *, was inſerted afterwards in the 7th tome of the Journal Literaire: Upon this occaſion Mr Leibnitz, in the poſtſcript of a letter to Count Bothmar, writes, that being at Vienna when the news of the publication of the *Com. Epiſt.* reached his ears, he did not think proper to ſend for it by the poſt, in an aſſurance that it muſt contain malicious falſities. That he wrote, therefore, to Mr Bernoulli, (a gentleman, he ſays, who perhaps in all Europe has ſucceeded beſt in the knowledge and uſe of this calculus, and who was abſolutely neuter) to give him his ſentiments. That Mr Bernoulli wrote him a letter, dated at Baſil June 7, 1713, wherein, he ſaid, it appeared probable, that Sir Iſaac Newton had formed his calculus after he had ſeen that of Mr Leibnitz, having frequent occaſion in his work to make uſe of this calculus, though there appears no trace of it; and that he had even committed ſome errors which ſeemed incompatible with a true knowledge of that calculus. ' One of my friends, continues Mr Leibnitz, publiſh-
' ed this letter, with reflections; and as I had enough
' of other affairs to employ me, I was unwilling to en-
' ter farther into this, eſpecially ſince Sir Iſaac New-
' ton had not ſaid any thing himſelf. I thought it
' ſufficient to have oppoſed to the clamours of his ad-
' herents, the judgment of a perſon of Mr Bernoulli's
' learning and impartiality †: Theſe two Latin pieces
were publiſhed in Germany in a looſe ſheet, dated
[illegible] 29, 1713, where in the letter aſcribed above
to Mr Leibnitz to Bernoulli, this gentleman was cited in
the third perſon with a compliment [*quemadmodum*
ab eminente quodam mathematico dudum notatum eſt,]
which gave room to ſuſpect it was not written by Ber-
noulli, and that ſuſpicion was heightened by the ſame
letter's being printed afterwards in the [illegible] Mr Leib-
nitz, without the compliment, in the Journal Litte-
raire of December 28, 1715. Thus caſtrated, theſe
two pieces were inſerted in the 2d *tome of the Journal*
Literaire, with remarks upon a letter from London,

* With this title, *Extrait de Livre intitulé*, Commercium Epiſtolicum Collinii & aliorum, de Analyſi promotu, *publié par ordre de la Societe Royale, a l'occaſion de la diſpute elevée entre* M. Leibnitz *&* D. Keill *ſur le droit d'Invention, a la methode des Fluxions, par quelq'uns appellée Methode differentiale*, 8vo. p. 38.

† Des Maizeaux's Recueil, ubi ſupra, tom. ii. p. 44, 45.

ſeveral objections were alſo warmly urged againſt ſome parts of that great inventor's philoſophy, in ſupport of Des Cartes's notions of a Plenum. Hereupon Mr Keill drew up a paper, which he publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions (*m*), containing ſome *Theorems on the rarity of matter, and the tenuity of its compoſition*; wherein he ſhews, that a quantity of air, not bigger than the ſmalleſt grain of ſand, may be diffuſed through the whole orb of Saturn, in ſuch a manner, as to leave therein no vacuity whoſe diameter ſhall exceed a given right line how ſmall ſoever,; hence it is manifeſt, that air may be ſo rarified as to be void of all ſenſible reſiſtance. He obſerves likewiſe, that the quantity of matter in glaſs, for inſtance, is to its bulk, in a leſs proportion than a grain of ſand is to the whole terreſtrial globe; and that gold is not eight times denſer than glaſs; whence it appears very poſſible for effluvia to pervade the denſeſt gold; and hence it is that the rays of light paſſing through a ſmall hole do not mutually hinder each other, but continue their motion in a ſtreight line; a phænomenon, which can hardly be explained by the motion of impulſe in the ſuppoſition of a Plenum. Whilſt our author was engaged in this intricate controverſy, wherein the honour of his country was ſo much concerned, her Majeſty Queen Anne was pleaſed to appoint him her Decypherer, a poſt of great truſt, and which requires ſingular ſagacity [*H*]. The Univerſity likewiſe conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Phyſick, at the Public Act in 1713 (*n*). Two years after, he publiſhed an edition of Commandinus's Euclid [*I*], to which he added two tracts of his own; the firſt containing the elements of plain and ſpherical Trigonometry, and the other ſhewing the nature and arithmetic of Logarithms. In 1717 he intermarried with a perſon who recommended herſelf to his choice purely by her perſonal accompliſhments [*K*]. And as our author, when weary with his ſtudies, had uſually ſought his refreſhment in the ſociety of the fair ſex, Mr Anthony Alſop, who had been a member of the ſame college, and an intimate acquaintance, addreſſed him on this occaſion in a very ſingular Epithalamium, which we ſhall give in the note [*L*]. The following year the Doctor publiſhed

(*m*) No. 339.

(*n*) The two degrees of B. and M. D. were accumulated July 9 this year. A Catalogue of Degrees, ubi ſupra.

[*H*] *Singular ſagacity.*] We have ſuch an inſtance of the Doctor's talent this way, as ſufficiently juſtifies her appointment. The ingenious author quoted in the margin *, who after Dr Wallis, hath wrote more rationally than any body I know upon the art of decyphering, among other precognita neceſſary for thoſe analytical operations obſerves, that it is requiſite the decypherer ſhould know or have probable reaſon to believe, in what language the letter (or paper) given him to decypher is written; and that he alſo be at leaſt moderately ſkilled in that language. 'I can no 'otherwiſe, continues he, account for Dr Wallis's ſi'lence on this head, than by ſuppoſing that he took the 'thing for granted. Indeed it is ſo obvious, that I 'ſhould hardly have mentioned it myſelf, had not a 'perſon of unqueſtionable credit aſſured me from the 'mouth of Dr John Keill, that he once decyphered a 'paper written in Swediſh, without knowing a word 'of the Swediſh tongue.' The account, as here given, contains ſuch an aſtoniſhing unparallelled inſtance of ſagacity in the decyphering art, that the relator could not let it paſs without the following remark: 'This, 'ſays he, as it is reported in groſs, and commonly un'derſtood, is, in my opinion, impoſſible to be done. But 'as I would not hereby be thought to charge Dr Keil 'with an untruth, I will ſtate a caſe, which I think 'to be poſſible, and conſiſtent with his affirmation in 'a favourable ſenſe. If then the cypher conſiſted of a 'ſingle alphabet of letters, without nulls †, and the 'words were ſeparated: If he were told before-hand, 'that the writing was in Swediſh; and if he had with 'him an interpreter of that nation with whom he might 'conſult upon all emergencies, I ſee no reaſon to diſ'pute his performance. Yet with all theſe allowances 'I believe it muſt have been an aukward piece of 'work, and have taken up ſome time; but at length 'he might be able to compaſs it, notwithſtanding his 'being unacquainted with the language, ſince that de'fect would in great meaſure be ſupplied by the aſſi'ſtance of his interpreter.'

* An Eſſay on the Art of Decyphering, by J. Davies, M. A. Rector of Caſtle-Aſhby in Northamptonſhire. Lond. 1737, 4to. p. 40, 41.

† Theſe are marks without any meaning, inſerted purely to render the cypher more intricate.

[*I*] *He publiſhed Commandinus's Euclid.*] The title of this book runs thus: Euclidis Elementorum Libri priores ſex, item undecimus & duodecimus; ex verſione Latina Frederici Commandini, in uſum juventutis Academicæ. Our author prefixed a preface, in which he gives us his motive for publiſhing this piece; which was, that the youth in the univerſity might be taught Euclid in his own method, and thereby be trained up to have a juſt taſte of the elegance and perſpicuity of the ancient manner of demonſtrating. This was the more neceſſary, as a cuſtom had prevailed for ſome time with a few at Oxford (and almoſt univerſally at Cambridge) of teaching the Elements of Geometry from *Pardie* or *Tacquet*; the ill conſequences of which Mr Keill here labours to ſhew. At the end of this piece he added two ſmall tracts, viz. *Trigonometriæ planæ et ſphericæ Elementa.* Item, *Tractatus de Natura & Arithmetica Logarithmorum.* Theſe were more eſteemed by himſelf than any of his performances; and it muſt be owned they are drawn up with a peculiar elegance and perſpicuity. There was another edition of this book printed at Oxford in 1723, with corrections and ſome ſlight additions.

[*K*] *Who recommended herſelf to his choice purely by her perſonal accompliſhments.*] His brother Dr James Keill, upon the firſt hearing of this match was greatly diſguſted; but ſoon after this change in her condition, his ſpouſe being carried by her huſband to make a viſit to his brother, who then lay ill at Northampton, ſhe behaved to him on this occaſion with ſo much prudence and aſſiduity to pleaſe, as in a few months ſoftened him into a perfect reconciliation; and at his death (which happened in a little time) he left the new married couple in poſſeſſion of a conſiderable fortune.

[*L*] *A ſingular Epithalamium,* &c.] It is written in Sapphic verſe, as follows:

'Keile ni mendax mihi falſa mittit
'Freindus, de mœcho fieri maritus
'Cogeris, parteſque agit uſtatas
'Pellicis uxor.

'Quid ni ego lætor tibi grátulari
'Conjugi conjux? Ego qui reliqui
'Connubii cauſa patriamque domumque uxorius exul.

'Dum ſales ſpargunt lepidi ſodales
'Te ſuper vel me, cuperem intereſſe
'Magna pars riſus: ſed ab his acerba
'Lege remotus,

'Perfruor dulci alloquio pudicæ
'Oſculis ſponſæ placidoque vultu,
'Nec videt ſponſum magis amantem amatumve
'Ætherius ſol.

'Mille mi præſtet Paphiâ in paleſtrâ
'[illegible] quod tu ingrediare caſtra,
'Quæ ſert cauſa ante Helenam duelli,
'Unica cauſa eſt.

'Eſtne

liſhed at Oxford in 8vo. his *Introductio ad Veram Aſtronomiam* [M]. This treatiſe was afterwards,

‘ Eſtne quis, cunctos quot amant matheſin
‘ Inter, O Ductor Gregis, eſtne, qui te
‘ Rectius norit, vel acutiori
‘ Luſtrat ocello

‘ Siderum motus? Tibi ſi qua proles
‘ Naſcitur, quicquid minitentur aſtra,
‘ Quid ferant lætum, docilis futuri
‘ Ante videbis.

‘ Si tuos audax thalamos Adulter
‘ Scandere optabit, ve et ars & Æther
‘ Improbos anſus; & nermis eſto, &
‘ Incolumis frons.

‘ Quæ ſit aret, & totis licitæ diebus,
‘ Noctibus totis Veneri litato;
‘ Non opus ſylvæ, aut recubare ſubter
‘ Tegmine fœni.

‘ Crede mihi, quoque veneris locorum
‘ Gratior poſthac eris hoſpes, ex quo
‘ Nata fors matri, dominæque ſerva
‘ Caſta redibit.

‘ Interim quicquid vetulæ & puellæ
‘ Garriant, ne te jecur intus angat;
‘ Sed domi ſiſtens, ede, lude, pota, &
‘ Temne quod ultra eſt.

‘ Sis amans ſponſæ, &, mea ſi valent quid
‘ Vota, ſis felix; ſed iniqua ſi ſors
‘ Dempſerit primam, mora nulla ſponſam
‘ Sume ſecundam.

‘ Eſt, uti noſti, bene paſta Virgo
‘ Cuilibet ſat par oneri ferendo,
‘ Ipſe quam, ſed mi meliora divi,
‘ Ducere rebar.

‘ Hanc cape; & noſtro ex loculo repente
‘ Æra bis centum accipies, & ultra;
‘ Sed pari nullum, niſi te, procorum
‘ Dote beabo.

[M] *Introductio ad Veram Aſtronomiam.*] This was tranſlated into Engliſh by Dr Keill himſelf, and publiſhed with many emendations at London, 1721, 8vo. under the following title, *An Introduction to the true Aſtronomy: or, Aſtronomical Lectures read in the Aſtronomical Schools of the Univerſity of Oxford.* The hiſtory of Phyſical Aſtronomy having been given by Dr *David Gregory*, our author's predeceſſor in the Savilian Chair, Dr Keill in his preface gives us the hiſtory of the other branch called Technical Aſtronomy; and obſerves, that ‘as the art of ſailing does in a great meaſure depend on the knowledge of the ſtars, ſo the impetuous and ambitious deſires of kings and princes to diſcover unknown and foreign countries inclined them to cultivate Aſtronomy. The firſt of theſe ſailors was Neptune, who upon the account of his ſkill in this art was celebrated as God of the Ocean. His ſon, Belus, being an Aſtronomer, by his knowledge therein carried the inhabitants of Lybia into Aſia, where he inſtituted colleges of Aſtronomers (32). Before his time there was *Atlas* King of Mauritania, a great Aſtronomer, who firſt ſhewed the doctrine of the ſphere; and therefore Virgil introduces Jopas ſinging what Atlas had taught mankind:

‘ ——— doctus cui maximus Atlas,
‘ Hic canit errantem lunam ſolisque labores (33).

So *Uranus* king of the country ſituated on the ſhore of the Atlantic ocean, for his ſkill in Aſtronomy, is ſaid to have been deſcended from the [illegible] the Perſian philoſopher is celebrated by all antiquity as a ſkilful Aſtronomer; and the dignity of this ſcience was eſteemed ſo great, as to be called the Royal Science,

(32) See Diod. Siculus, Lib. i.

(33) Æneid. lib. i.

because kings were moſt delighted with it above all others; for the kings of Africa and Syria firſt invented and improved it, and that long before it was known in Greece. Thus Plato in his dialogue called *Epinomis*. *The firſt*, ſays he, *who obſerved theſe things was a Barbarian, who lived in an ancient country, where, upon the account of the clearneſs of the ſummer ſeaſon, they could firſt diſcover them, ſuch as Egypt and Syria, where the ſtars are clearly ſeen, there being neither rain nor clouds to hinder their proſpect. And becauſe we are more remote from this ſummer clearneſs of weather than the Barbarians, we came later to the knowledge of theſe ſtars.* So Lucian tells us, ‘ that the Ethiopians ‘ firſt took notice of the heavenly motions; and by ‘ finding the cauſes of the lunations, they knew that ‘ the Moon had no proper light of it's own, but bor‘ rowed it from the Sun.’ After this our author proceeds to the ſtory of Porphyry concerning the obſervations of Caliſthenes for 1903 years (34), which, ſays he, bring us to 115 years after the Flood, and 15 years after the building of Babel. Pliny likewiſe in his *Natural Hiſtory* relates from *Epigenes*, ‘ That the Babylonians ‘ had obſervations of 720 years all engraven upon ‘ bricks. And Achilles Tatius in the beginning of his ‘ Introduction to *Aratus's Phænomena* informs us, that ‘ the Egyptians were the firſt who meaſured the hea‘ vens and the earth; and their ſcience in this matter ‘ was engraven on columns, and by that means deli‘ vered to poſterity; yet the Chaldeans take the ho‘ nour of the invention to themſelves, and aſcribe it ‘ to Belus.’ In the next place he brings us into Greece, whither all the aſtronomical learning came from Egypt. For Diogenes Laërtius owns, that Thales, Pythagoras, Eudoxus, and many others went to that country to be inſtructed in the ſidereal ſcience. Theſe men were not only the firſt but the greateſt philoſophers whom Greece produced; and from the ſame writer we know, that they who ſtaid longeſt in that country, were moſt famous for their ſkill in Geometry and Aſtronomy after they returned home. So Pythagoras, who lived in ſociety with the Egyptian prieſts ſeven years, and was initiated into their religion, carried home from thence beſides ſeveral geometrical inventions, the true extent of the univerſe; and was the firſt who taught in Greece, that the earth and planets turned round the ſun, which was immoveable in the center; and that the diurnal motion of the ſun and fixed ſtars was not real, but apparent, ariſing from the motion of the earth round its axis. At that time no one was eſteemed a philoſopher, but who was well acquainted with the mathematical ſciences. But theſe ſciences were ſoon neglected by the philoſophers who came after them; and who, much degenerating from their predeceſſors, had ſo little care and concern for the mathematical ſciences, eſpecially Aſtronomy, that almoſt all the obſervations ſent from Babylon by Caliſthenes were loſt: ſo that Ptolmey was able to recover but a very few of them. For, ſays he, theſe pretenders to philoſophy ſpent their time about trifles of no value; and in endeavouring to find out ſophiſms, whereby they might impoſe upon their own, and the common ſenſe of mankind; ſuch were Zeno's arguments againſt motion, and moſt of the philoſopher's diſputations againſt the diviſibility of matter *in infinitum*; whereas a little knowledge of Geometry would eaſily have ſolved all the difficulties they could raiſe. But tho' Aſtronomy was thus baniſhed out of the ſchools of the common philoſophers, yet it was received and cultivated by ſome, tho' but a few, eſpecially by the Pythagorean ſect, which flouriſhed in Italy many years; among whom was Philolaus and Ariſtarchus Samius. The Ptolemys, kings of Egypt were alſo great patrons of learning; they founded an academy for Aſtronomy at Alexandria, which furniſhed ſeveral great men, the chief of whom was Hypparchus, who firſt made a kind of catalogue of *the ſtars* (35), *and left the heavens for an heritage to all that come after*. This man foretold the eclipſes of both ſun and moon for 600 years; and upon his obſervations is founded that valuable work of Ptolemy, which he calls Μεγάλη Σύνταξις, or his *Great Conſtruction*; for from them he gathered the præceſſion of the equinoxes, and the theory of the planets. When Egypt was conquered by the Saracens, and Alexandria reduced under their juriſdiction, the conquerors received Aſtronomy (36), with the reſt of the liberal arts, under

(34) This ſtory of Caliſthenes is rendered at leaſt very doubtful by Sir Iſaac Newton in his Chronology.

(35) Pliny, in Nat. Hiſt. where he ſays, Hypparchus undertook to number the ſtars, a buſineſs which would have been a work for a God to perform.

(36) Upon their conqueſt of that city, they deſtroyed the aſtronomical as well as other books of learning, and neither cultivated that or any other ſcience, nor tranſlated any of the Grecian books therein, 'till above 100 years after. *Freind's Hiſtory of Phyſic*, Vol. II. non longe ab initio.

terwards, at the requeſt of the Ducheſs of Chandois (o), tranſlated by him into Engliſh [N], which, with ſeveral emendations, he likewiſe publiſhed in 1721 [O], under the following title, *An Introduction to the true Aſtronomy, or Aſtronomical Lectures read in the Aſtronomical ſchools of the Univerſity of Oxford.* This was his laſt gift to the learned world, and he did not long ſurvive the donation. Though his conſtitution was of the robuſt kind, yet it was ſomewhat heavy, and from the time of changing his condition, but eſpecially after the increaſe of his fortune, he indulged in a fuller diet, and uſed leſs exerciſe than he had done before. He was ſeized this ſummer with a violent fever, which put a period to his life on the firſt of September (p), being not then aged quite fifty years. He was buried at Oxford (q), where he died. He left a ſon, who is ſtill living, a linen-draper of good repute near the Manſion-houſe in London. He was ſucceeded in the Savilian Profeſſorſhip of Aſtronomy by the preſent Profeſſor Dr James Bradley, who was choſen in his room on the 23d of October the ſame year (r).

(o) See the dedication to that Ducheſs.

(p) Communicated by his ſon.

(q) In St Mary's church, where there is a monument with an inſcription erected to his memory.

(r) Hiſtorical Regiſter for the year 1721, where Dr Keill's death is ſaid to have happened on the 29th of Auguſt.

der their protection, and took care that moſt part of the books concerning the liberal arts and ſciences ſhould be tranſlated from the Greek into their own Arabian language. The Saracens paſſing from Africa into Spain, and having a commerce with the weſtern European nations, imparted to them the ſcience of Aſtronomy, which before was almoſt loſt in Europe. So that about the year 1230, at the command of the *Emperor Frederic*, Ptolemy's *Almageſt*, or his *great Syntaxis*, was tranſlated from the Arabic into Latin. After that time Aſtronomy received many improvements from the patronage of the greateſt princes, and the labours of the moſt celebrated philoſophers; among whom in the firſt place is to be mentioned *Alphonſus King of Caſtile*; who is never to be forgotten on account of the *aſtronomical tables* called after his name. *Nicolas Copernicus* was not only a diligent obſerver, but alſo a reſtorer of the ancient Pythagorean ſyſtem. *Prince William Landgrave of Heſſe*, who procured quadrants and ſextants much larger than what were formerly uſed to obſerve the true places of the ſtars, and whoſe obſervations were publiſhed by *Snellius*. *Sir Henry Saville*, ſkilful both in Aſtronomy and Geometry, who founded two profeſſorſhips for thoſe ſciences at Oxford. *Tycho Brahe*, ſuperior in ſkill to all that went before him, who publiſhed a catalogue of 700 fixed ſtars, which he had diligently obſerved. *John Kepler*, who by the help of Tycho's labours found out the true ſyſtem of the world, and the laws obſerved by the celeſtial bodies in their motions. *Galileo*, who firſt applied a teleſcope to the heavens, and by means of it diſcovered the Satellites of Jupiter, and their motions; the various phaſes of Saturn; the increaſe and decreaſe of the light of Venus; the mountainous and uneven ſurface of the moon; the ſpots of the ſun; and the revolution of the ſun about its own axis. *John Hevelius*, who has given us a catalogue of the fixed ſtars much larger than Tycho's compoſed from his own obſervations. *Huygens* and *Caſſini*, who firſt ſaw the Satellites of Saturn, and diſcovered his ring. *Gaſſendi, Horrox, Bullialdus, Ward, Ricciolus, Flamſteed*, and many other eminent Aſtronomers. But we have one here, adds Dr Keill, who, on account of his great merits in Aſtronomy does excel them all, that is, the moſt learned Dr *Edmund Halley* Savilian Profeſſor of Geometry in this univerſity, my moſt friendly collegue, to whoſe labours Aſtronomy owes many great improvements. In him there ſhines out together (which I know not if they are to be found in any other perſon to ſuch a degree) the greateſt dexterity in Practical Aſtronomy, and a moſt profound and exquiſite ſkill in Geometry, which will appear by his Aſtronomical Tables which he is ſhortly to publiſh; for they will far exceed all others that ever were, or perhaps ever will be, publiſhed. The doctor cloſes the whole with the illuſtrious name of Sir Iſaac Newton, whom he extols infinitely above all his predeceſſors, and does not even ſcruple to ſtile him *a genius of a divine nature.*

[N] *Tranſlated into Engliſh.*] This tranſlation is dedicated to the Ducheſs at whoſe requeſt it was undertaken. The Duke her conſort, in the preceding reign, had been called upon by the Houſe of Commons to give an account of the public money which he had received during the time of his being Paymaſter to the army; upon this occaſion, it has been ſaid, he employed our author to prepare theſe accounts for the reviſal: Upon the day appointed, the papers containing them were brought in a cart, which appeared to be well filled with them. The Houſe being informed of this, came to a reſolution to drop the affair, rather than be at the trouble of examining a cart-load of accounts. However that be, ſo much is certain, that Dr Keill conſtantly found Mr Bridges his friend and patron.

[O] *He publiſhed it in* 1721.] In this treatiſe he inſerted the ſolution of Kepler's celebrated problem to divide the area of a ſemicircle in a given proportion, by a line drawn from a given point of the diameter, in order to find an univerſal rule for the motion of a body in an elliptic orbit. Our author had printed it before in Philoſoph. Tranſact. No. 317, with this title, *Problematis Kepleriani de inveniendo vero motu Planetarum areas tempori proportionales in orbibus ellipticis circa focorum alterum deſcribentium ſolutio Newtoniana* (37) *a Dre Johanne Keill, Aſtron. Prof. Savil. Oxon. & R. S. S. demonſtrata & exemplis illuſtrata.* This problem had been demonſtrated geometrically by ſeveral others, by which means the charge of ἀγεωμετρησια, brought at firſt againſt Kepler's hypotheſis, was indeed taken off: But ſtill the ſame difficulty remained in the the calculation; to facilitate which, theſe geometrical ſolutions and demonſtrations brought no aſſiſtance. An approximating ſeries was the only method adapted for practice *; and therefore many years after this we find Mr Machin, Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Greſham, obſerving (38) that tho' ſeveral attempts had been made at different times, yet, if he miſtakes not, never any at that time with tolerable ſucceſs, in order to the ſolution of this problem, and therefore he gave the ſolution in a different manner from all that went before him in this attempt. In ſupport of this cenſure, which is made uſe of by way of apology for his own attempt, he obſerves, that among the ſeveral methods offered, ſome were only true in ſpeculation, but really of no ſervice; that others were not different from Kepler's own, which he judged improper; and as to the reſt, they were all ſome way or other ſo limited and confined to particular conditions and circumſtances, as ſtill to leave the problem in general untouched. 'To be 'more particular, continues he, it is evident, that all 'conſtructions by mechanical curves are ſeeming ſolu'tions only, but in reality unapplicable; that the roots 'of infinite ſeries are, on account of their unknown 'limitations, in all reſpects ſo far from affording an 'appearance of being ſufficient rules, that they cannot 'well be ſuppoſed as offered for any thing more than 'exerciſes in a method of calculation. And then as 'to the univerſal method, which proceeds by a conti'nued correction of the errors of a falſe poſition, it 'is, when duly conſidered, no method of ſolution at 'all in itſelf, becauſe unleſs there be ſome antecedent 'rule, or hypotheſis, directing where to begin the ope'ration, as ſuppoſe that of an uniform motion about 'the upper focus for the orbit of a planet, or that of 'a motion in a parabola for the perihelion part of the 'orbit of a comet, or ſome ſuch other, it would be 'impoſſible to proceed one ſtep in it. But as no ge'neral rule has ever hitherto been laid down to aſſiſt 'this method, ſo as to make it always operate, it is 'the ſame in effect as if there were no method at all. 'And accordingly in experience it is found, that there 'is no rule now ſubſiſting, but what is abſolutely uſe'leſs in the elliptic orbit of comets. For in ſuch caſes 'there is no other way to proceed, but that which 'was made uſe of by Kepler, namely, to compute a 'table for ſome part of the orbit, and therein exa'mine if the time to which the place is required will 'fall out any where in that part: So that upon the 'whole, Mr Machin thinks it evident, that this pro'blem, contrary to the received opinion, had then ne'ver advanced a ſtep toward its true ſolution. A 'conſideration, concludes he, which will furniſh a plea 'for meddling with a ſubject ſo frequently handled, eſ'pecially if what is offered ſhall appear to contribute 'towards ſupplying the main defect.'

(37) *Principia*, p. 101. 2d edit. Camb. 1713. 4to.

* See James Gregory's article.

(38) Phil. Tranſ. No. 447.

P.

KEILL

KEILL [JAMES], an eminent Phyſician, and younger brother of the preceding, was likewiſe born in Scotland, March 27, 1673 (a), and received ſome part of his education in that country, which having completed by travelling into foreign parts, he applied himſelf early to diſſections and the ſtudy of Anatomy (b). By which method great improvements had not long before been made in the art of Phyſic (c). He laid the firſt foundation of his character by reading Anatomical Lectures, with great applauſe, in both the univerſities, and had the degree of Doctor of Phyſick conferred upon him at Cambridge, having ſome time before publiſhed his *Anatomy of the human Body* (d) for the uſe of his pupils. In 1703 he ſettled at Northampton as a Phyſician, in which town and neighbourhood he practiſed with great reputation all his life afterwards (e). In 1706 he publiſhed a paper in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 306, containing an *An account of the death and diſſection of John Bayles of Northampton, reputed to have been 130 years old* [A]. Our author was well ſkilled alſo in mathematical learning; and in 1708 he gave the world a good ſpecimen of it in his book entitled, *An account of Animal Secretion, the quantity of blood in the Human Body, and muſcular Motion* (f) [B]. He afterwards publiſhed the ſame treatiſe

(a) Communicated by Mr John Murray of Northampton, our author's nephew.

(b) See his epitaph, an account of which is mentioned below.

(c) Dr Freind's Hiſtory of Phyſic, Vol. II.

(d) The 7th edition was publiſhed in 1726.

(e) Mr Murray's Letter.

(f) It is printed in 8vo. and makes only a thin volume.

[A] *An account of the death and diſſection of John Bayles.*] In opening this ſubject, Dr Keill found the bottom of the ſtomach worn as thin as fine writing-paper, and the *aorta* quite cartilagenous; whence the greateſt part of his blood was contained in the arteries (contrary to what is obſerved in recently dead bodies), for the aorta having loſt the power of contracting itſelf, contained the blood it received by the laſt *ſyſtole* of the heart. Theſe the Doctor judged to be the immediate cauſes of his death. He obſerved that the viſcera in general were very ſound and good, as the liver, kidneys (with the urinary paſſages), the inteſtines, with their meſentery, (which was even covered with fat, in a body quite emaciated) the lungs white and ſpongy, but, above all, the heart large, thick, and fat, and in a large cheſt: Theſe he aſſigns for the cauſes of Bayles's longævity. He takes notice, that this account agrees with Dr Harvey's concerning old Parre (1), in every thing but his death. Here we cannot but obſerve, that no truth obtrudes itſelf more upon our notice, or is more vulgarly remarked, than that after a certain period the human frame naturally decays, and tends to a diſſolution; yet notwithſtanding this, 'tis as certain, that without ſuch diſſections as theſe of Bayles and Parre, we ſhould never have known in what vital part nature begins to work this decay. From *other* diſſections we learn, that the bones which are meer cartilages in a fœtus, become perfectly oſſified in an adult; and *theſe* teach us, that the coats of the arteries, which in a perfect adult are greatly elaſtic, grow from that ſtate by the ſame fixed laws of the animal œconomy, to be abſolutely cartilaginous in extreme old age, and thereby incapable of carrying on the circulation of the blood, that neceſſary condition of life: This we ſee is brought about by the natural frame of our conſtitution. Whence it appears, that life can never be extended to any very long duration by any art or contrivance of man. Upon the whole, it would be ſcarcely credible, were we not aſſured of it in fact, that the greateſt genii have employed a good ſhare of their thoughts and ſtudies in that view; and we know the *Methuſalem Water* was invented by Lord Bacon (2). Upon this plan are the vain pretences of Des Cartes's ſecret (3), who told Sir Kenelm Digby, *that though to render a man immortal was what he would not venture to promiſe; yet he was very ſure it was poſſible to lengthen out his life to the period of the Patriarchs.* 'Tis true he had the ill luck to be ſeized by death, that great confounder of human devices, before he was fifty-four years old, while he was compoſing a ſhort ſyſtem of medicines, containing a diſcovery of this grand arcanum (4).

(1) In Phil. Tranſ. No. 44. where it is obſerved, that Parre was brought up to London out of Shropſhire by the Earl of Arundel; and that all his inwards appeared ſo ſound at his death, that if he had not changed his diet, he muſt have lived a great while longer.

(2) See the paper called *Medical Remains*, in the third vol. of his works, publiſhed in 1730, in four vols. fol.

(3) See Des Maizeaux's Life of Monſ. St Evremond, prefixed to the firſt vol. of that author's Works, p. 41. printed at London, 1728, in three volumes.

(4) Ibid. p. 42.

(5) Preface, towards the end.

[B] *An account of animal ſecretion, the quantity of blood in the human body, and muſcular motion.*] This piece took its birth from the theorems concerning the attraction of the ſmall particles of matter, which were communicated to him about ſeven years before by his brother at Oxford (5). It was the conſideration of the uſe of the *vena porta*, which gave him the firſt hint to think that the ſeveral humours of the body were formed by this attraction in the particles of the blood. My brother, ſays he, no ſooner diſcovered this principle of attraction, than he deduced from it the coheſion of matter, and many of the operations of chemiſtry; and ſince it will appear that the principles of animal œconomy does likewiſe depend upon the ſame principle, who can doubt the truth of a principle ſo ſimple, and yet which, like a maſter-key, opens works of different contrivances, and diſcloſes an uniformity in all the operations of nature, ſo that every one may ſee and read the ſame thought and hand in the contrivance and formation of every part of the univerſe. He concludes his preface with remarking, that the *vis attractrix* was aſſerted by the moſt famous ancient Phyſicians, as Hippocrates and Galen, as well as the gravitation of the heavenly bodies one towards another was known by the beſt ancient philoſophers, as well as to Kepler and Sir Iſaac Newton (6). Upon the ſubject of animal ſecretion, and in explaining the manner how the fluids of the animal body are ſeparated from the blood, Dr Keill undertakes to ſhew, 1. How they are formed in the blood before they come to the place appointed for ſecretion. 2. In what manner they are ſeparated from the blood by the glands. Upon the former head he ſhews, that the blood conſiſts of a ſimple fluid, in which ſwim corpuſcles of various figures and magnitudes, and indued with different degrees of attractive force. Hence he concludes, that of ſuch particles as the blood conſiſts, muſt the fluids be compoſed which are drawn from it; and as in the blood the particles attract one another, and cohere together, ſo likewiſe may the particles of the fluids which are ſeparated from it. This he proceeds farther to ſhew to be not only poſſible, but actually ſo in ſeveral ſecretions, as milk, wine, &c. And if it is not evident in all, he looks upon it to be, becauſe their conſtituent principles are more powerfully attracted by the particles of the fluids in which they ſwim than by one another, which hinders their ſeparation from that fluid. From this principle, that the blood conſiſts of corpuſcles of various figures and magnitudes, and indued with various degrees of an attractive power, and that of ſuch particles the fluids ſecerned by the glands are compoſed, the Doctor proceeds to ſhew how the corpuſcles, which compoſe the ſecretions, are formed in the blood, before they arrive at their ſecerning glands. In order to this, he premiſes eleven propoſitions taken from his brother's theorems concerning the laws of attraction, as being fundamental to what he is about to advance. The demonſtration of the third was communicated to him by his brother, and is as follows. *If particles of matter attract each other with a force that is in a reciprocal-triplicate, or greater proportion of their diſtances, the force by which a corpuſcle is drawn to a body made up of ſuch attractive particles, is infinitely greater at the contact, or extremely near it, than at any determined diſtance from it.* After this he firſt determines the force of the air upon the blood in breathing, in which he follows Dr Pitcairne *, in order to ſhew, that by the preſſure of the air the coheſion of the globules of the blood is diſſolved. He then ſhews, how the union of the attractive particles of the blood is hindered near the heart; and that the particles which unite firſt, after the blood is thrown out of the great artery, muſt be ſuch as have the ſtrongeſt attractive force; and that ſuch as have the leaſt, muſt unite laſt; and all the intermediate ones, according to their reſpective attractive powers. He proceeds to deduce the reaſon of the ſituation of the kidneys; and obſerves, that though the *gall*, which is ſecerned by the liver, and the *ſemen* by the teſticuli, ſeem to be two conſiderable objections againſt his hypotheſis, yet they are ſo far from proving any thing againſt his doctrine of ſecretion, as to be the greateſt arguments that could poſſibly be urged for the truth of it. This he demonſtrates upon his hypotheſis at large, and then ſhews likewiſe how, according to it,

(6) The ancient Philoſophers underſtood juſt as much of this mutual gravitation, as the ancient Phyſicians did of the *vis attractrix*; that is, juſt nothing at all.

* In Diſſertatione de Cauſis diverſæ Molis, qua fluit Sanguis per Pulmonem in Natis & non Natis. Inter *Pitcairnii Opera*, Lugduni Batav. 1737, 4to. p. 224, & ſeqq.

treatiſe in Latin, with the addition of a *Medicina Statica*; in which the calculations being reduced into tables, theſe were the firſt that had been ſeen in that branch of Phyſick. In 1717, our author printed a ſecond edition of this work in Engliſh, having added an Eſſay concerning the force of the heart in driving the blood through the whole body. This drew him into a controverſy with Dr Jurin upon that ſubject [C], which was carried on in ſeveral

it, ſome fluids may be ſecerned any where, and why the lympha is ſecerned in ſeveral places; he concludes what he had offered upon the firſt general propoſition relating to ſecretions, with remarking that the knowledge of ſecretions is neceſſary for the underſtanding of the nature of diſeaſes, inſtances of which he gives in the Diabetes, the Rheumatiſm, the Gout, and the Stone. Under the ſecond general propoſition he ſhews the manner in which the ſeveral fluids after they are formed in the blood are ſeparated from it by the glands, and as this depends intirely upon the figure and ſtructure of the glands, he determines them again, after Dr Pitcairne (7), to be nothing elſe but convolutions of ſmall arteries, and conſequently either concave cones, or cylinders, or at leaſt a figure whoſe tranſverſe ſection is a circle. Hence he concludes too with Dr Pitcairne, that the circular orifices of the glands can only differ in magnitude, and that all ſorts of particles of leſs diameters than that of the orifice of a gland may enter it. The next ſubject he treats of is the quantity of the blood, or circulating fluids of what kind ſoever in the human body; in order to determine which, he ſuppoſes the whole body to be nothing but tubes or veſſels full of blood, or liquors ſeparated from it; and concludes with obſerving, that in a body weighing 160 pounds, there muſt needs be 127 pounds of blood; from which quantity, however, that he may put the matter out of all manner of diſpute, he deducts the weight both of the fat and bones, (though he thinks that ſome arguments might be alledged to prove that even the fat circulates, and he had before ſhewn that there is a fluid in the bones) and after allowances made for both, concludes, that the fluids in the human body have the ſame proportion to the ſolids as 100 to 60, or 5 to 3. He finiſhes the whole of what he has to ſay about the blood with a pretty large diſcourſe about its velocity, and obſerves, that when the whole maſs of blood is to be altered, the courſe of phyſic ought to be continued for a long time, ſince the blood moves ſlower and ſlower, the farther it moves from the great artery (8); and conſequently it muſt be a great while before the whole maſs of blood can be mixed with the alterative medicine: And that ſince the circulation of the blood thro' the glands, which receive arteries immediately from a great veſſel, is very quick, they may carry off a great proportion of the medicine in a very little time; and that, therefore, it is not the taking of great quantities, but the conſtant taking, which can alter the maſs of blood. From this doctrine of attraction he infers the propriety of the elective purges of the Ancients. In his treatiſe of muſcular motion he obſerves, that the veſicular ſtructure of the fibres of the muſcles is excellently contrived for contraction. This he aſcribes (with others) to the operation of the animal ſpirits, which he ſuppoſes to conſiſt of the ſimpleſt particles, and therefore to have the moſt attractive force, as he infers from what Sir Iſaac Newton (9) has collected concerning the rays of light. Theſe ſpirits dropping upon the blood attract it, and thence the air contained in the blood expanding by its elaſtic virtue, increaſes the breadth, and ſhortens the length of the veſicles of the muſcular fibres. After this manner he conceives the veſicles to be diſtended without any ebullition or effervescence, as had been imagined without good foundation, by former writers upon this ſubject. The determination of the *Vis Elaſtica* he acknowledges was the thought of the learned Mr John Bernoulli, but the way of demonſtrating it uſed by our author, he tells us, was communicated to him by his brother. Upon the whole, he is of opinion, that his Theory of muſcular motion does follow ſo naturally and eaſily from the principle of attraction, that upon that account one would be almoſt tempted to believe it the genuine method of nature.

(7) Ibid. De Circulatione Sanguinis per Vaſa Minima, p. 207.

(8) He determines the velocity to be 5000 times leſſer at the 40th branch from the great artery, than it is in this artery, before any ramification is made from it.

(9) See his Optics, p. 347. edit. Lond. 8vo. 1721.

[C] *This drew him into a controverſy with Dr Jurin.*] The force of the heart in the human ſpecies was firſt reduced to a mathematical calculation by Borelli, who aſſuming it for a poſtulatum that the quantity of blood does not exceed 201. weight, determined its reſiſtance to be equal to the preſſure of 180000 lb.* To overcome which, finding by his method the power of the heart to be equal only to that of 3000 lb. he imputes the reſt to the auxiliary force of percuſſion. This calculus was afterwards eſpouſed here, with ſome inconſiderable variations, by Dr Dan. Morland, and ſhewing itſelf in a mathematical garb, was generally ſubmitted to without any farther inquiry. But Dr Keill diſdaining the mean ſubjection of implicit faith, reſolved to re-examine the matter; and the reſult of it was, that he not only ventured to reject the former doctrine, but alſo to aſcribe a force to the heart almoſt infinitely leſs than that had done. This new opinion is likewiſe founded upon a mathematical principle, which terminates in diſcovering the ſaid force to be equal to no more than ſuch as a weight of five ounces † acquires by the force of gravity in $\frac{1}{77}$ of a ſecond of time, i. e. during one ſyſtole of the heart; and this too, notwithſtanding the quantity of blood is ſuppoſed to be equal to 100 lb. The Doctor, however, agrees with Borelli in comparing the force of the heart to a weight at reſt, and further aſſumes its action throughout the whole ſyſtole to be equable. Both theſe aſſumptions being diſapproved by Dr Jurin, that gentleman publiſhed in the Philoſoph. Tranſact. No. 358, 359, ſome remarks upon the three forementioned methods, and advanced a fourth, wherein conſidering the heart in its ſyſtole as a body in motion, and maintaining its action therein to be inequable, and chiefly exerted at the beginning, he eſtimates it as a ſtroke or percuſſion, the force whereof he determines to be equal to that of fifteen pounds four ounces, flowing with a velocity of an inch in a ſecond of time, differing herein not greatly from one of twelve pounds moving with the ſame velocity, which he obſerves is the reſult of our author's *Calculus*, when rightly performed. Dr Keill then lying upon his death bed, under the moſt excruciating torments, printed a defence, or rather an apology for his *Poſtulata*; recommending at the ſame time his antagoniſt's method of inſtituting the *Calculus*, and encouraging him to purſue it, and expired ſhortly after. This paper was inſerted in the Philoſoph. Tranſact. No. 361; and the next Number, No. 362, conveyed Dr Jurin's reply in vindication of his remarks, wherein he takes occaſion to make the following eulogium upon our author. *Apologiam præſtantiſſimi viri Jacobi Keilii, qui acerba nuper & immatura morte præreptus magnum ſui deſiderium eruditis reliquit, ſtudioſe perlegimus. Quum inter legendum ſingularem ſimul eruditiſſimi ingenii humanitatem, qui noſmet utut a placitis ſuis diſſentientes excipere dignatus eſt, ſimul animi magnitudinem & ſtudium in rempublicam literariam tanto viro dignum magna admiratione proſequebamur. Huic enim illi non ſolum per omnem vitæ curſum diligenter & ſtrenue operam navavit, ſed etiam pulcherrimo exemplo confectus jam atroci morbo, & ſe perire ſentiens, eruditam illam epiſtolam tanquam ſupremi amoris pignus idem legavit.* We muſt not omit, in juſtice to Dr Jurin, to obſerve, that being ſenſible how deficient the knowledge of the true ſtate of this ſubject then was, he thought proper to draw up his *Calculus* indefinitely in algebraical expreſſions, leaving theſe to be expounded by particular numbers when thoſe ſhould be aſcertained by further and more accurate reſearches. But this ſtill remains among the *Deſiderata* of the animal œconomy. In viewing the diſagreement there is in the concluſions of theſe ſeveral calculators upon the force of the heart, eſpecially when it is found that the moſt ſagacious enquirers agree no better in eſtimating that of the lungs, one cannot help ſuſpecting, that the infinite ſkill of the divine artiſt in framing the mechaniſm of the human body, as it has hitherto mocked ſo will it for ever continue to mock the utmoſt efforts of human wit to diſcover it. When Dr Keill wrote theſe eſſays, the mechanical way of treating phyſical ſubjects was in full vogue; beſides, we have ſeen, he was particularly led to it by a natural eſteem for his brother, and by the authority of Dr Pitcairn; no wonder then if we find that we find him aſſerting the great advancement that had been then made in the knowledge of the animal machine 'The manner of viſion, ſays he, is ſhewn in Optics. Borelli has given us

* Dr Jurin obſerves, that this preſſure will be found, upon the principles of Borelli's reaſoning, to be equal to 1,076,000 lb. weight. Phil. Tranſ. No. 358.

† Or rather 7½ as it comes out upon a right calculation. See ibid. No. 362.

several papers printed in the Philosophical Transactions. It cannot be denied, that in his account of Animal Secretion, Dr Keill carried the Vis Attractrix farther than could then at least be warranted by the principles of the true mechanick philosophy [D]. He had now for some time laboured under a most painful disorder, viz. a Cancer in the roof of his mouth; the excruciating torments of which he underwent with a very remarkable firmness of mind; and in order, if possible, to procure some relief, he applied the Actual Cautery (a red hot iron) with his own hands, more than once, to that exquisitely sensible part (g). After this cruel operation had been tried several times without success, he was at length relieved by death July the 16th, 1719 (b), in the vigour of his age. He lies buried in St Giles's church at Northampton, near the Communion Table on the North side, and against the wall over it a handsome marble monument, with an inscription in Latin, too long to be inserted here, was erected by his brother Dr John Keill (i), to whom he left the bulk of his estate, having himself never been married.

(g) See an account of the case of Dr James Keill of Northampton, by Mr Rushworth the Surgeon, who attended him, printed shortly after the doctor's death, 8vo. The learned Rushworth was the first discoverer of the specific virtue of the Jesuit's bark in mortifications.

(b) See his epitaph.

(i) Ibid.

as the mechanism of the bones and muscles for the motion of the joints, and since the discovery of the circulation of the blood by Dr Harvey (a), many useful propositions concerning its motion and velocity have been determined by Bellini. Dr Pitcairne has explained the mechanical structure of the lungs, and shewn us the reason of the different passages of the blood through the heart of the fœtus; the necessity of breathing after birth, and how the antenatalitial ducts are stopped by breathing. He has likewise demonstrably explained the symptoms of the diseases of the eyes, and demonstrated the circular figure of the orifices of the glands. Dr Freind has wrote in a mechanical way upon the menses, Dr Cheyne upon fevers, and Dr Mead upon poisons; and all of them have handled these subjects more rationally than ever any did before them; and the use of the *Spleen and Vena Porta* is now no longer a mystery.' But notwithstanding what is here so confidently asserted, it is no secret at this time of day, that all these accounts have been shewn by later enquirers to be very deficient and unsatisfactory. 'Tis far from being true what our author observes in the preface to this treatise, that diseases being purely disorders of the animal œconomy, whatsoever can add any new light to our knowledge of this, must necessarily clear the nature of those, establish the practice of Physic upon a surer foundation, and enable Physicians to make truer and more certain judgments in most cases. For notwithstanding some inconsiderable improvements in our knowledge this way, which are rather ostentatious than useful with regard to Physic, 'tis evident that the nature of any particular disease depends upon so many other circumstances still unknown, that their true state is yet generally hid from our eyes, and involved in thick darkness. No doubt can be made, that if the animal œconomy were *perfectly* understood, and the history of diseases *precisely* known, the right method of curing each disease might evidently and certainly be deduced; but this remark amounts to no more for the use of repairing the disorders in the little system of man by medicine, than the vaunt which is attributed to Archimedes did towards disturbing the grand system of the world (10). Since it is not given to man to understand the animal œconomy to perfection, and any imperfect knowledge therein can at best only lead to an uncertain, and is too often seen to prompt an unsafe practice. In a word, though it may easily be granted, that the study of nature and the knowledge of the body is not altogether as superfluous to a Physician as it would be to a sailor to know the reason of the tides, or how to explain the phænomena of the loadstone; yet the empirical method of Dr Sydenham, founded upon experience, observation, and analogical reasoning, joined to a natural sagacity, and assisted by such an accurate history of diseases, as can be had from a due attendance on the sick bed, is observed to produce both the safest and most successful practice, which that imperfect knowledge we have of the animal œconomy serves better to illustrate in some cases, than to direct in any.

(10) Give me a place to stand upon, and I will move the earth out of it's place.

[D] *Farther than can be warranted by the principles of the true mechanical philosophy.*] As the authority of Sir Isaac Newton is constantly produced to give a kind of sanction to this doctrine concerning the extent of the *Vis Attractrix*, it may not be amiss to give his opinion of this matter in his own words, as we find them in the general Scholium, at the end of his Principia. 'And now, says that great man, we might add something concerning a certain most subtle spirit, which pervades and lies hid in all gross bodies, by the force and action of which spirit, the particles of bodies mutually attract one another at near distances, and cohere, if contiguous, and electric bodies operate at greater distances, as well repelling as attracting the neighbouring corpuscles; and light is emitted, reflected, refracted, and inflected, and heats bodies; and all sensation is excited, and the members of animal bodies moved at the command of the will, namely by the vibrations of this spirit mutually propagated along the solid filaments of the nerves from the outward organs of the senses to the brain, and from the brain into the muscles; but these are things that cannot be explained in a few words, *nor are we furnished with that sufficiency of experiments, which is required to an accurate determination and demonstration of the laws, by which this electric and elastic spirit operates.*' Thus wrote that cautious philosopher (11) several years after the death of Dr Keill, who, 'tis very remarkable, has not produced so much as a single experiment to ascertain the action of this Vis Attractrix in the subject of animal secretion. But he is not the only person, who instead of reflecting honour has thrown a blemish upon this part of the Newtonian philosophy, by overhastily and injudiciously assuming that for an undoubted principle, which is proposed by the author as a subject for further enquiry. P

(11) The third edition of the *Principia*, to which this scholium is subjoined, was printed in 1726.

(a) We must not slip the opportunity here given, of explaining a note * in Dr Harvey's article, the sense of which, as there expressed, is apprehended to lie too open to misconstruction. It is there said, that the position of the simultaneous action of the auricles of the heart, as also that of the ventricles, by requiring the blood to pass from the ventricles through the whole length of the arteries and veins into the auricles, as suddenly as it passes from the auricles into the ventricles, is the main difficulty that attends the doctor's thesis concerning the manner of the circulation: intending thereby to suggest no more, than that this is all the difficulty, and not that it is an insuperable one. Far otherwise. We are very sensible, that the possibility thereof is easily conceived, by supposing the trunks of the two veins to be always kept full of blood; which, indeed, seems to be really their true state during the circulation. P

* Viz. note ‡, at the end of remark [I].

KEN [THOMAS], the deprived Bishop of Bath and Wells, whose true simplicity of manners, and unaffected piety, justly intitles him to a place in these memoirs, was descended of a very antient family of his name seated at Ken-place in Somersetshire (a), which estate came into the possession of John Lord Powlet of Hinton St George, by marriage with the heiress of the Ken family (b). Our author was youngest son of Thomas Ken of Furnival's Inn, by Martha his wife, and was born at Berkhamstead in Hertfordshire July 1637 (c). At thirteen years of age he was sent to Winchester school,* and being chosen the following year a scholar upon that foundation (d), he was elected thence, in the ordinary way of rotation (e), to New-College in Oxford (f), and became a Probationer

(c) Short Account, &c. p. 1. Mr Wood is mistaken, in placing the time of his birth in July 1635. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 989.

(a) Short Account of the Life of Bp Ken, &c. by Will. Hawkins. Lond. 1713. 8vo.

(b) Viz. Thomasin, daughter and heir of Christopher Ken, of Ken in Com. Som. Dugdale's Baron.

* His acquaintance with Dr Francis Turner, the deprived Bishop of Ely, commenced at this school, and grew at length into the closest friendship.

(d) See preface to a posthumous piece ascribed to our author, intitled, Complaints of the Church, &c. Lond. 1711, 8vo.

(e) This is the rule of those societies, prescribed by their common Founder William of Wyckham, Bp of Winchester in Hen. IVth's time.

(f) Short Account, &c. p. 3. Mr Wood, ubi supra, says, he was first admitted of Hart-hall the preceding year.

tioner Fellow there in 1657 (g). In this ſituation, while he proſecuted his academical ſtudies with a commendable diligence, and made ſuitable advances therein, the ſtrict probity and religious turn of his temper was particularly taken notice of, and procured him the general love and eſteem of his Society (b) [A]. Proceeding regularly to take both the degrees in Arts (i), he entered into holy orders, and became Chaplain to William Lord Maynard, Comptroller of the Houſhold to King Charles II. (k) In 1666 he removed to Wincheſter College, being choſen Fellow of that Society December 8 the ſame year [B]. Not long after this he was appointed domeſtic chaplain to Dr George Morley, Biſhop of that See, who preſented him firſt to the Rectory of Brixton in the iſle of Wight and afterwards to a Prebend in the church of Wincheſter, in which he was inſtalled April 12, 1669 (l). The ſame Patron gave him alſo the Rectory of Woodhey in Hampſhire (m); but he did not hold it long, and chuſing to reſign (n), he was ſucceeded therein by his brother-chaplain, Dr George Hooper. This was about the year 1673 (o); and in the latter end of the enſuing year, which began that of the Jubilee in 1675 (p), he took a tour to Rome, in company of his nephew Mr Iſaac Walton (q), then Bachelor of Arts of Chriſt-Church in Oxford. Two years after his return, he took his firſt degree in Divinity (r), and commenced Doctor in that faculty June 30, 1679 (s). Not long afterwards, being appointed chaplain to the Princeſs of Orange (t), he went to Holland. Here his prudent behaviour, and ſtrict piety, gained him the eſteem and intire confidence of his miſtreſs (u). But in the courſe of his office, he happened to incur the diſpleaſure of her conſort, by obliging one of his favourites to perform his promiſe of marriage with a young lady of the princeſs's train, whom he had ſeduced by that contract. This ſingular zeal, however worthy of his religion and of his country, gave ſo much offence to the Prince, (afterwards King William) that he very warmly threatened to turn him from the ſervice, which the Doctor as warmly reſenting, begged leave of his miſtreſs, and warned himſelf from it; nor would he yield to return, 'till intreated by the Prince in perſon; who courting him to his former poſt and reſpect, he conſented to continue there for one year longer; during which he was taken into a ſhew of great familiarity: But at the expiration of the term he returned to England, where the King, who was no ſtranger to what had happened at his nephew's court, appeared to be well ſatisfied with the Chaplain's conduct, and appointed him in the like poſt to attend Lord Dartmouth, with the royal commiſſion, to demoliſh the fortifications at Tangier (w) [C]. The Doctor returned with his Lordſhip in the beginning of April 1684 (x), and was immediately advanced to be chaplain to the King, by an order from his Majeſty himſelf. Not only the nature of this poſt, but the particular moſt gracious manner of conferring it, clearly evinced, that it was intended as a ſtep for future favours. This was ſo well underſtood, that upon the removal of the Court to paſs the ſummer at Wincheſter, the Doctor's houſe, which he held in the right of his Prebend, was marked by the harbinger for the uſe of Mrs Eleanor Gwyn. But no worldly conſiderations whatever could move the chaplain to give up his concern for the intereſts of true religon and virtue; far from complying with an order which gave countenance to vice even in his royal benefactor, he poſitively refuſed to grant the miſtreſs admittance, and ſhe was forced to ſeek for lodgings in another place (y). This was a degree of religious intrepidity not unlike that which he had before

(g) Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(b) Id. ibid.

(i) Viz. that of A. B. May 3, 1661, and A. M. Jan. 21, 1664. Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 140 and 158.

(k) Ath. Oxon. col. 989.

(l) Id. ibid.

(m) His Life, &c. p. 6.

(n) Out of a principal of conſcience, thinking what he was poſſeſſed of beſides to be ſufficient. Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(o) See remark [R].

(p) This difference ariſes from the different ſtyles then uſed in England and Italy.

(q) See remark [K].

(r) July 6, 1678. Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 210.

(s) Ibid. col. 212.

(t) Viz. Mary, eldeſt daughter to King James II. and afterward Queen of England.

(u) So he always afterwards called her. Short Account, p. 8.

(w) Ibid. p. 7.

(x) Viz. on the 2d of that month. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. p. 175. edit. 1725, 8vo.

(y) Bp. Ken's Life, &c. p. 9, 10.

[A] *He gained the love and eſteem of that Society.*] Nor was Mr Ken wanting on his ſide in any degree of affectionate regard to the Society. Of which they had a ſufficient proof as ſoon as his circumſtances would permit; when he gave them upwards of one hundred pounds, as a ſmall acknowledgment for his education, and towards the erecting of their new buildings (1).

(1) Short Account, &c. p. 3. This building was an addition of two attached wings to the old college; which opening by degrees to the garden, gives an extraordinary grace and beauty to the whole.

[B] *He was choſen Fellow of Wincheſter College.*] This remove too was agreeable to the rule of rotation eſtabliſhed by the munificent founder, who deſigned this college alſo chiefly for a retired and ſtudious life, yet ſo as not to exclude, but rather to qualify the members better for the duties of the clerical function: And to this purpoſe Mr Ken kept a conſtant courſe of preaching at St John's church in the *Soak* near Wincheſter, (where there was no preaching miniſter, and which therefore he called his Cure) and brought many Anabaptiſts to the Church of England, whom he baptized himſelf. And that neither his ſtudy might be the aggreſſor on his hours of inſtruction; or what he judged his duty, prevent his improvement; or both, his cloſet addreſſes to God; he ſtrictly accuſtomed himſelf to but one ſleep, which often obliged him to riſe at one or two o'clock in the morning, and ſometimes ſooner, and grew ſo habitual, that it continued with him almoſt to his laſt illneſs. Yet his temper was ſo lively and chearful, that he would be very facetious and entertaining to his friends in the evening, even when it was perceived, that with difficulty he kept his eyes open; and then ſeemed to go to reſt with no other purpoſe, than the refreſhing and enabling him with more vigour and chearfulneſs to ſing his morning hymn, as he then uſed to do to his lute before he put on his cloaths (2). As he had been a benefactor by his purſe in temporalities to New-College in Oxford, ſo he was no leſs a benefactor to this of Wincheſter, in regard to it's ſpiritual ſtate, by drawing a ſet of prayers and devotions for the ſcholars of that ſchool, which were publiſhed under the following title, *A Manual of prayers for the uſe of the ſcholars of Wincheſter College, and all other devout Chriſtians. Lond.* 1681, 12mo.

(2) Ibid. p. 4, 5.

[C] *He attended Lord Dartmouth to Tangier.*] About this time he wrote an epic poem called *Edmund*. It is digeſted into thirteen books: In the firſt book Satan is repreſented at the head of an aſſembly of devils, conſulting how to defeat St Edmund's deſign of paſſing to England, which terminates in a reſolution to overſet the ſhip, that was to bring him, by a ſtorm, and ſo drown the ſaint and all his adherents. The diſappointment in his firſt project is ſuppoſed to quicken the edge of the arch-fiend's malice, who thereupon ſets all his engines agoing, in order to counterwork Providence, which had decreed to raiſe the ſaint to the throne. The ſeveral events of St Edmund's life after this, diverſified and enlivened with proper epiſodes, make the ſubject of the reſt of the poem, which ends with the martyrdom and canonization of the ſaint and hero, together with his aſcent in a winged chariot to heaven (4). The reader will be before-hand with me in obſerving, that the conſtitution of devils in the firſt book ſeems to be borrowed from Milton's *Paradiſe-Loſt*, which was publiſhed a few years before. Upon the whole, both the imagery and machinery throughout are perfectly poetical, and the verſification eaſy: but neither this nor the ſentiments are enough ſpirited to raiſe them above the cenſure of flatneſs.

(3) See his article.

(4) It was publiſhed in a collection of our author's poems after his death. See remark [T].

[D] *As*

fore ſhewn in Holland, and as it proceeded from the ſame ſpirit in the ſervant, ſo it had a ſimilar effect upon the maſter; for his Majeſty, agreeable to that good ſenſe which was a diſtinguiſhing part of his character, was ſo far from ſhewing any diſpleaſure thereat, that the Biſhoprick of Bath and Wells becoming vacant ſoon after, he ſtopped all attempts of the Doctor's friends, who of their own inclinations would have applied in his behalf, with this remarkable ſaying, that *Dr Ken ſhould ſucceed, but that he deſigned it ſhould be from his own peculiar appointment.* And accordingly the King himſelf gave order for a *Congé d'elire* to paſs the Seals for that purpoſe, and he was conſecrated Biſhop of Bath and Wells Jan. 25, on St Paul's day, 1684 (z). A few days after this his Majeſty being ſeized with that diſorder which ſoon put a period to his life; the Doctor was pitched upon to manage his ſpiritual concerns, and during his illneſs gave a cloſe attendance to the royal bed, without any intermiſſion, at leaſt for three whole days and nights, ſuggeſting ſuch pious and proper thoughts and ejaculations, as were moſt fit on ſo ſolemn an occaſion, as long as there was any appearance of the King's attention to any thing [D]. This duty the Biſhop thought ſo abſolutely neceſſary, that he thereupon delayed his admiſſion to the temporalities of the See of Wells; ſo that when King James came to the Crown, new inſtruments were paſſed for that purpoſe (a a). He had not been long in full poſſeſſion when he wrote his Expoſition of the Church Catechiſm, which was publiſhed twice in the year 1685, 8vo. [E] The ſame year he alſo publiſhed *Prayers for the uſe of the Bath.* In

(z) Ibid. p. 9.

(a a) Ibid. p. 12.

[D] *As long as there was any appearance of the King's attention to any thing.*] Biſhop Burnet ſpeaking of this part of Dr Ken's conduct, gives ſuch an account of it as terminates (according to his uſual manner) with a moſt injurious cenſure, as follows. He begins with obſerving, that our Biſhop 'applied himſelf 'much to the awaking the King's conſcience, and ſpoke 'with an elevation both of thought and expreſſion, 'like a man inſpired; that he reſumed the matter often, and pronounced many ſhort ejaculations and 'prayers, which affected all that were preſent except 'him that was moſt concerned, who ſeemed to take no 'notice of him, and made no anſwer. That he preſſed 'the King ſix or ſeven times to receive the ſacrament, 'but the King always declined it, ſaying he was very 'weak. A table, with the elements upon it ready to 'be conſecrated, was brought into the room, which 'occaſioned a report to be then ſpread about that he 'had received it. That Ken preſſed the King to declare, that he deſired the ſacrament, and that he died 'in the communion of the Church of England, to 'which the King anſwered nothing.' Thus far the royal patient is made the victim of this hiſtorian's pen. He proceeds next to make the ſpiritual Doctor a victim to his malevolence, in theſe terms. 'The Biſhop, 'ſays he, aſked him [the King] if he deſired abſolution of his ſins, which he pronounced over his Majeſty, for which he was blamed, ſince the King expreſſed no ſenſe of ſorrow for his paſt life, nor any 'purpoſe of amendment. It was thought, continues 'he, to be a proſtitution of the peace of the Church, 'to give it to one, who after a life led, as the King's 'had been, ſeemed to harden himſelf againſt every 'thing that could be ſaid to him.' Not ſatisfied with this ſingle ſtroke, he proceeds to ſecond it: 'Ken, 'concludes he, was alſo cenſured for another piece of 'indecency. He preſented the duke of Richmond, 'lady Portſmouth's ſon, to be bleſſed by the King. 'Upon this ſome that were in the room cried out, 'that the King was their common father; and upon 'that all kneeled down for his bleſſing, which he gave 'them (5).' The malice of theſe aſperſions, extracted from a very partial miſrepreſentation of the whole, is ſo groſs, that, like many others in the ſame hiſtory, they can only hurt the author of them. We have the particulars of Biſhop Ken's behaviour on this trying occaſion, from a much more impartial, though more candid writer, who, though a relation to the Biſhop, promiſes not to render the whole account he gives of his life ſuſpicious, by inſerting ſurmiſe, where he intends to advance nothing but what may evidently be made appear, and he has clearly kept his promiſe. His words are, 'The King's diſtemper ſeizing his 'head, and our Biſhop well knowing how much had 'been put off to that laſt point, and fearing the 'ſtrength of his diſtemper would give him but little 'time, as indeed it proved: his duty urging him, he 'gave a cloſe attendance at the royal bed, without 'any intermiſſion, at leaſt for three whole days and 'nights; watching at proper intervals to ſuggeſt pious 'and proper thoughts and ejaculations on ſo ſerious an 'occaſion; in which time the ducheſs of Portſmouth 'coming into the room, the Biſhop prevailed with his 'Majeſty to have her removed, and took that occaſion 'of repreſenting the injury and injuſtice done to his 'Queen ſo effectually, that his Majeſty was induced to 'ſend for the Queen, and aſking pardon, had the ſatisfaction of her forgiveneſs before he died.' The 'Biſhop, continues this writer, having homely urged 'the neceſſity of a full, and prevailed, as is hoped, 'for a ſincere repentance, ſeveral times propoſed the 'adminiſtration of the holy ſacrament. But although 'it was not abſolutely rejected, it was yet delayed 'from time to time, 'till (I know not by what authority) the Biſhop and all others preſent were put out 'from the Preſence for about the ſpace of half an hour, 'during which time it has been ſuggeſted, that Father 'Huddleſton was admitted to give extreme unction; 'and the interval between this and death was ſo ſhort, 'that nothing concerning the Biſhop's behaviour happened worthy of notice in this account (6). We ſee here, contrary to what Burnet aſſerts, that the King gave a remarkable proof of his repentance, in reſpect to the greateſt irregularities of his life, and that he was brought thereto by Dr Ken's miniſtration, who thereupon, according to the goodneſs of his nature, no doubt thought himſelf obliged by that charity, *which hopeth all things, believeth all things*, not to withhold the benefit of the Church's peace in pronouncing her form of abſolution over him; and after the Biſhop had prevailed to have the mother put out of the room, his preſenting the ſon, though a baſtard, to the father's bleſſing, is another lively effect of that ſame charity, which is the ſum and perfection of the Chriſtian life, and was a moſt amiable part of Biſhop Ken's character.

(5) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I.

(6) Short Account of Biſhop Ken's Life, p. 10, 11, 12.

[E] *His Expoſition of the Church Catechiſm was publiſhed twice in* 1685.] This was occaſioned by an expreſſion in the firſt edition, which the Papiſts at that time laid hold of as if it favoured their doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, whereupon having altered the expreſſion, he immediately republiſhed it, with this advertiſement prefixed. 'The author of the following 'work thinks himſelf obliged to declare, that he willingly ſubmits it to the cenſure of the Church of England, to whoſe articles he deſires every thing of his 'may be exactly conformable. Wherefore having 'obſerved that his meaning in ſome leſs material 'things has been miſunderſtood, he hath varied the 'expreſſion in thoſe places, but not his meaning in 'them, as was fitting in a work not intended for diſputes, but devotion.' The whole title runs thus; *An Expoſition of the Church Catechiſm; or practice of divine love, compoſed for the dioceſe of Bath and Wells*; and he afterwards added, *Directions for prayer, taken out of the Church Catechiſm*, which were printed with the Expoſition. When he firſt came to his dioceſe, it was frequently ſaid by many of eminence who knew him well, that they never knew any perſon ſo able and earneſt to do good in ſuch a ſtation as he was. He had a very happy way of mixing his ſpiritual with his corporal alms. When any poor perſon begged of him, he would examine whether the party could ſay the Lord's Prayer or the Creed by heart; and he found ſo much deplorable ignorance among the grown poor people, that he feared little good was to be done upon them: But ſaid he would try, whether he could not lay

In theſe, and ſuch like duties of paſtoral care, he ſpent his time as a private Dioceſan. Nor was he leſs zealous as a guardian of the national Church in general, in oppoſing the attempts which were made in this reign to introduce Popery [*F*]. Yet he held in a manner the ſame place in the favour of King James II. as he had in the former reign, and ſome attempts were made to gain him over to the intereſt of the Popiſh party at Court; but he was inacceſſible on that ſide, however abſolutely unreſerved in his Loyalty: And of that, his conduct at the time of the Rebellion under the Duke of Monmouth ſufficiently confirmed the King; inſomuch that although he daily relieved ſome hundreds of the Rebel priſoners then in Wells, daily praying with them in perſon, his Majeſty judging that it was only out of a principle of duty to diſtreſſed brethren, to ſave them from periſhing both in body and ſoul, never ſo much as harboured any jealous thought of him [*G*]. But altho' that Prince did not miſtake his integrity, yet certainly he was miſtaken in

lay a foundation to make the next generation better. And this put him upon ſetting up many ſchools in all the great towns of his dioceſe for poor children to be taught to read and ſay their catechiſm; and about this time, and for this purpoſe, it was that he wrote and publiſhed his *Expoſition on the Church Catechiſm*. By this method and management he engaged the miniſters to be more careful in catechizing the children of their reſpective pariſhes, and they were furniſhed by him with a ſtock of neceſſary books for the uſe of children (7); and the great and good ends he at that time propoſed were ſeen and felt by the great and good ſucceſs of the charity ſchools, which became afterwards very numerous. In the ſummer time he went often to ſome great pariſh, where he would preach twice, confirm and catechize: And when he was at home on Sundays, he would have twelve poor men or women to dine with him in his hall: Always endeavouring while he fed their bodies, to comfort their ſpirits by ſome chearful diſcourſe, generally mixed with ſome uſeful inſtruction. And when they had dined, the remainder was divided among them to carry home to their families. He often deplored the condition of the poor at Wells, who were very numerous. And as he was charitably diſpoſed, ſo he was very earneſt in contriving proper expedients of relief: Among others, he thought no deſign could better anſwer all the ends of charity, than the ſetting up a work-houſe in that city; but judging it not practicable without the advice, or at leaſt the aſſiſtance, of the gentlemen, he therefore often met and conſulted with them; but not finding any ſuitable encouragement, he was forced to deſiſt. In this he had a double view, to reſcue the idle from vicious practice and converſation, and the induſtrious from the oppreſſion of the tradeſman; who to uſe his own expreſſion, *did grind the face of the poor, growing rich by their labour, and making them a very ſcanty allowance for their work* (8). Thus the good Biſhop, from the fulneſs of his concern for the diſtreſſed poor. But his aiming at this laſt deſign, if we may have leave at this diſtance to make a conjecture, was not improbably the cauſe of his miſcarrying in both: For though he, who both by his function and naturally tender and charitable diſpoſition, was the poor's advocate, had a particular eye to the inſtances of oppreſſing them, yet there can be no doubt but then as well as now the fault lay as often on the ſide of the poor. Whence it has been univerſally judged beſt to leave theſe latter ſort to the conſcience of the tradeſmen, as the moſt able to manage them. But as to the former ſort, his lordſhip's judgment has been ſince abundantly approved, as we ſee by the prodigious number of work-houſes erected upon his model. There was indeed another thing which might be the principal cauſe of his failing in this attempt, viz. the little aſſiſtance he was for ſome time able to contribute towards it. It is certain his own purſe was very ſhort, inſomuch that he could but ſcantily ſupply handſome neceſſaries for himſelf; and we are aſſured, that at the time of his being made Biſhop, Mr Francis Morley, nephew to the Biſhop of that name, knowing how little he had provided for ſuch an expence, as attends the entry and continuance in ſuch a chair, moſt generouſly offered and lent him a conſiderable ſum to defray his expences, and furniſh him with an equipage as this ſtation required; which he would often mention with a grateful acknowledgment, expreſſing a particular ſatisfaction when he found himſelf in a condition to diſcharge the debt; and he was often obſerved by one of his chaplains * to complain, that for this very reaſon no great matter was to be expected from him, as thinking himſelf obliged to be juſt, before he could be charitable (9).

(7) He gave likewiſe at ſeveral times, both before and after his deprivation, ſeveral large catalogues to places that were populous, and had parochial libraries within his own dioceſe. Ibid. p. 13, 14. and 23, 24.

(8) Ibid. p. 15, 16.

* Dr Thomas Cheyney, who communicated ſeveral particulars of the Biſhop's Life.

(9) Ibid. p. 20, 21.

[*F*] *He oppoſed the attempts to introduce Popery.*] As the Biſhop took no part in the famous Popiſh controverſy, the expreſſion in the text, at firſt reading, may perhaps incur the cenſure of partiality; but that reflection will vaniſh upon a clearer inſight into his conduct. His temper was not turned to diſpute; which alſo with how much ſuperior learning and ſkill ſoever it was carried on by the Proteſtants, yet he could not but ſee tended more to inflame and widen, than to heal and unite the breach with the Papiſts; he therefore choſe a method which was more agreeable to his nature, and more immediately ſuited to the genius and ſpirit of Chriſtianity; the firſt principle of which is univerſal philanthropy, and this he made the ruling principle of his conduct out of the pulpit, and in the pulpit to impreſs and enforce the practice of it was the main buſineſs of his ſermons, wherein having by a truly religious oratory got poſſeſſion of the affections of his audience, he frequently took occaſion, as the ſubject led him, to mark and confute ſome of the errors of Popery (10); nor did he ſpare, when his duty to the Church of England more eſpecially called for it, to take the opportunity of the royal pulpit to ſet before the Court their injurious and unmanly politicks, in projecting a coalition and combination with the ſectaries againſt it. Yet theſe things, though neceſſary not to be left undone, he eſteemed only as the leſſer duties of the goſpel: Accordingly the King having not given his preſence at divine ſervice when this laſt ſermon was preached, it was miſrepreſented by ſome of the Court to him, and he ſent for the Biſhop, and cloſeted him on the occaſion, but received nothing in anſwer except this fatherly reprimand, *That if his Majeſty had not neglected his own duty of being preſent, his enemies had miſſed this opportunity of accuſing him*; whereupon he was diſmiſſed. Thus he happily at this time reaped the fruits of his own behaviour, and as he dealt dutifully, reſpectfully, and affectionately to the King, ſo the King dealt gently with him, which he was no doubt the more inclined to, as he muſt have been informed that the ſubject of this diſcourſe was the doctrine of Paſſive Obedience, which was very warmly inculcated throughout the whole; patience and penitence being repreſented as the only juſtifiable weapons to be made uſe of by the Church under perſecution (11). This, and ſome other ſuch like reaſons, ſeems to have drawn that ill-natured remark from Biſhop Burnet, who having told us that the Biſhop was a man of an aſcetic courſe of life, and yet of a very lively temper, but too hot and ſudden, proceeds in theſe terms. 'He had a very edifying way of preaching, but it was more apt to move the paſſions than to inſtruct, ſo that his ſermons were rather beautiful than ſolid; yet his way in them was very taking (12).

(10) See his ſermon preached at the King's chapel at Whitehall, in Lent 1685. on Dan. x. 11. *Daniel, a man greatly beloved.* At the end of the Account of his Life, p. 57, & ſeqq.

(11) Ibid. p. 17, 18. where this ſermon is alſo printed, p. 99, & ſeqq. under the title of a ſermon preached on Paſſion-Sunday.

[*G*] *With regard to the Duke of Monmouth, his Majeſty harboured no jealous thought of him.*] On the contrary, he was ordered to attend the duke before his execution, concerning which Biſhop Burnet gives the following account. 'Turner and Ken, the Biſhops of 'Ely and Bath and Wells, were ordered to wait on 'him [Duke of Monmouth]; but he called for Tenniſon. The Biſhops tried to convince him of the ſin 'of Rebellion; he anſwered that he was ſorry for the 'blood that was ſhed in it, but he did not ſeem to repent of the deſign; yet he confeſſed that his father 'had often told him, that there was no truth in the 'report of his having married his mother.' The Hiſtorian then relates a converſation that paſſed between the Duke and his wife; after which he proceeds in theſe terms,

(12) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. B. iii. fol. edit.

in him on a much more fatal occaſion, for when the declaration of Indulgence was ſtrictly commanded to be read, by virtue of a power claimed by the King of diſpenſing with the penal laws, then this Biſhop was one of the ſeven who openly oppoſed the reading it, ſuppreſſed thoſe which were ſent to him to be read in his dioceſe, and petitioned his Majeſty not to purſue what was likely to prove ſo prejudicial both to Church and State. This being called a treaſonable petition, he was committed to the Tower, in order to a tryal; upon which he was cleared by the Jury (*b b*). But though he dared to diſobey his Sovereign, in order to preſerve the purity of his religion, and the care of his flock was always neareſt his heart; yet rather than violate his conſcience by transferring his allegiance, he choſe to leave both himſelf and them to the protection of the Almighty. And when the Prince of Orange came over, and the Revolution was grounded on the abdication of King James, the Biſhop retired, and as ſoon as King William was ſeated on the throne, and the new oath of allegiance was required, he for his refuſal being deprived by the ſtate, did relinquiſh his revenue, though not his cure, with as clear a conſcience, and as generous a mind as that by which it was once beſtowed on him (*c c*) [*H*]. After his deprivation he reſided at Long-leat, a ſeat of the Lord Viſcount Weymouth in Wiltſhire

(*b b*) See the trial of the Seven Biſhops.

(*c c*) Short Account, &c. p. 20.

terms. 'The Biſhops continued ſtill to preſs on him a 'deep ſenſe of the ſin of rebellion, at which he grew 'ſo uneaſy, that he deſired them to ſpeak to him of 'other matters. They next charged him with the 'ſin of living as he had done with Lady Wentworth. 'In regard to that he juſtified himſelf, he had married 'his Ducheſs too young to give a true conſent. He 'ſaid that lady was a pious worthy woman, and that 'he had never lived ſo well in all reſpects, as ſince 'his engagements with her. All the pains they took 'to convince him of the unlawfulneſs of that courſe 'of life had no effect.' He concludes the ſtory with the following reflection. 'They [the Biſhops] did 'certainly very well in diſcharging their conſciences, 'and ſpeaking ſo plainly to him; but they did very 'ill to talk ſo much of the matter, and to make it ſo 'public as they did: For divines ought not to repeat 'what they ſay to dying penitents, no more than what 'the penitents ſay to them. By this means the Duke 'of Monmouth had little ſatisfaction in them, and 'they had as little in him. He was much better pleaſed 'with Dr Teniſon, who did very plainly ſpeak to him 'with relation to his public actings, and to his courſe 'of life, but he did it in a ſofter and leſs peremptory 'manner, and having ſaid all that he thought proper, 'he left thoſe points in which he ſaw he could not 'convince him to his own conſcience, and turned to 'other points fit to be laid before a dying man (13).' Thus that Reverend Hiſtorian. And in the ſame ſpirit of defamation we are told by another, that *Dr Ken teazed the Duke of Monmouth in vain on the ſcaffold to profeſs the doctrine of Paſſive Obedience* (14). This cenſure being in print at the time of writing the Doctor's life, that author having repeated the words makes the following declaration: 'I think it proper in this place 'boldly to affirm, that our Biſhop (for ſuch he was at 'that time, and did attend on the ſcaffold) never acted 'or aſſiſted there, but in the devotional part only. 'And this, though a negative, may be proved to ſatiſ'faction (15).' The truth is, it was the Biſhop of Ely, Dr Turner, and not Dr Ken, that talked on the ſcaffold to the Duke on that ſubject (16). This then was an eaſy miſtake: But the ſame excuſe cannot be made for Biſhop Burnet, who was ſo ſtrictly blinded by malice, as not to ſee the palpable contradiction which he was betrayed into in order to gratify it; otherwiſe he had too good an underſtanding to repreſent the Duke of Monmouth as a dying penitent, and as dying impenitent in the ſame paragraph. But the ſolemn charge of the Biſhops failing in their regard to the ſacredneſs of their function muſt have been dropped, without the ſuppoſition of a dying penitent, which it was therefore neceſſary to advance, notwithſtanding the whole ſubject of the public talk which conſtituted that charge, conſiſted in bewailing the Duke, on account of his dying impenitent.

(13) Ibid. Vol. I. p. 645.

(14) Secret Hiſtory of Europe, Part ii. p. 27.

(15) Short Account, &c. p. 38.

(16) See below in remark [*Q*].

[*H*] *Upon his deprivation he reſigned his revenue, but not his cure, with a clear conſcience.*] No ſteps in our author's life have been more miſrepreſented than thoſe he took at the Revolution; wherefore the preſent remark will be properly employed in ſetting his whole conduct at this critical juncture in its true light. We ſhall begin with the author of the Secret Hiſtory of Europe, already cited upon another occaſion, who relates very confidently, that our Biſhop's name was among thoſe which were ſubſcribed to the invitation of the Prince of Orange (17). Had this author produced any ſuch ſubſcription, the fact could not have been denied, but no ſuch ſubſcription being ever any where produced, we ought to ſubſcribe to what the writer of his life aſſerts on this occaſion, that there were very ſtrong arguments to be urged, that he never had any the leaſt hand in that matter (18). Yet this, if he had done it, in the view of redreſſing grievances, was conſiſtent enough with his allegiance to King James. But Biſhop Burnet, who never does theſe things by halves, goes roundly to work, in the following terms. 'Ken, ſays 'he, was a man of a warm imagination, and at the 'time of the King's firſt landing, he declared heartily 'for him, and adviſed all the gentlemen that he ſaw 'to go and join with him: But during the debate of 'the Convention, he went with great heat into the 'notion of a Prince Regent; and now upon the call 'of the houſe [to take the oaths to King William] he 'withdrew into his dioceſe. He changed his mind 'again, and wrote a paper, perſuading the clergy to 'take the oaths, which he ſhewed to Dr Whitby, '[author of the Annotation on the New Teſtament, 'and Precentor of Saliſbury] who read it, as the 'Doctor has told me often. His chaplain Dr Eyre, 'continues the Right Reverend Hiſtorian, did alſo 'tell me, that he came with him to London, where 'at firſt, he ſaid, he was reſolved to take the oaths; 'but the firſt day after he came to town, he was pre'vailed on to change his mind; and he has continued 'ever ſince in a very warm oppoſition to the govern'ment (19).' The reader will perhaps be ſurprized to find this paſſage ſtanding uncorrected in that hiſtory, after he has peruſed the following letters which paſſed between the author of it and Biſhop Ken, juſt before his ſuſpenſion (20). The firſt was wrote by Dr Burnet, then Biſhop of Saliſbury, as follows.

(17) Secret Hiſtory of Europe, p. 46 to p. 51.

(18) Short Account, &c. p. 39.

(19) Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 617. folio edit.

(20) Which was on the 13th of that month. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. p. 198. firſt edit.

'My Lord,

'This gentleman who is preſented to a living in 'your lordſhip's dioceſe, came to me to receive inſti'tution, but I have declined the doing of it, and ſo 'have ſent him over to your lordſhip, that you being 'ſatisfied with relation to him, may order your chan'cellor to do it. I was willing to lay hold on this oc'caſion to let your lordſhip know, that I intend to 'make no other uſe of the commiſſion that was ſent 'me, than to obey any orders that you may ſend me, 'in ſuch things as my hand and ſeal may be neceſſary. 'I am extremely concerned to ſee your lordſhip ſo un'happily poſſeſſed with that, which is likely to prove 'ſo fatal to the Church, if we are deprived of one 'that has ſerved in it with ſo much honour as you have 'done; eſpecially at ſuch a time, when there are fair 'hopes of reforming of ſeveral abuſes. I am the 'more amazed to find your lordſhip ſo poſitive, be'cauſe ſome have told myſelf, that you had adviſed 'them to take that which you refuſe yourſelf: And 'others have told me, that they read a paſtoral letter 'which you had prepared for your dioceſe, and were 'reſolved to print it when you went to London. Your 'lordſhip it ſeems changed your mind there, which 'gave great advantages to thoſe who were ſo ſevere as 'to ſay, that there was ſomewhat elſe than conſcience 'at the bottom. I take the liberty to write this free'ly to your lordſhip, for I don't deny that I am in 'ſome pain, 'till I know whether it is true or not. I

Wiltſhire [*I*], whence he ſometimes made a viſit to his nephew Mr Iſaac Walton at Saliſbury

' pray God to prevent a new breach in a Church, which ' *has ſuffered ſo ſeverely under the old one.*

' *My Lord,*

' *Your Lordſhip's moſt faithful*

' Servant and Brother,

Sarum, Oct. 1.

' GI. SARUM.'

To this Biſhop Ken returned the following anſwer.

All glory be to God (21).

' *My Lord,*

' *I am obliged to your lordſhip for the continued* ' *concern you expreſs for me, and for the kind free-*' dom you are pleaſed to take with me; and though I ' have already in publick fully declared my mind to ' my dioceſe concerning the oath, to prevent my be-' ing miſunderſtood; yet ſince you ſeem to expect it ' of me, I will give ſuch an account, which if it does ' not ſatisfy your lordſhip, will at leaſt ſatisfy myſelf. ' I dare aſſure you, I never adviſed any one to take ' the oath; though ſome who came to talk inſidiouſly ' with me, may have raiſed ſuch a report: So far have ' I been from it, that I never would adminiſter it to ' any one perſon whom I was to collate. And there-' fore before the act took place, I gave a particular ' commiſſion to my chancellor, who himſelf did not ' ſcruple it; ſo that he was authorized, not only to ' inſtitute, but alſo to collate in my ſtead*. If any ' came to diſcourſe with me about the oath, I uſually ' told them I durſt not take it myſelf. I told them ' my reaſons, if they urged me to it, and were of my ' dioceſe: And then remitted them to their ſtudy and ' prayers for farther directions. 'Tis true, having ' been ſcandalized at many perſons of our own coat, ' who for ſeveral years together preached up paſſive o-' bedience to a much greater height than ever I did, ' it being a ſubject with which I very rarely meddled, ' and on a ſudden, without the leaſt acknowledgment ' of their paſt error, preached and acted the quite ' contrary; I did prepare a paſtoral letter, which if ' I had ſeen reaſon to alter my judgment, I thought ' to have publiſhed; at leaſt that part of it on which ' I laid the greateſt ſtreſs, to juſtify my conduct to my ' flock; and before I went to London, I told ſome of ' my friends, that if THAT (22) proved true, which ' was affirmed to us with all imaginable aſſurances, and ' which I think more proper for diſcourſe than a let-' ter, it would be an inducement to me to comply; ' but when I came to town I found it was falſe, and ' without being influenced by any one, or making any ' words of it, I burnt my paper, and adhered to my ' former opinion. If this is to be called change of ' mind, and a change ſo criminal, that people who are ' very diſcerning, and know my own heart better than ' myſelf, have pronounced ſentence upon me, That ' there is ſomething elſe than conſcience at the bottom, ' I am much afraid that ſome of theſe who cenſure ' me, may be chargeable with more notorious changes ' than that; whether more conſcientious or no, God ' only is the judge. If your lordſhip gives credit to ' the many miſrepreſentations which are made of me, ' and which I being ſo uſed to can eaſily diſregard, ' you may naturally enough be in pain for me: For ' to ſee one of your brethren throwing himſelf head-' long into a wilful deprivation, not only of honour and ' of income, but of a good conſcience alſo, are par-' ticulars, out of which may be framed an idea very ' deplorable. But though I do daily in many things ' betray great infirmity, I thank God, I cannot accuſe ' myſelf of any inſincerity; ſo that deprivation will ' not reach my conſcience, and I am in no pain at all ' for myſelf. I perceive, that after we have been ' ſufficiently ridiculed, the laſt mortal ſtab deſigned to ' be given us, is to expoſe us to the world for men of ' no conſcience. And if God is pleaſed to permit it, ' his moſt holy will be done, though what that parti-' cular paſſion of corrupt nature it is, which lies at the ' bottom, and which we gratify in loſing all we have, ' will be hard to determine. God grant ſuch reproaches ' as theſe may not revert on the authors. I heartily ' join with your lordſhip in your deſires for the peace ' *of this Church*; and *I* ſhall conceive great hopes, ' *that God will have compaſſion of her*, if *I* ſee that ' ſhe compaſſionates and ſupports her ſiſter of Scotland. ' I beſeech God to make you an inſtrument to promote ' that peace and that charity (23). I myſelf can only ' contribute to both by my prayers and by my depre-' cations againſt ſchiſm and againſt ſacrilege.

' My Lord,

' Your Lordſhip's very faithful

Oct. 5, 1689.

' Servant and Brother,

' Tho. Bath & Wells.'

We need not obſerve, that theſe two letters are a proper contraſt to each other; the crafty malice that lurks in the firſt could never have been dragged out into a fuller light, than that which reflects upon it from the inimitable fortitude and undiſguiſed ſimplicity of the latter, which in its turn too is ſeen to advantage, by comparing it with the former. The date of Biſhop Ken's letter ſhews that it was wrote after he had retired to his dioceſe from the Houſe of Peers, to avoid taking the oaths upon the call of that houſe. While he ſtaid in town, he lodged with his old friend Dr Hooper, then rector of Lambeth, who had daily and earneſtly diſcourſed him on the ſubject of compliance with the oaths; to whom he at laſt expreſſed himſelf thus: ' *I queſtion not but you, and ſeveral others, have* ' *taken the oaths with as good a conſcience as myſelf* ' *ſhall refuſe them, and ſometimes you have almoſt per-*' *ſuaded me to comply by the arguments you have uſed*; ' *but I beg you to urge them no further*; *for ſhould I* ' *be perſuaded to comply, and after ſee reaſon to repent,* ' *you would make me the moſt miſerable man in the world.*

(24) About this time he was alſo remarked for ſhewing himſelf openly, thoughtleſs of any danger that might attend his perſon. This was particularly taken notice of by Archbiſhop Sancroft, who, ſoon after his leaving Lambeth, in a letter to a friend, wrote thus, ' It ' grieves me to have miſſed (when I was ſo nigh it) the ' ſeeing of my Reverend Brother of Bath and Wells. ' I am not ſurprized to hear that his innocency and ' courage was ſo bold, as to appear openly, but am, I ' confeſs, that he did it ſafely (25).'

[*I*] *He reſided at Lord Weymouth's ſeat in Wiltſhire.*] Notwithſtanding our Biſhop cannot be ſuppoſed not to have foreſeen for ſome time the probability of the change which happened at the Revolution, and muſt have been ſenſible what would be his own fate, as well as many others therein; yet had he none of that wiſdom of this world which governs thoſe who never fail to provide againſt a rainy day; ſo far from it, that on the other hand, if there can be an extravagant in good works, he was ſuch in that moſt excellent gift of charity. His whole fortune lying in his preferments, thoſe of his relations who were neceſſitous, but whom he would never regard the leſs for their being ſo, were a continual drain upon his revenue; and he ſeemed to joy with thoſe who lived in more plenty, not more for their own well-being, than that thereby he was at liberty to diſperſe the remainder of his income to neceſſitous ſtrangers; which he always did with ſo open a bounty, that he became a common father to all the ſons and daughters of affliction. His charity was ſo extenſive, that not long before the Revolution, having received from his biſhopric a fine of 4000 *l.* great part of it was given to the French Proteſtants; and ſo little regard had he to future contingencies, th on his deprivation, which was not long after, all his ef ts, after the ſale of every thing, excepting his l ks (which he never ſold), would raiſe no more than ſeven hundred pounds. And this, with the generoſity of his noble friend and eminent benefactor mentioned above, procured him a clear annuity of fourſcore pounds, which he received in quarterly payments of twenty pounds from that noble peer, wh made it a rent charge on part of his own eſtate: Which, among ma y other and greater favours, is thus thankfully acknowledged in the laſt will and teſtament of our grateful Biſhop, viz. ' *I leave and bequeath to the Right Hon. Thomas* ' *Lord Viſcount Weymouth, in caſe he outlives me, all* ' *my*

(21) This was *his conſtant preſcript to all his letters and papers. Short Account, &c. p. 4.*

* Bp Burnet has paſſed his cenſure too upon this proceeding in *Vol. I.* of his Hiſtory.

(22) The Biſhop was about this time conſtantly aſſured, that King James had by ſome ſpecial inſtrument made over the kingdom of Ireland to the French King.

(23) Epiſcopacy had been abo iſhed by an act of the Scots Parliament July 22 before; but ſeveral methods of accommodating matters between the Epiſcopalians and the Preſbyterians, were at this time in deliberat on at the Engliſh Court. See the Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland.

(24) Short Account, &c. p. 39, 40.

(25) Familiar Letters of Dr William Sancroft late Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to Mr North, &c. Lond. 1757, 8vo. p. 13.

lisbury (*d d*). In which church that kinſman was then poſſeſſed of a Prebend [*K*]. The Biſhop had always a great reliſh for divine poeſy, and in this retirement he compoſed many excellent, uſeful, and pious pieces; eſpecially after his cholic pains rendered him incapable of more ſerious ſtudy, this favourite entertainment ſerved in ſome meaſure to palliate the acuteneſs of his pain [*L*]. So cloſe was his application to theſe ſtudies, and ſo much was his mind bent upon quietneſs, that as he meddled not with any of the diſputes or attempts of his party [*M*], ſo he was never once diſturbed in that quiet enjoyment of himſelf, and never ſuſpected of any ill deſign [*N*]. Though he did not concur in opinion with thoſe Nonjurors,

(*dd*) Preface to The Complaints of the Church, &c. edit. 1711, 8vo.

* *my books of ſtudy, but the biſhop has not the duplicates, as a memorial of my gratitude for his ſignal and continued favours.* He likewiſe dedicated his poems to his lordſhip, as the fruits of his favours. The dedication-poem conſiſting of ſeveral ſtanzas; the two firſt of which run thus.

I.

'I, if the muſe may with the greateſt (26) dare,
'In griefs, not gifts or graces, will compare;
'Forc'd from my flock by uncanonic heat,
'In ſinging hymns thus ſolace my retreat:
'Retreat, in which when by the world depriv'd,
'I was chiefly you, my lord, who me reviv'd.

(26) Viz. Gregory Nazianzen; the plan of this poem being formed upon the affinity of his caſe to that of Gregory, when perſecuted by Julian the Apoſtate.

II.

'When I, my lord, cruſh'd by powerful might,
'No cottage had where to direct my flight;
'Kind Heav'n me with a friend illuſtrious bleſt,
'Who gives me ſhelter, affluence, and reſt,
'In this alone, I Gregory outdo,
'That I much happier refuge have in you;
'Where to my cloſet I to hymn retire,
'On this ſide Heav'n have nothing to deſire (27).'

(27) His Works, &c. Vol. I. publiſhed in 1721, 8vo.

[*K*] *He ſometimes viſited Mr Walton at Saliſbury.*] He was with this relation at Saliſbury when the great ſtorm happened in November 1703, whereby, it is ſaid, a ſtack of chimnies was blown down, and broke into his bedchamber, but without doing him any hurt; which is mentioned, becauſe his ſucceſſor at Wells, Dr Kidder, was killed by the fall of a ſtack of chimnies into his bed-chamber, blown down by the ſame ſtorm (28).

(28) Preface to Complaints of the Church, &c. ubi ſupra.

[*L*] *He diverted his pain with making verſes.*] We have this fact from his own pen, in the dedication already mentioned, of which the third ſtanza conſiſts of the following lines.

'Tis now two annual weeks and more ſince pain
'Within my tender nerves began to reign.
'Between my couch and chair my days I waſte,
'And of a book have but evanid taſte,
'As thirſty deer at Nile's refreſhing brink,
'E'er he forſakes his bed, by ſnatches drink;
'Still rolling to and fro their timorous eyes,
'Leaſt the Leviathan ſhould them ſurprize;
'Thus I on authors ſup, can make no ſtay,
'Pain from attention forces me away.
'Pain haunting me, I court the ſacred muſe,
'Verſe is the only laudanum I uſe:
'Verſe, in which harmony and picture join'd,
'My dolours damp, and recreate my mind.'

[*M*] *He meddled not in any of the diſputes of his party.*] 'Tis not improbable that he had been often ſolicited to engage in theſe, eſpecially ſince we find his particular friend, Dr Turner, the deprived Biſhop of Ely, ſo deeply involved therein. But our author, it ſeems, cared for none of thoſe things, and he never ſpoke more ſincerely the truth from his heart, than we ſee it expreſſed in the following lines.

'I gladly wars eccleſiaſtic fly,
'Where'er contentious ſpirits I deſcry;
'Eas'd of my ſacred load, I live content;
'In hymns, not in diſputes, my paſſion vent. (29)

(29) Dedication, &c. ſtanza 8.

[*N*] *He never was diſturbed in that quiet, &c.*] He was indeed once ſent for to appear before the Privy-Council in the year 1696, an account of which we have from himſelf as follows. 'All glory be to God. After the favourable hearing which this day the Lords 'of the moſt honourable Privy-Council gave me, Mr 'Bridgman came out to me to tell me, that their 'Lordſhips expected a copy of my anſwers, which 'as far as I can recollect, I here offer to their Lord-'ſhips.

'The printed paper, ſubſcribed by the deprived 'Biſhops, to beg the alms of charitable people, being 'ſhewed me, I was aſked,

'*Did you ſubſcribe this paper?*

Anſ. 'My Lords, I thank God I did, and it had a 'very happy effect; for the will of my bleſſed Re-'deemer was fulfilled by it, and what we were not 'able to do ourſelves, was done by others; the hun-'gry were fed, and the naked were cloathed; and to 'feed the hungry, to cloath the naked, and to viſit 'thoſe who are ſick, or in priſon, is that plea, which 'all your lordſhips, as well as I, as far as you have 'had opportunities, muſt make for yourſelves at the 'great day; and that which you muſt all plead at 'God's tribunal for your eternal abſolution, ſhall not 'I hope, be made my condemnation here.

'It was then ſaid to this purpoſe; *No one here 'condemns charity, but the way you have taken to pro-'cure it, your paper is illegal.*

Anſ. 'My Lords, I can plead to the evangelical 'part: I am no lawyer, but ſhall went lawyers to 'plead to that; and I have been very well aſſured, that 'it is legal. My Lords, I will ſincerely give your 'Lordſhips an account of the part I had in it. The 'firſt perſon who propoſed it to me was Mr Kettlewell, 'that holy man, who is now with God: And after 'ſome time it was brought to this form, and I ſub-'ſcribed it, and then went into the country, to my re-'tirement in an obſcure village, where I live above 'the ſuſpicion of giving any the leaſt umbrage to the 'government.

'My Lords, I was not active in making collections 'in the country, where there are but few ſuch objects 'of charity; but good people, of their own accord, 'ſent me towards fourſcore pounds, of which about 'one half is ſtill in my hands.

'I beg your Lordſhips to obſerve this clauſe in our 'paper, *As far as in law we may*; and to receive 'ſuch charity is I preſume, *which in law I may*; and 'to diſtribute it is a thing alſo, *which in law I may.*

'It was objected to this purpoſe: *This money has 'been abuſed, and given to very ill and immoral men; 'and particularly to one, who goes in a gown one day, 'and in a blue ſilk waiſtcoat another.*

Anſ. 'My Lords, to give to an ill man may be a 'miſtake and no crime, unleſs what was given him, 'was given to an ill purpoſe; nay, to give to an ill 'man and knowingly is our duty, if that ill man wants 'neceſſaries of life, for as long as God's patience and 'forbearance indulges that ill man life to lead him to 'repentance, we ought to ſupport that life God in-'dulges him, hoping for the happy effect of it.

'My Lords, in King James's time there were about 'a thouſand, or more, impriſoned in my dioceſe, who 'were engaged in the rebellion of the Duke of Mon-'mouth; and many of them were ſuch which I had 'reaſon to believe to be ill men, and void of all reli-'gion; and yet for all that I thought it my duty to 'relieve them. 'Tis well known to the dioceſe, that 'I viſited them night and day, and, I thank God, I 'ſupplied them with neceſſaries myſelf as far as I 'could, and encouraged others to do the ſame; and 'yet King James never found the leaſt fault with me. 'And if I am now charged with miſapplying what 'was given, I beg of your Lordſhips, that St Paul's 'apoſtolical rule may be obſerved, *Againſt an elder 'receive not an accuſation, but before two or three wit-*

'*neſſes;*

Nonjurors, who were for continuing a ſeparation from the eſtabliſhed Church by private conſecrations among themſelves [O], yet he looked on the ſpiritual relation to his dioceſe to be ſtill in full force during the life of his firſt ſucceſſor Dr Kidder [P]; but after his deceaſe in 1703, upon the nomination of Dr Hooper to the dioceſe by Q. Anne, he requeſted that gentleman to accept it, and afterwards ſubſcribed himſelf late Biſhop of Bath and Wells [Q], and the Queen ſettled upon him a penſion of two hundred pounds a year, which

'*neſſes*; for I am ſure none can teſtify that againſt me.
'What I gave, I gave in the country, and I gave to
'none but thoſe who did both want and deſerve it:
'The laſt that I gave, was to two poor widows of de-
'ceaſed clergymen, one whereof was left with ſix,
'the other with ſeven ſmall children.

'It was ſaid to this purpoſe: *You are not charged*
'*yourſelf with giving to ill men, though it has been*
'*done by others; but the paper comes out with a pre-*
'*tence of authority, and it is illegal, and in the na-*
'*ture of a Brief; and if ſuch practices are permitted,*
'*private men may ſuperſede all the briefs granted by the*
'*King.*

'My Lords, I muſt beg your pardon, if I cannot
'give a full anſwer to this; I am no lawyer, and am
'not prepared to argue it in law.

'It was further objected to this purpoſe: *By ſend-*
'*ing forth this paper, you have uſurped eccleſiaſtical*
'*juriſdiction.*

Anſ. 'My Lords, I never heard, that begging
'was a part of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction; and in this
'paper we are only beggars, which privilege I hope
'may be allowed us.

'I make no doubt but your Lordſhips may have had
'ſtrange miſinformations concerning this paper; but
'having ſincerely told you what part I had in it, I
'humbly ſubmit myſelf to your Lordſhips juſtice.

'I preſume your Lordſhips will come to no imme-
'diate reſolution concerning me; and having volun-
'tarily ſurrendered myſelf, and the warrant never hav-
'ing been ſerved on me, 'till I had twice attended
'here, this being the third time, and my health being
'infirm, I beg this favour of your Lordſhips, that I
'may return to my ſiſter's houſe, where I have hither-
'to lodged, which is a place the meſſenger knows
'well, and that I may be no otherwiſe confined, 'till
'I have received your Lordſhips final reſolution.

'This favour your Lordſhips were pleaſed very rea-
'dily to grant me; for which I return my humble ac-
'knowledgments, beſeeching God to be gracious to
'your Lordſhips.

'Tho. Bath and Wells,
'deprived (30).

'April 28, 1696.

(30) Short Account, p. 48 to 56 inclusive.

[O] *He was againſt continuing the ſeparation, &c.*] This appears from ſeveral letters of his upon that ſubject, written in anſwer to the applications that were frequently made to him, as to a perſon who was held in the higheſt eſteem among his party. One of theſe was ſent to Mr Robert Nelſon, who having applied to him on the occaſion, received an anſwer, which we ſhall preſent to the reader, becauſe it ſhews how greatly his opinion was revered by the very beſt of his nonjuring brethren, and becauſe it diſcovers his opinion and practice in another point, which had bred a diviſion among theſe ſectaries. It begins thus,

'Sir,

'In order to ſatisfy your enquiry, I can acquaint
'you, that I have received a letter from Biſhop Ken,
'who aſſures me, *That he was always againſt that*
'*practice, which he foreſaw would perpetuate the*
'*ſchiſm, and declared againſt it, and that he had act-*
'*ed accordingly, and would not have laid it at his door,*
'*having made a receſs, as he ſays, for a much more*
'*worthy perſon: And he apprehends, it was always*
'*the judgment of his brethren, that the death of the*
'*canonical Biſhops would render the invaders canonical,*
'*in regard the ſchiſm is not to laſt always.*'

Afterwards his lordſhip adds this; '*I preſume Mr*
'*Dodwell, and others with him, go to church, though*
'*I myſelf do not, being a public perſon; but to commu-*
'*nicate with my ſucceſſor in that part of the office,*
'*which is unexceptionable, I ſhould make no difficulty.*

'This letter I communicated to Mr Dodwell, as
'ſoon as he came to town, which he thought clear
'enough for diſcontinuing the ſchiſm, and I ſuppoſe
'in a ſhort time he may have one to the ſame pur-
'poſe (31).'

[P] *He deemed himſelf biſhop of his dioceſe during the life of Dr Kidder.*] We have already ſeen Dr Burnet remarking that our biſhop ever after his reſolution not to take the oaths to King William, continued in a very warm oppoſition to the government; but this can only be underſtood with regard to the uſe of all ſuch ſpiritual means as were not illegal; for it has been fully ſhewn, that as to any other oppoſition he meddled not. In the firſt ſenſe he thought himſelf obliged to the ſame paſtoral care over his dioceſe as before his deprivation, and the more ſo as he had no good opinion of the principles of the invader, as he called his ſucceſſor Dr Kidder. To this purpoſe, we find him expreſſing himſelf with great warmth, in the dedication already cited of his poems; the fifth ſtanza whereof run thus.

(31) This letter is dated Feb. 21, 1703-10, and printed in Dr Marſhall's Defence of our Conſtitution, &c. Lond. 1717, 8vo. in the appendix.

'Bleſs'd Gregory, from his flock when forc'd a-
way,
'Reſolv'd, in verſe, truths heav'nly to diſplay.
'I, by a ſtranger, from my fold exil'd,
'While my flock ſtrays on the unhurdled wild,
'Still for my charge a tender care retain,
'Expos'd to Latitudinarian bane.
'Like Gregory, of bleſſed Paul I learn to teach,
'And warn in hymns all ſouls within my reach.'

This is temperate enough, but he grew warmer by thinking and writing on the ſubject; and in ſtanza the tenth, againſt thoſe who complied with the Revolution, after they had preached up Paſſive Obedience in higher terms, as he obſerves on another occaſion (22), than ever he did, he breaks out into the following exceſs of heat,

(32) Viz. in his Anſwer to Bp Burnet in remark [K].

'To his dear flock, when Gregory had adieu,
'He warn'd them ſeal baptiſmal to renew,
'And rather die glad martyrs at the ſtake,
'Than the depoſitum he left forſake.
'With like, tho' with inferior, ſacred heat,
'The ſame requeſt I to my flock repeat.
'Verſatile prieſts may flatter laick might,
'For lucre may invade canonic right.
'For rule of faith Leviathan inſtil,
'And proſtitute God's truth to human will.
'Wolves on the vitals of their faith will pray;
'Their ſafety is, their ſhepherd to obey.'

[Q] *He deſired Dr Hooper to accept the biſhoprick, &c.*] We have had occaſion more than once to mention this worthy friend of Dr Ken, and as he was likewiſe one of the brighteſt ſtars in the Engliſh hierarchy, this memoir may be thought deficient if he be let paſs without ſome more particular notice, which is therefore given as follows. Dr George Hooper had his birth at Grimley in Worceſterſhire, whence his father removed for the ſake of his better education to Weſtminſter, and ſending him to that ſchool, he became King's ſcholar, and from that ſtudent of Chriſt-Church in Oxford in 1656, where he took both his degrees in arts at the regular times (33), and diſtinguiſhed himſelf above his contemporaries by his ſuperior knowledge in philoſophy, mathematics, Greek and Roman antiquities, and the oriental languages. In 1672 he became fellow-chaplain with Dr Ken to Biſhop Morley, who gave him the rectory of Havant, but that being an unhealthy ſituation, he changed it for Woodhey, which was reſigned probably with that view by Dr Ken. In 1673 he proceeded Bachelor of Divinity (34), and not long after removed to Lambeth, being made chaplain to Archbiſhop Sheldon (35), who had begged this favour of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and who in

(33) Viz. A. B. Jan. 1660, and A. M. in [illegible] together with his friend Bp Ken. Wood's Faſti. Vol. II. p. 127 and 158.

(34) Viz. July 9. Ibid. p. 191.

(35) Ath. Ox. 1048, upon the death of Dr Tomkins.

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which was punctually paid out of the Treasury as long as he lived (*e e*). He had been afflicted many years with severe cholic pains (*f f*), and at length was observed to make bloody

(*e e*) The Queen often complained that it was too little for his thanks, which he dutifully sent her every year upon the receipt of it. Short Account, p. 47.

(*f f*) He was seized with them about the year 1696. See the two first lines of the dedication to his Poems, stanza 3. in remark [L].

1675 gave him the rectory of Lambeth, and afterwards the Precentorship of Exeter, an option of his Grace's. In 1677, he commenced Doctor in Divinity (36), and the same year being made almoner to the Princess of Orange, he crossed the sea to Holland, where, at the request of her Royal Highness, he regulated her chapel according to the usage of the Church of England. After one year's attendance, he repassed the sea, in order to compleat his marriage, the treaty for which had been set on foot before his departure. This done, he went back to her Highness, who had obtained a promise from him to that purpose, but after a stay of about eight months, she consented to his return home. Upon the death of Dr Allestree in 1680, he was offered the Divinity Professorship at Oxford, which he declined, but was made King's chaplain about the same time. In 1685, by the King's command, as well as his friend Dr Ken, he attended the Duke of Monmouth, and had much free conversation with him in the Tower both the evening before, and in the morning of the day of his execution (37). The following year he took a share in the popish controversy (38). In 1691 he succeeded Dr Sharp in the Deanery of Canterbury. As he never made any application for preferment, Queen Mary surprized him with this offer, for which she took the opportunity of the absence of her consort in Holland. Upon this promotion he resigned the rectory of Woodhey, notwithstanding the Queen's express order to keep both his livings: he was also made chaplain to their Majesties the same year (39). But though both the royal parents of the Duke of Glocester pressed very earnestly to have him for his Royal Highness's preceptor in 1698, and no pretence of any objection was ever made against him, yet the King appointed Bishop Burnet for that service (40). In 1701 he was chosen Prolocutor to the lower house of Convocation, and the same year was offered the Primacy of Ireland by the Earl of Rochester, then Lord Lieutenant there. Soon after the accession of Queen Anne to the throne, the following year she nominated him to the Bishoprick of St Asaph. This he accepted, though against his inclination, and in half a year afterwards receiving a like command to remove to that of Bath and Wells, he earnestly requested her Majesty to dispense with the order, not only on account of the sudden charge of such a translation, as well as a reluctance to remove, but also in regard to his friend Dr Ken, for whom he begged this Bishoprick, which the Queen readily granted; but the offer being declined by Bishop Ken, this friend, at his importunity, yielded to become his successor, but not 'till he had obtained the Queen's leave; who also commended him for making the proposal, to hold the precentorship of Exeter *in commendam*, with a dispensation for non-residence, for the sole benefit of Bishop Ken. But the then Bishop of Exeter objecting against it, the Queen to satisfy him desired Bishop Hooper to resign it, saying that she would take care of the deprived Bishop, and then ordered him a pension of 200 *l. per ann.* as has been already mentioned above. Bishop Hooper was not more acceptable to Bishop Ken than he was to his diocese, whose affections both of gentry and clergy he was fully possessed of: And in return no offers could prevail upon him to yield to a translation from them. For he several times refused a seat in the Privy-Council, and could not be persuaded to accept either the Bishoprick of London on the death of Dr Compton, or the Archbishoprick of York on the death of Dr Sharp. He sat in the see of Bath and Wells twenty-four years and six months, and died at Barkley in Somersetshire, whither he sometimes retired, on the 6th of September, 1727, and was interred, in pursuance of his own request, in the cathedral of Wells, under a marble monument erected, with an elegant Latin inscription upon it, to his memory. Besides his sermons (41), he published several books in his life-time, and left several manuscripts behind him, some of which he gave leave to be printed. The following is a catalogue of both. 1. *The Church of England free from the imputation of Popery*, printed in 1682, and bound up with the London Cases. 2. *A fair and methodical discussion of the first and great controversy between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, concerning the infallible guide. In three discourses. The two first of which were licensed by Dr Maurice in* 1687, but the last was never printed. 3. *The parson's case under the present Land-tax, recommended in a letter to a member of the House of Commons*, 1689. 4. *A discourse concerning Lent, in two parts. The first an historical account of its observation; the second an essay concerning its original. This subdivided into two repartitions, wherein the first is [illegible], and shews, that most of our Christian ordinances are derived from the Jews; and the second conjectures, that Lent is of the same original.* Lond. 1693, 8vo. 5. *A paper in the Philosophic Transactions for October* 1699, entitled, *A Calculation of the Credibility of human testimony.* 6. *New danger of Presbytery*, Lond. 1713. 7. *Marks of a defenceless cause.* 8. *The narrative of the proceeding of the lower house of Convocation vindicated**. 9. *De Valentinianorum Hæresi Conjecturæ, quibus illius origo ex Ægyptiaca Theologia deducitur*, Lond. 1711, 4to. 10. *An inquiry into the state of the ancient measures, the Attic, the Roman, and especially the Jewish. With an appendix concerning our old English money and measures of Content*, Lond 1721, 8vo. 11. *De Patriarchæ Jacobi Benedictione Gen.* 49. *Conjecturæ*, published by the Reverend Mr Hunt, of Hart-hall in Oxford, with a preface and notes, according to our author's directions a little before his death to the editor. The manuscripts before-mentioned are the two following. 1. A Latin sermon, preached in 1672, when he took his Bachelor of Divinity's degree; and, 2. A Latin tract on Divorce.

We must not conclude this remark, without reverting to the immediate cause of it, the satisfaction which Bishop Ken had in this successor. This in the fulness of his heart he frequently took occasion to declare, but no where more warmly than in the dedication of his hymns on the Attributes, addressed in verse to this friend, under the title of George Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, where he thus expresses himself.

' But that which most of all my eye-lids drained;
' My lambs, my sheep, were by their wand'rings
' baned:
' They broke from Catholic, and hallow'd bounds,
' And for the wholesome chose th' impoison'd
grounds
' Contracting Latitudinarian taint;
' In faith, in morals, suffering no restraint.
' New heresies they form'd, or old reviv'd,
' Or, Corah-like, outragious schisms contriv'd:
' And in such dangers while his sheep abide,
' A shepherd's eye-lids never should be dry'd.

' Thus griev'd, I, like Valerius, wept and pray'd,
' For all the sheep which from my pasture stray'd;
' His prayer was ardent, violenc'd God's ear,
' Mine languid was, and too restrain'd my tear;
' He, David-like, had rivers in his head,
' I, drop by drop, tears intermitting shed.
' But I adore benignity divine,
' Who did to hear my worthless cares incline,
' And while I mourn'd for the tremendous stroke,
' Which freed my flock from uncanonic yoke,
' Heaven, my lord, superefluently kind,
' In you sent a successor to my mind;
' In you all Austin's virtues are supplied,
' Too bright for your humility to hide:
' I, on a load presum'd, I could not bear,
' Happy presumption! which enforc'd my pray'r;
' Since Heaven thence took occasion you to rear,
' You who irradiate all the sacred sphere;
' You, in whose care I feel as full repose,
' As old Valerius when he Austin chose.
' Accept,

(36) Viz. July 3. Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. col. 207.

(37) See more of his behaviour at this time in the article of Archbishop Tenison.

(38) See his treatise on that occasion, the title of which will be given presently.

(39) Ath. Oxon. where last cited.

(40) Boyer's History of Queen Anne, under that year.

(41) Of these be printed eight; the first two preached before the Lord-Mayor at Guildhall chapel in 1681, and the last on the day of thanksgiving for the peace, July 7, 1713.

* He had before published A Narrative of those Proceedings, &c. from Monday Feb. 10, 1700, to Wednesday June 25, 1701. Drawn up by the order of the House, 4to.

bloody water. This ſymptom being aſcribed to an ulcer in his kidneys, he went to Briſtol in the beginning of the year 1710 for the benefit of the hot well, where he ſpent the ſummer, and 'till November following, when he removed to Leweſton near Shirburne in Dorſetſhire, a ſeat belonging to the honourable Mrs Thynne. There he was ſeized with a dead palſey one one ſide, which confined him to his chamber 'till about the middle of March; when being, as he thought, able to take ſuch a journey, he reſolved for the Bath, in hopes to find relief from thoſe waters. Nor could the perſuaſions of that good lady, or his phyſician, divert his deſign, though he laboured under another diſtemper, viz. the Dropſy. So in his way thither, calling at Long-Leate on Saturday, he ſpent that evening in adjuſting ſome papers; all the next day he confined himſelf to his chamber, and on Monday he was confined to his bed, 'till on Monday following, March 19, 1710-11, his ſoul was ſet free by a diſſolution (*g g*). Froome Selwood being the neareſt pariſh within his own diocese to the place where he died, he was buried, conformable to his own requeſt, in the church-yard, under the Eaſt window of the chancel of that church, juſt at ſun-riſing, without any manner of pomp or ceremony, beſides that of the order for burial in the Liturgy of the Church of England, on the 21ſt of March, 1710 (*b b*), in the 73d year of his age. His Lordſhip was never married, and left behind him but few relations [*R*]; and by his laſt will, proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury [*S*], April 24, 1711, appointed his nephew William Hawkins, of the Middle-Temple, Eſq; his executor, who publiſhed *A ſhort account of his life, &c. to which was added, A ſmall Specimen, in order to a Publication of his works at large* (*i i*). Lond. 1719, 8vo. And accordingly theſe were publiſhed in 1721 by the ſame gentleman, under this title, *The Works of the Right Reverend, learned, and pious Thomas Ken, D. D. late Lord Biſhop of Bath and Wells*, Lond. 1721. An account of which, together with other pieces printed by himſelf beſides thoſe already mentioned, the reader will find below. [*T*].

(*g g*) As he had for many years travelled with his ſhrowd in his portmanteau; he put it on as ſoon as he came to Long-Leate, giving notice of it the day before his death by way of prevention, that his body might not be ſtripped.

(*b b*) Account, &c. p. 42.

(*i i*) This ſpecimen conſiſted of two ſermons already mentioned, and hymns and odes, 1. On the Annunciation. 2. Heaven. 3. On the Attributes of God. 4. On Good-Friday. 5. Thirſt for Jeſus. 6. Reſignation of Jeſus. Selected chiefly for the variety of meaſure which appears in them.

'Accept, my lord, the product of that eaſe
'You gave, when you accepted of my keys.
'O may the flock a grateful ſenſe retain,
'Of bleſſings, which they in your conduct gain.
'I, in my requiem hymns, God's love will ſing,
'For ſhelt'ring them in your paternal wing.'

Not content with this ſingle opportunity of declaring his full ſatisfaction and delight on the occaſion, we find the ſame repeated in the general dedication of his poems to Lord Weymouth, finiſhed, as it ſeems, not long before his death, where his heart ſwells into the higheſt tide of joy upon the ſame ſubject, in the following lines.

Stanza 8.

'Forc'd from my flock, I daily ſaw with tears,
'A ſtranger's ravage two ſabbatic years *;
'But I forbear to tell the dreadful ſtroke,
'Which freed my ſheep from their Eraſtian yoke;
'While Heav'n was ſupereffluently kind,
'In ſending them a paſtor to my mind;
'In whom my ſpirit feels the like repoſe,
'As old Valerius, when he Auſtin choſe.

* Viz. fourteen years, Dr Kidder holding the ſee from 1690 to 1703 inclusive.

Stanza 9.

'I, cruſh'd by ſtate decree, and griev'd with pain,
'The paſtoral toil unable to ſuſtain,
'More gladly off the hallow'd burthen ſhake,
'Than I at firſt the weight could undertake;
'And ſhall rejoice when ſinking to my grave,
'That my dear ſheep a worthier paſtor have;
'That, living, I had buried paſtoral care,
'And for my laſt was freer to prepare.

[*R*] *He left few relations*] Theſe were, Martha the daughter of his brother Mr John Ken by Roſe his wife, which Martha married to the honourable Chriſtopher Frederick Krienberg, Reſident of his Electoral Highneſs of Hanover in London. John Beacham in 1713 Fellow of Trinity College, and William Beacham, ſometime Fellow of New-College in Oxford, who were both the ſons of his ſiſter Martha by her huſband Mr James Beacham. Iſaac Walton, Reſidentiary of the cathedral church of Sarum, and Anne Walton, iſſue of his ſiſter Anne by her huſband Mr Iſaac Walton of London, which Anne having been married to William Hawkins, D. D. ſometime prebendary of Wincheſter, had iſſue by him William and Anne, both living in 1713, of whom William was appointed the Biſhop's executor, as above-mentioned (42).

(42) Short Account, p. 46, 47.

[*S*] *His laſt will, &c.*] Various reports having been frequently and induſtriouſly ſpread, that he was tainted with ſome Popiſh errors, and was not ſo ſtedfaſt to the doctrine of the Church of England, it was thought proper to publiſh the following paragraph, tranſcribed from his will. '*As for my religion, I die in the holy 'catholic and apoſtolic faith, profeſſed by the whole 'Church before the diſunion of Eaſt and Weſt; more 'particularly, I die in the communion of the Church of 'England, as it ſtands diſtinguiſhed from all Papal and 'Puritan innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrine 'of the Croſs.*'

[*T*] *An account of the reſt of his works below*] Thoſe printed by himſelf are, 1. *A ſermon preached at the funeral of the Right Hon. the lady Margaret Maynard, at Little Eaſton in Eſſex, June* 30, 1682, on Prov. ii. 16. Lond. 1682, 4to. 2. *A ſermon preached in the cathedral church of Bath on Aſcenſion-Day, May* 5, 1687. In this his lordſhip had dropt ſome leſs guarded expreſſions, which were made the ſubject of a piece, intitled, *Animadverſions on the biſhop of Bath's ſermon on Aſcenſion-Day, May* 5, 1687, *Lond.* 1687, 4to. 3. *A paſtoral letter to the clergy of the diocese of Bath and Wells, concerning their behaviour during Lent, dated Feb.* 18, 1687, *Lond.* 1688, 4to. 4. His works in four volumes. Vol. 1 containing, *Hymns Evangelical. Hymns on the the Feſtivals. Chriſtophil.* Vol. 2. *Edmund, an epic poem. Hymns on the Attributes.* Vol 3. *Hymnotheos, or the penitent. Anodynes, or the alleviation of pain.* Vol. 4. *Preparations for death. Pſyche, or Magdalen, and Sion or Philotheos. Urania, or the ſpacious garden. Damoret, Thyrſil, and Dorilla, or chaſte love deſcribed.* In the dedication to Lord Weymouth, ſon of that Lord to whom the biſhop addreſſed them, Mr Hawkins aſſures us, that he had the Biſhop's leave at Leweſton to publiſh theſe poems; 'whereof, ſays he, the verſe will be found not ſtrained, but generally eaſy and familiar, as being deſigned for contemplation and devotion; and when his ſubject requires it, lofty and ſublime. His frequently joining the ſyllable Co, continues the editor, to words, (as in Co-eval, Co ſpire, Co-glorious, Co-une, Co-trine, Co-harmonious, &c) beſides the great propriety thereby preſerved, may be taken, (though I dare not aver it to be ſo intended) for a deſigned characteriſtic of his genuine performances from ſuch as are ſpurious (43), he having met with ill treatment of that nature in his lifetime; and for the further prevention of which (as far as in me lies) I beg leave to aſſure your lordſhip, that nothing more of his performances are ever to be publiſhed.'

(43) Among theſe was publiſhed, under his name, *The Reſtored Chriſtian, &c.* the ſeventh edition of which came out in 1756, 12mo.

KENNET [WHITE], Biſhop of Peterborough, a learned Antiquarian, was the ſon of Mr Baſil Kennet, Rector of Dimchurch and Vicar of Poſtling near Hythe in Kent (a); and was born Auguſt 10, 1660, in the pariſh of St Mary's in Dover, his mother being the eldeſt daughter of Mr Thomas White, a wealthy magiſtrate there, from whom he had his name at the font [A]. As he grew up, he was firſt put to ſchool at Eleham, and then to Wye, both in the neighbourhood; whence, having made a great proficiency in grammar-learning, he was removed to Weſtminſter, in the view of obtaining a place upon that foundation; and he was admitted above the curtain †. But being unluckily ſeized with the ſmall pox at the time of election, rather than wait another year, his father accepted an offer made to him by Mr Tolſon, his neighbour at Beakſborne, and ſent him to be tutor to the three ſons of that gentleman. He acquitted himſelf in this poſt, much to the ſatisfaction of the family, 'till his removal to Oxford, whither he went in June 1678; and, by the recommendation of his countryman the learned Dr Wallis, was entered into Edmund-hall *, and placed under the care of Mr Andrew Allam, a celebrated tutor at that time [B]. In this ſociety he applied cloſely to his ſtudies, and with ſuch diſtinguiſhed ſucceſs, that though he wore the gown of a Battler or Semi-commoner only, the loweſt condition of ſuch as are wholly ſupported at their own expence, yet he was admitted to the converſation, and procured the friendſhip, of the higheſt, which proved of great ſervice to him. But though he made a figure in ſome other branches of polite literature, yet the bent of his inclination and genius led him particularly to the ſtudy of Antiquities and Hiſtory; and being of a lively and forward temper, he commenced author in the political way while he was undergraduate; and, in 1680 (b), publiſhed in 8vo. *A Letter from a Student at Oxford to a Friend in the Country, concerning the approaching Parliament, in Vindication of his Majeſty, the Church of England, and the Univerſity* [C]. And ſoon after, in the ſame ſpirit, he printed *A Poem to Mr E. L. on his Majeſty's diſſolving the late Parliament at Oxford* (c) 28th of March, 1681. He took his firſt degree in Arts May 2, 1682

(a) This gentleman was bred at Trinity-college in Dublin, where he took the degree of Maſter of Arts. The Life of the Right Rev. Dr White Kennet, with ſeveral original Letters, &c. Lond. 1730, 8vo. p. 1.

† That is in the upper ſchool, which is ſeparated from the lower by a curtain.

* Ibid. p. 3.

(a) In the title-page the date is 1678, but the cuſtom of the Booksellers in beginning the year at Michaelmas,

(c) This was a ballad, printed on one ſide of a ſheet of paper, and begun, *An Atheiſt now muſt a monſter be*, &c. It was reprinted in a pamphlet, intituled, *The Conduct of Dr Kennet*. Lond. 1717, 8vo.

[A] *From whom he had his Chriſtian name.*] Alderman White had been a maſter ſhipwright, and after the Reſtoration had been employed by the government in that way, and upon a petition of ſeveral merchants and tradeſmen, for arrears due to them, delivered to the Houſe of Commons in 1664, *die Sabbati* 28 *Januarii*, it was allowed by a committee, that there was due to Mr Thomas White of Dover, for refitting his Majeſty's ſhips, as unpaid on a warrant granted by the Commiſſioners for diſcharging the debts of his Majeſty's navy, 223*l.* 15*s.* 2*d.* Being both grandfather and godfather to our author, he conſented to give him his own name, probably in the view of making him his heir; but thoſe hopes were defeated by his entering afterwards into a ſecond marriage, the iſſue of which, with their mother, went away with the whole eſtate (1).

(1) Life of White Kennet, ubi ſupra, p. 2.

[B] *Mr Allam, a celebrated tutor at that time.*] No doubt Mr Kennet was greatly influenced by the example of his tutor, in turning his ſtudies to the ſubject of Hiſtory and Antiquities, for which Mr Allam had a peculiar taſte. There is indeed ſo great an affinity between the tenor of his life, and the firſt ſtep in that of the pupil, that the following ſhort account of it will not, 'tis preſumed, be thought altogether foreign to the buſineſs of the preſent memoir. Mr Allam then being born in 1655 at Garſington near Oxford, was educated in the neighbourhood, in a private ſchool at Denton in the pariſh of Cuddeſden, where he went to St Edmund's-hall, and was entered a Battler there in Eaſter term 1671. After he had taken the degrees in arts, he became a tutor, moderator, lecturer in the chapel, and at length Vice Principal of his houſe; in all which offices he behaved himſelf much to the honour and flouriſhing thereof; being a perſon of eminent virtues, ſober, temperate, and modeſt, even to example. He underſtood the controverſial writings between Conformiſts and Nonconformiſts, Proteſtants and Papiſts, far beyond his years, which were advanced by a great and happy memory. He underſtood the world of men well, authors better, and nothing but years and experience were wanting to make him a compleat walking library (2). There are extant of his works, 1. A preface, with an epiſtle dedicatory in the printer's name, prefixed to *the Epiſtle congratulatory of Lyſimachus Nicanor, &c. to the Covenanters of Scotland, &c.* Oxon. 1684. 2. The epiſtle, with the account therein, of Dr Richard Coſin's life prefixed to that author's piece, entitled, *Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Politeia in Tabulas digeſta*, Oxon. 1684, in fol. 3. The epiſtle prefixed, with a review and correction of the book intitled, *Some plain diſcourſes on the Lord's Supper*, by Dr George Griffith, Biſhop of St Aſaph. Oxon. 1684. 8vo. 4. Five or ſix ſheets of corrections and additions to a piece intitled, *Angliæ Notitiæ*, or the Preſent ſtate of England. 5. He began and made ſeveral additions to Helvicus's Hiſtorical and Chronological Theatre, as occaſion required, and would have finiſhed the Supplement at the end from 1660 to 1685, had he not been prevented by death. 6. He had laid the foundation of Notitia Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, giving an account of all cathedrals, with their ſtatutes and cuſtoms, and a liſt of the names of the preſent biſhop, dean, archdeacon, canons, and officers of each cathedral. 7. He tranſlated into Engliſh *the life of Iphicrates*, which was printed among thoſe of Cornelius Nepos, by ſeveral hands, at Oxford 1684, 8vo. He alſo frequently aſſiſted Mr Antony Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxonienſ.* eſpecially in the *Notitia* of certain modern writers of our own nation. He died of the ſmall pox, June 17, 1685, and was buried at St Peter's in the Eaſt in Oxon (3). This excellent tutor was much pleaſed with Mr Kennet, and took a particular delight in impoſing taſks and exerciſes on him, which he would often read in the common room, before the maſters and gentlemen commoners, for an occaſion of commending his pupil. He ſet him ſeveral books to tranſlate from the Latin, which he not only approved, but recommended to the Oxford booksellers for an impreſſion of them. The tranſlation of the *Moriæ Encomium*, mentioned in the text, was one of theſe, and that of Pliny's panegyric, &c. was another, of which more hereafter. The tutor alſo became, we ſee, a fellow-writer with his pupil, among others, in the tranſlation of the *lives of Cornelius Nepos*. And to conclude, he likewiſe introduced him very early, while Undergraduate, into the acquaintance of Mr Ant Wood, who employed him in collecting ſeveral epitaphs and other notices of eminent Oxford men, and in writing to his father for intelligences of that kind, particularly of Mr John Reading *, Dr Meric Caſaubon, and others (4).

(3) Ibid. col. 785, 786.

* See Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 406, & ſeqq.

(4) Life of White Kennet, &c. p. 3, 4. and Mr Wood accordingly gives him the character of an excellent philologiſt, a good preacher, whether in Engliſh or Latin, and well verſed in the hiſtory and antiquities of our nation, and much deſerving of the Church of England, for which he hath a zealous reſpect. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1131.

(2) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 784, 785.

[C] *A letter from a ſtudent at Oxford*, &c.] This pamphlet was printed in March, and divers copies ſent to Oxford about the 15th of that month, An. 1680-1, againſt the time that the parliament was to ſit, viz. on the 21ſt of the ſaid month Where the whig party, as it was then begun to be called in the houſe of Commons, were ſo much offended with it, that enquiries were made after the author, in order to have him puniſhed. Among other members, John Trenchard, Eſq; ſometime a fellow of New College, but then a Burgeſs for Taunton in Somerſetſhire, was very active on this occaſion, and affirming that he knew it was written by an Oxford ſcholar, the Vice-chancellor was deſired to find out the author; but the ſudden diſſolution of the parliament put an end to the whole matter; and that occaſioned the publication of Mr Kennet's ſecond piece above mentioned (5).

(5) Id. ibid.

1682 (*d*); and the following year, he publiſhed a tranſlation into Engliſh of Eraſmus's *Moriæ Encomium*; and among the lives of illuſtrious men, written by *Cornelius Nepos*, and done into Engliſh by ſeveral hands of Oxford, and printed there in 1684 [*D*], 8vo, *The Life of Chabrias* has Mr Kennet's name at the head of it. About this time he entered into Holy Orders, and became curate and aſſiſtant to Mr Samuel Blackwell, B. D. (*e*), Vicar and Schoolmaſter of Burceſter in Oxfordſhire. In 1685 he proceeded Maſter of Arts, and in the beginning of September the ſame year, he was preſented by Sir William Glynne, Bart, to the vicarage of Amerſden, or Ambroſden, in Oxfordſhire, where he made ſeveral improvements in the church, and recovered an eſtate which had been left for that uſe, and alienated from it [*E*]. He was too young a divine to engage in the famous *Popiſh controverſy*; but he preached a ſet of ſermons againſt Popery. In the ſame ſpirit he likewiſe refuſed to read the declaration for Liberty of Conſcience in 1688, and went with the body of the clergy in the dioceſe of Oxford, when they rejected an addreſs to King James, recommended by Biſhop Parker the ſame year (*f*). While he was in the country, he ſometimes uſed the exerciſe of ſhooting for his health; and he was upon that diverſion in the neighbouring pariſh of Middleton-Stoney, in January 1689, when his gun burſting in the diſcharge, he received a dangerous wound in the forehead from a ſplinter, which broke both the tables of his ſkull. He lay a conſiderable time under this unlucky accident [*F*]; and, as he conſtantly wore a black velvet to cover the part, that was made a mark to diſtinguiſh his perſon on a particular occaſion ſeveral years afterwards (*g*). In September 1691, he was choſen Lecturer of St Martin's, commonly called Carfax, in Oxford (*h*), having ſome time before been invited back to Edmund-hall, to be Tutor and Vice-principal there [*G*]. Soon after which, he was appointed a public Lecturer in the Univerſity-ſchools, and as a man of diſcipline and ſpirit, was choſen Pro-proctor two ſucceſſive years (*i*). February 15, 1692 (*k*), he addreſſed a letter from Edmund-hall, to the editor of Somner's *Treatiſe of the Roman Ports and Forts in Kent*, containing an account of the life of that famous Antiquary [*H*]. This being prefixed to that treatiſe

(*d*) Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. col. 219.

(*e*) After his promotion to the ſee of Peterborough, the doctor collated this gentleman to a prebend in that church. Life of Biſhop Kennet, &c. p. 4.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 43.

(*g*) See more of this in the ſequel.

(*h*) Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(*i*) Life of Biſhop Kennet, p. 6.

(*k*) That is the date of the letter.

[*D*] *A tranſlation of Eraſmus's Moriæ Encomium, &c.*] The title of it is, *Wit againſt wiſdom, or a panegyric upon folly*. It was uſhered into the favour of the public by ſeveral copies of verſes made by Matth. Morgan, A. M. of St John's college; Will. Oſborne, A. M. James Shute, A. B. both of Edmund's hall; and Tho. Wood, Fellow of New-College; at the end of theſe is a copy by the tranſlator, on the argument of the book, which has gone through ſeveral editions ſince.

[*E*] *He was preſented by Sir Will. Glynne to Ambroſden, where he made ſeveral improvements.*] This favour was procured for him by the patron's eldeſt ſon, who was his contemporary in the hall. At his entrance upon it, he immediately had the vicarage-houſe beautified, the garden walled round, and an inſcription put upon the grave-ſtone of Dr Stubbing, his predeceſſor, who built the houſe: He then ſet himſelf to repair and adorn the church; had the bells new caſt; a new pulpit and font, a fane on the ſteeple, the church-yard incloſed with a ſtrong high wall, and gates with piers. The expence of theſe, among other improvements of ſtrength and beauty, was ſupplied from the profits of an eſtate, which, though left for the repairing the church, had been afterwards granted to a private perſon as given to ſuperſtitious uſes, and when recovered was by degrees alienated from the uſes of the church to that of the pariſh, and laid out on the highways, bridges, and poor; 'till Mr Kennet, by the advice and aſſiſtance of Biſhop Fell, obtained a trial before commiſſioners for charitable uſes, and a decree to inveſt the eſtate in new truſtees (of which the patron and vicar of the pariſh were always to be two, and the reſt of their nomination), to be employed according to the firſt purpoſe of repairing the church. And the rents accordingly were applied to that purpoſe very faithfully, to the great improvement of the church, and by degrees to the great ſatisfaction, as well as credit, of the pariſh (6).

(6) Life of Dr Kennet, &c. p. 5, 6.

[*F*] *He lay ſick a conſiderable time under this accident.*] While he lay under great diſorder and pain of body and brain, juſt after he had undergone the ſevere operation of trepanning, for want of ſleep, he made a copy of Latin verſes, and dictated them to a friend at his bedſide. The copy was tranſmitted to Sir William Glynne, in whoſe ſtudy it was found after the author had forgot every thing but the ſad occaſion; and the writer of his life tells us, it was then in his poſſeſſion, and thought by good judges to be no reproach to the author (7).

(7) Ibid. p. 7.

[*G*] *Tutor and vice-principal of Edmund-Hall.*] The famous Dr John Mill was then Principal, with whom Mr Kennet lived on better terms of peace and friendſhip than any other vice-principal either before or after. That eminent divine was at this time employed in preparing for the preſs his celebrated edition of the New Teſtament; and he was greatly aſſiſted therein by one of our author's pupils, Mr Thomas Hearne, (8) the noted Antiquarian, probably recommended for that purpoſe by his tutor.

(8) See his article.

[*H*] *He wrote the life of Somner.*] This undertaking gave him an opportunity of diſplaying his knowledge in the hiſtory of the Saxon language in England. Upon which ſubject he obſerves, that when the Saxons had made the Britons ſtrangers in their own land, the language which the conquerors brought with them ſoon grew into contempt among themſelves. Even ſo early as the year 652, *many out of this iſland were ſent to the monaſteries of France for education, and to bring back the manners and language of thoſe parts* (9). That in the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, 'by the great 'reſort of Normans to his court, the whole iſland be-'gan to loſe their Engliſh rites, and to imitate the 'manners of the Franks, eſpecially it was eſteemed a 'piece of breeding for all the leſſer ſort to ſpeak the 'Gallic idiom, and to deſpiſe the language and cuſ-'toms of their own country (10). This inglorious affectation is confeſſed by an hiſtorian, who lived in that age. It looked like an omen of their approaching conqueſt by that nation, of whoſe language and faſhions they were ſo fond. The event proved ſo. Three and twenty years after came in the Norman Lords, who threatened an extirpation to that language of which the natives began to be aſhamed. *For theſe new maſters hated the Engliſh, and ſo much abhorred their idiom, that the laws were all adminiſtered in the French tongue; the very children in the ſchools were kept from learning to read their mother language, and were inſtructed only in the Norman; the Engliſh manner of writing too was omitted* (11). The ſame author, from his own experience, again laments, that *the Saxon hand, which had been uſed in all writings, grew into diſgrace, and the French hand, becauſe it was more legible and more pleaſing to the eye, did every where obtain* (12), ſo as in the very next reign, *the Saxon letters were ſo obſolete and ſo unknown, that but few of the elder people were able to read them* (13). Nay, in the year 1095 Walſtan Biſhop of Worceſter was depoſed, when ſcarce any other thing was objected againſt him, but that *he was an old Engliſh idiot, who did not underſtand the French tongue* (14). It is true the next ſucceſſor Henry I. gave a charter to Will. Archbiſhop of Canterbury, confirming to him the poſſeſſion of his ſee in Saxon characters (15). This was but a ſingle inſtance, and perhaps done to oblige the queen of this Saxon line, and to ingratiate himſelf with the Engliſh ſubjects,

(9) Moraſt. Anglic. Tom. I. p. 89.

(10) Hiſt. Ingulphi. p. 62. ſub ann. 1043.

(11) Ibid. p. 71. ſub ann. 1066.

(12) Ibid. p. 85.

(13) Ibid. p. 89. ſub ann. 1091.

(14) Matth. Paris. ſub ann. 1095.

(15) Hen. Wharton Auctar. Hiſt. Dogmat. p. 388.

treatiſe, was publiſhed along with it in the beginning of 1693; and, in Feb. (*l*) following, he was preſented by William Cherry, Eſq; to the rectory of Shottesbrook near Bray in Berkſhire (*m*). However, he ſtill continued to reſide chiefly at Oxford, where the ſtudy of Antiquities particularly flouriſhed under the influence of his example, and by the advantage of his inſtructions [*I*]. But he became moſt eminent in that way, by his celebrated work publiſhed there in 1695, 4to. under the title of, *Parochial Antiquities attempted in the Hiſtory of* Ambroſden, Burceſter, *and other adjacent Pariſhes in the Counties of Oxford and Bucks* [*K*]. This work leading him to conſider the ſtate of the Church, in reſpect of impropriations, he publiſhed in 1698, 8vo. *The Hiſtory and Fate of Sacrilege*, written by Sir Henry Spelman, Knight [*L*]. The ſame year he improved himſelf farther in theſe ſtudies, by learning the Saxon and Septentrional tongues of the learned Dr George Hickes;

(*l*) Ath. Oxon. where laſt cited.

(*m*) At the requeſt of his eldeſt ſon, who had been contemporary with our author at Edmund-hall. Life of Dr Kennet, p. 4. and Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

ſubjects, who might hope for this marriage they had a better title in him. And that therefore [illegible] a mistake in Mabillon (16), and ſome other author, who aſſert that the Saxon way of writing was loſt from the very time of the Norman conqueſt. It is true the Saxon characters as with the ſigns of the croſs in public deeds, which were for the moſt part changed into the Norman way of ſeals and ſubſcriptions, yet ſome characters were with the old form of croſſes. That the Saxon dialect obtained no doubt in country villages, with ſome variation borrowed from the French; and ſome remains of it intermixed with the court language. But the barons and knights, who were moſt of them Normans, were ſo much afraid of their childrens taking the old Engliſh, that in the reign of Henry II. they ſent them into France for education, to wear off the barbarouſneſs (as they called it) of their native tongue.

(16) De Re Diplomatic. p. 52.

(17) At the beginning of the reign of Edward III. Robert Holeot, a Dominican (18), confeſſes, that there was no inſtitution of children in the old Engliſh, but they firſt learned the French, and from the French the Latin tongue, which he obſerves to have been a practice obſerved by William the Conqueror, and to have obtained ever ſince. That though from the firſt decline of the Barons, and advance of the Commons, who were more of Engliſh blood, the country language grew more into requeſt, 'till at laſt the Commons in Parliament at Weſtminſter, 30th of Edward III. ſhewed ſo much of the Engliſh ſpirit, as to repreſent to the King *the great miſchiefs which would happen to divers of the realm, if that the laws were pleaded, ſhewed, and judged in the French tongue, which is much unknown in the ſaid realm, &c.* Upon which *it was ordained and eſtabliſhed, that all pleas, &c ſhould be pleaded, ſhewed, and defended anſwered, debated, and judged, in the Engliſh tongue, &c* (19). Yet this law did by no means reſtore the Saxon either in the Alphabet, or in the prime dialect; it only redeemed the kingdom from an old token of ſubjection, and did honour to the then compound language, much vitiated by imported words and phraſes. And ſtill there ſeemed ſome remains of the Norman ſpirit, which by the ſame law provided, that *all ſuch pleas ſhould be entered and enrolled in the Latin*. If there was any conveyance of the true Saxon tongue, it was in the monaſteries; but in thoſe only which were founded before the Norman conqueſt, for in ſuch, intereſt obliged them to underſtand the language of their original charters. It was for this reaſon, that in the abbey of Croyland, 'a tutor was appointed to teach Saxon to ſome of the younger brethren, that in their old age they might be more fit to alledge the records of their monaſtery againſt their adverſaries (20). And it was no doubt for the like reaſon, that in the abbey of Taviſtoke, which had a Saxon foundation about 691, there were ſolemn lectures in the Saxon tongue, even to the time of our fathers, that the knowledge of the language might not fail, as it has ſince well nigh done (21).'

(17) Gervas Tilbur. de Otiis imper. MS. in biblioth. Bodl.

(18) Lect. 2. ſuper Sapient.

(19) Pulton's Statutes, 39 Edw. III. p. 119.

(20) Ingulphi Hiſt. p. 98.

(21) Camden in Britan. in Dan-mon.

[*I*] *The ſtudy of Antiquities flouriſhed by his example and inſtructions.*] We have a conſpicuous atteſtation to this part of our author's merit from Mr Gibſon (afterwards Biſhop of London), himſelf eminently verſed in this branch of learning, who in 1703, publiſhing a tranſlation into Engliſh of Mr Somner's treatiſe, written in anſwer to Chifflet, concerning the ſituation of the *Portus Iccius* on the coaſt of France oppoſite to Kent, where Cæſar embarked for the invaſion of this iſland, &c. introduced it into the world with an elegant Latin dedication to Mr Kennet, where having obſerved, 'that the ſtudy of Antiquities is very much diſcouraged by being repreſented as dry and barren, and the bane of all delicacy and politeneſs,' he remarks, 'That by this means thoſe who applied themſelves to it would be wholly diſcouraged, but that they were kept in countenance by his example and authority. And that there cannot be a more effectual anſwer to the reproaches that are caſt on this ſort of learning, than that quickneſs of parts, that ſtrength and delicacy of [illegible] ſo remarkable in him. That from this politeneſs of mind, eaſineſs and affability of manners, and perfect maſtery in all the parts of genteel learning, joined with the exacteſt knowledge in Antiquities, the world might ſee, that this kind of ſtudy does by no means cramp the genius, or ſour the temper; and from his ſoundneſs and ſtrength of judgment, might be learned, that the more unguarded flights and ſallies of imagination were by this means beſt of all kept under and corrected. Upon theſe accounts he proceeds to declare, that he eſteems himſelf particularly happy in that the nature of his ſtudies and his private obligations do both conſpire to engage him to direct that addreſs to him. For who has a better title, ſays he, to theſe golden remains of Somner, than one who by writing his life ſo copiouſly and exactly, had at the ſame time conferred immortality upon him. To whom can I more properly pay this public acknowledgment, than to one who by his inſtruction and example I am emboldened to engage in this kind of ſtudies.' He then concludes in theſe terms, '*Go on therefore, Sir, to be the ornament of the Church by your exemplary piety, and of our univerſity by your extraordinary learning. And remember at the ſame time, that your's is the glory of ſupporting and encouraging the ſtudy of Antiquities.*'

[*K*] *His Parochial Antiquities, &c.*] This treatiſe from its firſt appearance was, and ſtill continues to be, in the higheſt eſteem among the learned in ſuch matters; in its uſe extenſive, and in its authority deciſive. Mr Tanner, afterwards biſhop of St Aſaph, in his *Notitia Monaſtica* often refers to it, and particularly ſtiles Mr Kennet the friend and foreman of his ſtudies; and under the priory of Burceſter, he gives it this character, '*Hic liber accuratiſſime, &c.*——This book gives us a moſt exact hiſtory of this priory from its foundation to its diſſolution, which the reverend author with great care and faithfulneſs collected from original manuſcripts, now in the poſſeſſion of Sir Wm Glynne of Ambroſden in Oxfordſhire, and from ſeveral other books, both printed and manuſcript.' It is true, the perſons and places are but few of which it treats, yet has it been often acknowledged to be a work of great uſe to the whole dioceſe and county, as well as to the adjoining pariſhes. And the gloſſary at the end is and will be ſo in all times and places.

[*L*] *He publiſhed the hiſtory and fate of Sacrilege.*] He had this part of the Church's revenue much at heart, and in the ſame view he publiſhed in 1704, *The caſe of impropriations, and of the augmentation of vicarages, and other inſufficient cures, ſtated by hiſtory and law, from the firſt uſurpation of the Popes and Monks, to her Majeſty's royal bounty lately extended to the poorer clergy of the Church of England, with an appendix of records and memorials relating to that ſubject.* The ſame year he alſo reprinted in one ſmall volume under this title, two tracts, intitled, *De non temerandis Eccleſiis, &c.* by Sir Henry Spelman, Knt. Tract 2. *The poor vicar's plea for tythes, &c.* by Thomas Ryves, Doctor of the Civil Laws; *with a prefatory account of the authors, and theſe works*, which he begins thus. 'Her Majeſty's late pious munificence to the clergy of the Church of England *, hath made glad the hearts of her beſt ſubjects, the beſt of Chriſtians, and has made them reflect on the alienation of tythes and offerings, as the great ſcanda of Popery, and the great defect in our Reformation To make up a compleat maintenance for the parochial miniſters, and ſo the better to pro-

* Viz. the grant of firſt-fruits and tenths, for the augmentation of poor livings, the act for which had the royal aſſent April 3, this year.

Hickes; and in this purſuit he made a large dictionary of our oldeſt Engliſh words, derived from the Gothic and other northern dialects, as he had them from that great maſter, who lived at this time with him at Ambroſden [M]; where, by his intreaty, he formed the deſign of that learned work upon the northern literature (n), which is ſo great an honour to his name [N]. About the year 1699, our author took the degree of Doctor of Divinity (o), and the following year was preſented to the living of St Botolph Aldgate in London [O]. As this was a large and populous pariſh, he immediately reſigned the vicarage of Ambroſden (p), though he might have made it legally conſiſtent therewith [P]. However, he did not obtain quiet poſſeſſion of his new preferment, without the trouble of a law-ſuit. In the midſt of which, he engaged likewiſe in the diſpute about the conſtitution of Engliſh ſynods [Q], whereof he became a member about this time, as Archdeacon of Huntingdon,

(n) It was published in 1705, in two vols, folio, under this title, *Antiquæ Literaturæ Septentrionalis, libri duo, &c.* commonly called Hickes's Theſaurus.

(o) His Life, p. 15.

(p) He reſigned the rectory of Shirleybrooke afterwards, though conſiſtent with his other preferments. He, indeed, differed from Mr Cherry took a different turn from him in politics at the Revolution, when Mr Cherry became a Nonjuror. See the article of HEARNE [THOMAS.]

ſide for the ſervice of God, and the care of ſouls, 'has been the continual ſubject of all good mens wiſhes, propoſals, and attempts.'

The Doctor omitted no opportunity of collecting authorities and inſtances of facts, which, with the due inferences he drew from them, would make a new edition of this work far more uſeful.

[M] *Dr Hickes lived at Ambroſden.*] Mr Kennet had commenced an acquaintance with the Doctor long before, on account both of the affinity of their ſtudies, and their agreement in Church principles before the Revolution; and afterwards, notwithſtanding their difference in opinions upon the latter point, yet there remained a mutual reſpect for each other as ſtill united in the former view. The Doctor, upon his deprivation from the deanery of Worceſter, had drawn up a claim of right to it, directed to all the members of that church, and affixed the paper in his own handwriting over the great entrance into the choir, May 2, 1691 (22). This was thought ſuch an inſult upon the government, that the Attorney-General was ordered to enter a proſecution againſt him, whereupon the Doctor preſently abſconded, and kept private for many years. He was in that ſituation when he came to Ambroſden, where he was kindly received by the old partner in his ſtudies. Here he continued for ſome time, wearing a lay-habit to avoid being known, 'till a fellow of a college in Oxford making a viſit there, addreſſed him by his name. Upon that he thought himſelf in ſome danger, and immediately taking leave of Mr Kennet, went firſt to ſome obſcure retreat, and thence in a little time to London (23), where he continued in the ſame privacy 'till May 18, 1699, when Lord Sommers, then Lord Chancellor, procured an act of Council, ordering, a *Noli Proſequi* to be entered to all proceedings againſt him (24).

(22) There is a copy of it in the Life of Mr Kettlewell, appendix, No. IV. under this title, *The Proteſtation of Dr George Hickes, and Claim of Right fixed up in the Cathedral Church of Worceſter.*

(23) Life of Dr Kennet, p. 14.

(24) He procured him this favour out of regard to his great learning, and particularly in the view of encouraging him to proceed in that great work, his *Theſaurus*, which his Lordſhip was very ſenſible would be (as it really proved) an honour to his country.

[N] *His work upon the ancient Northern literature was firſt projected at Ambroſden.*] Mr Kennet, to divert the diſcourſe from the diſagreeable ſubject of politicks, having prevailed with this learned gueſt to inſtruct him in the Northern languages, took the opportunity to intreat him to look farther into thoſe ſtudies, to review his Saxon and Iſlandic grammar, and to embelliſh them with notes and obſervations, that might revive and improve the knowledge of our antiquities in the riſe and conveyance of our laws, cuſtoms, tenures, and other national rights. It was upon this frequent diſcourſe and importunity of Mr Kennet, that the Doctor then and there laid the foundation of the learned work mentioned in the text. This is acknowledged in the preface to that work, which being publiſhed in 1705, the learned author has theſe words. Rev. & Doctiſſimus Vir Whiteus Kennet, &c. The Reverend and moſt learned White Kennet, &c. more than ſeven years ago intreated me to undertake this work of the ancient Northern words; which in his opinion deſerving to be more generally underſtood, I immediately ſet about it in his houſe, and having at length finiſhed it, if it ſhall be found to be of any advantage to the learned world, 'tis intirely owing to him, as the encourager and promoter of it. We are likewiſe told, that had the Doctor continued at Ambroſden, where he was well accommodated, and well pleaſed, it had probably prevented his writing or acting upon any other ſubject but that of our national antiquities: For in daily talk he had projected ſeveral ſchemes about illuſtrating the dark hiſtory of the Britons, deſcribing the manners of the Germans, tracing them in the Norman cuſtoms, and more eſpecially enquiring into the religion of the Saxons before it was adulterated by Popery, &c. (25) But this is too fond an opinion to gain entire credit, conſidering the natural warmth of the Doctor's temper, and the ſtrength of his prepoſſeſſions, which are remarked too even by this writer, who gives it for a certain truth, that Dr Kennet at his firſt coming to London, laboured to keep up a friendſhip with Dr Hickes, hoping they might agree in their common ſtudies of our Engliſh and other Northern antiquities. And to this purpoſe he ſent the Doctor ſome preſents of wine, procured him now and then ſome neceſſary books and papers to carry on his great work, and obtained for him ſeveral ſubſcriptions to it, doing all he could to be a little ſerviceable, and altogether inoffenſive to him. But he found that the Doctor was going into notions and meaſures utterly inconſiſtent with their former freedom, and ſo by degrees there grew a coldneſs, a diſtance, and mutual complaints of one another, owing only to their very different principles in church and ſtate affairs, *both being very much in earneſt in what they profeſſed* (26). This was afterwards improved into an open rupture, many inſtances whereof will be ſeen in the ſequel.

(25) Life of Dr Kennet, p. 14.

(26) Ibid. p. 15.

[O] *He was preſented to St Botolph,* &c.] This preferment was likewiſe obtained for him, without any ſollicitation of his own, by a member of Edmund-Hall, William Salkeld, Eſq; afterwards Serjeant at law, and one of his Majeſty's Judges for Wales, who, upon the ejectment of Dr Hollingworth, recommended him to the impropriator (27), Samuel Brewſter, Eſq; by whom he was recommended to the pariſhioners, in a letter, as follows.

(27) Ibid. p. 16.

I think it at all times my duty to promote the intereſt of religion, and the good of your pariſh, and have therefore, upon your late vacancy, endeavoured to make the beſt choice I could of a miniſter to inſtruct you for your ſouls health. I am verily perſuaded, that I have placed one among you, who is both able and willing to diſcharge the duty of his place; and who, I doubt not, will be careful to watch over you, as becomes a faithful paſtor (28).

(28) Mr Brewſter's Letter to the Pariſhioners of St Botolph Aldgate, &c. Lond. 1700, 4to.

[P] *He reſigned Ambroſden,* &c.] In this his moderation was the more conſpicuous, as he had reaſon to apprehend ſome difficulties in getting quiet poſſeſſion of St Botolph, which happened accordingly: For Dr Hollingworth pretended a title from the crown, and under that pretence laboured for a repoſſeſſion; and when that would not do in any courſe of law, he made a ſurrendry of that feigned title to another, the Lord Keeper Wright's chaplain, who got a ſeal, and maintained a ſuit for it, 'till he happened to be otherwiſe provided for; and yet even then he entailed the quarrel, by conſenting to another grant made to a third perſon, who upon that began a freſh ſuit in the Queen's name, and (what was extraordinary) at the Queen's expence, 'till judgment was given in the Exchequer in affirmance of the impropriator's right to nominate a curate. To this account the writer of our author's life adds, that he had heard the good iſſue of this cauſe was in great meaſure owing to the diligent ſearches and diſcoveries made by Dr Kennet himſelf, and to his ſolliciting and ſuggeſting, and having once the barons leave to argue in it (29).

(29) Life, p. 17, 18.

[Q] *He engaged in the diſpute about the rights of the Convocation.*] An hiſtorical narrative of this remarkable controverſy, which began in 1697, as well as of the ſeveral pieces written in it on each ſide, has been already given in the courſe of this work (30), where the reader may ſee an account of two of our author's pamphlets on the occaſion, 1. *Eccleſiaſtical ſynods and parliamentary Convocations hiſtorically ſtated and vindicated from the miſrepreſentations of Mr Atterbury, and an occaſional letter on the ſubject of Engliſh convocations,* both printed in 1701, 8vo Beſides which, he is ſaid to be the author of a third treatiſe, not mentioned in that account, intitled, *The hiſtory of the Convocation*

(30) See the article ATTERBURY [FRANCIS] in remark [I].

of

Huntingdon, to which dignity he was promoted May 16, 1701 *, by Dr Gardiner Biſhop of Lincoln, who had made him his chaplain ſome time before (q). He now grew into great eſteem among thoſe of his party in the Church, and particularly with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Dr Tenifon; by whoſe recommendation he was appointed, in 1701, a member of the ſociety for propagating the Goſpel in foreign parts (r). In the promoting of which, he gave his utmoſt aſſiſtance, and was very ſerviceable with his pen [R]. The following year he preached the annual ſermon before the corporation for the relief of poor widows and children of clergymen, and publiſhed his ſermon under this title, *The Glory of Children in their Fathers: a Sermon preached at the Cathedral Church of St Paul London, December 3, 1702*, 4to [S]. In 1705, Dr Wake being advanced to the ſee of Lincoln, our Archdeacon was appointed to preach his conſecration ſermon. This he performed and publiſhed under the following title, *The Office and good Work of a Biſhop: a Sermon preached in Lambeth-Chapel, at the Conſecration of the Right Reverend Father in God William Lord Biſhop of Lincoln, on Sunday October 21, 1705. Publiſhed at the deſire of the Archbiſhop and Biſhops.* This diſcourſe was much admired by the late Lord Chief Juſtice Holt, who declared it had more in it to the purpoſe of the legal and chriſtian conſtitution of this Church, than any volume of diſcourſes (s); and he was ordered to preach before the Houſe of Commons on the 30th of January following [T]. About the ſame time ſome Booksellers having undertaken to print a collection of the beſt writers of the Engliſh hiſtory, as far as to the reign of Charles the Firſt, in two folio volumes (t), prevailed with our author to prepare a third volume, which ſhould carry the hiſtory down to the then preſent reign of Queen Anne. This being finiſhed with a particular preface, was publiſhed with the other two, under the title of, *A Compleat Hiſtory of England*, &c. in 1706 [U]. Not long after this,

* Willis's Cathedrals, Vol. III. p. 109.

(q) Life, p. 27.

(r) His name is in the original charter of that corporation in 1701.

Character of Dr Kennet, p. 28.

(s) It is ſaid to have been compiled by Mr Hughes, who wrote all the preface, without any participation of Dr Kennet. In 1719, there was publiſhed the ſecond edition with notes, ſaid to be inſerted by Mr Strype, and ſeveral alterations and additions.

of the Prelates and Clergy of the province of Canterbury, &c. in anſwer to a narrative of the proceedings of the lower houſe of Convocation, 1702, 4to. (31)

(31) The narrative was written by Dr G. Hooper, Prolocutor of the Lower Houſe.

[R] *He was very ſerviceable with his pen.*] He drew up a full account of their proceedings to the year 1706, under this title, *An account of the Society for propagating the Goſpel in foreign parts, eſtabliſhed by the royal charter of King William III. with their proceedings and ſucceſs, and hopes of continual progreſs under the happy reign of her moſt excellent Majeſty Queen Anne, Lond.* 1706, 4to. And within four years after, he continued and improved that account by an hiſtorical deduction of what had been further tranſacted by the ſame ſociety, and eſpecially what ſteps and meaſures had been taken by the ſociety *De Propaganda Fide* at Rome, and what more Chriſtian methods by reformed ſtates and princes. This was a work of great labour and pains, and brought to ſome tolerable perfection, but reſerved in the writer's hands, becauſe the circumſtances of the corporation would not bear the expence of printing it.

[S] *His ſermon before the corporation of the ſons of the Clergy.*] In this ſermon he propoſed ſome excellent ways and means of benefaction to clergymens ſons, well worthy a review by thoſe who are able to make them effectual. And the better to promote that deſign, he intended to write an hiſtorical account of the corporation, and of the ſeveral benefactions given to it, as well as of the manifold good ſervices done by it. For which purpoſe he had gathered up a great many notices of things and perſons; picked up the ſeveral ſermons before the ſons of the clergy, from the firſt by Mr George Hall (afterward Archdeacon of Canterbury and Biſhop of Cheſter), intitled, The Tribe of Levi in 1658; ſearched the laſt wills of ſeveral donors and benefactors; and would by degrees have connected the materials into ſome order for the preſs, but that he was unkindly uſed by the ſpirit of party (32).

(32) Life, &c. p. 22.

[T] *He preached before the Houſe of Commons, Jan.* 30, 1705.] In this diſcourſe, which was printed at the requeſt of the Houſe, the Doctor made it his buſineſs to ſhew, that whatever unhappy grounds and occaſions were given for that unnatural rebellion and civil war, yet nothing could juſtify or excuſe the horrid and execrable murder of King Charles I. of which he demonſtrated the illegality and wickedneſs, by a multitude of proofs both from hiſtory and law in the body of the ſermon, corroborated by a great many other authorities in the margin. That fact was ſet in this light by him on the preſent occaſion, in the view of ſilencing ſome cenſures that had paſſed upon a former ſermon on the day, preached in his own church the the preceding year, wherein he had made the counterpart of that tranſaction his ſubject, and enquiring whence and by what means the evil of the day came, he ſet himſelf to prove, that the leading cauſes of it, improved by wicked arts and deſigns, were chiefly theſe: Firſt, a French intereſt and alliance, and from thence ariſing, ſecondly, the apprehenſions and fears of Popery, which led on, thirdly, the jealouſies of oppreſſion and illegal power, which tended more and more to, fourthly, the growth of profaneneſs and immorality, and even this helped to produce that hypocriſy and perfidiouſneſs which accompliſhed the ſin, and the infinite ſcandal of the day. This doctrine of laying the chief and primary blame upon the King, as the cauſe of his own murder, raiſed a great outcry, at a time when the ſovereign on the throne was known to revere the memory of her grandfather as ſacred, and who copied his example in a moſt ſincere regard and ardent affection to the Church, which was now ſaid to be in danger from the Preſbyterians and ſectaries, encouraged by ſome members of the Church. Hereupon the Doctor thought himſelf obliged to appeal to the world in the printing of his ſermon, as he did, under the title of, *A compaſſionate enquiry into the cauſes of the civil war, &c.* 1704, 4to. prefixing an advertiſement to this effect, 'That the ſermon was not deſigned for the 'preſs, but was challenged to appear there by the miſ-'apprehenſions of ſome few who heard it, and by the 'confident report of a far greater number who did not 'hear it, &c.'

[U] *He wrote the 3d volume of a Complete Hiſtory of England.*] Notwithſtanding the Doctor's name did not appear before this work, yet it was ſoon known that he was the author of it, and the ſame party that had ſo freely cenſured his conduct from the time of his engaging in the Convocation controverſy, continued in the ſame temper to make this work a freſh handle of complaint, and declared that the Doctor's deſign in it was to expoſe them and their cauſe. Among thoſe, Dr Hickes was the firſt, who obſerved with ſome warmth, that the author had ſhewn himſelf particularly baſe and diſingenuous in taking no notice of his *Jovian* [which was indeed the caſe], though he expreſsly gives an account of Mr S. Johnſon's *Julian*, to which the other was an anſwer (33). The Jacobites were not the only perſons who took offence at the hiſtory, even ſome perſons who had gone into the Revolution with forwardneſs enough, and yet had not found their full account in it, were diſpleaſed that too much or too little notice was taken of the parts they acted about that time. And above all, an eminent peer, very inſtrumental in that revolution, by taking up arms in the north, had made ſuch an improvement of his honours and fortunes by it, that he thought himſelf privileged and protected from any retroſpect upon his conduct in the court and treaſury of King Charles II. and therefore finding in that hiſtory a narrative of what appeared to be male-adminiſtration, though taken from the parliament journals and printed trials, and other public papers, he was much offended, and taking an opportunity upon the death of the Duke of Montagu, to give ſome account of his tranſactions with France from his own papers and letters, complained of the miſrepreſentation of his ſervices made by the late hiſtorian; who really did not ſeem to mean any thing of reflection on his noble perſon and family; but related facts

(33) See an account of both theſe books in Sam. Johnſon's article.

this, he was appointed Chaplain in Ordinary to her Majeſty, at the recommendation of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and the Lord-Treaſurer Godolphin; and, by the application of Biſhop Burnet, he preached the funeral ſermon on the death of the firſt Duke of Devonſhire, September 5, 1707. This diſcourſe being printed the following year, at the requeſt of his ſon and heir, the ſecond Duke of Devonſhire, our author took that opportunity of addreſſing it in a dedication to his Grace; with which that nobleman was ſo well pleaſed, that he recommended the doctor to the Queen for the deanery of Peterborough (*u*), vacant ſoon after by the death of Dr Freeman, October 14, 1707 (*w*). And notwithſtanding ſome complaints were made of his ſermon, wherein he was charged with having ſacrificed a fundamental point of Religion to his ambitious views [*W*], yet this did not put a ſtop to the favour ſhewn him at Court; for, by the intereſt of the laſt mentioned Archbiſhop, upon the promotion of Dr Blackall to the ſee of Exeter, the ſame year, he ſucceeded him in the rectory of St Mary Aldermary in London, at the Queen's preſentation (*x*). By this change the Dean loſt above 100 pounds per annum [*X*]; but he conſulted his eaſe in it as a parochial miniſter, and choſe to be more at leiſure than he had been for other views, which the dignity and revenue of his deanery gave him an opportunity to purſue *. One of theſe was, the ſettling his brother, Mr Baſil Kennet, in the chaplainſhip to the Engliſh factory at Leghorn; an account of which is given in the enſuing article. While the Dean was employed in this ſervice, the famous Dr Henry Sacheverell

(*u*) Ibid. p. 38.

(*w*) Birch's Life of Archbiſhop Tillotſon, p. 212. edit. 1753. This ſeeming inconſiſtency in the years is owing to the cuſtom of the Bookſellers, in beginning the year at Michaelmas. And here it ſerves to ſhew, that this ſermon was not printed 'till after Michaelmas-day, that month in which it was preached.

(*x*) Life of Dr Kennet, p. 49.

* He was made a truſtee of the charity for building a church in the iſle of Borkum in the duchy of Berg, and to ſupport a miniſter there in 1707; and when finiſhed, drew up a Latin inſcription, placed near the great door of the church, which he tranſmitted with a Latin letter to the miniſter, both printed in the doctor's Life, p. 115, & ſeqq.

as he found them before related.——However on that occaſion of his Grace's complaint, the Doctor enquired more narrowly into thoſe matters, and ſtated them over again in a moſt authentic manner; but finding that the more full diſcovery would only create the greater offence, he would not ſuffer what he had written to be publiſhed to the world (34). Theſe attacks were made in the Doctor's life-time, and after his death there came out, Examen, or *An enquiry into the credit and veracity of a pretended complete hiſtory; ſhewing the perverſe and wicked deſign of it, and the many falſities and abuſes of truth contained in it. Together with ſome memoirs occaſionally inſerted; all tending to vindicate the honour of King Charles the Second, and his happy reign, from the intended aſperſions of that foul pen*, by the Hon. Roger North, Eſq; Lond. 1740, 4to containing 692 pages. The author informs us (35), *that upon the firſt appearance of the hiſtory, dipping a little into it, he found divers matters that gave him diſtaſte enough, but minded not much the why, or the wherefore, and ſo let the book paſs from him, 'till it was cried up, and the reverend author named: And then (being no buyer of ſuch mighty works) he borrowed of a friend all the three volumes. He found the two firſt to be a collection of all the common Engliſh chronicles ſince the Conqueſt, with advantage pretended to be given to ſome, concluding with* Wilſon's K. James I. *with* Wellwood's *notes to help out the libel. Then came on the third volume, a new work, paſſing curſorily over the reigns of* James I. *and* Charles I. *and having got into the depths of King* Charles II. *it appeared plainly, that inſtead of correſponding to the title*—by an impartial hand (36), *and what the preface declared*—with ſtrict regard to truth and juſtice(37), *the book was a continued libel, or rather Cloaca of libels; and thoſe touching the chief turns of ſtate in his Majeſty's reign, miſconſtruing to an evil ſenſe even the beſt acts of his government, full of moſt abominable falſities, ſuppreſſions, flatteries, and malicious inſinuations, in order to magnify the faction aforehinted, and to make all their wicked machinations appear heroic exploits; but the King himſelf, his loyal miniſtry, and happy reign, baſe and odious to poſterity; and all this put in a way no leſs treacherous than impudent and undutiful. In a word, ſo groſsly abuſive of truth and good manners, as not to be endured in a lettered ſtate, and where people have any value or honour for government and laws.* He had obſerved before (38), that this pretended hiſtory contains the ſum and ſubſtance of that party's project [to defame King Charles], uſing their very modes of ſpeech as well as of invention, and condeſcends to chime in with the baſeſt abuſed rabble of the time. Some, continues he, have given out that it is the work of ——; and to ſhew that filthy lucre, as well as malice, conduced, his articles with the bookſellers expreſs, were 100 *l.* to be given, and —— pages to be wrote.

(34) Life of Dr Kennet, p. 34, 35.

(35) In the preface, p. ii.

(36) Theſe words were inſerted by the Bookſellers. Life of Kennet, p. 33.

(37) In p. 3.

(38) Viz. in p. 1. where it is called a malevolent faction, that, during King Charles II's life, continually plotted to deſtroy him, and ſince his death as buſily plotted to defame him.

[*W*] *Sacrificed a fundamental point of religion to his ambitious views.*] The point was the danger of a death bed repentance, which it was alledged the Doctor had encouraged, and taken away all the hazard of it. The charge was grounded upon the following paſſage, (39) where ſpeaking of a late repentance, he ſays, 'That this rarely happens but in men of diſtinguiſhed 'ſenſe and judgment. Ordinary abilities may be altogether ſunk by a long vicious courſe of life. The 'duller flame is eaſily extinguiſhed. The meaner ſinful wretches are commonly given up to a reprobate 'mind, and die as ſtupidly as they lived; while the 'nobler and brighter parts have an advantage of underſtanding the worth of their ſouls before they reſign it. If they are allowed the benefit of ſickneſs, 'they commonly awake out of their dream of ſin, and 'reflect and look upward. They acknowledge an infinite being; they feel their own immortal part; they 'recollect and reliſh the holy ſcriptures; they call for 'the elders of the Church; they think what to anſwer 'at a judgment-ſeat. *Not that God*, continues the 'Doctor, *is a reſpecter of perſons, but the difference is 'in men, and the more intelligent nature is the more ſuſceptible of divine grace. It was an effect of Solomon's 'wiſdom to ſee at laſt his vanity, and to leave his penitence upon record. We have had in our own age and nation, men of illuſtrious honour, and of the moſt celebrated parts, who had been carried away by the courſe 'of this world into extravagant vices and follies. 'And yet upon the proſpect of death, theſe men of underſtanding have felt the excellent ſpirit to move in 'them; they have retracted their looſe opinions, they 'have repented of their grievous ſins; they have made 'their peace with God, and have died, nay have ſometimes recovered, and lived like true unfeigned Chriſtian converts* (40); *ſo great are the powers of religion 'to work moſt upon the largeſt capacities.*' Beſides this, exceptions were taken at ſeveral other paſſages, where the preacher manifeſted the ſame courtly ſpirit. However, the author of his life undertakes to vindicate him againſt them all, and particularly with regard to this now before us, having obſerved that it had been inſinuated by ſome, 'That the preacher had built a 'bridge to Heaven for men of wit and parts; but that 'the duller ſort of mankind muſt not hope to paſs 'that way, declares (41), that he had ſaid nothing 'at all to that effect, but in this ſound truth, that the 'more underſtanding a man has, the ſooner he may 'come to a ſenſe of God and religion. He ſays nothing but what common experience and obſervation 'juſtifies, that the ignorant and unnurtured multitude 'are not, in the nature of the thing, ſo likely to be 'wrought upon by the powers of religion, as wiſe and underſtanding men, thoſe of a higher and better education.'

(39) In p. 34, & ſeq.

(40) Lee Earl of Marlborough and Sir Duncomb Colcheſter are inſtances of this. See an account of them in the article of Wilmot Earl of Rochester.

(41) Ibid. p. 50.

[*X*] *By this change he loſt above* 100 *l. a year.*] Notwithſtanding this diſadvantage in point of profit, he was a benefactor to the living of St Mary Aldermary: For finding he could not obtain the conſent of the pariſhioners to build a parſonage-houſe, though there was none, and he offered 200 *l.* towards it himſelf; he reſolved not to renew the ſeveral leaſes of ground rents for the rector's glebe; for which renewals he might afterwards have received ſeveral fines and ſums of money, but to let them run out, that the full houſe rents might fall in to him and his ſucceſſors, and ſo there might be room for ſome future rector to contrive a convenient manſe *.

* P. 40, 41.

Sacheverell preached his remarkable ſermon before the Lord-Mayor of London, on the 5th of November 1709. Upon this occaſion the Dean addreſſed a *Letter to an Alderman of the City*, which was printed under the title of *A True Anſwer to Dr Sacheverell's Sermon*, &c. [*Y*]. And the ſame year he publiſhed, *A Vindication of the Church and Clergy of England, from ſome late Reproaches rudely and unjuſtly caſt upon them. Lond.* 1709, 8vo (*y*). He preached the Latin ſermon at the opening of the Convocation in 1710, which was printed immediately; and ſoon afterwards he publiſhed an Engliſh tranſlation of it, to which he ſubjoined a poſtſcript, vindicating himſelf from ſome reproaches caſt upon him [*Z*]. He likewiſe refuſed to join in the London Clergy's addreſs to the Queen, upon the change of the Miniſtry the ſame year [*A A*]. In 1712 he was, by the appointment of Archbiſhop Teniſon, called upon again to preach the anniverſary ſermon before the ſociety for propagation of the Goſpel in foreign parts, which upon deſire he publiſhed, and added at the bottom of each page the full authorities, as references to matters of fact; and further drew up with his own hand, *An Abſtract of the Proceedings of the Society within the year laſt paſt* [*B B*]. In a few days after preaching this ſermon, there was publiſhed a letter about the proceedings in Convocation, on complaint of a ſermon publiſhed by Dr Brett, intituled, *A Sermon of Remiſſion of Sins, according to the Scriptures, and the Doctrine of the Church of England*, &c. This ſermon had many expreſſions in it, tending to advance the neceſſity of Private Confeſſion and Sacerdotal Abſolution. However, the complaint was dropped in the Houſe *, and the preacher, as well as his diſcourſe, being rather juſtified and commended, our author publiſhed *A Letter to the Reverend Thomas Brett, L. L. D. Rector of Bettesanger in Kent, about a Motion in Convocation.* Lond. 1712. And in the ſame view he alſo publiſhed *A Memorial for Proteſtants on the fifth of November, containing a more full Diſcovery of ſome Particulars relating to the happy Deliverance of King James I. &c. from the moſt traiterous and bloody intended maſſacre by gunpowder, anno* 1605. *In a Letter to a Peer of Great-Britain, dated October* 25, 1712 (*z*). In the like ſpirit he printed the following year, a ſermon of Archbiſhop Whitgift, preached before Queen Elizabeth at Greenwich, with a preface

(*y*) The ſame words in title to An Alderman of the City of the Church of England, to my Lords the Biſhops; humbly beſeeching them to beſeech her Majeſty to redreſs their grievances, &c. by a Curate near the city, then a noiſy High-Church man, and afterwards a Nonjuror.

* Dr Cannon made two motions to have it enforced; and Dr Brett afterwards gone too far in it. Hiſt. of Corpus Chriſti-College, Cambridge, by Rob. Maſters, B. D. &c. Camb. 1753, 4to. in the appendix, p. 88.

(*z*) As a ſequel of this, he afterwards printed a ſermon before the Lord-Mayor, Nov. 5, 1715, containing ſeveral hiſtorical obſervations applied to the then preſent ſeaſon.

[*Y*] *A true anſwer to Dr Sacheverell's ſermon.*] The letter begins thus,

'Hon. Sir,

'You aſked me laſt night what I thought the beſt 'way of anſwering Dr Sacheverell's ſermon on Nov. 5, 'I told you one way was to let it drop into ſilence and 'contempt, for that there was not one argument to an'ſwer, but a jumble of words and periods that made 'the crackling of thorns, noiſe, and flame, and there'fore it was better to pity the man and deſpiſe the 'ſtuff. It could do no harm, but rather great ſervice, 'to make his own party-friends aſhamed of him, and 'to convince the world, that *madneſs* is as bad as *mo'deration*. But, ſaid you, there be ſome anſwers in 'print, and will be more: Pray, what is the beſt 'courſe that a new anſwerer can take with him? 'Why, Sir, ſaid I, let him anſwer himſelf; that is, 'to produce his own words, and to let him ſtand 'or fall by them, without calling him any names, or 'raking into his life and converſation. You preſſed 'me, Sir, to give a ſpecimen of it. Here it is cool 'and calm under theſe heads; propriety, pertinence, 'good ſenſe, veracity, ſeriouſneſs, charity, and alle'giance;' *which being completed, he concludes in theſe terms*, 'I muſt ſay thus much, that ſince the 'foundation of the city of London, and the conver'ſion of this iſland, there has not been in any age, in 'any cathedral or parochial church, ſuch a ſermon, 'ſo inſolent, uncharitable, untrue, as this, delivered, '(though long before compoſed) before the Right Hon. 'the Lord Mayor and citizens of London, at the ca'thedral church of St Paul, on the 5th of November, '1709, by H. S. D. D.'

[*Z*] *A poſtſcript vindicating himſelf againſt ſome reproaches caſt upon him.*] One of theſe aſperſions was founded upon a tranſlation of Pliny's panegyric, publiſhed by our author in 1686, under the title of *An addreſs of thanks to a good prince, preſented in the panegyric of Pliny upon Trajan the beſt of Roman emperors.* Before which he had put a large preface, and the life of Pliny, as Sir Rob. Stapylton had done to his tranſlation of the ſaid panegyric, printed at Oxford in 1644. Several ſcandalous reflections having been made on the dean, ſince his change of principles, for this performance, he took occaſion in this poſtſcript to give the following account of it. 'He (that is the remarker) 'ſays, the Doctor dedicated *Pliny's panegyric* to the 'late King James; and what if he had, only it hap'pens he had not. This is an idle tale among the 'party, who perhaps have told it 'till they believe it; 'when the truth is, there was no ſuch dedication, and 'the tranſlation itſelf of Pliny was not deſigned for 'any court addreſs. The young tranſlator's tutor, Mr 'Allam, directed his pupil by way of exerciſe, to turn 'ſome Latin tracts into Engliſh: The firſt was a little 'book of Eraſmus, intitled *Moriæ Encomium*, which 'the tutor was pleaſed to give to a bookſeller in Ox'ford, who put it to the preſs, while the tranſlator was 'but an under-graduate. Another ſort of talk required 'by the tutor, was this Panegyric of Pliny upon Tra'jan, which he likewiſe gave to a bookſeller in Ox'ford, before the tranſlator was Maſter of Arts, de'ſigning to have it publiſhed in the reign of King 'Charles II. and a ſmall cut of that prince at full 'length was prepared, and afterwards put before ſe'veral of the books; though the impreſſion happened 'to be retarded 'till the death of King Charles; and 'then the ſame tutor (not long before his own death) 'adviſed a new preface, adapted to the then received 'opinion of King James, being a juſt and good prince. 'However, there was no dedication to King James, 'but to a private patron, a very worthy baronet (42), 'who came in heartily to the beginning of the late 'happy revolution. This is the whole truth of that 'ſtory, that hath been ſo often caſt at the Doctor, 'not that he thinks himſelf obliged to defend every 'thought and expreſſion of his juvenile ſtudies, when 'he had poſſibly been trained up to ſome notions, 'which he afterwards found reaſon to put away as 'childiſh things.'

(42) Sir William Glynne, who had juſt before preſented him to his firſt living of Amproſden.

[*A A*] *He refuſed to join in the addreſs to the Queen*, &c.] Advice was ſent of this by Mr Dyer, who in his [news] letter of Aug. 24, 1710, writes thus. 'The ad'dreſs of the biſhop and clergy of London was inſert'ed in this day's Gazette, by order of the Queen, as 'a diſtinguiſhing favour to them. The clergymen who 'refuſed to ſign it, were Dr Barton, and Mr Baker; 'and thoſe who did not anſwer to the Biſhop's ſum'mons, were Dr Kennet, Dr Bradford, Dr Hancock, 'and Mr Hoadley; and therefore as they have no 'ſhare in the Queen's thanks, ſo I hope they will have 'as little ſhare in her favours.'

[*B B*] *He publiſhed his ſermon before the ſociety for propagating the Goſpel in foreign parts.*] The title of it is, *The letts and impediments in planting the goſpel of Chriſt*, &c. Theſe anniverſary ſermons are diſtributed in order to excite the charity of pious perſons to promote that glorious deſign, and upon the Dean's preſenting this ſermon to a rich and religious widow, ſhe reſolved to leave a legacy of 50*l.* to the corporation, and upon her deceaſe it was paid by her executor into his hands, and by him delivered to the board at a public meeting (43).

(43) Life, &c. p. 128, 129.

preface of his own [*C C*]. This zealous conduct raiſed ſo great an odium upon him among the oppoſite party, that a very uncommon method was taken to expoſe him by Dr Welton, Rector of Whitechapel (*a a*). In an altar-piece of that church, the ſubject whereof was a repreſentation of Chriſt and the twelve Apoſtles eating the Paſſover and Laſt Supper, Judas the traitor was drawn ſitting in an elbow chair, dreſſed in a black garment, between a gown and a cloak, with a black ſcarf and a white band, a ſhort wig, and a mark in his forehead between a lock and a patch, and with ſo much of the countenance of Dr Kennet, that under it in effect, was written, *The Dean the Traytor* [*D D*]. Such an outrageous piece of inſolence ſerved to animate rather than deter him (*b b*); and the ſame year, upon the appearance in print of Mr Bedford's *Hereditary Right*, &c. the Dean publiſhed an anſwer to it, under the title of *A Letter to the Lord Biſhop of Carliſle, concerning one of his Predeceſſors, Biſhop* Merks, *on occaſion of a new volume for the Pretender, intitled, The Hereditary Right of the Crown of* England *aſſerted*. Printed in 1713 [*E E*]. In the mean

(*a a*) He was afterwards a Nonjuror, and deprived of this rectory on that account in 1716. Salmon's Chron. Hiſtorian, p. 365. edit. 1723.

(*b b*) *This ſpirit* was made a topic of ridicule by his adverſaries and competitors; and in that ſcolding Biſhop of Carliſle gives him the character of a *man of Chriſtian courage and integrity*. See Remarks, &c. printed in 1717 by that Biſhop.

[*C C*] *With a preface of his own.*] As this preface contains an account of all the points in diſpute between the Dean and his antagoniſt, with regard to the Church. We ſhall give an abſtract of it as follows. He begins with the reaſons that induced him to reprint this ſermon, which he obſerves might be ſerviceable at that time upon ſeveral accounts. 1. 'That it would bear 'ſome teſtimony of reſpect and honour to the good 'way of preaching in the age of Queen Elizabeth; 'ſober, ſerious goſpel truth, in a juſt and eaſy ſtile, 'which degenerated by the introduction of ſchool 'terms, and ſcraps of the poets under King James, 'and ran too far into the reign of King Charles I. 'whereby the pulpit became rather a place of diverſion than inſtruction and ſalvation. That at the Reſtoration the preacher ran into another extreme, *that* 'of words and periods, ſtrong and ſtiff, a falſe oratory, 'till Dr Tillotſon, and ſome other judicious divines, 'dared to reſtore good ſenſe and plain learning, which 'now, ſays he, generally obtain. 2. It will do another honour to that age, by ſhewing the probity and 'courage of our Engliſh divines, in preaching at court 'againſt the flattering of great men, as well as the inconſtancy of the common people, as likewiſe againſt 'their curioſity and love of ſtrange doctrines; *ſuch as* 'the invalidity of lay baptiſm; *a doctrine of the moſt* 'narrow and uncharitable ſpirit, *invented by ſchiſmaticks, and urged by the leader of them Mr Cartwright,* 'but confuted by Archbiſhop Whitgift, *in his admonition, &c. and condemned in this ſermon.* 3. It will 'give a further proof of the integrity of preachers 'in that reign, that they preached freely and earneſtly againſt the errors and corruptions of Popery. But 'they found, it ſeems, ſome of the common people 'growing ſick and weary of that neceſſary ſubject, and 'rather intent upon newfangled doctrines and devices 'of upſtart men. That however no Proteſtant preachers had been then ſo fond of ſtrange notions, as to 'preach up the *neceſſity of private confeſſion to a prieſt,* 'or the *inefficacy of faith and repentance to a ſinner,* 'without *ſacerdotal abſolution*; or *a real propitiatory* 'ſacrifice *in an oblation of the elements of bread and* 'wine; or *a middle ſtate of ſouls after death in neither* 'heaven nor hell; or *an independency of the Church* 'upon a Chriſtian ſtate, even where the civil magiſtrate 'is by law ſupreme head and governor; or the *unchurching of all other reformed Churches*; and the *unchriſtening of all foreign Proteſtants*; to ſay nothing of 'our brethren and fathers at home, or any ſuch unſcriptural fancies bordering on the Church of Rome, and to 'be ſupported by nothing but an infallible chair.'

[*D D*] *The Dean the traitor.*] It was generally ſaid, that the original ſketch was deſigned for a Biſhop [Biſhop Burnet] under Dr Welton's diſpleaſure, which occaſioned the elbow-chair. But the fears of a *Scandalum Magnatum* riſing before the Painter's eyes, leave was given to drop the Biſhop and make the Dean, which he did as well as he could; multitudes of people came daily to the church to admire the meaning of the ſight, but it was eſteemed ſo inſolent a contempt of all that is ſacred, that upon the complaint of others [for the Dean himſelf never ſaw it, or ſeemed to regard it) the Biſhop of London obliged thoſe that ſet the picture up to take it down (44).

(44) General Hiſtory of England, by N. Tindal, under the year 1713.

[*E E*] *A letter concerning Biſhop Merks, &c.*] When the hereditary right, &c. came out, the Dean made it his buſineſs to examine the ſtrength of the arguments, and the truth of the authorities in it, and was prepared to ſhew the unreaſonableneſs and inſincerity of that new ſcheme, and the very wrong turns of hiſtory and law, that are drawn in to ſupport it. But finding the whole examination would run into too great a length for the patience of common readers, who moſt wanted to be undeceived, he reſolved to take a ſingle inſtance only, by way of ſpecimen, that from thence might be inferred what credit was to be given to the reſt of that bulky work. This inſtance was in the caſe of Thomas Merks, Biſhop of Carliſle, whom this author had applauded as a man of conſcience and integrity, becauſe he adhered to King Richard II. after his reſignation and depoſition, and took up arms (after a ſpeech in parliament) againſt King Henry IV. in legal poſſeſſion of the Crown; for which he was tried, condemned, and pardoned. The Dean well knew that this applauded Biſhop was one of the worſt tools in the miniſtry of Richard II and helped to bring that prince to his miſerable end; and was attached to him not upon any principle of honour, but for his own intereſt and preſervation, and that he was by no means the deliverer of that ſpeech in parliament long ſince invented for him, and that his flying into arms in aſſiſtance of a French invaſion, was, in the moſt apparent manner, a baſe treaſon and rebellion, for which he was legally tried, convicted, and adjudged to die: But after an effectual deprivation by the civil power, and a mock tranſlation by the Pope, he made his ſubmiſſion, and obtained his pardon, and accordingly after that revolution lived in a peaceable allegiance to King Henry IV. who was perfectly reconciled to him as to a faithful ſubject, and was not only his friend but his royal patron, beſtowing a good benefice on him, though for the honour of the Church and nation, he would never truſt him in an Engliſh biſhopric, and he never pretended to act as a biſhop of his ſee. This character of the man, and hiſtory of his life and actions, was the very reverſe of what the author of hereditary right had given, and to ſhew that to the world, was the ſubject of the Dean's letter, who reſted the matter 'till the death of Dr Hickes (45) in 1715. Soon after which, there came out a collection of papers written by him, wherein it appeared, that he had been conſecrated to the title of Suffragan of Thetford, by ſome few of the deprived biſhops, and after their deceaſe, had made himſelf the principal of orthodox unity, and Jacobite loyalty; condemning the eſtabliſhed Church of England as ſchiſmatical, and the civil government as tyranny and uſurpation, the bench of biſhops and their whole clergy as of invalid orders; their miniſtration of the ſacraments as null and void; and their very prayers a ſin. About the ſame time, the beginning of the rebellion, there was found a printed tract of ſchiſm (46), charged on the Church of England, and the whole body of the clergy, by Mr Lawrence Howell, one of the ſame Jacobite ſeparation. And in a ſearch made for the perſon and papers of the ſaid Mr Howell, among other notable diſcoveries, there was one ſheet ſuperſcribed, A letter to Dr Kennet, that ſeemed to be an inſulting dedication, or preface of a book, called, *An [illegible] to the brief Hiſtory of the Crown of England, written at the time when the bill of excluſion was attempted againſt the Queen's father, then Duke of York.* The ſaid letter prefixed, complained grievouſly that Dr Kennet had *given a vile character of Biſhop Merks, and yet, againſt his will, had made him ſtrictly faithful to his rightful ſovereign, &c.* Whereupon the Dean drew up and publiſhed, *A ſecond letter to the Lord Biſhop of Carliſle upon the ſubject of Biſhop Merks, &c.* dated Octob. 22, 1716. Neither did he think this ſufficient. The controverſy of the new ſchiſm made a much greater noiſe, he obſerved, upon the late tumults and rebellion,

(45) He died December 15 that year. See the inſcription upon his tomb-ſtone in St Margaret's church-yard, Weſtminſter. He was conſecrated Suffragan Biſhop Feb. 24, 1693, after his return from France, with a nomination from King James, to whom he undertook a voyage for the purpoſe.

(46) The title was, *The Caſe of Schiſm truly ſtated.* For which he was tried and convicted at the Old Bailey, Feb. 28, 1716, and ſentenced to be [illegible] whipped, [illegible] of 500 l. and to be imprisoned for three years, and to find ſecurity for his good behaviour for five; and after ſentence he was ſhipped off by a [illegible] by order of the Court. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. under the year 1716.

mean time, he employed his leiſure hours in improving the good ends of the ſociety for propagating the Goſpel, &c. To that purpoſe, having made a large collection of ſuitable books, charts, maps, papers, &c. at his own expence, in the deſign of writing *A full History of the Propagation of Chriſtianity in the Engliſh American Colonies*, he made a free preſent thereof to the corporation, and publiſhed a catalogue of all the diſtinct treatiſes and papers, in order of time as they were firſt printed or written, under this title, *Bibliothecæ Americanæ Primordia: An Attempt towards laying the Foundation of an American Library, in Several Books, Papers, and Writings humbly given to the Society for propagating the Goſpel in Foreign Parts, for the perpetual Uſe and Benefit of their Members, their Miſſionaries, Friends, Correſpondents, and others, concern'd in the good deſign of planting and promoting Chriſtianity within her Majeſty's Colonies and Plantations in the Weſt Indies*, 4to. Lond. 1713 [*FF*]. About this time he likewiſe founded *an antiquarian and hiſtorical library* at Peterborough [*GG*], and enriched the common library of that church with ſome very uſeful books, and improved their ſtock of monuments and records with an abſtract of the collections made by Dr John Coſins, one of his predeceſſors (*cc*). After the acceſſion of King George I. to the throne, as ſoon as the Dean ſaw the rebellion opening in the North, and the diſpoſition of many to countenance and cover it, he preached boldly in rebuking that ſpirit, and publiſhed, at the requeſt of ſome of his pariſhioners, *The Witchcraft of the preſent*

(*cc*) Life of Dr Kennet, p. 151.

lion, than it had ever done ſince the filling of the deprived ſees by King William, and the Jacobite conventicles were more frequented in London and Weſtminſter, and prieſts of that way were ſent down to gather the like congregations in country towns; and many of the high church, eſpecially the women, would not join in any part of the prayers for King George and his royal family, but at the mention of theſe names would riſe up, or ſit down, or at leaſt expreſs their diſſent in ſome viſible manner. Several of the Church clergy alſo, tho' offended with Dr Hickes for urging a ſeparation, yet gave in very much to the principles upon which that practice was founded, viz the independency of the Church upon the State, the more than ſpiritual powers of the Church; the legiſlature of the Biſhops and clergy; the Church above and before the King; and ſuch like notions of aſſuming authority and juriſdiction by divine right, unaccountable to the prince and people. At this critical juncture, the Dean thought it neceſſary to write a third letter to the Lord Biſhop of Carliſle upon the ſubject of Biſhop Merks, wherein the nomination, election, inveſtiture, and deprivation of Engliſh prelates, are ſhewn to be orginally conſtituted and governed by the ſovereign power of kings and their parliaments, againſt the pretenſions of our new fanaticks, who have withdrawn themſelves from the eſtabliſhed Church into a ſeparate communion, under the name of ſome deprived biſhops, and their ſuppoſed ſucceſſors, dated Jan 25, 1716. In this letter he reſumes the ſubject of the ſpeech ſaid to be ſpoken by this biſhop in parliament, and obſerves, that the firſt notice given of it to the world came from Mr Edward Hall, who died about 150 years after the ſpeaking, and yet pretends no manuſcript copy; that it was immediately caught up by Mr Grafton, who cites Mr Hall for it. That Stowe, in his Annals, publiſhed by himſelf, takes no notice of any ſpeech or oppoſition of this biſhop in this parliament, nor has Mr Edmund Howes inſerted it, but Mr Hollinſhead and his friends, who were to be general collectors, took hold of it, but refer to Mr Hall, and let it reſt again ſingly upon his teſtimony. But ſoon after comes a bolder man, Sir John Hayward, L.L.D. to give an eſſay upon Henry IV. and he not only ſuppoſes a ſpeech to have been really delivered, but gives a new and larger copy of it, i e. He made a new ſpeech, and dreſſed it up in argument and language as unlike to Biſhop Merks, as his own military ſword was to that prelate's mitre; and yet he introduces it with great ceremony. *The inheritance of the kingdom*, ſays he, *being in this ſort ſettled in King Henry and his line, it was moved in the parliament, what ſhould be done with King Richard. The Biſhop of Caerliel, who was a man learned and wiſe, and one that always uſed both liberty and conſtancy in a good cauſe, in his ſecret judgment did never give allowance to theſe proceedings, yet diſſembled his diſlike, until he might to ſome purpoſe declare it. Therefore now being in a place to be heard of all, and by order of the Houſe to be interrupted by none, he roſe up, and with a bold preſence uttered his mind as followeth, &c.* All which, ſays Dr Kennet, is an imaginary entrance into an enchanted caſtle, or a meer fiction, pleaſant enough to any who love to be deceived. The author, like other diverting writers, would not bind himſelf to relate what another ſaid, but would make an exerciſe upon what might be now ſaid upon that ſubject. This ſpeech for Biſhop Merks was not his firſt eſſay of that kind in this life and reign of Henry IV. He made a fine ſpeech for Archbiſhop Arundel to Duke Henry in France, which he calls a ſolemn oration; and a pretty ſpeech of the Duke in anſwer to it, with reply and rejoinder very agreeable. He makes a moſt bemoaning ſpeech for King Richard, when *his bitterneſs did in this manner break from him*; and another farewel ſpeech in the Tower, when he delivered up his crown and ſcepter. In ſhort, he is a profeſt ſpeech-maker through all his little hiſtory.—— The true occaſion of his making that elaborate ſpeech for Biſhop Merks ſeems to have been this: He was employed by the Earl of Eſſex to anſwer the book of titles, called Doleman, written by Father Parſons, and cautiouſly to recommend the hereditary right of the King of Scots; and upon that view he took a ſtep out of the way, and put his own thoughts into the form of a ſpeech for Biſhop Merks, in defence of hereditary right; for which he ſuffered in the jealous times of Queen Elizabeth, and was honourably rewarded by King James I. who knighted him, and made him hiſtoriographer of Chelſea college (47).

(47) Third Letter to the Lord Biſhop of Carliſle, p. 49. N. B. Some Remarks, &c. upon theſe two laſt letters, were publiſhed by Mr Jer. Collier. See his article.

[*FF*] *Bibliothecæ Americanæ Primordia, &c.*] This conſiſts of books, charts, and maps, together with a collection of voyages and travels, and other notices of thoſe parts. In the preface he gives an account of the ſeveral uſes of it, one of which he intimates in the concluſion to be, that 'Any perſon in running it over 'would pleaſe to remember, that if they have any 'books or papers of the kind, not therein mentioned, 'or better editions of thoſe books and papers that are 'inſerted, and tranſmit them to the Society to enrich 'and enlarge the common ſtock.'

[*GG*] *An hiſtorical library at Peterborough.*] To this purpoſe he had been long gathering up pieces, from the very beginning of printing in England, to the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign. This collection, amounting to about 1500 volumes and ſmall tracts, was placed in a private room at Peterborough, in the view of being daily ſupplied and augmented, under the care of the Rev. Mr Joſeph Sparke, a member of that church, of very good literature, and very able to aſſiſt in the deſign; and there is a large written catalogue of them thus inſcribed, *Index librorum aliquot vetuſtorum quos in commune bonum congeſſit W. K. Decan. Petriburgh, MDCCXII.* In it there are moſt of the printed legends of ſaints; the oldeſt rituals and liturgies; the firſt printed ſtatutes and laws; the moſt antient homilies and ſermons; the firſt editions of the Engliſh ſchoolmen, poſtillers, expounders, &c. with a great many fragments of our ancient language, uſage, cuſtoms, rites, tenures, and ſuch other things as tend to illuſtrate the hiſtory of Great Britain and Ireland, and the ſucceſſive ſtate of religion and learning, in them. In a letter to a friend, dated at Peterborough July 27, 1717, the Dean writes thus: *I have improved the collection I have been long making for an hiſtorical antiquarian library, conſiſting of the oldeſt books relating to Engliſh writers and affairs: I have conſiderably encreaſed my catalogue of the lives of eminent men.*

preſent Rebellion: A Sermon preached in the Pariſh-Church of St Mary Aldermary, in the City of London, *on Sunday the 25th of September*, 1715. *The Time of a publick Ordination. Publiſhed upon Requeſt of the Hearers.* Lond. 1715 [*H H*]. The ſame year, upon the motion of his great friend and patron Archbiſhop Teniſon, he printed a tract, intitled, *The Wiſdom of looking Backwards, to judge the better of one Side and the other, by the Speeches, Writings, Actions, and other Matters of Fact, on both ſides, for the four laſt years paſt.* Lond. 1715, 8vo. In the two following years, he was very zealous for the repeal of the acts againſt Occaſional Conformity and the growth of Schiſm [*I I*]; he alſo warmly oppoſed the proceedings in the Convocation againſt Dr Hoadley, then Biſhop of Bangor, and was deeply engaged on the ſide of that prelate, in what is uſually called the Bangorian controverſy [*K K*]. His reputation was particularly concerned in this laſt affair, and ſeemed to be hurt thereby ſo eſſentially, as to prove an effectal bar to his farther advancement in the Church. But, by the aſſiſtance of Dr Charles Trimnel Biſhop of Norwich (*d d*), and afterwards of Wincheſter, he was promoted, upon the death of Dr Cumberland, to the ſee of Peterborough, and was conſecrated Biſhop at Lambeth-chapel, on Sunday November 9, 1718. He continued to employ the preſs in printing ſeveral pieces after this laſt promotion [*L L*], which he lived to enjoy ſomething above ten years, and died

(*d d*) Ibid. p. 283.

[*H H*] *A ſermon, intitled, The witchcraft of the preſent rebellion*] This ſermon, which was preached in the height of the rebellion, expoſed him to the wit and malice of ſeveral. Two or three private letter-writers told him, that it was preaching *treaſon againſt the lawful king*, and the time was coming when he ſhould certainly anſwer for it; and even ſome friends of leſs ſpirit intimated, that it was not ſo wiſe and cautious—No exaſperating an enemy when he had a ſword in his hand, and the like. But he was uſed to ſay, that he was prepared to live and die in the cauſe againſt Popery and the Pretender, and he would go out to fight, when he could no longer ſtay to preach againſt them (49). After the rebellion was ſuppreſſed, he preached and publiſhed, *A thankſgiving ſermon for the bleſſing of God, in ſuppreſſing the late unnatural rebellion, delivered in the pariſh church of St Mary Aldermary, &c. on Thurſday June* 7, 1716.

(49) Life, &c. p. 152.

[*I I*] *He was very zealous for the repeal of the act againſt occaſional conformity, &c*] In a letter dated April 13, 1717, he has theſe words. ‘ *The bill* ‘ *for relieving the diſſenters in matters of civil right* ‘ *and property, conſiſtent with the ſecurity of the eſta-* ‘ *bliſhed Church, ſeems to be due to them as Engliſh Pro-* ‘ *teſtants, and faithful Proteſtants.——However, it* ‘ *muſt be oppoſed in the name of the Church Had the* ‘ *miniſtry been more early fixed, and ſteady meaſures* ‘ *taken, it had met with leſs oppoſition.* I wiſh the ‘ Biſhops had declared nothing, ‘till they had ſeen the ‘ Bill, and kept it more in their power of reconciling ‘ it to the peace and true intereſt of religion, as by ‘ law eſtabliſhed in the Church of England. I doubt, ‘ if it go on, ſome who were againſt it will find an odd ‘ expedient for it, and rather than be thought to juſtify ‘ occaſional communion, will offer more than the firſt ‘ demand, even to abrogate the Teſt-Act, when all ‘ had been content with reſtoring *Toleration* to the ‘ ſtate of the *Revolution* (50). By this extract it appears, that the Dean had incurred the jealouſy and diſpleaſure of ſome of his old friends, in not running into the meaſures taken by them upon the buſineſs of the repeal of the two bills above-mentioned, which was upon the anvil at this time. One of theſe old friends was the Biſhop of Carliſle, then Almoner to the King, as will be ſeen in the following remark.

(50) Ibid. p. 282, 283.

[*K K*] *He was deeply engaged in the Bangorian controverſy.*] His ſhare in this famous diſpute was not immediately upon the doctrine about the powers of the Church, advanced by Dr Hoadley, but only upon an incident which fell out in the courſe of it. The Biſhop's ſermon having been attacked by Dr Andrew Snape, his lordſhip wrote an anſwer; in which, upon occaſion of a report ſpread by ſome perſons about the town, that he was put upon preaching that ſermon at court to ſerve ſome political ends, he uſes theſe words, *God knows I preached what I found there* [in the New Teſtament], *without the knowledge of any man living* (51). This poſitive and ſolemn declaration was flatly inconſiſtent with a ſtory which had been told to Dr Snape, namely, that the ſermon was preached with the knowledge, and ſubmitted to the correction of a certain perſon, who adviſed the making alterations in it. Whereupon, in the concluſion of his ſecond letter to the Biſhop, having taken notice of his entertaining Pillionere, a Jeſuit, in his houſe, he addreſſes himſelf to his Lordſhip thus, ‘ I muſt needs ſay your evaſive ‘ equivocal way of writing, ſavours very ſtrongly of ‘ ſuch communication [as that of a Jeſuit], and whe- ‘ ther the ſame perſon may not have helped you ‘ to a mental reſervation to juſtify a ſolemn appeal ‘ to God, that what you preached was *without the* ‘ *knowledge of any man living*, when a living man ‘ has teſtified, that it was preached with his knowledge, ‘ and ſubmitted to his correction, your Lordſhip beſt ‘ knows.’ This was no ſooner publiſhed, then the Biſhop called upon Dr Snape for the proof of what he had aſſerted, who preſently declared, that he had received that account from Dr Hutchinſon, who had heard the Biſhop of Carliſle ſay, that he had ſpoken with the perſon that adviſed the Biſhop of Bangor to inſert ſuch words as *abſolutely, properly, &c.* And that ſome days after the ſame divine again aſſured him, that he had heard the ſame prelate a ſecond time declare that matter to be true, and that he would juſtify it to all the world. Upon this Dr Snape drew up that paſſage, waited upon the Biſhop of Carliſle, read it to him, and was allowed by him to publiſh it, with an aſſurance that he would ſtand to it. This was the ſubſtance of Dr Snape's advertiſement (52), to which the Biſhop of Carliſle ſet his hand in theſe words, *this is true.* And being called upon to name the man, he fixed upon Dr Kennet, who he declared, according to the beſt of his remembrance, was the perſon that told him, the ſermon was preached with his knowledge, and ſubmitted to his correction, and that he adviſed, and with difficulty prevailed, for the inſerting the words above-mentioned A great number of papers and letters paſſed on the occaſion between the Biſhop of Carliſle and the Dean; in all which the charge was affirmed on one ſide, and denied on the other, with equal warmth; ſo that the matter reſted upon the comparative characters of the diſputants, and the Dean had the hardeſt part to manage, that of proving a negative. This, and the great eſteem in which the Biſhop was held, even among ſeveral of the Dean's beſt friends then in favour at court, where the Biſhop was almoner, would probably have ſunk the Dean*, had not there been luckily a change of hands, upon which the Biſhop was removed from the almoner's place (53), which was given to Dr Willis, then lately made Biſhop of Glouceſter; the Occaſional Conformity and Schiſm acts were repealed in the manner chalked out by the Dean, in the letter mentioned in the foregoing remark, and he was lucky enough to have it in his power to lend a helping vote to the paſſing of it in the Houſe of Lords, where he was then a member, being Biſhop of Peterborough (54).

(51) Anſwer to the Rev. Dr Snape's Letter to the Biſhop of Bangor, p. 43. 3d edit.

(52) The following year, our author publiſhed a piece, intituled, *Dr Snape inſtructed in ſome Matters, eſpecially relating to Convocations and Converts from Popery.* Lond. 1718.

* He was ſo greatly affected with it, that he preſerved a place for it in his laſt Will, where he ſolemnly declared, that he neither ſaid nor thought any ſuch thing.

(53) Viz. on the 18th of March, 1717. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. p. 378. firſt edit. 1723.

[*L L*] *He printed ſeveral pieces after he was made Biſhop.*] Theſe are, 1. *Charity and Reſtitution: a ſpital ſermon, preached at St Bridget's before the Lord Mayor, on Eaſter Monday March* 30, 1719, *with an application to the vain attempts of a Spaniſh invaſion in* 1588. 2. *A ſermon preached before the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Weſtminſter-Abbey, Jan.* 30, 1719. 3. *Admonitions and advices delivered to the clergy of the dioceſe of Peterborough, at the primary viſitation held in the months of July and Auguſt* 1720; *in two parts: publiſhed at the requeſt of the clergy for their uſe and ſervice*, 4to. 4. *An introduction to the new edition of a book, intitled, A diſcourſe concerning the laws eccleſiaſtical*

(54) He was conſecrated Biſhop in November, and the act paſſed after Chriſtmas, and had the royal aſſent Feb. 13, 1718. viz. it was intitled, *An Act for ſtrengthening the Proteſtant Intereſt in this Kingdom.* Ibid. p. 384, 385.

(ee) That is in the h[illegible] street, [illegible] St James's Park. [illegible] Mayn[illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] of the Medl[illegible] the affairs relating to [illegible] [illegible]. Life of Maynwaring, p. 190.

died in his house in St James's-street Westminster (ee), on the 19th of December, 1728. In viewing his character, the quality that shews itself foremost is his party zeal *, which the writer of his life intimates was carried to excess. But drawing that veil aside, there appears many excellent virtues in the moral part, and many rare talents and acquisitions in the intellectual part of it. He was a man of incredible diligence and application, not only in his youth, but to the very last. He was very communicative (ff), and would go through any fatigue to serve either a friend or the public. Neither was he wanting in acts of charity; especially in respect to almsgiving, he both gave largely himself, and had a singular influence in disposing others to the like [MM]; and was particularly liberal, and even bountiful, to some of his relations, whose circumstances stood in need of it (gg). As all his passions were naturally strong; so the love of his country, and regard for it's honour, glowed among them with a distinguished warmth. Nor was his affection for the Church less true and hearty, though tempered with great charity and moderation towards the Dissenters.

(ff) He had a noble library of books, collected with great pains and much expence, and took delight in it, and studied to make it useful both to himself and others.

(gg) The writer of his Life assures us, that very large sums were disposed of in this way, as he was informed by a Clergyman [illegible] whose hands it came. Life, p. 190.

stical and civil, made against Hereticks by Popes, Emperors, and Kings, provincial and general councils, approved by the Church of Rome, &c. Lond. 1723. He seems to think the said discourse was wrote by Dr Maurice, but it appears that Dr Whitby was the true author (55). 5. *A treatise of Gavelkind, both name and thing, shewing the etymology and true derivation of the one, the nature, antiquity, and original of the other; with sundry emergent observations, both pleasant and profitable to be known of Kentish men, and others, especially such as are studious either of the ancient custom or common law of this kingdom. By (a well-willer to both) William Somner. The second edition, corrected from the many errors of the former impression. To which is added, the life of the author, written, newly revised, and much enlarged, Lond.* 1726, *4to.* 6. *A register and chronicle, ecclesiastical and civil, containing matters of fact, delivered in the words of the most authentic books, papers, and records, digested in exact order of time; with proper notes and references towards discovering and connecting the true history of England, from the Restoration of King Charles II. Lond.* 1728, *2 vols. fol.* These are all that he published after he was Bishop; as to those he wrote or published before, several have been occasionally mentioned in the course of this memoir; the rest are as follow:

(55) See 12 sermons preached at the cathedral church of Sarum, p. 256. also A Short Account, of Dr Whitby, p. 5. prefixed to his Last Thoughts.

1. *A manuscript treatise about the Test, against Dr Parker.* 2. *The righteous taken away from the evil to come, applied to the death of Queen Mary, in a sermon preached at St Martyn's church in Oxford, Jan.* 20, 1694. 3. *A sermon preached at Bow church, London, before the Societies of Reformation, on Monday Sept.* 24, 1701, *published at their request, Lond.* 1702. 4. *A sermon preached in the parish church of St Botolph Aldgate in London, December* 17, 1704, *the day of solemn thanksgiving for the late glorious victory obtained over the French and Bavarians by the Forces of her Majesty and her Allies under the command of the Duke of Marlborough,* Lond. 1704. (5.) *A Thanksgiving Sermon at St Paul's, March* 8. 1704-5. (6.) *The Charity of Schools for poor Children recommended, in a Sermon preached at the Parish Church of St Sepulchres, May* 16, 1708, Lond. 1708. (7) *The Duties of rejoicing in a Day of Prosperity recommended; in a Sermon preached before the Queen at her Royal Chapel at Windsor, on Sunday June* 23, 1706 (8.) *The Christian Scholar, in Rules and Directions for Children and Youth sent to English Schools; more especially designed for the poor boys, taught and cloathed by Charity in the parish of St Botolph Aldgate.* Lond. 1708. (9.) *The excellent Daughter. A Sermon for the Relief of the poor Girls taught and cloathed within the Parish of St Botolph Aldgate: with proper Lessons of the Duties of Daughters.* Lond 1708. (10) *Glory to God and Gratitude to Benefactors: A Sermon preached before the Queen in her Royal Chapel of St James, on Tuesday 22d of Novemb.* 1709; *the Day of Publick Thanksgiving for the signal and glorious victory at Blaregnies, near Mons in Hainault: published by her Majesty's special command.* Lond. 1709. (11.) *A Letter to Mr Barville, a Roman Priest, upon his Desire of being reconciled to the Church of England,* dated from Golden Square, Crutched Fryars, Novemb. 30, 1709, printed in a book intituled, *An Account of the late Conversion of Mr John Barville, alias Barton, from Popery to the Reformed Church of England. With the Form of his solemn Abjuration of the Romish Religion, written by himself,* Lond. 1710. 8vo. (12.) *The Works of Charity, in a sermon preached before the right honourable the Lord Mayor in the Church of St Bridget, on Tuesday in Easter Week,* 1710. Lond. 1710. (13.) *The Christian Neighbour: A Sermon preached in the Church of St Laurence Jewry, before the right honourable the Lord Mayor,* &c. *upon the Election of a Mayor for the Year ensuing, on the Feast of St Michael,* 1711. Lond. 1711. (14) *Doing Good the Way to Eternal Life; recommended in a Spital Sermon, before the right honourable the Lord Mayor, on Tuesday in Easter Week, 7th April,* 1712. Lond. 1712. (15.) *The Faithful Steward. A Spital Sermon, preached on Tuesday in Easter Week, April* 3, 1716.

[MM] *He had a particular influence in disposing others to charity*] The following remarkable instances of this shall conclude this memoir. The alderman of his ward, Sir Charles Thorold, Bart. suffered him to suggest some proper objects of charity in his life and at his death. His last will had so many noble charities bequeathed in it, that for the honour of the city, as well as of that worthy family, Dr Kennett, thought fit to give an abstract of it in his spital sermon, on Tuesday in Easter week 1710 (56). The exhibitions to be yearly given to four poor scholars in the university of Oxford (there mentioned) were to be affixed to such colleges or halls as he should appoint; who accordingly named *St Edmund Hall, Corpus Christi, University, and Merton*; the first in respect to his own education, and the second to his brother's, and the two last in regard of friendship to the governors of them. Dr Kennett had also a particular acquaintance with one of his parishioners at Aldgate, Mr John Pierrepoint, who, after a recess from business, was projecting how to do most good in his generation, and to posterity; and was encouraged by the Dean in what he afterwards accomplished; which was the founding a free school at Lucton in Herefordshire, for instructing of children in religion, grammar-learning, writing, arithmetic, and mensuration; the governors whereof were incorporated by act of parliament, and the school endowed with an estate of about 300 l. per annum, tax free. The profits to be employed in the following manner. To the school master 70 l. per annum; to the usher 40 l.; to a writing-master 40 l.; to put out six apprentices yearly 30 l.; to be laid out in books of piety to be given to each apprentice 6 l; to set up six apprentices yearly, if they appear by certificate to have served their time faithfully, and be of the Communion of the Church of England 60 l.; exhibitions to be allowed to three scholars studying either at Oxford or Cambridge, which will amount to about 60 l. more. The worthy founder in his life-time had expended 1500 l. in building the school-house, and in walling in, planting, and making a garden, and other conveniencies, allotting several acres of land for adjoining pasture, &c. And, dying, he left a token of remembrance to the Dean; who was soon after blessed with an opportunity of promoting another charity. A wealthy and well disposed merchant, Mr Arundel, returning from Leghorn, and lying long at London and the Bath in a weak condition, did, by his last will, bequeath many charitable legacies, and, among others, 500 l. to be disposed among poor widows, &c. at the discretion and by the distribution of Dr White Kennett and his brother Mr Basil Kennett, which sum was duly paid by the executor, and faithfully distributed by the said trustees. P

(56) Viz. in page 25.

KENNETT [BASIL], younger brother to the preceding, was born October 21, 1674, at Poſtling in Kent, the vicarage of his father, who bred this ſon alſo to the Church. In which view, after a ſuitable foundation of Grammar-learning, he was ſent to Oxford, and admitted Scholar or Diſciple (*a*) of Corpus Chriſti college, December 20, 1690 (*b*). In the univerſity he ſat down to his ſtudies with remarkable diligence, and the ſucceſs was anſwerable; ſo that he ſoon became diſtinguiſhed both by his genius, and the extraordinary advances he made in claſſical and polite literature. This merit brought him into the acquaintance and eſteem of Mr Addiſon his contemporary, then Demy of Magdalen college, which proved of ſome ſervice to him afterwards (*c*). Having taken his firſt degree in Arts at the regular time, he proceeded to that of Maſter April 4, 1696 (*d*), and commenced author the ſame year, by the publication of his *Romæ Antiquæ Notitia: or the Antiquities of Rome* [*A*]. To which he prefixed two Eſſays on the Roman Learning and Education, in 8vo. Theſe eſſays were the firſt attempts of the kind made in any language at that time; and the book was ſo well received by the Public, that he was thereby encouraged to proſecute his deſign of promoting and facilitating the ſtudy of claſſical learning. In that view he proceeeed to draw up *The Lives and Characters of the ancient Greek Poets*, which came out in 1697, 8vo. The ſame year, on the 14th of February, he was admitted Fellow of his college (*e*), and became a tutor there. It was probably about this time, purſuant to the college-ſtatutes, that he entered into Holy Orders: after which, directing the courſe of his ſtudies conformably thereto, in a more particular manner to Divinity, the world received the like benefits from his parts and induſtry upon that ſubject. The firſt fruits whereof came out in the year 1705, under the title of, *An Expoſition of the Apoſtles Creed, according to Biſhop* Pearſon, *in a new Method, by way of Paraphraſe and Annotations*, 8vo. This was followed by, *An Eſſay towards a Paraphraſe on the Pſalms in Verſe, with a Paraphraſe on the third Chapter of the Revelations* (*f*), printed the enſuing year, 1706, 8vo. Theſe were public monuments of his piety, as well as learning and genius; which being rendered perfectly amiable by the ſweetneſs of his temper, he was now become happy in the love and eſteem of all who knew him; ſo that it is no wonder that he yielded with ſome reluctance to the intreaties of his brother, when the Chaplain's place to the Factory at Leghorn was propoſed to him [*B*]; where he was likely alſo

(*a*) That is the appellation given them in the college ſtatutes.

(*b*) From the regiſter of the college.

(*c*) See below in note (1).

(*d*) From the college regiſter.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) It is dedicated to Sir Will. Temple's widow, who had the peruſal of it in manuſcript. Our author appears to be greatly eſteemed by her Ladyſhip.

[*A*] *He publiſhed his Roman Antiquities.*] The dedication is addreſſed to his Royal Highneſs William, Duke of Glouceſter, and muſt have been wrote for his uſe particularly, if any credit may be given to a report that generally prevailed, at leaſt at Oxford, that there were ſome hopes of his being appointed Subpreceptor to that darling of the nation. No body ever doubted his qualifications for it, and his brother, as appears from the preceding article, was in great favour with biſhop Burnet, who was made Preceptor to the Duke in 1698. Whatever reception this ſtory may meet with, it will not be denied, that our author's addreſs muſt needs have been very agreeable to the noble youth: as ſoon as he came to know the claſſics enough to be ſenſible of the beautiful application therein of two paſſages in one of the moſt celebrated of them to his immediate progenitors, I mean the paragraph with which he cloſes his dedication, where he obſerves, that his highneſs could not miſs his way in the purſuit of *Virtue*, in going on as he did, like the Trojan prince:

Matre dea monſtrante viam.

Nor *that* alſo to *great achievements* when he ſaw himſelf ſo properly, as he was, the object of that hero's advice

—— Te animo repetentem exempla tuorum
Et pater Æneas & avunculus excitet Hector.

[*B*] *He was appointed chaplain to the factory at Leghorn.*] This privilege was none of the leaſt of thoſe addvantages which the nation obtained in that ſucceſsful war. The general ſtate of religion being divided into ſeveral diſtinct and ſeparate eſtabliſhments; each of theſe has it's proper faſtneſſes and ſorts, erected for the defence and ſecurity of it, againſt the encroachments and invaſions of any of its neighbours; and the eccleſiaſtical governors in every Church hold themſelves obliged to keep a watchful eye to prevent, as much as poſſible, all attempts of that kind; and are particularly alarmed whenever they obſerve any motions made towards ſuch a deſign. Theſe governors alſo look upon it as an eſpecial part of the duty of their office, to let ſlip no opportunities of enlarging the boundaries of their own community, by making acquiſitions from that of their neighbours. In this ſpirit, when the glory of Queen Anne's arms by land, and the terror of her fleets in the Mediterranean ſea, had opened a proſpect of eſtabliſhing a chaplain of the Church of England for the Engliſh factory at Leghorn, his Grace the Archbiſhop of Canterbury diſcourſing with Dr White Kennet, and ſome merchants trading thither, about the beſt way of effectuating it, obſerved, firſt, that ſuch a privilege of the exerciſe of religion by a lawful miniſter of it, was a right of Chriſtians, even by the law of nations, in *every* country where they were allowed to ſettle and traffic. In the next place, he wrote a letter upon the ſubject to Dr Henry Newton, her Majeſty's envoy at Florence, who informed him that though no expreſs leave or licence of protection could be obtained, yet a connivance might be expected from the Great Duke; eſpecially while the Queen, by her *fleets* and *armies*, made ſuch a figure in Europe, and even in Italy itſelf, that ſhe would be able to protect her own ſubjects in ſo reaſonable and juſt a cauſe. Upon this foot, the Archbiſhop directed Dr White Kennett to look out for a proper perſon to be ſent over, of integrity, abilities, and courage, ſuitable to that dangerous and difficult employment. The Doctor, after propoſing it in vain to ſome others, prevailed with his own brother to adventure in it, and obtained a petition of the merchants to the Queen in his behalf. Whereupon his Grace approving of him, the Council adviſed her Majeſty to grant the petition of the merchants; and accordingly the chaplain received a commiſſion or title in this form.

ANNE, R.

'Whereas our ſubjects trading to Leghorn, as well 'as thoſe reſiding in that port, have humbly beſought 'us to appoint a miniſter to perform divine ſervice 'there, after the uſage and manner of the Church of 'England, wherein we are graciouſly pleaſed to gratify them: and being well ſatisfied of the loyalty, 'prudence, piety, and learning of Baſil Kennet, M.A. 'and fellow of Corpus Chriſti college, in our univer'ſity of Oxford: We do by theſe preſents appoint him, 'the ſaid Baſil Kennet, to be miniſter to the Engliſh 'factory at Leghorn, hereby granting him our royal 'licence and protection to the purpoſes aforementioned. And we do hereby require our envoy, or other 'our miniſter, at the court of the Great Duke of Tuſcany, and our conſul at Leghorn, now and for the 'time being, to protect, countenance, and aſſiſt him, 'the ſaid Baſil Kennet, as occaſion ſhall require, for 'his quiet enjoyment and exerciſe of his function, as 'miniſter to the Engliſh factory at Leghorn as afore'ſaid.

alſo to meet (as it actually proved he did) with much diſturbance and danger from the oppoſition of the Roman-Catholics. However, after he had undertaken the charge, no difficulties were ſufficient to damp his reſolution to go through it with honour. Accordingly, having obtained the Queen's commiſſion, he left England in the month of September this year, 1706; and arriving without any extraordinary accidents, in the uſual time for ſuch journey by land, at Leghorn, he preſently received a diploma from Oxford, creating him Bachelor of Divinity, February 27 that year (g). With this extraordinary mark of the univerſity's eſteem, he entered immediately upon the duties of his office; wherein he behaved with ſo much integrity, piety, prudence, and modeſty, that he became the darling

(g) From the Univerſity regiſter.

[illegible] Leghorn, and to hurry him away to Piſa, and thence to ſome other religious priſon, to bury him alive, or otherwiſe diſpoſe of him, in the ſevereſt manner.—Upon notice of this deſign the Engliſh Envoy at Florence interpoſed his offices in that court, where he could obtain no other anſwer, but that '*he might ſend for the Engliſh preacher, and keep him in his own family as his domeſtic chaplain; otherwiſe if he preſumed to continue at Leghorn, he muſt take the conſequences of it, for, in thoſe matters of religion, the Court of Inquiſition was ſuperior to all civil powers;*' the Envoy communicated this anſwer of the Great Duke to the Earl of Sunderland, then ſecretary of ſtate, deſiring proper inſtructions in the affair. In the interim he was extremely embarraſſed with the difficulties of treating for the protection and ſecurity of the chaplain, and could find no expedient more proper for the preſent, than to invite him earneſtly to his houſe at Florence; and there cover him 'till the affair was adjuſted, and for that purpoſe to ſend him a qualification as his domeſtic chaplain. But the Conſul and nation at Leghorn would not readily conſent to let him go away, fearing, if that point was once gained, they would never let him return. Nor was the chaplain himſelf willing to conſult his own ſafety, by ſeeming to forſake his charge. And therefore, with his brother's advice, he continued there, though in the utmoſt danger: Being forced to confine himſelf in his chamber, and to have an armed guard at the ſtairs foot. Some evenings, indeed, he went out for the air, but then he walked between two Engliſh merchants, who, with their ſwords drawn, reſolved and declared, that no body ſhould dare ſeize him at their peril. All this caution was no more than what was abſolutely neceſſary, before the arrival of Lord Sunderland's letter, which came by the firſt conveyance, and contained the following directions:

'To Dr Henry Newton, her Majeſty's Envoy in the court of Florence.

'SIR,

'*Your's of the 6th and 24th I received; in anſwer to which I have laid the whole affair before her Majeſty, who has commanded me to order you to tell the Great Duke and his miniſters, in her Majeſty's name, that if there be any moleſtation given to her chaplain, reſiding at Leghorn, ſhe ſhall look upon it as an affront done to herſelf and the nation, a breach of peace, and a violation of the law of nations, and ſhall by her fleets and armies, which will be all the year in the Mediterranean ſeas, not only demand, but take ſatisfaction for any ſuch injury offered. And that the prieſt of the Great Duke's miniſter here, and all frequenters of his chapel, muſt expect the ſame treatment. And if they talk any more of the Pope or Court of Rome, you muſt cut that matter ſhort, by telling them, that her Majeſty hath nothing to do with that Court, but ſhall treat with the Great Duke, as with other independent princes and ſtates. And this you muſt do in the moſt forcible manner poſſible. I have no more at preſent to add; but am*

'Your Humble Servant,

'Sunderland.'

As ſoon as this letter came to the Envoy's hands, and was by him communicated to the Duke and his miniſters, the contents of it were ſoon by them imparted to the Pope and his Cardinals, who ſo well underſtood the argument of *fleets* and *armies*, that the chaplain eſcaped the intended fury; and continued for five years to officiate as a miniſter of the Church of England, in a large room, ſet apart for a chapel, in the Conſul's houſe, with public prayers and a ſermon (2).

(2) Life of Biſhop Kennett, p. 53 to 61 inclusive.

[C] *A con-*

ſtid. Given at our caſtle at Windſor the [illegible] day of September, [illegible] in the fifth year of our reign.

'By Her majeſty's command,

C. Hedges.

At the ſame time and place were dated the royal letters of paſſport, ſafeguard, and protection, as follow:

Anna R.

'*Anna dei gratia magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, fidei defenſor &c. omnibus & ſingulis ad quos præſentes literæ pervenerint, ſalutem. Quum pro ſalute ſubditorum noſtrorum in portu Liburni in Hetruria commorantium veleo appellentium Preſbyterum illuc mittere decreverimus, qui ſecundum ritus Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ ipſis ſacra miniſtret: dilectum noſtrum & fidelem* Baſilium Kennett, Artium Magiſtrum, *necnon collegii Corporis Chriſti in academia noſtra Oxonienſi ſocium, quem ad hoc munus aſſignavimus; literis hiſce noſtris ſalvi conductus munire Nobis viſum eſt. Rogamus itaque omnes & ſingulos Reges & Principes, cujuſcunque dignitatis atque ordinis Status, Reſpublicas, liberaſque Civitates, Amicos noſtros & Fœderatos, per quorum ditiones tranſiturus eſt, necnon Provinciarum Gubernatores, exercituum claſſiumque Duces, Præfectos limitaneos, arciumque cuſtodes, reliquoſque ipſorum officiales & miniſtros (id quod ſubditis noſtris quorum ullo modo intererit, firmiter injungimus), ut præfato* Baſilio Kennett *una cum ſarcinis ſuis quibuſcunque non ſolum ubique locorum liberam & ſecurum eundi, tranſeundi, commorandique, prout libitum erit, poteſtatem faciant, neque aliquam moram impedimentumve injiciant, aut injici patiantur, verum etiam omnibus humanitatis ac benevolentiæ officiis excipiant adjuventque, & novis inſuper ſalvi conductus literis, ſi res ita poſtulaverit, communiant. Quod quidem Nos pari data occaſione parati agnoſcemus & viciſſim repenſuri ſumus.*

'*Dabantur in arce noſtra Windeſoræ die octavo menſis Septembris, Anno Domini* 1706. *Regnique noſtri quinto.*

Ex mandato ſereniſſimæ Dom. Reginæ.

C. Hedges.

(1) Mr Addiſon being then Under-Secretary to Sir Ch. Hedges, theſe diſpatches were much forwarded in that office by him, who had a perſonal reſpect for Mr Kennett in Oxford, and had been then a late traveller in Italy, and well known to the Factory at Leghorn.

Theſe diſpatches being compleated (1), Mr Kennett received money to defray the expences of the journey, upon a bill ſent by the Conſul, Chriſtopher Crowe, Eſq; in the name of the factory, for the purpoſe; and whatever was wanting in cloaths, books, or any equipage, was advanced to him by his brother. He then ſet out with agreable company from Harwich to the Brill; and, paſſing through Holland and Germany, arrived by the way of Venice ſafe at Leghorn, where he was received by the Conſul and nation with great civility and kindneſs. But the Italians were ſo jealous of the northern hereſy, eſpecially the prieſts and regulars, that, to give as little offence as poſſible, he performed the duties of his office with the utmoſt privacy and caution. But, notwithſtanding that, great offence was taken at it, and complaints and informations were immediately ſent to Florence and to Rome. The envoy at Florence, Dr Newton, did all the matter could bear, in inſiſting on the right of the Engliſh merchants to have a miniſter among them of their own religion; and offered to undertake that he ſhould not publickly reflect on the religion of the country; nor attempt to bring over any of the Grand Duke's ſubjects to the Proteſtant perſuaſion. But the Pope, and the Court of Inquiſition at Rome, were reſolved to expel hereſy, and the public teacher of it, from the confines of the Holy See: and therefore ſecret orders were given to apprehend Mr

ling both of the Merchants there, and of the Engliſh Envoy at Florence; and even extorted the admiration and eſteem of the Papiſts, who, whilſt they uſed their utmoſt endeavours to cruſh and deſtroy him, could not forbear revering him at the ſame time (as is their cuſtom to perſons of the moſt eminent piety and Chriſtian fortitude) under the title of *Saint* (*b*). Perſevering ſteadily in this courſe, he continued among them as long as his health would allow him; and when the care of that obliged him to think of coming back to his native air, he reſolved not to quit his poſt, 'till he ſaw an approved ſucceſſor in it upon the ſpot; by which means he was very inſtrumental in procuring a confirmation and eſtabliſhment of that valuable privilege (*c*) [*C*], which the Factory there has enjoyed ever

(*b*) See below in remark [*D*].

(*c*) See the preface to his Sermons.

(*C*) *A confirmation of that privilege.*] This aſſertion may, perhaps at firſt ſight, be cenſured, as attributing a merit to our chaplain which does not properly belong to him; and which, far from giving any heightening to his character, ſeems rather to derogate from it, and even to be inconſiſtent with what is conſtantly obſerved, to his great commendation, that he diligently and conſcientiouſly diſcharged the duties of his function, without intermeddling in any other concerns. The obſervation of Mr Kennett's behaviour and temper is undoubtedly true, but the true inference from it is that truth, which is advanced in the text, nothing being more certain than that it was this prudent and amiable carriage in his office, which, at once, both obviated all the objections that could avowedly be made by the court of Rome; and, at the ſame time, endeared the office itſelf to the factory ſo much, that, when his health would not ſuffer him to continue in it, they never left ſolliciting the Court, 'till a full confirmation of the privilege was granted in the appointment of a ſucceſſor, as will appear from the following account of this whole matter. Not long after the Inquiſition had drawn in its pretenſions, mentioned in the preceding remark, Dr Newton, in a letter dated Aug. 1707, writes thus—'Religion is not a thing to be talked of 'on any ſide here; there has already been given ſome 'of them trouble enough, I mean the Inquiſition, 'by bringing an Engliſh preacher into Leghorn. I 'hope now that trouble is almoſt over, and, that for 'the future, we ſhall hear no more from them on that 'head. He is an excellent perſon, if I am any judge 'in thoſe matters, and if I have not any pretence 'either to that or any other learning, yet I am at 'leaſt capable of knowing and commending a gentle'man for his modeſty, his prudence, and his good 'nature; and at *Florence* and at *Rome* they have 'heard from me on that head, and are ſatisfied on the 'other *account* too. And if now there is any fault to 'be found, it is, that he deſerves ſo much to be com'mended. Pray let his brother know, and by him the 'archbiſhop, how much the factory are obliged to his 'Grace on that ſcore (3), &c.' When our chaplain had ſeen himſelf well eſtabliſhed in that privilege, and had ſo laid the foundation of it, he began to think, that the having a ſucceſſor in that place upon the ſame bottom, would be the beſt confirmation; and therefore he earneſtly importuned his brother, that he might have leave to return, upon the finding out a fit perſon to ſucceed him. 'Tis true, however, that he had another principal reaſon to inſiſt upon coming home, the ill ſtate of his health in that climate which did not agree with his conſtitution; however he declared he would not ſtir 'till he ſaw a ſucceſſor upon the ſpot. Upon the receipt of this letter, the dean his brother applied, at the requeſt of the merchants, in behalf of one Mr Taubman, to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, upon whoſe application the Queen gave orders for proper diſpatches accordingly in 1710; but, upon the change of the miniſtry at this time, the Duke of Tuſcany's Envoy at our court obſtructed the proceedings, and actually put in a memorial againſt the privilege. Whereupon Dean Kennett addreſſing a letter of complaint to Robert Harley [afterwards Earl of Oxford], the merchants were ſummoned to declare the grounds of their claim to the privilege; which were 1. Poſſeſſion. 2. Her Majeſty having aſſerted it. 3. There were precedents for it at Liſbon and Oporto, &c. And to that purpoſe a repreſentation was drawn, concluding with a petition, wherein they obſerve, that in the ſame port of Leghorn there was a ſynagogue allowed to the Jews, and a moſque to the Turks; to this repreſentation ſeveral objections were made in council, one whereof being, that the preſent chaplain [Baſil Kennett] had done ill offices there, by meddling in trade and commerce, and by advancing ſome odd opinions in that place: to this Mr Palmer, one of the merchants in the city, made a proper and very decent anſwer, vindicating the character of our chaplain by the accounts of his behaviour received from the Conſul: and adding, that *of all men living Mr Kennett was the leaſt meddler in any thing but the immediate duties of his own function*. It was alſo ſuggeſted, that even ſome of the merchants, continuing at Leghorn, did not inſiſt upon a chaplain, or had not expreſſed their deſire to have another, when Mr Kennett ſhould come away: upon this, one of the company produced the following copy of a letter of the merchants reſiding at Leghorn, directed to the Archbiſhop, dated Livorne 20 Octob. 1710, expreſſed in theſe terms:

(3) Ibid. p. 62, 63.

'May it pleaſe your Grace,

'The Reverend Mr Baſil Kennett having intimated 'to us his intention to return home for the recovery of 'his health; being ſenſible of our great obligation to 'your Grace, for having recommended to us ſo wor'thy and excellent a perſon; we humbly beg leave to 'recur to your favour in chooſing a proper ſucceſſor 'to reſide amongſt us: intirely confiding, that this 'teſtimony of our gratitude, as well for the pains 'taken by your Grace in eſtabliſhing a chaplain, as 'in ſending us one ſo very acceptable, will be well 'pleaſing to your Grace, and that you will grant this 'our requeſt, who are with all imaginable reſpect,

Your Grace's

Moſt Humble and Obedient Servants,'

Signed by Fifteen Merchants (4).

(4) Ibid. from p. 64 to 80.

But this, and all other applications which were made afterwards by the factors, Dean Kennett, Mr Taubman, the Biſhop of London, and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, proving ineffectual; the beginning of September, an advertiſement was ſent to Mr Taubman, and by him inſerted in the Poſt-Boy of Saturday September 15, 1711, in theſe words. 'There is ready for the preſs, *The Caſe of a Proteſtant Chaplain attending on the Britiſh Factory at Leghorn*, repreſenting the wiſdom and glory of her Majeſty's happy adminiſtration, in aſſerting that privilege to her ſubjects, the merchants reſiding in foreign parts: with the honour and neceſſity of maintaining that law of nations, and common right of mankind; as allowed in the ſame free port of Leghorn to ſocieties of different religions, and not pretended to be denied to any people, but the Northern Heretics at this time' Soon after this there was an order of council that fully determined the affair, as follows:

'At the court at Windſor, the 1ſt of October, 1711, preſent the Queen's moſt excellent Majeſty.

'Upon reading this day, at the board, the humble 'petition of the Britiſh merchants trading to Leghorn, 'and ſeveral other papers relating to a chaplain there; 'her Majeſty in council taking the ſame into conſide'ration, was pleaſed to order, that Mr Taubman, or 'ſuch other chaplain as the Right Reverend the Lord 'Biſhop of London ſhall recommend to her Majeſty, 'be forthwith ſent thither in ſuch manner, and with 'ſuch circumſtances, as the Reverend Mr Baſil Ken'nett was ſent. And that directions be given to Mr 'Moleſworth, her Majeſty's Envoy at the court of Flo'rence accordingly. And the Right Honourable the 'Earl of D——, her Majeſty's Principal Secretary of 'State, is to prepare what is neceſſary for the ſignifica'tion of her Majeſty's pleaſure in this matter.

'Copy ſigned John Povey.'

The

ever since. He arrived at Oxford in the year 1713, and was elected President of his college, May 15, 1714 (k). He was also admitted Doctor of Divinity on the 26th of July following (l), but lived to enjoy these new honours a very short time. Having brought an infirm habit of body with him from Italy, he continued from that time to decline gradually, and was carried off, before the expiration of this year (m), by a slow fever, the consequence, as was believed, of some unfair practices by the Court of Rome [D]. A little before his death, he finished the Preface to a volume of his sermons preached at Leghorn, which came out under the title of *Sermons on several Occasions, preached before a Society of British Merchants in foreign Parts*. Lond. 1715, 8vo. Besides this collection, and the pieces already mentioned of his own composing, he gave English translations of several works of other eminent authors, the chief of which are as follow: (1.) *Puffendorf of the Law of Nature and Nations*. (2.) *Placcius's Christian Casuist*. (3.) *Godeau's Pastoral Instructions*. (4.) *Monsieur Pascal's Thoughts on Religion*. To which he prefixed an account of the manner in which those thoughts were delivered by the author. (5.) *Monf. Balfac's Ariſtippus, with an Account of his Life and Writings* (n).

(k) He likewise translated the elegant English verse, a Latin poem of Mr Camden, called *The Marriage of Thames and Iſis*.

(m) From the College Regiſter. In the preface to his Sermons, the Acceſſion of King George I. is taken notice of by him. So that it is probable he lived to ſee that book finiſhed at the preſs, and publiſhed, according to the Printer's account, in 1715; that is, ſome time between Michaelmas and Lady-day in 1714.

The copy of this order was tranſmitted to the conſul at Leghorn, with a letter of the Dean, running thus —' *By virtue of this long expected order, a commiſſion from the Queen and letters of protection are prepared for Mr Taubman, and he intends to ſet out by the firſt opportunity of any company, by way of Holland and Germany; and by his honeſty, quietneſs, and goodneſs of temper, will, I doubt not, be very acceptable to you and the nation, to whom you will pleaſe to communicate the ſucceſs of this long depending affair. It would make a long ſtory to tell of the ſeveral ſteps forward and backward in it. Whatever trouble and expence I have been at on this occaſion, had it been greater I would not have grudged it in ſo good a cauſe, for the honour and ſervice of the Church and Nation. But I hope poor Mr Taubman will be conſidered for his tedious and chargeable attendance upon this buſineſs; and the demand of above 20 l. fees at the offices, and the ſupport of a journey by land. I well know the juſtice and generoſity of the Conſul and merchants at Leghorn, and doubt not but they will find ſome way, that he may come into the eaſier circumſtances, and with a greater ſenſe of obligation to you. I ſuppoſe, by your advice, my brother will remain with you 'till the actual appearance of Mr Taubman. I ſhall think it now happy, that by your advice, and his own reſolutions, he continued on the ſpot, for 'tis poſſible his abſence might have given ſome advantage to thoſe who have ſo accountably oppoſed this privilege, which you now ſee effectually tranſmitted in ſucceſſion, and thereby we hope eſtabliſhed to you and your poſterity. I am*

Hon. SIR,
Your and the Nation's
Faithful Humble Servant,
W. Kennet (5).

(5) Ibid. from P. 95 to 99.

[D] *He died in* 1714.] The writer of the Biſhop's life, tells us, that though the factory at Leghorn was very bountiful to their chaplain, as well as very generous in their preſents to his brother in England, yet the family had been ſufferers by it. The contempt of money in Mr Kennett at Leghorn, the conſtant demands upon his charity and goodneſs, his great expence of his long travels through Italy and France; the ſupplies he had out of England to ſupport thoſe travels, and to purchaſe a good collection of books and prints; and the new expences he was put upon after his return, by the honour done him of being elected and admitted preſident of his college, had brought him to that condition of worldly eſtate, that the payment of his debts was made in favour of his memory, without ſufficient aſſets for it. ' And, continues he, ' whether his life itſelf was not ſacrificed in that ſervice among the Roman Papiſts, is perhaps a queſtion ' to be referred to the laſt judgment day: not that Mr ' Kennett would ever declare his ſuſpicion of any ill ' practiſing upon him (too common there): nor that ' his brother ever encouraged any ſuggeſtion of that ' kind: but many others have been free in, and God ' alone knows the truth of it. One would have ' thought him, concludes this writer, ſo well eſteemed ' among the Italian prieſts, that even they were not ' capable of ſuch treatment of him. Unleſs their calling him the *ſaint*, was in order to the making him a ' *martyr* (6).

(6) Ibid. p. 100, 101.

KETTLEWELL [JOHN], a pious and learned Divine in the laſt century, was born at North-Alverton in the County of York the 10th of March, 1653. His father was a merchant, as were alſo his grand-father, and great-grandfather [A], and his mother was Elizabeth Ogle, a woman of an excellent character, and of a conſiderable and antient family. He was educated, firſt at a ſmall ſchool at Brompton, the place of his nativity (and then of his father's reſidence,) within the ſaid pariſh of North-Alverton. Though his father died when he was but ſix years old, yet his education no way was neglected: For he was next ſent to the Free-ſchool of North-Alverton, where he made a great progreſs under a good maſter, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valuable qualities, particularly a great modeſty, and ſweetneſs of temper (a). In the year 1670, he was admitted in St Edmund-hall in Oxford (b) [B], where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, June 25, 1674 (c). And, on the 28th day of July 1675, was choſen Fellow of Lincoln College, through the intereſt of his learned countryman Mr George Hickes, Fellow of the ſame. During his whole ſtay in that college, he was an eminent example of induſtry, piety, and virtue (d); and became a very conſiderable tutor (e). He took the degree of Maſter of Arts May 3, 1677 (f). As ſoon as qualified by age, he entered into holy orders;

(a) The Life of Mr John Kettlewell, prefixed to the folio edit. of his Works, p. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

(b) Ibid. p. 8.

(c) Wood, Faſti, edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 195.

(d) Life, &c. as above, p. 8, &c.

(e) Ibid. p. 14.

(f) Wood, Faſti, ut ſupra, col. 206.

[A] *As were alſo his grand-father and great-grand-father.*] His grand-father, and great-grand-father, were merchant-adventurers at Headen in Yorkſhire. But the haven of that town growing uſeleſs, by being choaked up with the ſands, his grandfather removed to North-Alverton: which place his father quitting, ſoon after his marriage, went and lived in his own houſe, and upon his own eſtate, at Brompton, a village in the ſaid pariſh of North-Alverton (1).

(1) Life, &c. as above, p. 1, 2, 3.

[B] *Was admitted in St Edmund-hall.*] While he lived there, he never committed any one fault, for which he incurred the leaſt cenſure, as by neglect of publick Exerciſes, or Prayers; &c. nor was there ever the leaſt complaint made of him by his equals. This is atteſted by his contemporary the famous Dr Hickes (2).

(2) Life, &c. p. 9.

orders; and diſtinguiſhed himſelf not only by his uſeful and inſtructive way of Preaching [C], but alſo by his early, and indeed uncommon knowledge in Divinity: The firſt fruits of which were, his *Meaſures of Chriſtian Obedience* [D], a work which he entered upon when he was but twenty-ſix years of age, and that was (as we are aſſured) begun and finiſhed by him between Chriſtmas and Eaſter. This valuable work ſo recommended him to the world's eſteem, that the old Counteſs of Bedford (g) took him, upon that account, for one of her domeſtic Chaplains: But a greater favour he received, upon the ſame conſideration, from the moſt pious and truly honourable Simon Lord Digby, who preſented him in July 1682, to the Vicarage of Coles-hill in Warwickſhire (b). There he applied himſelf, with great zeal and ſucceſs, to the duties of his function; and, by proper inſtructions and example, endeavoured, to the utmoſt of his power, to make the people under his care wiſer and better. On the 4th of October 1685, he married a very pious and virtuous woman, Mrs Jane Lybb, daughter of Antony Lybb, Eſq; of Hardwick in Oxfordſhire, a gentleman of a thouſand pounds a year. He happily lived with her, as a faithful companion both in proſperity and adverſity; and ſhe ſurvived him. After he had continued upwards of ſeven years at Coleſhill, doing all the good in his power with great ſincerity and zeal, and univerſally reſpected and eſteemed, a great alteration happened in his condition and circumſtances. For, at the Revolution, being one of thoſe conſcientious men who refuſed to take the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy to K. William and Q. Mary, he was deprived of his living in 1690 (i). However, he did not ſpend the remainder of his days in a ſullen and inglorious indolence; but, retiring to London, continued to write and publiſh ſeveral books, as he had done during his reſidence in the country [E]. And there, amongſt other great and learned men, was particularly happy

(g) And not William Lord Ruſſell, her ſon, as Wood ſays by miſtake. Athen. Vol. II. col. 923.

(b) Life, &c. p. 20, 21, 22. and Wood Ath. Vol. II. col. 923.

(i) Life, &c. p. 102.

[C] *By his uſeful and inſtructive Preaching.*] His Preaching was eaſy and free, and always upon uſeful texts; avoiding all vain contentions and controverſies, which ſerve not to improve in faith and righteouſneſs. His aim herein was not only to ſpeak to the ears, but moreover to the hearts of his auditors: which he alſo the rather did by his very affectionate way of delivery. He had indeed no good voice; yet he knew how to make the beſt uſe of it, and to give every word its due and proper weight. Hardly had he been Maſter of Arts above a year, if ſo long, but he had laid out a large fund of ſermons againſt the time he ſhould be called thence to the cure of Souls. For to one of his intimate confidents, when he was a very young Maſter, he one day ſhewed a courſe of Sermons, all fairly written with his own hand, and fitted as he ſaid for the country. There might be near a hundred of them, according to the beſt computation which this Gentleman could haſtily make.—In all his writings, whether for the pulpit or the preſs, he had ſtill an eye to the *practical* part, as well as to the inſtructive, and even to that principally: well knowing that, as without underſtanding, ſo alſo without doing his duty, a man is certainly defective. And he had ever a regard not only to the learned, but alſo, and chiefly, to the unlearned and thoſe of meaner capacities, for whom he thought nothing could be too plain. The plainneſs and perſpicuity of his Style he took care ſhould be ſuch, as to render his labours ſerviceable to the greateſt numbers. In a word, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in his writings, rather by the Strength of his Reaſon, and the Solidity of his Judgment, than by the Brightneſs of his Fancy (3).

(3) Ibid. p. 17, 18.

[D] *His Meaſures of Chriſtian Obedience,*] The ſmall time he is ſaid to have taken in compoſing that Book, is almoſt incredible. But we give it here upon the credit of the author of his life; who adds, that "all the time he ſpent afterward about it, was only in "conſulting texts and quotations, and animadverting "a little upon it" (4). He compoſed it in the year 1678, though it was not publiſhed 'till 1681, in one volume 4to. Dr Hickes, to whom he ſubmitted it for his correction, adviſed him to dedicate it to Biſhop Compton, intending by that means to have him planted in London: and accordingly it came out at firſt with a dedication to his Lordſhip. But when that Prelate appeared in arms againſt K. James II, Mr Kettlewell gave immediate orders for razing that Dedication out of the copies unſold, and took care to have it omitted in the ſubſequent editions (5).—In his Epitaph it is ſaid, that he was but four and twenty years old when he compoſed that book—*Annum adhuc agens vigeſimum quartum.*

(4) Ibid. p. 18.

(5) Ibid. p. 19.

[E] *But retiring to London, continued to write and publiſh ſeveral Books, as he had done during his reſidence in the country.*] We ſhall ſet down, in this note, an account of all his works, according to the order of time in which they were written. I. *The Meaſures of Chriſtian Obedience,* &c already mentioned II. *The great Evil and Danger of Profuſeneſs and Prodigality; in a Letter to a Friend:* written in 1681, but not publiſhed 'till 1704. III. *An Help and Exhortation to worthy communicating: or, a Treatiſe deſcribing the Manner, worthy Reception, Duty and Benefits, of the holy Sacrament: and anſwering the Doubts of Conſcience, and other Reaſons, which moſt generally detain Men from it. Together with ſuitable Devotions added.* Lond. 1683. 8vo. This book was the ſubſtance of ſome preparation ſermons to the Sacrament; which he preached within the firſt half-year after his coming to Coleſhill, and printed chiefly for the uſe of his pariſh (6). IV. *The Nature of Edification explained. A viſitation Sermon on* 1 *Cor.* xiv. 12, *preached at Coventry May the* 7*th,* 1684. Lond. 1684. 4to. V. *A funeral Sermon preached Oct.* 5, *for the right honourable the Lady Frances Digby, who deceaſed at Coles-hill* 29 *Sept.* 1684. *on Prov.* xiv. 32. Lond. 1684. 4to. VI *The Religious Loyaliſt, or, a good Chriſtian taught how to be a faithful Servant both to God and the King, in a Viſitation Sermon preached at Coles-hill in Warwickſhire, Aug.* 28, 1685. on Matt. xxii. 21. Lond. 1686, 4to. VII. *A Sermon preached at Coles-hill in Warwickſhire, Jan.* 24, 1685, *on occaſion of the death of the right honourable Simon Lord Digby: who deceaſed* 19 *January,* Lond. 1686. 4to. Theſe four Sermons were reprinted after his deceaſe, in 1696, together with, VIII. *Five Diſcourſes on ſo many very important Points of practical Religion,* 8vo. IX. *The Practical Believer: or, the Articles of the Apoſtles Creed, drawn out to form a true Chriſtian's Heart and Practice. In two parts. Part* I. *Of the Nature and Certainty of Chriſtian Faith, and the Knowledge of God: or, an Explication of the divine Attributes, and Providence. Part* II. *or, the Knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt.* Lond. 1689. 8vo. reprinted in 1713, with ſeveral additions; being the 3d edition.

(6) See Life, &c. p. 24, 25.

The following were written after his deprivation. X. *Of Chriſtian Prudence, or religious Wiſdom; not degenerating into irreligious Craftineſs in trying times.* Lond. 1691 8vo. XI. *Chriſtianity a Doctrine of the Croſs: or Paſſive Obedience under any pretended invaſion of legal Rights and Liberties.* Lond. 1691. 8vo. XII. *The Duty of Allegiance ſettled upon its true Ground, according to Scripture, Reaſon, and the Opinion of the Church. In anſwer to a late Book of Dr William Sherlock, Maſter of the Temple, intituled,* 'The Caſe of the 'Allegiance due to Sovereign Powers, ſtated, and re'ſolved, according to Scripture &c. with a more par'ticular Reſpect to the Oath lately injoined,' Lond. 1691. 8vo. XIII. *Of the new Oaths; againſt thoſe that take them in a lower ſenſe, and alſo thoſe that make their Concern for the publick Good a ſufficient Reaſon to diſcharge them from the Obligation of a former Oath of Allegiance,* never printed. XIV. *Of Chriſtian Communion, to be kept on in the unity of Chriſt's-Church, and*

among

happy in the friendſhip and intimacy of the truly good and pious Mr Robert Nelſon, with whom he concerted a 'model of a fund of Charity for the needy ſuffering [i. e. Non-juring] Clergy (k).' Mr Kettlewell was naturally of a tender and delicate frame of body, and inclined to a conſumption, which had like to have carried him off in the 12th year of his age (l). Being ſeized again with the ſame illneſs in the 42d year of his age, it confined him to his houſe ſix months, and to his chamber four days, and at laſt put an end to his valuable life, April 12, 1695, at his lodgings in Gray's-Inn-Lane (m). He was buried three days after, in the ſame grave where Archbiſhop Laud was before interred, in the parish church of All-hallows, Barking; where a neat marble monument is erected to his memory (n). Mr Nelſon, who knew him beſt, gives this character of him (o). 'He 'was learned without pride; wiſe and judicious without cunning; he ſerved at the altar 'without either coveteouſneſs or ambition; he was devout without affectation; ſincerely re-'ligious without moroſeneſs; courteous and affable without flattery or mean compliances; 'juſt without rigour; charitable without vanity; and heartily zealous for the intereſt of 'religion without faction.'

(k) Ibid. p. 162, &c.

(l) Ibid. p. 8, 184.

(m) Ibid. p. 176, &c.

(n) Life, &c. as above, p. 187.

(o) Preface to his Five Diſcourſes.

among the Profeſſors of Truth and Holineſs. And of the Obligations both of faithful paſtors, *to adminiſter orthodox and holy offices, and of* faithful people, *to communicate in the ſame, Fitted for perſecuted, or divided, or corrupt States of Churches; when they are either borne down by ſecular Perſecutions, or broken with* Schiſms, *or defiled with* ſinful Offices *and* Miniſtrations. *In Three Parts*, Lond. 1693. 4to. The preface is dated April 8th, 1692. XV. *A Companion for the Perſecuted: or an Office for thoſe who ſuffer for Righteouſneſs. Containing particular Prayers and Devotions for particular Graces, and for their private or publick Wants or Occaſions.* Lond 1694. 12mo. XVI. *A companion for the Penitent, and for Perſons troubled in mind. Conſiſting of an Office for the Penitent, to carry on their Reconciliation with God; and a Trial or Judgment of the Soul, for diſcovering the ſafety of their ſpiritual eſtate; and an office for Perſons troubled in Mind, to ſettle them in peace and comfort.* Lond. 1694 12mo. The dedication to the inhabitants and pariſhioners of Coleſhill, is dated from his houſe in London, January 23, 1693. XVII. *Death made comfortable: or the Way to die well. Conſiſting of directions for an holy and an happy Death. Together with an Office for the Sick; and for certain kinds of bodily Illneſs: and for dying Perſons: and proper Prayers upon the Death of Friends.* Lond. 1695. 8vo. XVIII. *An Office for Priſoners for Crimes, together with another for Priſoners for Debt. Containing proper Directions, and proper Prayers and Devotions, for each of their Needs and Circumſtances.* Written in 1694 (7), but not publiſhed 'till 1697 by Mr Nelſon, after the Author's death. XIX. *A model of a Fund of Charity for the needy, ſuffering Clergy.* Drawn up by Mr Kettlewell, in January 169⅔, and printed in the Appendix to his Life. No. 19. XX. *His Declaration and Profeſſion, at his receiving the holy Sacrament of the Lord's* Supper, March 23, 169⅔. Printed in half a ſheet of paper (8). All the aforeſaid printed Works were reprinted in 1710, in 2 volumes in folio.

(7) See his Life, as above, p. 257, 158.

(8) Reprinted in his Life, p. 171, &c.

C

KIDDER [RICHARD], a learned Biſhop of Bath and Wells, in the laſt century and beginning of this, was born, as one ſays (*a*), in Suſſex [*A*]; but, according to others (*b*), and more probably, in Suffolk. On the 5th of June 1649, he was admitted in Emmanuel College in Cambridge; where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1652, and that of Maſter in 1656 (*c*). July 13, 1658, he was incorporated at Oxford (*d*). By his College aforeſaid, he was preſented to the Vicarage of Stanground in Huntingdonſhire; from whence he was ejected for Nonconformity in 1662, by virtue of the Bartholomew-Act (*e*). But conforming ſoon after, he was preſented by Arthur Earl of Eſſex to the Rectory of Raine in Eſſex, to which he had inſtitution Octob. 29, 1664 (*f*). Here he continued, with great reputation and eſteem eſpecially for his knowledge of the Eaſtern languages, 'till the 24th of October, 1674, when he was admitted to the Rectory of St Martin's Outwich, London, to which he was preſented by the Merchant-Taylors Company (*g*). On the 16th of September 1681, he was inſtalled into a Prebend of Norwich, in the room of Dr Ezekias Burton, deceaſed (*h*). And being nominated, Octob. 6, 1689, to the Deanery of Peterburgh, was inſtalled the 30th of the ſame month (*i*). He then accumulated the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in Divinity (*k*); not having been Doctor in Divinity ſo early as the year 1681, as Mr Wood has aſſerted by miſtake (*l*). Upon the deprivation of Dr Ken, Biſhop of Bath and Wells, for not taking the oaths to King William and Queen Mary; and Dr Beveridge's refuſal of that See, Dr Kidder, to whom it was offered next, did not prove ſo ſcrupulous. Being therefore nominated thereto June 13, 1691, he was conſecrated the 30th of Auguſt following (*m*). In the year 1693, he preached the Lecture founded by the Hon. Robert Boyle [*B*], being the ſecond that preached it. He continued, as he had done before his promotion, to benefit the world by his excellent writings; the moſt conſiderable of which were, 'A Demonſtration of the Meſ-'ſias ; in three parts [*C*]. And, 'A Commentary on the five books of Moſes; with 'a Diſſertation concerning the Author, or Writer, of the ſaid books, and a general Ar-'gument to each of them [*D*].' An account of the reſt of his works is given in the note

(*a*) Wood, Faſti, edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 123.

(*b*) Supplement to Collier's Dictionary, under the article *Kidder.*

(*c*) From the College-regiſter.

(*d*) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Bp Kennet's Regiſter, &c. p. 853.

(*f*) Newcourt Repertor. Vol. II. p. 480.

(*g*) Idem, Vol. I. p. 414.

(*h*) J. Le Neve Faſti Eccleſ. Anglic. p. 227. and Wood Faſti, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) J. Le Neve, p. 241. and B. Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. Vol. II. p. 513.

(*k*) From the Univerſity-regiſter.

(*l*) Faſti, ut ſupra.

(*m*) J. Le Neve, ubi ſupra, p. 34.

[*A*] *In Suſſex*;] Browne Willis, Eſq; was informed, that he was born at Brighthelmſton in Suſſex. But doth not mention how authentic his information was (1).

(1) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. Vol. II. p. 513.

[*B*] *In 1693 he preached the Lecture founded by the Honourable Robert Boyle,*] The Sermons he preached on that occaſion, are inſerted in, and make part of, his Demonſtration of the Meſſias; being the 1ſt, 2d, and 3d Chapters of that excellent and learned Work.

[*C*] *A Demonſtration of the Meſſias* ; in three parts] The firſt was publiſhed in 1684; the ſecond in 1699; and the third in 1700. 8vo. It was reprinted in 1726. fol. 'Tis levelled againſt the Jews; and the learned Author makes in it an excellent uſe of his great knowledge of the Hebrew and other oriental languages.

[*D*] *A Commentary on the Five Books of Moſes*, &c.] He acquaints the Reader with the *Occaſion* of his undertaking that work, in the following words (2) 'Many years are now paſſed, ſince a conſiderable 'number of the Clergy of London met together, and 'agreed to publiſh ſome ſhort notes upon the whole

(2) Preface, p. 1.

'Bible

note below [E]. Through a moſt unhappy accident, in the night between the 26th and 27th of November 1703, (during the *Great Storm*) he was killed in his bed, with his lady, by the fall of a ſtack of chimneys, in his palace at Wells; and was privately buried in the Cathedral (n). He left iſſue two daughters: Suſan, married to Sir Richard Everard, Bart. of Langleys in Great Waltham, Eſſex; and Anne, which dying unmarried May 13, 1728, left 300l. for erecting a monument to her father's and mother's memory; which was done ſoon after. He was a very clear, elegant, and learned writer, and one of the beſt Divines in his time.

(n) Br. Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 513.

' Bible for the uſe of families, and of all thoſe well-diſpoſed perſons that deſired to read the holy ſcriptures to their greateſt advantage. At that meeting they agreed upon this worthy deſign, and took their ſeveral ſhares, and aſſigned ſome part to them, who were abſent I was not preſent at that meeting, but I was ſoon informed that they had aſſigned to me the Pentateuch. I was very ſenſible how great a taſk this would prove, and was ſufficiently conſcious of my own defects; yet I was willing to undertake it, becauſe I did always hope, that by yielding to it, I might incourage the labours of thoſe who would exceed whatever I was able to do. Upon this conſideration I did ſet about this work, and did often declare (and with great ſincerity) that this was the motive which did induce me. The work was begun with common conſent, we did frequently meet, and what was done was communicated from time to time to thoſe met together, and that were concerned. The methods of proceeding had been adjuſted, and agreed to; a ſpecimen was printed, and an agreement was made when it ſhould be put to the preſs; and I finiſhed my part in order thereunto. But ſo it fell out, that ſoon after all this, the clouds began to gather a-pace, and there was great ground to fear that the Popiſh party was attempting to ruin the Church of England, and that there was a ſevere ſtorm from that quarter lighting upon us.—[viz. in K. James the IId's reign.]—Hence it came to paſs, that the thoughts of purſuing the above-mentioned deſign were at preſent laid aſide; and thoſe that were concerned in it, were now obliged to turn their ſtudies and pens againſt that dangerous enemy. —— During this time alſo, ſome number of thoſe perſons, concerned in the above-mentioned work, were taken away by death: and thus the work was hindered, that might elſe have been finiſhed long ſince. —I having drawn up my Notes upon this occaſion, do now think myſelf obliged to make them publick, God having now diſperſed thoſe clouds that then hung over our heads. And I do it from the ſame motive that firſt induced me to undertake it; viz. that I might draw on others to do much better in the following books.' This Commentary was publiſhed at London in 1694. 2 vols 8vo. To the firſt volume is prefixed a learned Diſſertation, wherein the Biſhop ſets down, and anſwers, all the Objections made againſt Moſes being the Author of the Pentateuch. And having conſidered, among the reſt, one Objection drawn by Mr Le Clerc (3), from Geneſ. xxxvi. 31. and ſpoken in pretty ſevere terms of him; that occaſioned the paſſing of ſome letters between them, which were printed by Mr. Le Clerc, *in his Bibliotheque Choiſie*, Tom. iv. artic. 10. p. 364. &c.

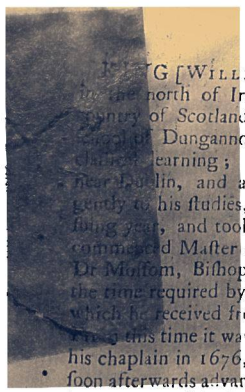
(3) In his Prolegomena to his Comment. on the Pentateuch.

[E] *An Account of the reſt of his works, &c.*] They are as follow, according to the order of time in which they were publiſhed. I. 'The Young Man's Duty. A Diſcourſe, ſhewing the Neceſſity of ſeeking the Lord betimes: as alſo the Danger and Unreaſonableneſs of truſting to a late, or death-bed Repentance. Deſigned eſpecially for young perſons, before they are debauched by evil Company, and evil Habits.' Lond. 1663. 12mo. The tenth edition of it was publiſhed in 1750. II. 'Convivium Coeleſte. A plain and familiar Diſcourſe concerning the Lord's Supper, ſhewing at once the Nature of that Sacrament, as alſo the right way of preparing ourſelves for receiving of it, &c.' Lond. 1674. 8vo. reprinted afterwards with additions. III. 'Charity directed: Or, the way to give Alms to the greateſt advantage. In a Letter to a Friend.' Lond. 1677. 8vo. IV. 'The Chriſtian Sufferer ſupported: Or, a Diſcourſe concerning the Grounds of Chriſtian Fortitude, ſhewing at once, that the Sufferings of good men are not inconſiſtent with God's Special Providence, &c.' Lond. 1680. V. He collected and communicated to the ingenious Mr Ray, the Hebrew Proverbs, that are added by way of Appendix to that induſtrious Gentleman's collection of Proverbs. VI. He publiſhed three ſeveral *Sermons*; 'A Diſcourſe concerning the Education of Youths: on Epheſ. i. 4. Lond 1673. A Sermon preached before the Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen at Guildhall chapel on July 11, 1682. The text is 1 Pet. iii 2. A Sermon preached at the funeral of Mr William Allen, the 17th of Auguſt 1686. on Heb. xiii. 4.' This Mr Allen was a citizen of London, and writ ten books, chiefly in defence of the Church of England, againſt the Anabaptiſts, Quakers, &c. 'A Sermon at the funeral of Thomas Pakeman, M. A. 1691. on Rev. xiv. 13. A Sermon on the Reſurrection.' Lond. 1694. Beſides which, he publiſhed in 1697, Twelve Sermons preached upon ſeveral occaſions; amongſt which is reprinted, 'The Judgment of private Diſcretion.' &c. which I ſhall preſently mention. VII. He writ the following *Tracts againſt Popery*: 'A ſecond Dialogue between a new Catholic Convert and a Proteſtant, ſhewing why he cannot believe the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, though he do firmly believe the Doctrine of the Trinity.' Lond. 1686. 4to. 'An Examination of Bellarmine's thirteenth Note of the Church, *Of the Confeſſion of Adverſaries*.' Lond. 1687. 4to. 'The Texts which Papiſts cite out of the Bible for the proof of their Doctrine, *Of the Sacrifice of the Maſs*, examined.' Part I. and II. Lond. 4to. He was aſſiſted in this laſt by Mr Gee. 'The Judgment of private Diſcretion in Matters of Religion defended; in a Sermon on 1 Theſſal. v. 21. preached at St. Paul's Covent-Garden, Feb. 23, 1686.' Lond. 1687. 4to. with a Preface. 'Reflections on a French Teſtament printed at Bordeaux, Ann. Dom. 1686. pretended to be tranſlated out of the Latin into French by the Divines of Louvain.' Lond. 1690. 4to.' The other things he publiſhed, were, VIII. Help for Children's underſtanding the Church-Catechiſm.' Lond. IX. 'Charge to the Clergy of his Dioceſe, at his primary Viſitation begun at Axebridge, June 2, 1692' Lond. 1692. 4to. In that elegant charge, he has this remarkable paſſage among many others.——'There is no man ſo vile as a profane Miniſter of Religion; He is of all the moſt abject, the moſt ſelf-condemned, and deſtitute of plea, and liable to the heavieſt plagues of another life. If the Religion he teacheth be *falſe* why does he commend it to his people? if *good* why does he not practiſe it? He muſt anſwer for the Souls he miſleads; their guilt will be required of him. Oh the miſchief of ſuch an example! it wounds many ſouls at once. It reproaches our Religion, undermines our Church, breeds Diſſenters, produceth open enemies to our order, our function, and conſtitution. Theſe men are the enemies of the Church of England, theſe are its aſſaſſinates, from theſe men ſhe hath received the moſt dangerous wounds and blemiſhes. Good God awaken us to a conſideration of our danger this way! That Church can never be ſecure whoſe pillars and ſupporters are weak and rotten (4).' X. He was alſo author of the Life of Dr Anthony Horneck.' Lond. 1698. 8vo.—And, after his deceaſe were publiſhed theſe two pieces. XI. 'A Diſcourſe concerning Sins of Infirmity, and wilful Sins, with another of Reſtitution.' 12mo. Compoſed, chiefly to be diſtributed amongſt the poorer inhabitants of his Dioceſe. The copy was ſent to the preſs, a very ſhort time before the dreadful Tempeſt, which put a *period* to his life (5). XII. 'Critical Remarks upon ſome difficult Paſſages of Scripture, in a Letter to Sir Peter King.' Lond. 1719. and 1725. 8vo.

(4) P. 9.

(5) Preface.

KING



KING [WILLIAM] Archbiſhop of Dublin (a), was born May 1, 1650, at Antrim in the north of Ireland, where his father had ſettled on his removal from his native country of Scotland ſome years before. At the age of 12 he was put to the grammar-ſchool of Dungannon, in the county of Tyrone, where he made a good proficiency in claſſical learning; and growing ripe for the univerſity, was removed to Trinity-college near Dublin, and admitted there on the 18th of April, 1667: Applying himſelf diligently to his ſtudies, he obtained a ſcholarſhip of the houſe, and a native's place the enſuing year, and took his firſt degree in arts in 1670. Whence proceeding regularly, he commenced Maſter of Arts three years afterwards, in 1673, and was ordained Deacon by Dr Moſtom, Biſhop of Derry, the ſame year. In this initiatory ſtate he continued for the time required by the Canons of the Church, and then advanced into Prieſts orders, which he received from the hands of Dr Parker, Archbiſhop of Tuam, April 26, 1674. From this time it was not long before he was taken into favour by that prelate, who made him his chaplain in 1676, collated him to a Prebend in the church of Tuam the ſame year, and ſoon afterwards advanced him to the dignity of Præcentor in the ſame cathedral. However, he did not reſide there a long time, for his patron being promoted to the See of Dublin, took care to remove this favourite to a ſituation near himſelf, with the firſt opportunity, and preferred him to the office of chancellor of the church of St Patrick, and the pariſh of St Warburgh, the Archbiſhop's peculiar in Dublin; into which he was inſtalled, October 29, 1679. He was now only in the 30th year of his age, yet he appeared equal to all the eccleſiaſtical honours conferred upon him. And in the next reign when Popery was ſo greatly encouraged by the Court, and carried her face ſo high, he entered the liſts againſt her pretenſions, and following the example of his brethren in the Engliſh Church, he undertook the Popiſh controverſy in Ireland in 1687, againſt the Dean of Londonderry, who had been lately reconciled to the Romiſh Religion [A]. This diſpute was continued in the beginning of 1688; and the Deanery of St Patrick's becoming vacant ſoon after by the Death of Dr Worth, our author during the vacancy was firſt conſtituted preſident of the chapter, and then by them elected Dean on the 26th of January the ſame year. This was much about the time that the Revolution took place in England, which being zealouſly eſpouſed by the Dean, he was very active in promoting the ſame eſtabliſhment in Ireland, both before and after the landing of King James there in 1689 (b), who being ſenſible of the weight of his oppoſition, confined him twice on that account in the tower of Dublin caſtle (c) [B]. This did not hinder him from proceeding Doctor of Divinity that

(a) Several particulars of this article may be ſeen in the tranſlation and continuation of Sir James Ware, *De Præſulibus & Scriptoribus Hiberniæ*, by Mr Harris, in two volumes folio.

(b) Several inſtances of this are inſerted in his *Hiſtory of the Proteſtants of Ireland*, &c. paſſim.

(c) Ibid. p. 246.

[A] *He had a diſpute upon Popery with the Dean of Derry.*] The diſpute was occaſioned by a pamphlet, which the Dean of Derry publiſhed in vindication of his conduct, intitled, *The Conſiderations which obliged* Peter Manby, *Dean of London-Derry, to embrace the Catholic Religion; humbly dedicated to his Grace the Lord Primate of Ireland.* This no ſooner came to Mr King's hands, than he drew up the following: *An Anſwer to the Conſiderations which obliged* Peter Manby, *late Dean of Londonderry, (as he pretends) to embrace what he calls the Catholic Religion.* Dublin, 1687, 4to. The fight of this piece brought the ableſt advocates of the Romiſh Church to the aſſiſtance of the Dean; and the Court likewiſe countenancing that ſide, there came out a reply, under this title: *A Reformed Catechiſm, in two Dialogues, concerning the Engliſh Reformation; collected, for the moſt part, Word for Word, out of Dr* Burnet, John Fox, *and other Proteſtant Hiſtorians, for the Information of the People; in Reply to Mr* William King's *Anſwer to D.* Manby's *Conſiderations, &c. by* Peter Manby, Dean of Londonderry. Dublin, 1687, in 4to. Our author ſoon rejoined, in *A Vindication of the Anſwer to the Conſiderations &c. being an Anſwer to the firſt Dialogue already printed of the Reformed Catechiſm.* Dublin, 1688, 4to. Here the controverſy in the direct way was dropped by the Dean, who, inſtead of that, took a more artful method, by diſperſing a ſheet of paper, with this title: *A Letter to a Friend, ſhewing the Vanity of this Opinion, that every Man's Senſe and Reaſon are to guide him in Matters of Faith. March* 30, 1688, 4to. But Mr King did not ſuffer this to paſs without confuting it, in *A Vindication of the Chriſtian Religion and Reformation, againſt the Attempts of a late Letter, pretending to ſhew, that All Religions have a like Plea, and that there can be no ſuch Sins as Hereſy and Schiſm, if every Man's Senſe and Reaſon are to guide him in Matters of Faith.* 1688, 4to.

[B] *He was confined in the tower of Dublin-Caſtle.*] We are told, that 'he was accuſed to King James, 'for holding a correſpondence with, and giving intel-'ligence to, the Rebels, as they were then called, 'both in England and in the North of Ireland. Par-'ticularly it is ſaid, that he gave frequent intelligence 'to Marſhal Schomberg by one Sherman, and kept a 'conſtant correſpondence with one Tollet and others 'in London. That though this was high-treaſon, 'which a bloody-minded tyrant, ſuch as he afterwards 'repreſented King James to be (1), would have found 'another remedy for it than a ſhort impriſonment; 'but the King was diſpoſed to ſhew him mercy, the 'rather, becauſe his Majeſty had once ſo good an opi-'nion of him, that he had him frequently in private, 'and truſted him in his affairs; and that the Lord-'Chief Juſtice Herbert vouched for him at the Coun-'cil-table with ſo much zeal, as to ſay, that he was 'as loyal a man as any that ſat at that board; which 'atteſtation actually retrieved him from ſome inconve-'niencies that then lay upon him [the impriſonment], 'and continued him ſome time longer in the King's 'good opinion (2).' The truth of theſe facts were apparently never conteſted by our author, who allows the good-nature and merciful diſpoſition of King James; but at the ſame time maintains, that this temper, amiable as it is in itſelf, was ſo managed, as to be no ſecurity to his Proteſtant ſubjects. That his partizans made it their buſineſs to repreſent their maſter as the moſt merciful and juſteſt Prince in the world, and then railed at the Proteſtants for their miſtruſt of him. Perhaps, if he alone had been to have had the diſpoſal of their lives and liberties, and would have followed his natural inclinations, they would not have ſo much feared to have truſted him; but while he had ſuch miniſters about him, and embraced a religion of ſuch principles as he profeſſed, there was no room to depend much on his natural clemency or inclination, ſince theſe were ſufficient to corrupt the beſt natured man in the world, and had actually corrupted his Majeſty, as was evident from the whole tenour of his conduct with regard to the Proteſtants, of which he gives ſeveral inſtances both before and after his acceſſion to the throne. Among others, taking notice of the King's declaration, that *he would have all that did eat his bread to be of his own religion*, and accordingly, that if he ever employed a Proteſtant, it was for a colour only to his proceedings againſt them, or becauſe he could not find a Papiſt fit for their places, or becauſe he believed that in time he might make proſelytes of them; he obſerves, that 'where he did em-'ploy them, though their places were conſiderable, 'yet

(1) See our author's State of the Proteſtants in Ireland, &c. chap. iii.

(2) Anſwer to the State of the Proteſtants in Ireland, &c. by Charles Leſley, p. 5 and 8. Lond. 1692, 4to.

that year; and though he was attacked not long after in a weekly paper, called the *Abhorrence* [C], with a deſign to render him more obnoxious to the Court; yet he managed ſo prudently as to fruſtrate that attempt; but he did not eſcape being aſſaulted in the ſtreet, where a muſquet with a lighted match was levelled at him. He was alſo diſturbed in the performance of divine ſervice at his church ſeveral times, particularly on Candlemas-Day this year, when ſeven officers who were there, ſwore aloud they would cut his throat (*d*). Upon King James's retreat to France after the Battle of the Boyne, in the enſuing year 1690, the 16th of November being appointed a thankſgiving-day for the preſervation of King William's perſon, the Dean preached the ſermon on that occaſion at St Patrick's, Dublin; and on the 8th of January following, he was nominated to the Biſhoprick of Derry, and conſecrated on the 25th of that month, at the cathedral of Chriſt-church in Dublin, by Francis, Archbiſhop of that ſee, aſſiſted by Anthony Biſhop of Meath, William Biſhop of Kildare, and Narciſſus Biſhop of Fernes and Leighlin. A few months after this, he publiſhed a piece in vindication of the reſiſtance given to King James by the Proteſtants in Ireland, and of their ſubmiſſion to King William

(*d*) Id. ibid. and p. 247.

' yet they never had the intereſt with him, or power ' proper to their places, but were meer cyphers in it. ' Thus, continues he, Sir *Edward Herbert* was made ' Chancellor of *England*, and a new Great-Seal cut ' for him; but he was never allowed to have that in- ' tereſt with the King, nor had his Majeſty that re- ' gard for him in Councils, that his place required. ' The puny Papiſt Judges had more influence on the ' King, and could make bolder with him than he; ' that he was not admitted to the ſecret of affairs at ' all, and at the public Councils he was ſet below ' *Fitton* Chancellor of Ireland, and ſeveral others, ' whom, as Chancellor of England, and in his maſter's ' preſence, he ought to have preceded (3).' A remark, ſo much in favour of Sir Edward Herbert, who is hereby *fingled out* from many others, as a moſt flagrant example of thoſe that were ill uſed, notwithſtanding their ſteady loyalty, makes it more than probable, that his anſwering at the Council-Board for that of our author was by him not diſapproved. On the contrary, we ſhall ſee preſently, that Dr King was one of thoſe Proteſtants, who always declared their abhorrence of any inſurrection againſt the government, prudently avoiding all unſeaſonable and hopeleſs provocation thereof.

(3) State of the Proteſtants in Ireland, p. 52. third edition.

[C] *He was attacked in a weekly paper called the Abhorrence*] This paper was licenſed either by Mr Richard Nagle or Alſbeville, Secretaries of State *, and wrote by one Yalden, a Convert-Counſellor at Law, who made it his buſineſs to rake together all the little ſtories that might reflect on Proteſtants, and all the arguments his wit could furniſh for his cauſe; and in the ſcarcity of truth, he frequently invented falſe ſtories and lies concerning the Clergy, and began with Dr King and Dr Foy. He had publiſhed a collection of paſſages out of the Biſhop of Ely's [Dr Turner's] ſermon, and ſome ſixteen others, for Paſſive Obedience; which lying on the Bookſeller's hands, he printed the following advertiſement in his *Abhorrence*. ' There was lately publiſhed, by John Yalden, Eſq; ' the ſubſtance of fifteen ſermons, intituled, *An Ab- ' horrence from the Biſhop of* Ely, &c. *of the Proceedings ' of the Prince of* Orange, *and the Lords, &c. that in- ' vited him.* But ſome Proteſtants believing the ſaid ' book to be a Popiſh contrivance, and that ſuch doc- ' trines as were therein were never preached by the ' Divines there named; upon which † a gentleman of ' quality, to ſatisfy theſe doubts, applied himſelf to ' two reverend Divines of this city, viz. Dr King and ' Dr Foy; who both certified under their hands, that ' the doctrines contained in the ſaid book were honeſt, ' and true Chriſtian Divinity, and obliging to all ' Chriſtians to put immediately in practice, upon the ' peril of their ſalvation. Which certificate ſatisfied ' ſeveral Proteſtants here, and confirmed them in an ' unchangeable loyalty.'

* Ibid. p. 251, 252.

† It ſhou'd be, thereupon.

This paper coming to the hands of our author, occaſioned the following letter from him to Dr Foy:

' Reverend Sir, March 8, 1689.

' I intended to have waited upon you this afternoon, ' but found myſelf ſo indiſpoſed, that I durſt not ven- ' ture abroad. I have been made ſenſible, that the ' publiſher of the *Weekly Abhorrence* has made uſe of ' your name and mine: and affirms, that we have cer- ' tified under our hands, that the doctrines contained ' in a book publiſhed by one John Yalden, Eſq; con- ' taining a *Collection of the Subſtance of fifteen Sermons, ' were honeſt and true Chriſtian Divinity, and obliging ' to all Chriſtians to put immediately in practice, upon ' the peril of their ſalvation.* And he intimates, that ' this certificate has been ſhewn to ſeveral Proteſtants ' here. Sir, for my own part, I do profeſs, that I ' never read the aforeſaid book, nor did any gentle- ' man of quality (as he affirms) ever apply himſelf to ' me, to ſatisfy him *in* any doubts concerning it, that ' I remember. I am ſure never any body demanded ' a certificate from me concerning it; nor did I ever ' ſign any ſuch certificate as he pretends, or any thing ' like it: and therefore that whole advertiſement (as ' far as it concerns me) is abſolutely falſe and ground- ' leſs. If any one had aſked me concerning that col- ' lection, I could have given him no other anſwer, ' than that I had neither read it, nor the ſermons out ' of which it is ſuppoſed to be taken: perhaps the ' collection may be juſt, and no harm in certifying it ' to be ſo: but I am ſure there is a great deal of harm, ' in forging a certificate under a man's hand, whatever ' the matter be that is certified: and if there be no ' ſuch certificate, forged or real, it is no leſs criminal to ' publiſh to the world (as in this *Abhorrence*) that there ' is one. I cannot imagine to what purpoſe the pub- ' liſher ſhould have inſerted ſuch an eaſily detected ' falſehood, which he could not expect ſhould eſcape ' being diſcovered; except he had a mind to deſtroy ' both his own credit, and likewiſe that of the collec- ' tion. Pray, Sir, if you know any thing of this matter, ' communicate it to

Your moſt humble ſervant,

WILLIAM KING.

To the Rev Dr Nath. Foy, theſe,

To this Dr Foy returned the following anſwer.

Reverend Sir,

' What you were pleaſed to acquaint me with, ' ſeveral gentlemen, who were concerned for me, gave ' me notice of ſome few hours before: upon which I ' immediately repaired to the coffee-houſe (the likelieſt ' place, as I judged, to find a lye if it were ſtirring) ' where I ſaw myſelf in print; of which, though I ' could not imagine what ſhould be the ground, yet ' ſince it was reſolved it ſhould be ſo, I was glad to ' be found with ſo good company as yourſelf. Had ' the gentleman, among other things in his *Abhorrence*, ' but abhorred untruth, I am ſure my name had never ' appeared in his *advertiſement:* for I declare, I never ' read the book mentioned therein; and I judge, I ' ſhall not be very fond of reading any thing that comes ' from under his hand; having given ſuch a taſte to ' the world of his abilities in writing and collecting ' other mens ſenſes, that it is to be doubted whether ' he has yet well collected his own: whoſe collection, ' as I never read, ſo have I never received any account ' of the contents of it; nor did any perſon ever re- ' quire a certificate from me, or my judgment of that ' collection, or the ſermons ſaid to be in it: nor did I ' ever give any certificate, or my judgment, to any ' perſon unrequired. This is all I know of the matter, ' or of the Gentleman's collection. It may be a faith- ' ful one for ought I know, but certainly he has not

' taken

[illegible] and Queen Mary [D]; which was followed by another *Thankſgiving Sermon for King William's Succeſs in reducing that Kingdom.* This was printed in 1692; and the ſame year, there coming out *An Anſwer to his Vindication of the Proteſtants*, &c. he thought proper to take no public notice of it * [E]. In 1693, he was appointed one of the royal Viſitors

* About this time he made ſome remarks upon Mr Locke's *Eſſay on Human Underſtanding*, and communicated them to Mr Molyneux, who had ſent him a copy of the firſt edition of the *Eſſay*. Letters between Mr Locke and ſeveral of his friends, p. 4.

[illegible] the beſt method to aſſert the reputation of it, or his own, ſince he muſt give leave with them, who are as ignorant of his perſon and collection as I am, to ſuſpect, that he who can find a certificate in Dublin that never was written, may find a ſermon in London that never was printed. This, Sir, I thought was due, as a return to your's, which I kindly reſent, and requeſt you to believe, that I am,

Your faithful friend and humble ſervant,

NATHANIEL FOY (4).

(4) This, in the appendix, No. 26.

For the Rev. Dr Will. King, theſe.

These letters being ſpread about the city, every body came to know the matter of fact as contained therein; by which means, concerning themſelves much in the matter, they both avoided the ſnare that was laid to entrap them, either by letting it paſs in abſolute ſilence, or by diſowning it and refuting the calumny.

[D] *A vindication of the reſiſtance given to King James, &c.*] This piece is intituled, *The ſtate of the Proteſtants of Ireland under the late King James's government; in which their carriage towards him is juſtified, and the abſolute neceſſity of their endeavouring to be freed from his government, and of ſubmitting to their preſent majeſties is demonſtrated* (5). The general plan of this treatiſe is as follows: he begins with ſtating the limits of the duty of paſſive obedience, wherein he follows the opinion of Grotius, that reſiſtance is allowable in caſes of neceſſity, and that this neceſſity commences when it becomes certain and apparent, that the inconveniencies of ſubmiſſion are greater to the commonwealth, than thoſe of a civil war, which it is entered into to remove, and then there needs no more to juſtify the Proteſtants of Ireland for deſerting King James, and accepting their Majeſties protection, than to ſhew, 1. That it is lawful for one Prince or ſtate to interpoſe between another Prince and his ſubjects, who uſes them cruelly, or endeavours to enſlave or deſtroy them, and to reſcue them from his hands even by a war, if other means prove ineffectual: and that it is lawful for the ſubjects to accept of ſuch interpoſition and protection, if they can find no better way to preſerve themſelves. 2. That King James deſigned to deſtroy and utterly ruin the Proteſtant religion, the liberty and property of the ſubjects in general, the Engliſh intereſt in Ireland in particular, and alter the very frame and conſtitution of the government. 3. That he not only deſigned but attempted it with great ſucceſs, and made a conſiderable progreſs in it. 4. That there remained no other proſpect, or human poſſibility of avoiding this ſlavery and deſtruction deſigned againſt the kingdom and proteſtants of Ireland, but by accepting of the protection, and ſubmitting to the government of their preſent Majeſties. It is evident from this plan, that the force of the argument depends upon the ſufficiency and truth of the facts to prove the ſecond and third branches of it. (6) The large collection our author has made of theſe, ſhews him to have been very diligent in his enquiries, moſt of them being ſo well atteſted as to put the truth thereof beyond all contradiction. And with regard to the whole he concludes in theſe words; 'Here I do ſolemnly proteſt, that no private diſſatisfaction, that no ill-will to King James's perſon, nor prejudice againſt any body, has moved me to ſay what I have ſaid; but that I might vindicate ourſelves by ſpeaking truth in a matter that ſo nearly concerned us, both in our temporal and eternal intereſt. And I muſt likewiſe proteſt before God, who will judge between us and our enemies in this point, that I have not aggravated the calamities we have ſuffered, nor miſrepreſented the proceedings againſt us out of favour or affection to a party; but have rather told things nakedly and in general, than inſiſted on ſuch particulars as might ſeem to ſerve no other purpoſe, but to make our adverſaries odious.' In proceeding he appeals to a future inquiſition to be made upon the oaths of eye-witneſſes and ſufferers, which he alſo propoſes as a thing much to be wiſhed for by the Proteſtants, as being well aſſured, that if ſuch commiſſions were iſſued by the proper authority into the ſeveral counties, that the treatment which the Proteſtants underwent, and the damages they ſuffered, would appear with a much worſe face than he had repreſented it, and that where one ſtory might happen undeſignedly to be aggravated, twenty worſe will be added to ſupply it. 'There is not, continues he, a 'a more neceſſary or effectual means can be taken for 'clearing the Proteſtants in this kingdom, or juſtifying 'the ſtate in their proceeding againſt the Iriſh: and 'we are ready and willing to ſtand or fall in the cenſure of the world by this plea, according as on the 'proof of particulars by ſufficient evidence, the truth 'ſhall appear:' to this we ſhall venture to add the following remark, as being ſuggeſted by the peruſal of the book. It has been often ſaid, that King James defeated his own views by proceeding too faſt even againſt the rules of ordinary policy in England; however that be, 'tis certain his miſcarriage in England was of no ſervice in teaching him that leſſon for his uſe in reſpect to Ireland; ſince nothing can be more notoriouſly manifeſt, as appears from this account, than that his conduct there was puſhed on with a ſtill greater degree of violence (7).

(5) This treatiſe was ſo well received by the public, that a third edition was printed in 1692. And Biſhop Burnet obſerves, that it was univerſally acknowledged to be as truly as it was finely written; and refers to it, as a full and faithful account. Hiſt. of his own Time, Vol. I.

(6) Accordingly, theſe two chapters fill up all, from p. 13 to p. 252. after which, chap. iv. is diſpatched in three pages, and ends at p. 255.

(7) Vindication, p. 269, 270.

[E] *An anſwer to his vindication of the Proteſtants.*] The famous Mr Charles Leſley was the author of the piece, which he called *An anſwer to a book intituled, The ſtate of the Proteſtants in Ireland*, &c. Upon the ſubject of Paſſive Obedience, which is laid for the foundation of our author's defence, he endeavours to ſhew, that Dr King, as well as many others, had taken care to ſtate the limits of that doctrine ſo as to ſuit the times and occaſions: that no man was, or could be, a higher aſſerter of it than 'the Doctor had been all 'his life before the Revolution took place; and that 'even at the beginning of it, he told a perſon of honour, 'from whoſe mouth Mr Leſley had it, that if the 'Prince of Orange came over for the crown, or ſhould 'accept of it, he prayed God might blaſt all his deſigns. That there was no way to preſerve the honour 'of our religion, but by adhering unalterably to our 'loyalty. That it would be a glorious ſight to ſee a 'a cart full of clergymen going to the ſtake for paſſive 'obedience as the primitive Chriſtians did. That 'it would prove the ſupport and glory of our religion; 'but that a rebellion would ruin and diſgrace it; he 'ſaid, continues Mr Leſley, that if it were no more 'than that declaration, which he had ſubſcribed of its 'not being lawful, on any pretence whatſoever, to 'take arms againſt the King, he would die a hundred 'deaths rather than do it. And in ſupport of this 'aſſertion, he proceeds to relate the following ſtory, 'that at a meeting of the clergy of Dublin in the beginning of the Revolution in 1688, to conſider what 'meaſures they were to take, Dr King declared, *that 'their taking arms in the north of Ireland at that time, 'was rank rebellion, if there could be any rebellion, 'particularly Derry ſhutting their gates againſt the 'King's forces ſent thither*; and when one there preſent 'affirmed, that the ſubjects might take arms in defence of their laws, &c. The Doctor violently oppoſed 'it, even in relation to Derry, and urged, that the 'Bp of Derry, Hopkins, who was then there, did 'proteſt againſt their ſhutting out the King's forces, 'and refuſed to join with thoſe who did it; for which, 'and other reaſons then given by Dr King, he was 'againſt any perſon's going to the north, or joining 'with them, as being a joining in a rebellion (8).' Every one ſees the rancorous ſpirit of party in this account of Mr Leſley; and indeed the ſame ſpirit ſhews itſelf at the firſt ſetting out of his anſwer, where he tells us, that 'Dr King's book is calculated for the deſtruction of mankind, by ſetting up ſuch principles 'as countenance eternal rebellions, and afford pretences for war and confuſion to the end of the world, 'and makes ſettlement and peace impracticable among 'men (9).' But neither on the other hand muſt it be denied, that our author has ſometimes not been ſufficiently upon his guard againſt the ſuggeſtions of the ſame

(8) Leſley's anſwer, p. 113.

(9) Ibid, p. 2.

(e) The other two Commiſſioners were Anthony Biſhop of Meath and Capel Biſhop of Dromore.

Viſitors of the Biſhop of Down and Connor, when that prelate was ſuſpended by them (e). The public tranquillity being now perfectly reſtored, his Lordſhip applied himſelf more particularly to the immediate duties of the paſtoral care; and reviewing the ſtate of his dioceſe, he preſently diſcovered, that, by the great number of colonies lately tranſported from Scotland, the major part of the people in the dioceſe of Derry were Diſſenters from the eſtabliſhed Church, which they oppoſed with as much zeal as the Papiſts: ſo that the danger in theſe parts of Ireland was not taken away by the new ſettlement, but only ſhifted into different hands. Hereupon, as he had employed his pen againſt Popery, when the danger to

(10) See §. 6. Part i. Append. III. where he intimates, that King James ſuffered the Engliſh Navy to go to ruin; which he endeavours to excuſe in the third edition, p. 93.

(11) Leſley's Anſwer, p. 105.

ſame evil ſpirit (10). We are told, 'tis true that our author at the time of his death had atteſted vouchers of every particular fact alledged in his book, and that theſe are ſtill in the hands of his relations. However, it is certain, that he does not even himſelf always give intire credit to the teſtimony of theſe vouchers; yet his antagoniſt has notoriouſly overcharged this part of his accuſation, when he tells us, that with regard to matters of fact, 'tho' he could not ſay that he had examined 'into every ſingle one related by our author, not having 'the opportunity of doing it. But, ſays he, I am ſure 'I have the moſt material, and by theſe you will eaſily 'judge of his ſincerity in the reſt, which could not all 'come to my knowledge. However, this I can ſay, 'that there is not one I have enquired into, but I have 'found it falſe in *whole* or in *part*, *aggravated* or '*miſrepreſented*, ſo as to alter the whole face of the 'ſtory, and give it perfectly another air and turn; inſomuch, that tho' many things he ſays were true, 'yet he has hardly ſpoke a true word, that is told 'truly and nakedly, without a warp (11).' In reality, as to our author's principles, as far as they may be conjectured from what is ſeen in this treatiſe, he ſeems to have run with the ſtream of the clergy, in diſapproving the bill of excluſion and the principle of reſiſtance on which it was built. In this opinion he carried the meaſures of obedience to the ſame unlimited degree as was generally preached up in the reign of King Charles II. and before the Revolution. To this purpoſe we find him obſerving, that 'when the Prince of 'Orange made his deſcent into England, King James 'had an army of Papiſts in Ireland, conſiſting of be'tween ſeven and eight thouſand men, of which near 'four thouſand were ſent over to him into England; 'there remained then about four thouſand behind, 'ſcattered up and down the kingdom, which were 'but a handful to the Proteſtants, there being men 'and arms enough in Dublin alone to have dealt with 'them: when therefore the news came, that King 'James had ſent commiſſioners to treat with the Prince, 'it was propoſed by ſome to ſeize the caſtle of Dublin, 'where the ſtores of arms and ammunition lay; the 'poſſibility of this was demonſtrated, and the ſucceſs 'extremely probable, inſomuch, that the perſons who 'offered to undertake it made no doubt of effecting it. 'They conſidered that the Papiſts, beſides the four 'thouſand of the army were generally without arms, 'that thoſe who were in arms were raw and cowardly, 'and might eaſily be ſuppreſt; that to do it effectually, 'there needed no more but to ſeize the Deputy Tyr'connel, who had not then above ſix hundred men in 'the city to guard him and ſecure it; that their hearts 'were generally ſunk, and they openly declared them'ſelves deſirous to lay down their arms; propoſing to 'themſelves no other conditions, but to return to that 'ſtation in which they were when King James came to 'the crown. This was ſo univerſally talked of by 'themſelves, that if any one could have aſſured them 'of theſe terms, there was no doubt but they would 'have readily complied, and have left the Lord Tyr'connel to ſhift for himſelf; nay, it is probable, the 'wiſer ſort among them would have been glad that 'the Proteſtants had ſeized him; and he himſelf com'manded ſome Proteſtants to ſignify to their friends in 'England, that he was willing to part with the ſword 'on theſe terms, ſo he might have leave to do it from 'King James.' *But the Proteſtants had been educated in ſuch a mighty veneration to the very name of authority, and in ſo deep a ſenſe of loyalty, that notwithſtanding the many provocations given them, and their fear of being ſerved as in* 1641, *the memory of which was ſtill freſh to them, they yet abhorred any thing that looked like an inſurrection againſt the government, and generally condemned the deſign of meddling with the Lord Deputy, tho' they knew he was no legal governor, and uncapable (as a Papiſt) by the law of that truſt.* Eſpecially the Lord Mountjoy laboured for his ſafety, and prevented the forementioned propoſal of ſeizing him and the caſtle with as much induſtry, as if he himſelf had been to periſh in it. *The truth is, it was an unanimous reſolution of all the Proteſtants of the kingdom, that they would not be the aggreſſors, and they held ſteadily to their reſolution; none offered or attempted any thing, 'till they ſaw the whole body of the Papiſts in Ireland forming themſelves into troops and companies, and theſe new raiſed men permitted, nay put under a neceſſity to rob and plunder for their ſubſiſtence. They pitied the hard fortune of King James, and notwithſtanding they were half ruined themſelves when he came into the kingdom, yet if he had carried himſelf with any tolerable moderation towards them, and his deſigns to ruin them had not been ſo apparent, he might have prevailed on them in a great meaſure* (12). He proceeds to ſhew, that the change of behaviour in the Proteſtants was no more than the neceſſary effect of that King's deſigns to ruin them actually carried into execution; and among other things, he ſuggeſts, that 'all King 'James's promiſes and declarations in favour of the 'Proteſtants, were perfectly copied from the French 'King's declarations to preſerve the edict of Nantz, 'and of as little ſincerity; and that notwithſtanding 'theſe he had as fully determined the ruin of the Pro'teſtants, as that King had reſolved the avoiding the 'edict of Nants, when he made his ſolemn declara'tions to the contrary (13).' Again, 'the preſent 'French King is a demonſtration, that neither love of 'glory, nor of intereſt, neither greatneſs of mind nor 'goodneſs of nature, are antidotes againſt the force of 'the Roman principles, or can reſtrain the Prince that 'has thoroughly imbibed them from blood and perſe'cution. Otherwiſe he would never have made him'ſelf infamous by ſuch horrid cruelties as he has com'mitted on his Proteſtant ſubjects, or blot an indelible 'blot on a reign which he would fain have repre'ſented to be more glorious than any of his predeceſ'ſors (14).' In anſwer to this, Mr Leſley acknowledges the fact of the French King Lewis XIV's conduct with the Huguenots and defends it, but is ſo far from allowing that King James had learned this leſſon, and copied from that monarch, that he loſt his crown by not doing it. 'His [the French King's] baniſhing 'the Huguenots, ſays he, and dragooning others to 'work them into another religion, does indeed, and 'juſtly, eclipſe his glory with thoſe who know not the 'true grounds and motives which induced him to me'thods ſo rigid and ſevere. But *his very enemies, who 'know the reaſons he had for it, do even in this excuſe 'him, and turn it into an argument of his wiſe foreſight and prudence. They tell you, that he was under 'an invincible neceſſity of being rid of theſe men, or 'hazarding ſuch a revolution as befel King James* (15). Our author ſtrongly maintains alſo the perfect union of King James with the French King in the general deſign of extirpating hereſy. 'Is not, ſays he, our late 'King's being of the ſame principles, and under the 'government of the ſame director of conſcience? Is 'not this fondneſs of France, and his alliance with it, 'his affecting to imitate the King in every thing, and 'above all his proſecuting the ſame, if not worſe me'thods, towards the Proteſtants in Ireland, that the 'King of France did with the Huguenots in his domi'nions; a clear and full proof of both Kings being 'in the ſame deſign, and that we muſt all have ex'pected the ſame uſage our brethren met with in 'France (61).' In anſwer to this, Leſley declares with the like ſpirit, that 'the Jacobites think themſelves for ever 'obliged to acknowledge with all gratefulneſs the noble and generous reception he has given King James in his diſtreſs, which as no King in Europe was able to have done but himſelf, ſo none but he could have done it in ſuch a manner, with that greatneſs and every punctilio of honour (17).'

(12) State of the Proteſtants in Ireland, &c. p. 110, 111.

(13) Ibid. p. 20.

(14) Ibid. p. 32.

(15) Anſwer to a Book, intituled, The State of the Proteſtants, in the preface.

(16) Ibid. p. 16.

(17) Preface to an Anſwer, &c.

to the Church in general was imminent from that quarter; ſo the ſame regard induced him to take it up again in her preſervation now, that he became ſenſible how much on the other ſide her borders were retrenched by the Preſbyterian Fanatics in his particular diſtrict. In this view he ſet himſelf to bring theſe over to a conformity to the eſtabliſhed liturgy, in a piece which he publiſhed under the title of, *The Inventions of* Men *in the Worſhip of* God. Printed at Dublin, 1694, in 4to. But, inſtead of perſwading them to a compliance, the attempt only ſerved to engage him in a ſecond controverſy with theſe ſeparating adverſaries; one of whoſe miniſters preſently drew up *Remarks on a late* Diſcourſe *of William Lord Biſhop of Derry*, concerning the Inventions of Men in the Worſhip of God. Dublin, 1694, 4to. In this piece, Mr Joſeph Boyſe, the author, acknowledged, that the Biſhop's 'Diſcourſe was written with an air of ſerioufneſs and gravity, 'becoming the weight of the ſubject as well as the dignity of his character.' Whereupon his Lordſhip returned an anſwer, under the title of, *An Admonition to the Diſſenting Inhabitants of the Dioceſe of Derry, concerning a Book lately publiſhed by Mr* J. B. *intituled*, Remarks, &c. *from* William *Lord Biſhop of that Dioceſe*. Dublin, the ſame year, in 4to. To this Mr Boyſe replied, in *A Vindication of the* Remarks, &c. Dublin, 1695, 4to. And the Biſhop rejoined, in *A Second Admonition to the Diſſenting Inhabitants*, &c. publiſhed the ſame year at Dublin in 4to. Here the conteſt ended, having, as uſual, produced very little, if any, good effect at all. And, from conſidering the waywardneſs of man, our author turned his thoughts to view the myſterious ways of God in his providential government of the world. The problem concerning *the Origin of evil* had employed the ſharpeſt wits both of former and latter ages, and ſtill remained a problem, at a great diſtance from having received any ſatisfactory ſolution. This moſt arduous intricacy our author thought worthy therefore of his utmoſt attention. Accordingly, he ſet himſelf to the taſk, with a reſolution in ſome meaſure equal to the difficulty; and, after the moſt diligent inquiry, having in his judgment penetrated up to the fountain-head, by firſt diſcovering and then proceeding in a new way to it, he preſented the public with the fruit of his pains, in his celebrated treatiſe, *De Origine Mali*, *authore* Gulielmo King, S. T. D. *Epiſcopo Derenſi*. Dublin. 1702, 4to. It was republiſhed the ſame year at London in 8vo. and a general view of his ſcheme may be ſeen below [*F*]. Our author therein

[*F*] *An account of his ſcheme*] This is as follows: '(1.) All creatures are neceſſarily imperfect, and at an 'infinite diſtance from the perfection of the Deity, and 'if a negative principle were to be admitted, ſuch as 'the *privation* of the *Peripatetics*, it might be ſaid, 'that every created being conſiſts of exiſtence and non-'exiſtence, for it is nothing in reſpect both of thoſe 'perfections which it wants, and of thoſe which others 'have. And this defect, or, as we may ſay, mixture 'of non-entity, in the conſtitution of created Beings, 'is the neceſſary principle of all natural evils, and of 'a poſſibility of moral ones; as will appear in the ſe-'quel. (2.) An equality of perfection in the creatures 'is impoſſible, as our adverſaries allow; to which we 'may add, neither would it be ſo convenient to place all 'in the ſame ſtate of perfection. (3.) It is agreeable to 'divine wiſdom and goodneſs to have created not only 'the more perfect beings, but alſo the moſt imperfect, 'ſuch as matter; ſo long as they are better than no-'thing, and no impediment to the perfect ones. '(4.) Admitting matter and motion, there neceſſarily 'follows compoſition and diſſolution of bodies, that is 'generation and corruption which ſome may look upon 'as defects in the divine work; and yet it is no objec-'tion to his goodneſs or wiſdom, to create ſuch things 'as are neceſſarily attended with thoſe evils. Allow-'ing therefore God to be infinitely powerful, good, 'and wiſe, yet it is manifeſt that ſome evils, viz. ge-'neration and corruption, and the neceſſary conſe-'quences of theſe might have place in his works; and 'if even one evil could ariſe without the ill principle, 'why not many? And if we knew the nature and cir-'cumſtances of all things, as well as we do thoſe of 'matter and motion, it may be preſumed, that we 'could account for them without any imputation of 'the divine attributes. For there is the ſame reaſon 'for them all, and one inſtance to the contrary de-'ſtroys an univerſal propoſition. (5.) It is not incon-'ſiſtent with the divine attributes to have created ſome 'ſpirits or thinking ſubſtances, which are dependent 'on matter and motion in their operations, and being 'united to matter, may both move their bodies, and 'be affected with certain paſſions and ſenſations by 'their motion, and ſtand in need of a certain diſpoſi-'tion of organs for the proper exerciſe of their think-'ing faculty, ſuppoſing the number of thoſe that are 'quite ſeparate from matter, to be as complete as the 'ſyſtem of the whole univerſe would admit, and that 'the lower order is no inconvenience to the higher. '(6.) It can't be conceived, but that ſome ſenſations 'thus excited by matter and motion ſhould be diſagree-'able, and tend to diſſolve the union between ſoul 'and body, as well as others agreeable. For it is 'impoſſible, as well as inconvenient, that the ſoul 'ſhould feel itſelf to be loſing its faculty of thinking, 'which alone can make it happy and not be affected 'with it. Now diſagreeable ſenſation is to be rec-'koned among natural evils, which yet cannot be 'avoided without removing ſuch kind of animals out 'of nature. If any one aſk why ſuch a law of union 'was eſtabliſhed? let this be his anſwer, becauſe there 'could be no better. For ſuch a neceſſity as this flows 'from the very nature of the union of things, and 'conſidering the circumſtances and conditions, under 'which, and which only, they could have exiſtence, 'they could neither be placed in a better ſtate, nor be 'governed by more commodious laws. Thoſe evils 'therefore are not inconſiſtent with the divine attri-'butes, provided that the creatures which are ſubject 'to them enjoy ſuch benefits as overbalance them. It 'is to be obſerved alſo, that theſe evils do not pro-'perly ariſe from the exiſtence which God gave to the 'creatures; but from hence, that they had not more 'of exiſtence given them, which nevertheleſs their 'ſtate and the place they fill in the great machine of 'the world could not admit. This mixture therefore 'of non-exiſtence, ſupplies the place of an ill principle 'in the origin of evil, as was ſaid before. (7.) The 'happineſs and perfection of every thing or agent, 'ariſes from the due exerciſe of thoſe faculties which 'God has given it; and the more faculties and per-'fections any thing has, it is capable of the greater 'and more perfect happineſs. (8.) The leſs dependent 'on external things, the more ſelf-ſufficient any agent 'is; and the more it has the principle of its actions in 'itſelf, it is ſo much the more perfect. Since there-'fore we may conceive two ſorts of agents, one 'which does not act, unleſs impelled and determined 'by external force; the other, which have the prin-'ciple of action within themſelves, and can determine 'themſelves to action by their natural power, it is plain 'that the latter are much more perfect than the for-'mer. Nor can it be denied, but that God may 'create an agent with ſuch a power as this, which 'exerts itſelf into action without either the concourſe 'of God, or the determination of external cauſes, ſo 'long as God by a general concourſe preſerves the exi-'ſtence, powers, and faculties of that agent. (9.) Such 'an

* Mois de Mai & Juin, 1703.

therein makes it his buſineſs to ſhew, how all the ſeveral kinds of evil with which the world abounds, are conſiſtent with the goodneſs of God, and may be accounted for without the ſuppoſition of an evil principle. So fatal a blow as this given to the Manichæan ſyſtem, did not fail to rouſe the attention and ſpirit of Mr Bayle, who, impatient to ſtep forth in defence of that his favourite opinion, attempted an anſwer to the Biſhop before he had ſeen his book [G], which came out, as has been ſaid, in 1702; and, the author

' an agent may preſcribe to itſelf an end, and proſe-
' cute it by proper means, and take delight in the pro-
' ſecution of it, tho' that end might be perfectly indif-
' ferent to it before it was propoſed, and be no more
' agreeable than any other of the ſame or a different
' kind would be, if the agent had once reſolved to
' proſecute it. For ſince all the pleaſure or happineſs
' which we receive ariſes from the due exerciſe of our
' faculties, every thing which is equally commodious
' for the exerciſe of our faculties will give us the ſame
' delight. The reaſon therefore why one thing pleaſes
' above another, is founded in the act of the agent
' himſelf, viz. his election. This is largely explained
' in the book itſelf, together with the limits, within
' which it is confined, and will be illuſtrated more
' fully hereafter. (10.) It is impoſſible that all things
' ſhould agree to all, that is, be good; for ſince the
' things are limited, diſtinct, and different one from an-
' other, and are endued with finite, diſtinct, and dif-
' ferent appetites, it neceſſarily follows, that the rela-
' tions of convenient and inconvenient muſt ariſe from
' this diverſity. Since therefore every created being
' is from the imperfection of its nature neceſſarily li-
' mited, and from that limitation there neceſſarily
' follows diſtinction and diverſity, it follows, that a
' poſſibility, at leaſt of evil, is a neceſſary attendant on
' all creatures, and cannot be ſeparated from them by
' any power, wiſdom, or goodneſs whatſoever. For
' when a thing is applied to an appetite or being to
' which it is not appropriated, as it is not agreeable
' to it, it neceſſarily affects it with uneaſineſs; nor
' was it poſſible that all things ſhould be appropriated
' to every being, where the things themſelves, and the
' appetites are various and different, as they muſt ne-
' ceſſarily be if created even in the moſt perfect man-
' ner. (11.) Since ſome agents have a power over
' their own actions as above, and can pleaſe themſelves
' in the choice of ſuch things as may exerciſe their fa-
' culties; and ſince there are ſome ways of exerciſing
' them which may be prejudicial to themſelves or
' others, it is plain, that from this power there ariſes
' a poſſibility of chooſing amiſs, and they may exerciſe
' themſelves to their own prejudice, or that of others.
' (12.) And ſince in ſuch a variety of things, thoſe
' that are beneficial or hurtful cannot be known by
' an intelligent being, which is in his own nature li-
' mited and imperfect, it was agreeable to the divine
' wiſdom to preſcribe ſome rules and directions to ſuch
' agents, in order to inform them what would benefit
' or incommode them or their fellow creatures, i. e.
' what would be good or evil, that they might chuſe
' the one and avoid the other.

' (13.) Since therefore, as was ſaid before, an equa-
' lity of perfection in the creatures is impoſſible, nei-
' ther would it be convenient for them to be placed in
' the ſame ſtate of perfection; it follows, that there
' are various orders and degrees even among intelligent
' creatures; and ſince ſome of the inferior orders and
' degrees are capable of thoſe benefits which the ſupe-
' rior ones enjoy; and ſince there are as many placed
' in the ſuperior orders as the ſyſtem of the univerſe
' allowed, it follows, that the inferior ones, as a more
' convenient place could not be left for them, ought
' to be content with a lower portion of happineſs,
' which their nature makes them capable of, and to
' a higher than which they could not aſpire without
' detriment to the ſuperior which poſſeſſes that ſtation;
' for he muſt quit his place before another can aſcend
' to it; and it ſeems hard and very inconſiſtent
' with the nature of God, to degrade a ſuperior as
' long as he has done nothing to deſerve it. But if
' one of a ſuperior order will by his own act, without
' any violence or compulſion, voluntarily quit his place,
' or freely chuſe ſuch things as deſerve a degradation,
' God would ſeem unjuſt to thoſe who are in an infe-
' rior degree, and by a good uſe of their liberty be-
' come fit and qualified for a ſuperior ſtate, if he ſhould
' refuſe them the free uſe of their own choice. It
' ſeems unjuſt for God to condemn or degrade any one
' arbitrarily, but he is not to be blamed for ſuffering
' one to degrade himſelf by his own act and choice,
' eſpecially when the uſe of that elective power belongs
' to the nature of an intelligent being, and could not
' in the preſent ſtate be prohibited without detriment
' to ſome other.

' Here the wiſdom and goodneſs of God ſeem to
' have exerted themſelves in a moſt glorious manner,
' the contrivance ſeems to be the effect of the higheſt
' policy and prudence. For by this means God has
' ſhewn himſelf moſt equitable to his creatures; ſo
' that no one can complain of or glory in his lot.
' He that is in a leſs convenient ſituation has no room
' for complaint, ſince he is endowed with faculties,
' and has power to uſe them in ſuch a manner as to
' acquire a more commodious one; and he muſt be
' forced to own himſelf only in the fault, if he conti-
' nues deprived of it: and he that is now in a ſuperior
' ſtate may learn to fear, leſt he fall from it by an un-
' lawful uſe of his faculties; the ſuperior therefore has
' a dread that may in ſome meaſure diminiſh his hap-
' pineſs, and the inferior a hope that may increaſe it;
' by which means they are both brought nearer to an
' equality, and in the mean time have the utmoſt pro-
' vocation and incitement to chuſe the beſt, and make
' the moſt beneficial uſe of their faculties. This conteſt
' makes for the good of the univerſe, and much more
' ſo than if all things were fixed by Fate and Neceſſity,
' and abſolutely confined to their preſent ſtate. Either
' God muſt have created no free agents to be governed
' by the hope of reward and fear of puniſhment, or
' theſe will be the fitteſt means to that end, and
' worthy of a God; for what ground is there to com-
' plain of the Deity in this whole affair, except that
' when an equal ſhare of happineſs could not befal
' every one, he beſtows the beſt on ſuch as uſe their
' faculties aright, and takes away what he had given
' from thoſe that abuſe them.

' (14.) If what is laid down above be true, from
' thence it is manifeſt that all kinds of evil, viz. that of
' *imperfection*, *pain*, and *ſin*, may enter into a world
' made by the moſt wiſe, good, and powerful author,
' and that its origin may be accounted for, without
' calling in the aſſiſtance of an evil principle.

' (15.) It is plain that we are tied down to this earth,
' and confined in it as in a priſon, and that our know-
' ledge does not extend beyond the ideas which we
' receive from the ſenſes; and who knows not how
' ſmall a part we underſtand even of thoſe elements
' about which we are converſant? But ſince the whole
' maſs of elements is as a point in regard to the whole
' univerſe, is it any wonder if we miſtake, when we
' are framing a judgment, or rather a conjecture, con-
' cerning the beauty, order, and goodneſs of the
' whole from this contemptible particle? This earth
' of ours may be the dungeon of the univerſe, an hoſ-
' pital of madmen, or a workhouſe of reprobates;
' and yet ſuch as it is, there is much more both of
' natural and moral good than of evil to be found in it.
' Thus far, concludes he, has the controverſy about
' the origin of evil proceeded in the author's book.
' For all that has been ſaid above, is either expreſsly
' contained in it, or may very eaſily be deduced from
' the principles there laid down (18).'

[G] *It was attacked by Mr Bayle before he had ſeen it.*] Monſ. Bernard having given an abridgment of our author's book in his *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* for the months of *May* and *June* 1703. that abridgment fell into the hands of Mr Bayle, who obſerving his favourite opinion concerning the truth of the Manichæan ſyſtem to be brought in imminent danger of an overthrow therein, did not think proper to defer putting in ſome remarks by way of anſwer 'till he could ſee and conſult the book itſelf, but examined the hypotheſis of our author as it was repreſented in Mr Bernard's abſtracts, and in a paſſage cited by the authors of the *Acta Eruditorum Leipſiæ*, which had been omitted

(18) Law's Tranſlation, &c. ſecond edition, in the preface.

author was tranſlated to the Archbiſhopric of Dublin, by letters patent, dated the 11th of March the ſame year, having been firſt elected *Adminiſtrator Spiritualium* by the Chapters of both the cathedrals there, during the vacancy of that ſee, occaſioned by the promotion of Dr Marſh to the Primacy of Ireland, in that of Armagh. In 1704, he preached *A Thankſgiving Sermon for the Victory of Hochſtet at Chriſt-Church in Dublin*, which was publiſhed there; and another at London the ſame year in 4to. *preached before the Queen, at St James's, on Humility*. Where he alſo publiſhed in 1706, in 4to. *A Sermon preached at St Margaret's Weſtminſter*, January 13, 1705, on Prov. xxii. 6. *Train up a child in the way he ſhould go*, &c. And the preſs at Dublin produced the following year, 1707, in 4to,

omitted by Mr Bernard. The firſt principle of our author, which Mr Bayle mentions is, that *God always acts for an end, which end in the creation of the world was to exerciſe his power, or to communicate his goodneſs; ſo that it is only improperly ſaid, that God created all things for his glory.* Mr Bayle allows this principle, and that is almoſt the only point in which he agrees with the Archbiſhop. But he denies what the Archbiſhop aſſerts, viz. that *there is more natural good than evil in the world, and that the eſtabliſhing of two principles does not remove the difficulty about the origin of evil; becauſe it is as much repugnant to the divine goodneſs to have created beings which he foreſaw would be corrupted by another principle, as to have created thoſe which were corruptible in themſelves.* He denies alſo, in oppoſition to our author, that every thing derived from matter, muſt of neceſſity be ſubject to pain, diſeaſes, grief, &c. and to confute that notion ſeems to build upon the opinion of occaſional cauſes, as if it was an uncontrovertible doctrine; whereas it has very few followers in England. He aſks, to what purpoſe ſerve the pains of childbirth? and anſwers, to call for a midwife; and puts this inſtance in the margin, that a woman in a wilderneſs will feel as much pain as in a city, and would conclude from thence, that thoſe pains ſerve for nothing. He denies that miſtake and ignorance are the natural effects of man's imperfection, and cites upon that head the greateſt part of the divines, who believe that Adam was created ſo learned, that though his knowledge was not infinite, it would be abſurd to ſuppoſe that he was in error or ignorance. He denies that it is neceſſary, in order to a man's eſteeming himſelf happy in his right choice, to be perſuaded that the choice was made by the ſtrength of his own free will. He alledges ſeveral ſorts of men, who do not think their happineſs depends upon their liberty, and quotes a great many authors ancient and modern, poets and others to that purpoſe. He brings ſeveral other reaſons againſt our author's notion of liberty, and afterwards anſwers that queſtion of the Archbiſhop, why God permitted ſin? He pretends, that the inconveniencies which our author alledges, in caſe God had not created a being endued with ſuch a liberty as the Archbiſhop conceives, are abſolutely null. He ſays the ſame of what his Grace advances to ſhew, that God was not obliged to employ his omnipotent power to hinder thoſe free agents from abuſing their freedom, or to tranſport them to another habitation, where they would have had no occaſion to prompt them to a bad choice. Mr Bayle afterwards attacks our author's aſſertion, that the goodneſs of things depends ſolely upon God's having choſen them (19). Mr Bernard did not let theſe remarks of Mr Bayle paſs without a reply, wherein he begins with complaining of that author for not conſulting Archbiſhop King's book itſelf, and obſerves, that Mr Bayle "attacks his Grace upon ſuch principles as he would expreſsly deny, ſince the Engliſh divines do not maintain, in every reſpect, the principles common among others of the reformed; as that, for inſtance, already mentioned, where he recurs to occaſional cauſes. That as to the pains of childbirth, if he knew no other uſe of thoſe pains than that of calling a midwife, he might have conſulted ſome phyſician who would have informed him of the matter. That where he cites the authority of divines for the infinite learning of Adam, Mr Bernard ſays, their authority will ſignify little, where the queſtion is about reaſon. And as to his quotations from poets, &c. to ſhew that ſeveral ſorts of men do not think their happineſs depends upon their liberty, he ought, ſays the ſame antagoniſt, to have proved to Archbiſhop King, that all thoſe people who have ſuffered themſelves to be conducted by others, &c. did not by an antecedeat act of free will, chuſe this as the beſt way for them. For to ſuppoſe, that after a man having examined a ſhip which he finds to be good, and the pilot whom he finds to be ſkilful, has reſolved very freely to go on board, and intruſt himſelf to the conduct of the pilot; to ſuppoſe that this man, in order to preſerve the freedom of his will, muſt needs, at every motion which the pilot makes on board the ſhip, and at every order he gives out, make a free act of his will, by which he conſents to that motion, and without which he is not free; this is certainly what the Archbiſhop never alledged, and except he had maintained that propoſition, moſt part of Mr Bayle's inſtances fall of themſelves. Mr Bernard concludes with one general remark upon this ſubject, which he obſerves may be applied to many other parts of this controverſy, and that is, that Mr Bayle artfully ſeparates the inconveniencies which Archbiſhop King propoſes, that he may confute them with the greater eaſe, without taking notice that divers reaſons, which taken ſeparately, would not determine one to act after a certain manner, yet might determine him, if they acted jointly. I have a mind, for inſtance, to go to ſuch a town, I have a very preſſing reaſon which hinders me, and I have many others which incline me to undertake the journey; every one of theſe are leſs than that which ſhould determine me not go, but taken all together, they turn the ſcale. You do nothing at all to hinder me from taking the journey, if you only refute each reaſon apart which made me determine to go; you muſt make one argument of them all, and convince me, that all of them together are not ſo ſtrong as that one which ſhould hinder my proceeding to my journey. There is, moreover, continues Mr Bernard, one thing, which ſhews it was neceſſary for Mr Bayle to have read our author's book, is his way of confuting what the Archbiſhop hath ſaid of the torments of the damned, that *they are uſeful perhaps to keep good men to their duty, and make them perſevere in a right conduct.* Mr Bayle pretends, that this cannot be ſaid of the ſaints in paradiſe, who have no occaſion for ſuch a curb; but it may be, that Archbiſhop King will not grant him this, but maintain, that the confirmation of ſaints in goodneſs, is not the confirmation of an enthuſiaſt ſupported by no motives, of which number the Archbiſhop conjectures, that the example of the damned may be one. In the mean time Mr Bayle ſuppoſing it not to be ſo, imagines that the Archbiſhop would inſinuate, that after the reſurrection there will be new inhabitants upon the earth. This is the effect of confuting a book which Mr Bayle never read" (20.) But the diſpute did not end ſo: Mr Bayle afterwards replied to Mr Bernard, and having procured the Archbiſhop's book, made ſeveral new obſervations upon it, which were publiſhed after his death (21); and the Archbiſhop anſwered theſe remarks in the papers he left behind him, as will be ſeen hereafter. Beſides theſe of Mr Bayle, there were remarks in French upon the Archbiſhop's book, written by Mr Leibnitz, who allowing the treatiſe De Origine Mali to be a work full of learning and elegance, obſerves, that the Archbiſhop's firſt four chapters agree with his own principles, but that the fifth, which treats of human liberty and moral evil, is founded upon principles oppoſite to his (22). What theſe were may be ſeen in his *Theodicé*, where his hypotheſis is ſtarted. He ſuppoſes, that when God made the body, he impreſſed on his new created machine a certain ſeries or ſuit of motions; and that when he made the fellow-ſoul a correſpondent ſeries of ideas, whoſe operations throughout the whole direction of the motions are ſo exactly accommodated, that whenever any idea is excited in the mind, a concordant motion is ever ready to ſatisfy the volition. For inſtance, when the mind has the will to raiſe the arm to the head, the body is ſo precontrived as to raiſe at that very moment the part required. This he calls the pre-eſtabliſhed harmony, and propoſed to do wonders with it.

(19) Reſponſe aux Queſtions d'un Provincial, ch. 74, & ſeqq. Rotterd. 1706, 12mo.

(20) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres mois de Janvier, 1706, p. 57 to p. 70.

(21) In Reſponſe aux Queſtions d'un Provincial, Vol. V.

(22) See *Recueil de diverſes Pieces ſur la Philoſophie, la Religion Naturelle, l'Hiſtoire, les Mathematiques, &c.* par Meſſ. Leibnitz, Clarke Newton, *& autres Auteurs celébres*, Vol. III. Amſterd. 1720, in 3 vols, 8vo.

[H] *The*

4to, his *Sermon, preached at St Michael's Church in that City, before the Lord-Mayor*, &c. on Eccles. viii. 11. *There is no man that hath power over the ſpirit to retain the ſpirit, neither* hath he *power in the day of death*; and there *is no diſcharge in* that *war, neither ſhall wickedneſs deliver thoſe that are given to it.* Our author all along kept his thoughts upon reviewing the important point concerning the origin of evil; and, in the further proſecution of that ſubject, he publiſhed, in 1709, his famous diſcourſe, intitled, *Divine Predeſtination and Foreknowledge conſiſtent with the Freedom of Man's Will; A Sermon preached before* Thomas Earl of Wharton, *and* the Right Honourable the Houſe of Lords, on Rom. viii. 29, 30. *For whom he did foreknow, he alſo did predeſtinate* to be *conformed to the image of his ſon, that he might be the firſt-born among many brethren. Moreover, whom he did predeſtinate, them he alſo called: and whom he called, them he alſo juſtified: and whom he juſtified, them he alſo glorified.* In this ſermon our author, in vindicating human liberty, as being not over-ruled or affected at all by the moral attributes of the Deity, ſtarted a doctrine concerning the diſparity of thoſe attributes, with the moral qualities of the ſame name in man [*H*]; which raiſed the jealouſy of ſeveral perſons: and his notion was attacked particularly by Dr John Edwards, in a piece intituled, *The Divine Perfections vindicated; or ſome brief Remarks on a late Diſcourſe, &c.* Lond. 1710, 8vo. And the ſame year alſo, by Anthony Collins, Eſq; in a pamphlet, intituled, *A Vindication of the Divine Attributes; in ſome Remarks on his Grace the Archbiſhop of Dublin's Sermon, intituled,* Divine Predeſtination, &c [*I*]. However, all the objections made to this part of his general ſcheme

(*H*) *The diſparity of the divine attributes to the moral qualities of the ſame name in man.*] In ſo intereſting a point it will be neceſſary to give the author's ſenſe in his own words as follows; 'When the ſcriptures, 'ſays he, ſpeak of God, they aſcribe hands, and eyes, 'and feet to him; not that it is deſigned we ſhould 'believe, that he has any of theſe members according 'to the literal ſignification; but the meaning is, that 'he has a power to execute all thoſe acts, to the ef'fecting of which thoſe parts in us are inſtrumental. 'And when the ſcriptures repreſent God as affected 'with ſuch paſſions as we perceive in ourſelves, viz. as 'angry and pleaſed, as loving and hating, as repent'ing and changing his reſolutions, as full of mercy 'and provoked to revenge; the meaning is, that he 'will as certainly puniſh the wicked, as if he was in'flamed with the paſſion of anger; that he will re'ward the good as infallibly, as we will thoſe for 'whom we have a particular love; that when men 'turn from their wickedneſs, he will as ſurely change 'his diſpenſations towards them, as if he really re(23) Sermon, p. 6. 'pented and changed his mind (23).' *He afterwards proceeds in theſe terms,* 'As the nature and paſſions of 'men are thus by analogy and compariſon aſcribed to 'God, ſo in the ſame manner we find the powers and (24) Ibid. p. 7, 8. 'operations of their minds aſcribed to him (24).' And he inſtances in wiſdom, and underſtanding, and mercy, 'which are, ſays he, of ſo different a nature from 'what they are in us, and ſo ſuperior to all that we 'can conceive, that in reality there is no more like'neſs between them than between our hand and God's 'power. And that the terms of foreknowledge and 'predeſtination, nay of underſtanding and will, when 'aſcribed to God, are not to be taken ſtrictly and 'properly; nor are we to think they are in him after 'the ſame manner, or in the ſame ſenſe that we find 'them in ourſelves; but, on the contrary, we are to 'interpret them only by way of analogy and compa(25) Ibid. p. 19. 'riſon (25).' *Again,* 'Wiſdom in us is as different 'from what we call ſo in God, as light is from mo(26) Ibid. p. 21. 'tion (26).' *Again,* 'There is as great a difference 'between theſe foregoing, when attributed to God, 'and as they are in us, as between weighing in a ba(27) Ibid. p. 16. 'lance and thinking, in truth infinitely greater (27).' *He ſays further, that* 'the beſt repreſentations we can (28) Ibid. p. 34. 'make of God are infinitely ſhort of truth (28).' *And laſtly, he concludes, that* 'underſtanding, juſtice, and 'virtue, are not to be underſtood to ſignify the ſame (29) Ibid. p. 35. 'thing when applied to God and to men (29). For, 'continues he, if thoſe attributes are underſtood li'terally, and in the ſame way as we find them in us, 'abſurd and intolerable conſequences would follow (30) Ibid. p. 33. '(30). That the foreknowledge and predetermination 'of God are inconſiſtent with the contingency of 'events and our freedom of will, if his foreknowledge 'and predetermination are of the ſame nature with (31) Ibid. p. 9. 'ours (31). But ſince we have no more proper notion of 'foreknowledge and predetermination in God, than a 'man born blind has of light and colours, we ought 'no more to pretend to determine what is conſiſtent 'or not conſiſtent with them, than a blind man ought 'to determine from what he hears or feels to what 'objects the ſenſe of ſeeing reaches (32).' (32) Ibid. p. 27.

[*I*] *A vindication of the divine Attributes.*] Mr Anthony Collins having repreſented our author's opinion in his own words, offers the following conſiderations againſt it. 1. He obſerves, that according to thoſe notions, it is impoſſible for his Grace to prove the exiſtence of God againſt Atheiſts, ſince our conceptions or ideas that we ſignify by the term God muſt be the ſubject of proof, whenever we bring the term God into a propoſition. But his Grace ſays, *all our beſt conceptions of God are infinitely ſhort of truth, and as different from it, as weighing in a balance is from thinking, or as light from motion*; therefore his Grace cannot prove the being of a God, or, which is all one, the exiſtence of any being that is really conformable to our conceptions of God, unleſs his Grace will ſay, that what is infinitely ſhort of truth, and different from truth, can be proved true. 2. It being evident then, that whoever propoſes to prove the exiſtence of God, muſt have ſuch an idea of him, as is conſiſtent with the real nature of the being whoſe exiſtence is propoſed to be proved; I would aſk his Grace, how he would define the term God, if he undertook to prove God's exiſtence againſt an Atheiſt. It is evident he muſt either contradict his opinion, that all our conceptions of God are falſe, and aſſign ſome conception of God, that he would ſtand by; or elſe acknowledge the impoſſibility of proving God's exiſtence. And I am inclined to believe his Grace would chooſe the firſt, becauſe there are ſeveral paſſages in his diſcourſe which imply a conception of God, that his Grace may perhaps ſtand by, and own to be agreeable to the truth of things; and that, as I take it, is of a *being that is a general cauſe of the wonderful effects in nature, to which we cannot give any particular Attributes or perfections* (tho' in reality, according to his Grace, this can be no better than an analogous conception of God, any more than the conception of him as a holy, good, merciful, and wiſe being) (33); and that his Grace (33) Vindication, p. 17. can have no other notions of God, appears from ſome paſſages in his ſermon page 5. Mr Collins cites theſe paſſages (34), and proceeds thus. Now, if that be the (34) Ibid. p. 12. idea his Grace ſignifies by the word God, I will allow, that the term God may be brought into a propoſition, and the being of God in that ſenſe will become capable of proof. But if that be all that is meant by that term, I ſee not why Atheiſts ſhould not come into the belief of ſuch a deity; for they equally with the Theiſts allow ſome general cauſe of all effects to have eternally exiſted, but, as I take it, differ from them in the Attributes of that general cauſe. As for example, the Theiſt affirms the world was made by a wiſe being, and thinks the wonderful harmony of the univerſe an admirable evidence of the exiſtence of ſuch a being. On the contrary, the Atheiſt affirms, that wiſdom is not neceſſary to ſuch a purpoſe; but that all theſe admirable effects may be produced by cauſes and powers, of which we have no idea. And does not his Grace give up the point to theſe men, in allowing the world does not proceed from a wiſe or intelligent being,

ſcheme were fully conſidered by our author, as will appear preſently; though he did not think proper to enter into a diſpute, or to print any thing more upon the point at this time. Dr Narciſſus Marſh, the Primate, dying in 1714, our Archbiſhop preached his funeral ſermon at St Patrick's-church in Dublin, and printed it there the ſame year in 4to. He was appointed one of the Lords Juſtices of Ireland in 1717, into which he was ſworn July 17 that year; and he held the ſame office twice afterwards, viz. in the years 1721 and 1723. In the interim, he had publiſhed *A Diſcourſe concerning the Conſecration of Churches; ſhewing what is meant by dedicating them, with the Grounds of that Office.* Lond. 1719, 4to. This was his laſt performance in print. He died at his palace at St Sepulchre's in Dublin, May 8, 1729; and his corpſe was interred on the north ſide of the church-yard of Donnybrook. Beſides the books publiſhed by him, he left a great number of manuſcript papers, eſpecially relating to the ſubject of his treatiſe on the Origin of Evil, both in Latin and Engliſh. In theſe he conſidered the ſeveral objections to it; and the pains he had taken therein to vindicate it from the leaſt cavil, are a conſpicuous proof what a value he ſet upon it; in which view, all that he had written would make a much larger volume than the firſt. He begins with an account of the preſent ſtate of the then controverſy about the Origin of Evil, and offers many arguments againſt the ſuppoſition of

being, but only from a being conſidered as a *general cauſe*, of whoſe particular Attributes we have no notion at all? Perhaps his Grace may think there will remain a wide difference between Atheiſm and Theiſm, becauſe he ſuppoſes his eternal being to be immaterial, and the Atheiſt ſuppoſes his eternal being to be the material univerſe. But that difference is, as I conceive, of no conſequence: for if all the moral and all the other natural Attributes are given up as indefenſible, then all the arguments for God's government of the world, for rewarding and puniſhing men in a future ſtate, which are drawn from the conſideration of the Attributes of God, taken in a ſtrict and literal ſenſe, are given up. As for inſtance, do not we argue for a future ſtate from the juſtice of God, and conclude, that he will deal with every man according to his merit? Do we not from the ſame Attribute conclude the neceſſity of an incarnate God ſuffering for the ſins of the world? And do we not conclude from his goodneſs his deſign to ſave makind? And do we not infer from his knowledge that he takes cognizance of our actions; and from his will do we not infer our duty? but if none of theſe Attributes are in God, nor any other that we can conceive, we can never argue from them, nor infer any kind of obligation to duty; for all the motives to duty, unleſs it be that of preſent pleaſure (which is an atheiſtical conſideration) are ſolely drawn from the conſideration of the Attributes of God, taken in a literal ſenſe. How can men know God's will when he has no will? How can men know they ſhall be rewarded or puniſhed in a future ſtate, or what reaſon have they to think there ſhall be a future ſtate, but from the conſideration of God's juſtice, which will certainly make good men amends in another ſtate for their ſufferings in this life, and make wicked men ſufferers for the pleaſure their ſins gave them here? But if we loſe the uſe and benefit of the notion of God, that is, have ſuch a notion as has no influence on our practice, what ſignifies contending with the Atheiſt about ſo poor a ſpeculation as the queſtion of the exiſtence of an eternal immaterial being? For whether he be material or immaterial, if he can have neither underſtanding, nor will, nor juſtice, it is all alike. Beſides, if once the Deity be ſuppoſed to have no underſtanding, &c. I do not ſee how his Grace will be able to prove the exiſtence of one eternal immaterial being, if the Atheiſt ſhould think it worth his while to diſpute that point with his Grace (35). 3. Mr Collins obſerves, that his Grace has given up the cauſe to Mr Bayle, who ſays, that there is no anſwering the Manichean objections againſt ſome of the Attributes of God, without captivating the underſtanding to the obedience of faith, or believing againſt evidence, that is, believing God to be good, tho' it be evident he is not ſo; and believing him to be wiſe, tho' it be evident he is not ſo; and what ſays his Grace? Why he owns God is not good or wiſe, and thereby yields to the force of Mr Bayle's arguments. Only Mr Bayle continues to believe God is good and wiſe againſt the force of all human reaſoning, and his Grace ſuppoſes God is neither wiſe nor good, which two don't much, if at all, differ, but in words. For Mr Bayle's good and wiſe againſt evidence and arguments, is much the ſame with being neither good nor wiſe. 4. Mr Collins further remarks, that, according to his Grace, it is a matter of no great conſequence what notions men have of God. The Archbiſhop thinks, that *one who imagines God to be a mighty King, that ſits in heaven, and has the earth for his footſtool, that has thouſands of miniſters to attend him; that has great love and favour for ſuch as obey his orders, and is in a rage and fury againſt the diſobedient, and believes the things literally, will be ſaved by virtue of that belief.* And he calls thoſe *officious and impertinent that raiſe objections againſt ſuch a notion, and put them into peoples heads* (36). But I deſire his Grace to conſider, whether it is not dangerous to leave men to themſelves with ſuch erroneous and vicious conceptions of God; for if they will but give themſelves the leaſt trouble to reflect on their notion, they muſt find, nothing is ſo eaſy as to ſlide into Atheiſm from the belief of a God, which they take to be ſuch a finite, limited, corporeal, immoral (as fury and rage import) being, as his Grace deſcribes. I hope his Grace is of opinion, that the being of God, which is the foundation of all religion and morality, is capable of the cleareſt proof imaginable, and conſequently that there is no danger of well-meaning mens running into Atheiſm, if they ſhould happen to be convinced that they have erroneous conceptions of God. But ſuppoſe his Grace is of the opinion of *Tully* (37) and *Simonides*, and thinks the being of God a difficult problem, and that it is dangerous to diſturb them in their wrong notions of God, for fear they ſhould have no notion of him at all: I muſt confeſs, I cannot agree with his Grace in thinking it would be reaſonable even on that ſuppoſition, to forbear objecting to a wrong notion. Evidence ought to be the ſole ground of aſſent, and examination is the only way to arrive at evidence. And therefore, rather than I would have examination, arguing, and objecting, laid aſide, I would chuſe to ſay, that no opinions whatever can be dangerous to a man that impartially examines into the truth of things. And this I hope his Grace will aſſent to upon ſecond thoughts, rather than prevent ſo much good preaching, as his Grace muſt needs do, by arguing thoſe men guilty of officiouſneſs and impertinence, that would reclaim men from ſuch an error, as believing God to be like a man, if once the Clergy come to be of his Grace's ſentiment (38). 5. Mr Collins obſerves, that his Grace, by denying God to be a holy, wiſe, juſt being, plainly contradicts all thoſe paſſages of ſcripture where the example of God is recommended to our imitation (39). 6. That his Grace has given up the cauſe to the Unitarians, when he declares the diſtinction of *three perſons in one God* to be but a *reſemblance*, that is, *not truly and really ſuch as we mean by three perſons, but only analogically ſuch, juſt as* time and a line *are made to reſemble one another* (40). 7. That his Grace has failed of his main deſign pretended in his diſcourſe, viz. to manifeſt the divine foreknowledge conſiſtent with freedom of man's will. Mr Collins proceeds to conſider what might be objected to him from his Grace's ſermon, and concludes with calling upon his Grace to employ his thoughts once more upon this point, and give us a farther eclairciſſement on the ſubject of this ſermon and of his book *De Origine Mali*, which, ſays he, I wiſh he may perform to the ſatisfaction of the public, and thereby prevent my deſign of handling theſe queſtions (41).

(35) Ibid. p. 22.

(36) Sermon, p. 16, 17.

(37) Res enim nulla eſt, de qua tintopere non ſolum indocti ſed docti diſſentiunt, &c. *De Natura Deorum*, lib. i.

(38) Vindication, p. 23.

(39) Ibid. p. 24.

(40) P. 25, 26, 27, 28.

(41) Ibid. p. 35, & ſeq.

of an abſolutely evil principle. In the next place he explains and confirms the chief principles upon which his book is built, and then proceeds to rank his adverſaries into their ſeveral claſſes, and conſiders the various arguments which they had urged againſt him. Upon the whole, this manuſcript contains an explication and defence of the principal part of his ſcheme, and affords very good hints for improving it in ſeveral points, eſpecially with regard to the union of the ſoul and body, and their mutual influence; to human liberty; to the ſtate of Adam in Paradiſe, and the conſequences of his fall; upon which laſt ſubject he alſo left a ſermon, which he ordered to be printed after his death; and a tranſlation of his book into Engliſh being publiſhed that year, by Edmund Law, M. A. Fellow of Chriſt's-college in Cambridge, with notes, the Archbiſhop's relations, the Reverend Mr Spence of Donneghmore, and the Reverend Mr King, Prebendary of St Patrick's, and Miniſter of St Bride's, in Dublin, communicated theſe papers to that gentleman; who thereupon printed a ſecond edition of his tranſlation, in the notes to which he inſerted the ſubſtance of thoſe papers [*K*]; and the whole came out with this title,

[*K*] *Notes from the author's manuſcript*] Among other objections, one of the principal is that drawn from the ſuppoſed prevalency of moral evil in the world: the purſuit of this ſubject neceſſarily leads into a very large and wide field of particulars, comprehending all the ways and walks of man, which muſt be thoroughly named, and then accurately weighed in the niceſt balance of criticiſm, in order to a right deciſion and determination of it. Conſequently a more proper ſpecimen of our author's talents, as well as his induſtry upon the ſubject of this book, and beautiful manner of handling it, cannot be given, than that which is inſerted, in anſwer to this objection, from his manuſcript. It has been ſeen in the preceding remark, that the laſt article of his plan lays it down as a principle to be proved in the work, that notwithſtanding all the complaints of the degeneracy and wickedneſs which abounds in the earth, yet ſuch as it is, there is much more both of natural and moral good, than evil to be found in it. In ſupport of this aſſertion, he begins with ſtating the objection, concerning the prevalency of moral evil, and then profeſſes himſelf to be of a quite different opinion than that contained in it, I firmly believe, ſays he, and think I very well comprehend, that there is much more moral good in the world, nay in the earth, than evil. I am ſenſible there may be more bad men than good, becauſe there are none but do amiſs ſometimes, and one ill act is ſufficient to denominate a man bad. But yet there are ten good acts done by thoſe we call bad men for an ill one. Even perſons of the very worſt character may have got it by two or three flagrant enormities, which yet bear no proportion to the whole ſeries of their lives. The author, continues he, does not know the objector, nor with whom he converſes, but he muſt profeſs, that among ſuch as he is acquainted with, he believes there are hundreds that would do him good for one that would do him hurt; and that he has received a thouſand good offices for one ill one. He could never believe the doctrine of Hobbes, that all men are bears, wolves, and tygers to one another, that they are born enemies to all others, and all others to them; that they are naturally falſe and perfidious, or that all the good they do, is out of fear, not virtue. He that deſcribes mankind in this manner, may give us cauſe to ſuſpect that he himſelf is ſuch; but if mankind were taken one by one, perhaps not one could be found in a hundred thouſand, that could truly own the character. Nay, the very authors of this calumny, if their own characters were called in queſtion, would take all poſſible pains to remove the ſuſpicion from themſelves, and declare that they were ſpeaking of the vulgar, of the bulk of mankind, and not of themſelves. Nor in reality do they behave in this manner toward their friends and acquaintance, if they did, few would own them. Obſerve ſome of thoſe that exclaim againſt all mankind, for treachery, diſhoneſty, deceit, and cruelty; and you will find them diligently cultivating friendſhips, and diſcharging the ſeveral offices due to friends, relations, and their country, with labour, pains, loſs of goods, and hazard of life itſelf, even where there is no fear to drive them to it, nor inconvenience attending the neglect of it. This, you will ſay, proceeds from cuſtom and education. Be it ſo; however the world has not then ſo far degenerated from all goodneſs, but that the greater part of mankind exerciſe benevolence; nor is virtue ſo far exiled, as not to be ſupported, and approved, praiſed and practiſed by common conſent and public ſuffrage, and vice is ſtill diſgraceful. Indeed we can ſcarce meet with one, unleſs preſſed by neceſſity, or provoked by injuries, who is ſo barbarous and hard-hearted as not to be moved with compaſſion, and delighted with beneficence to others; who is not inclined to ſhew good will and kindneſs to his friends, neighbours, children, relations, and diligent in the diſcharge of civil duties to all; who does not profeſs ſome regard for virtue, and think himſelf affronted, when he is charged with immorality. If any one takes notice of his own or of another's actions for a day together, perhaps he will find one or two blameable; the reſt all innocent and inoffenſive. Nay, it is doubtful, whether a *Nero* or a *Caligula*, a *Commodus* or a *Caracalla* (though monſters of mankind and prone to every act of wickedneſs and fury) have done more ill than innocent actions thro' their whole lives.

It is to be obſerved in the ſecond place, that one great crime, ſuch as murder, theft, or rapine, is oftener talked of, more univerſally reported, and much longer remembered, than a thouſand good, peaceable, generous deeds, which make no noiſe in the world, nor ever come to public notice, but are ſilently paſſed by, and overlooked: which very thing ſhews, that the former are more rare than the latter: otherwiſe they would not be received with ſo much ſurprize, horror, and aſtoniſhment.

Thirdly, it is obſervable that many things are done very innocently, which perſons, unacquainted with the views and circumſtances of the actors, eſteem criminal. It is certain we cannot judge of the goodneſs or badneſs of an action from bare appearance; but rather from the inward motions and intentions of the mind, and the light in which the thing appeared to the agent. Nero killed a man that was innocent, but who knows, whether he did it out of premeditated malice? Perhaps ſome intruſted with the care of his perſon, or a flattering courtier, whom he is obliged to depend on, informs of this innocent man as plotting a conſpiracy againſt the Emperor's life, and was diſpatched, leaſt he be firſt ſurprized. Perhaps the informer is impoſed upon himſelf, and thinks it real. It is plain ſuch circumſtances very much leſſen the guilt; and it is probable, if the crimes of princes were to be weighed impartially, and the whole proceſs laid open, many things might be offered, which would greatly alleviate them.

Fourthly, many things are done through ignorance of the law, and becauſe thoſe who commit them do not know that they are vicious; nay, they are often eſteemed virtues. Thus St Paul perſecuted the Church, and himſelf owns, that he did it out of ignorance, and therefore obtained mercy. How many things of this kind are done daily by ſuch as profeſs different religions? It is true theſe are ſins, but ſins of ignorance, which eaſily obtain forgiveneſs; and, as they do not proceed from an evil diſpoſition and depraved will, are ſcarce to be reckoned in the number of moral evils. Whoever falls foul on others out of a love of virtue, hatred of vice, or zeal towards God, does wrong; but ignorance and an honeſt heart make very much for his excuſe. This conſideration alone would take a great deal off from the number of wicked perſons. Neither does this excuſe hold only in matters of religion: party prejudices have alſo a ſhare in it, which induce men to extirpate, with fire and ſword, thoſe that they believe to be public enemies and traitors to their country. There is no error more pernicious to mankind, and which has produced more or greater crimes than this;

tle *An Eſſay on the* Origin of Evil, *by* Dr William King, late Lord Archbiſhop of Dublin; *Tranſlated from the Latin, with notes; and a Diſſertation concerning the Principle and Criterion of Virtue, and the Origin of the Paſſions. The ſecond edition. Corrected and enlarged from the author's manuſcripts. To which are added, Two Sermons by the ſame author; the former concerning Divine Preſcience, the latter, on the Fall of Man*, never before publiſhed. Lond. 1732, in two volumes 8vo (*f*). Theſe two pieces are annexed, as eſſential parts of our author's ſcheme; and the editor has taken occaſion to anſwer the only objection of any moment brought againſt the firſt [*L*]. But in the latter, ſome notions are incidentally

(*f*) The third edition was publiſhed in 1739.

this; and yet it ariſes from an honeſt mind. The miſtake lies here, they forget that their country and commonwealth ought to be defended by juſt and lawful means, and not at the expence of humanity.

Fifthly, Prejudice and ſurmiſe make many wicked, that really are not ſo. The moſt innocent converſation between man and woman gives the malicious a handle to ſuſpect and ſlander them. From any one ſingle circumſtance, that uſually attends a criminal action, the ſuſpected perſon is found guilty of the fact itſelf. From one bad action a man's whole life is diſparaged, and judged to be of the ſame tenour. If one member of a ſociety be caught in a fault, all the reſt are preſumed to be as bad. It is ſcarce credible how many are looked upon as ſcandalouſly wicked through ſuch ſuſpicions, who are very far from it. Conſeſſors and Judges, in criminal caſes, know very well how ſmall a part of publick fame is true, how little it is ever to be truſted.

Sixthly, we muſt diſtinguiſh, and the law itſelf does, between ſuch things as proceed from malice, and premeditated wickedneſs, and thoſe that ariſe from violence of paſſion, and diſorder of mind. The guilt is very much extenuated, when the perſon offending is under provocation, and, as it were, tranſported beyond himſelf by a ſudden fit of paſſion. Theſe things are all known to our moſt equitable judge, who will paſs a merciful, and not a rigorous ſentence upon us; and for theſe reaſons we believe he forbad us to judge any thing before the time. We only know the outſide of things: and it is poſſible, that ſuch as ſeem to us the greateſt crimes, would upon ſeeing the whole procedure, and making proper allowances, appear to be the leaſt. Many virtues, as well as vices, lie in the mind inviſible to human eyes, it is ſpeaking at random therefore to pronounce upon the number of one or other; and he that would from thence infer the neceſſity of an evil principle ought to be eſteemed a raſh judge, and an uſurper of God's tribunal.

Laſtly, It may be obſerved, that the continuance and increaſe of mankind is a ſure proof that there is more good than evil in the world; for one or two acts may have a pernicious influence on many perſons: nay, all immoral actions tend to the deſtruction of mankind, at leaſt to the common detriment and diminution of them. Whereas a great many, even numberleſs, good actions muſt neceſſarily concur to the preſervation of each individual. If therefore bad actions exceeded the good, there would be an end of human kind. We have clear evidence of this in thoſe countries, where vices multiply; the number of men continually decreaſe and the place grows deſolate; but upon the return of virtue and goodneſs it is again ſtocked with inhabitants. This is a ſign that mankind could not ſubſiſt, if ever vice were prevalent, ſince many good acts are neceſſariy to repair the loſs, which attends one bad one. One ſingle action may take away the life of a man, or of ſeveral men, but how many acts of benevolence and humanity muſt neceſſarily contribute to the bringing up, educating, and preſerving every one. From what has been ſaid, I hope it appears that there is more good than evil among men, and that a good God might make the world, notwithſtanding the argument drawn from the contrary ſuppoſition. His Grace concludes this beautiful chain of reaſoning with the following excellent remark. But almoſt all of this is unneceſſary, ſince the whole univerſe may have ten thouſand times more good than evil, though this earth of ours had no one good thing in it. This world is too ſmall to bear any proportion to the whole ſyſtem; and therefore we can form but a very unequal judgment of it from hence. It may be the hoſpital or priſon of the world, and can any one judge of the healthfulneſs of a climate from viewing an hoſpital, where all are ſick? Or of the wiſdom of a government from a place of confinement, where there are only madmen? Or of the virtue of a people from a priſon, where there are none but malefactors? Not that I believe the earth is really ſuch a place; but I ſay it may be ſuppoſed ſuch, and any ſuppoſition, which ſhews how a thing may be, deſtroys the Manichæan argument drawn from the impoſſibility of accounting for it. In the interim, I look upon this earth as an habitation abounding with delights, in which a man may live with comfort, joy, and happineſs. I own, with the greateſt gratitude to God, that I myſelf have lived ſuch a life, and am perſuaded, that my friends, acquaintance, and ſervants, have all the ſame; and I believe that there is no evil in life, but what is very tolerable, eſpecially to thoſe who have hopes of a future immortality (42).

(42) Law's Tranſlation, Vol. II. p. 473, ad edit.

[*L*] *Anſwered the only objection of any moment brought againſt the firſt*] The objection here meant is to that paſſage, where the Archbiſhop ſays, that underſtanding, juſtice, and virtue, are not to be underſtood to ſignify the ſame thing, when applied to God and to man. A doctrine which, as expreſſed, ſeems in reality to be utterly ſubverſive of all religion and morality, as is excellently argued by another archbiſhop, I mean Dr Tillotſon, as follows: *It is fooliſh*, ſays that inimitable preacher, *for any man to pretend that he cannot know what juſtice, and goodneſs, and truth, in God are; for if we do not know this, 'tis all one to us whether God be good or not; nor could we imitate his goodneſs, for he that imitates, endeavours to be like ſomething that he knows, and muſt of neceſſity have ſome idea of that to which he aims to be like; ſo that if we had no certain and ſettled notions of the juſtice and goodneſs of God, he would be altogether an unintelligible Being, and religion, which conſiſts in the imitation of him, would be utterly impoſſible* (43). 'This conſequence, as Mr Law obſerves, 'will hold equally good againſt the doctrine delivered 'by our author in the ſermon annexed, if he did not 'ſuppoſe, that there are ſome qualities in man in ſome 'reſpects really correſpondent to thoſe in God, and ſo 'very like them, that nothing could be more ſo, except that which exiſts in the very ſame manner and 'degree too, i. e. in a perfect one. If this be his 'meaning, as is not improbable from his anſwer to the 'like objection in §. 22. where he declares, that the divine attributes have much more reality and perfection 'in them, than the things by which we repreſent 'them. If, I ſay, he be taken in this ſenſe as I 'would willingly underſtand him, he is perfectly clear 'from the exceptions made above.' Mr Law then proceeds to take notice of another antagoniſt of the Archbiſhop upon ths ſubject, as follows: 'I wiſh, contin'ues he, the author of the Extent and Procedure of 'the Underſtanding, could be ſhewn to be ſo [clear of 'exception] who is generally ſuppoſed to have pur'ſued his notion of analogy, farther than moſt perſons 'will be able to follow him. As he has charged the 'Archbiſhop with a miſtaken way of treating the 'ſubject (44). I hope he will be ready to excuſe any 'for obſerving what they they conceive to be a mi'ſtake in his own method, eſpecially if they endeavour 'to ſhew directly that the foundation of analogy, as he 'has placed it, is falſe and groundleſs, which foun'dation is the general nature or diſtinguiſhing kind of 'theſe qualities. Now the nature of the forementioned qualities muſt either be wholly the ſame in 'God and us, or wholly different; if the former be 'maintained, then the analogical ſenſe is turned into 'an identical one, if the latter, then can no manner 'of reſemblance or analogy be drawn between them, 'ſince one nature can't in the leaſt help to explain or 'repreſent another quite different from it, I mean in 'thoſe very points wherein they differ, for that is to 'be different and not different, and the analogical 'ſenſe is turned into a diſparate or quite oppoſite one, 'i. e. into no analogy at all; or, laſtly, it muſt be 'partly the ſame and partly different, or like and unlike in different reſpects, which is the thing we con-

(43) Tillotſon's Sermons, Vol. II. No. LXXVI. p. 672 and 678. folio edit.

(44) Viz. In his introduction to the Extent and Procedure of the Underſtanding, p. 17.

'tend

incidentally dropped, which ſeem to be merely conjectural [*M*]. To conclude, the Archbiſhop's ſyſtem, as explained and improved by this editor, in clearing up ſome of the chief difficulties that occur in our conception of the Deity and his Providence, was afterwards adopted by Mr Pope, and adorned with all the graces of poetry in his *Eſſay on Man*.

' tend for, viz. like in perfection or in being perfec-
' tions of a certain kind, and unlike in defect or imper-
' fection that is mixed with the contrary qualities, or
' the ſame in their nature or eſſence, but different in
' degree and the manner of exiſtence. Or take it thus,
' the qualities as ſuch conſidered in the abſtract are
' the ſame, as exiſting in a particular ſubject different;
' in an infinite or rather perfect ſubject they exiſt per-
' fectly, or in the higheſt degree, they are abſolute
' without any mixture or defect, in a finite or imper-
' fect one they are limited or defective, they exiſt in
' an imperfect manner or inferior degree. Conſe-
' quently we conceive a likeneſs in both as perfections
' or qualities of a certain nature or kind, unlike only
' as mixed with imperfections or as confined to a cer-
' tain degree. If therefore the author founds his ana-
' logy in the very nature of the thing, he ſeems to in-
' cur the forementioned abſurdity of ſuppoſing a nature
' contradictory to itſelf, or ſomething from which it is
' at the ſame time totally different. If with us he will
' pleaſe to diſtinguiſh between the nature of the thing in
' general, and the particular modus of it's exiſtence,
' he muſt with us alſo remove the analogy from the
' former foundation, and fix it upon the latter (45)'

(45) Law's Tranſlation, in remarks to note 10, p. 91, 92, 93.

[*M*] *He advances ſome notions merely conjectural.*] His text is theſe words in Gen. ii. 16, 17. *And the Lord God commanded the man ſaying, of every tree in the garden thou mayſt freely eat: But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil thou ſhalt not eat of it, for in the day that thou eateſt thereof thou ſhalt ſurely die:* He treats of it under the four following heads, (1.) He conſiders the ſtate and circumſtances of man when this command was given. (2.) The command itſelf. (3.) How man was ſeduced to break it. (4.) The conſequence of that diſobedience. Upon the firſt head he maintains that Adam before the Fall was in a ſtate of great ignorance, his knowledge extending no farther than what he ſaw of the creatures with him in the garden, and that for any thing more he was under the immediate direction and information of God: whence he ſhews, under the ſecond head, the true ſenſe of the command not to be an arbitrary trial of ſubmiſſion to the will of God; but rather a means to facilitate and ſecure his obedience to his own advantage. Your obedience, ſays God, in this will be an infallible means to ſecure you from chuſing wrong in any other thing. Whilſt you direct your free-will wholly right in this, I will take care, that you ſhall not abuſe it in any other. In treating the third head, he follows the common opinion, taking the ſerpent in the literal ſenſe, but aſſerts further that it was even the very ſame ſpecies of that creature which we ſee now, between whom and man there continues an enmity, ſays he, to this day; but though it was a true and literal ſerpent, yet there was more in it, for the devil ſpoke through it; nay, he thinks it no incongruity to ſuppoſe, that the devil poſſeſſed the ſerpent ſo as to be as it were incarnate in it; we may have leave, ſays he, to think that the power of God could unite them as cloſely as our ſouls and bodies are joined, and cauſe the puniſhment inflicted on the literal ſerpent to affect Satan in it, who therefore was obliged to crawl upon his belly, and lick the duſt of the earth, at leaſt as long as that individual ſerpent was in being. This he is the rather induced to believe, inaſmuch as the literal ſenſe ſo underſtood does not exclude the myſtical, the curſing of the ſerpent being a ſymbol to us, and a viſible pledge of the malediction with which the Devil is ſtruck by God, and whereby he is become the moſt abominable and miſerable of creatures. In explaining the fourth head he maintains, that a main conſequence of the Fall was an increaſe of knowledge in reſpect both of good and evil by the uſe of their natural faculties. From the whole he obſerves, that God did not think it fit our firſt parents ſhould be abſolutely happy in the ſtate of innocence, without revealed religion and the uſe of ſacraments. Their diſcovery of good and evil, in that ſtate, being to proceed from the continual communications of the divine wiſdom, and the trees of knowledge and life were truly ſacraments as being outward and viſible ſigns and means of grace, which is the true notion of a ſacrament. Whence he infers, that it is a great folly to deſpiſe and to think of being ſaved without revealed religion. P

(*a*) Life of Dr Will. King, prefixed to his Remains, &c. edit. 1732, 8vo.

(*b*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1064.

* This is evident from his going out Compounder, when he took his firſt degree. Wood's Faſti, Vol. II. p. 226.

(*c*) Id. ibid.

KING [WILLIAM], an ingenious and humorous Poet, was the ſon of Ezekiel King, Gent. of London; in which city he had his birth about the year 1663. He was bred with the ſtricteſt care from his infancy (*a*); and, as ſoon as he became fit for it, was put under the celebrated Dr Buſby at Weſtminſter ſchool, where, being choſen King's ſcholar, his natural good talents received all thoſe improvements from cultivation, that might be expected from ſo admirable a maſter. After which he was elected to Chriſt-church-college in Oxford, and admitted a ſtudent there in Michaelmas-term 1681, at the age of eighteen years (*b*). He was particularly pleaſed with this ſituation in the univerſity, and made uſe of the advantages it gave him; he had a ſtrong propenſity to letters, and of thoſe valuable treaſures he daily increaſed his ſtock; but being well deſcended, and becoming early poſſeſſed of an eaſy fortune * [*A*], he indulged his genius and inclination in the choice method of his ſtudies, ranging freely and at large through the pleaſant fields of polite literature; and being raviſhed with the ſweet purſuit, he proſecuted it with incredible diligence and aſſiduity [*B*]. He took his firſt degree in Arts, December 8, 1685 (*c*), and thence

[*A*] *He was well deſcended, and became early poſſeſſed of an eaſy fortune.*] The author of ſome account of his life obſerves, that he was allied to the noble families of Clarendon and Rocheſter (1); and ſeveral paſſages of his life mentioned in the courſe of this memoir confirm it. The Doctor himſelf having occaſion to ſpeak of ſome fine pictures of *Paulo Veroneſe* in the poſſeſſion afterwards of Lord Harcourt, calls him his couſin (2); and among his hints for making a collection of books, manuſcripts, &c. which might tend to the honour of the Britiſh name, he propoſes an enquiry to be made, what lives of merchants and citizens of eminency have been wrote. 'Tis a pity, continues he, if none or few are found. Whether there is not a life wrote of my great-grandfather *La Motte*. He was a merchant of note (3). With regard to his fortune we are informed, in the account of his life (4), that he enjoyed a pretty paternal eſtate in Middleſex and elſewhere; and our author himſelf occaſionally mentions his eſtates in Northamptonſhire and Leiceſterſhire. The

(1) Life, prefixed to his Remains, &c. p. 8.

(2) Remains, &c. p. 82.

(3) Ibid. p. 66, 67.

(4) P. 8.

paſſage is in his animadverſions on Lord Moleſworth's account of Denmark, which becauſe it will furniſh no unfit ſpecimen of the taſte and manner of that piece, we ſhall preſent our readers with it as follows. In anſwer to ſome of his Lordſhip's remarks on the poor diet in Denmark, he writes thus: 'Their peaſants 'live as plentifully as in other countries, they have 'good fleſh and ſalt fiſh, white meats, roots, &c. but 'what ſignifies all this (according to our author, 'p 11) *ſince neceſſary freſh fiſh is wanting.* I could 'heartily condole their condition, if my tenants in 'Northampton and Leiceſterſhire would not take ex-'ception; for if they found me once ſo indulgent to 'the peaſants of another nation, they would certainly 'expect a double barrel of Coſcheſter oyſters by the 'next carrier; and without a cod's head, ſmelts, or 'turbot, I might e'en go to plow myſelf for Hodge 'and Sawney (5).'

(5) Miſcellanies in proſe and verſe, by Will. King, p. 14.

[*B*] *He purſued his ſtudies with incredible diligence.*] It appeared from his looſe papers, termed by him, *Adverſaria*,

them proceeded regularly to that of Maſter July 6, in the year of the Revolution (*d*), and the ſame year commenced author. He had the happineſs of being endued with a religious turn of mind [*C*]; which being joined to the warmeſt regard for the honour of his country [*D*], prompted him to reſcue the character and name of Wicliffe, our firſt Reformer, from (*d*) Ibid. p. 231.

oblivion, that before he was eight years ſtanding in the univerſity, he had read over and made reflections on twelve two thouſand and odd hundred books and manuſcripts (6). The following extracts from theſe Adverſaria will explain and illuſtrate the Doctor's taſte and manner in directing the courſe of his ſtudies.—— *Diogenes Laërtius*, book 1. *Thales* being aſked how a man might moſt eaſily brook misfortunes, anſwered, if he ſaw his enemies in a worſe condition. It is not agreed concerning the wiſe men, or whether indeed they were ſeven. Solon ordained, that the guardians of orphans ſhould not cohabit with their mothers, and that no perſon ſhould be a guardian to thoſe whoſe eſtate deſcended upon them at the orphan's deceaſe: that no ſeal graver ſhould keep the ſeal of a ring that was ſold: that if any man put out the eye of him who had but one, he ſhould loſe both his own: that where a man never planted, it ſhould be death to take away: that it ſhould be death for a man to be taken in drink. Solon's letters at the end of his life in Laërtius, give us a truer idea of the man than all he has written before, and are indeed very fine. Solon's to Cræſus are very genteel; and Pittacus's, on the other ſide, as rude and philoſophical: however, both ſhew Cræſus to have been a very great man.——Anacharſis has an epiſtle to Cræſus to thank him for his invitation; and Periander one to all the wiſe men to invite them to Corinth to him, after his return from Lydia. Epimenides has an epiſtle to Solon to invite him to Crete under the tyranny of Piſiſtratus.—Epimenides often pretended that he roſe from death to life——Socrates is ſaid to have aſſiſted Euripides in his tragedies. He was a great champion of democracy, and extols pleaſure as the beſt thing a man could enjoy, as Xenophon witneſſes in his *Sympoſium*. Xenophon was modeſt to exceſs, and the moſt lovely perſon living.——Bion uſed to ſay, it was more eaſy to determine differences between enemies than friends, for that of two friends, one would become an enemy; but of two enemies, one would become a friend.——Ariſtippus was a man of a ſoft temper, and could comply with all perſons, places, and ſeaſons. He could enjoy, and ſcorn pleaſure, if too expenſive to his way of living. He ſaid pleaſure was no crime, but it was a crime for a man to be a ſlave to his pleaſure. We can have no true character of him from his life in Laërtius; for it is certain, he was an exact courtier, and the reſt of the philoſophers, the Grecians, were generally averſe to him, becauſe he could endure to live in the court of Dionyſius, whereas they were all for a democracy, and could not endure to ſee a Greek complaiſant to a monarch, being a thing, as they thought, below the dignity of his birth.——Pleaſure was the thing he ſought after: and the Hegeſiacks, his followers, tell us, there was nothing either pleaſant or unpleaſant by nature; but that thro' ſcarcity, novelty, and ſatiety, ſome things were delightful, others diſtaſteful. That wealth and poverty had no relation to pleaſure; for that the pleaſures of the rich and the pleaſures of the poor were ſtill the ſame. They were of opinion, that the tranſgreſſions of men were to be pardoned, for that no man committed a voluntary ſin, but by the impulſe of ſome natural paſſion or other. That a man ought to propoſe to himſelf as his chiefeſt end, to live a life freeſt from trouble and pain, which happens to them who are not over eager in the chace and purſuit of pleaſure.——See in the life of *Ariſtippus* the notion of the Cyreniacks about friendſhip, and how they ſhew the pleaſure that is in it. Theodorus the Atheiſt denied friendſhip, as neither appearing really in fools nor wiſe men; for in the firſt, as ſoon as the benefit ceaſes, the friendſhip dies; and wiſe men truſt ſo much to their own abilities, that they ſtand in need of none.——Laërtius has made verſes on moſt of the philoſophers, which are very dull. The Phrygians profuſe in their tempers.——Menedemus, when a ſtupid fellow talked impertinently to him, ſaid, haſt thou any lands? The fellow anſwered, Yes, ſeveral farms. Go then, ſaid he, and look after them, leſt thou loſe thy wealth, and come to be a poor fool.—— Timon, an inveterate enemy to the academic philoſophers, has written a ſatire upon them all There is a very fine ode of Ariſtotle's in Diogenes Laërtius concerning virtue and friendſhip, which want to be tranſlated from the Greek. Laërtius is a very dull fellow. ——Diogenes's ſayings are moſt of them *puns*. He ſaid oppoſition was the ſtudy of his whole life.—— Hypparchia, a woman of a good birth and fortune, fell in love with Crates the naſty Cynic, and would needs marry him, and live after his faſhion. Crates made her brother become his auditor by letting a f—: theſe Cynics were naſty brutes.——The logick of the Stoicks ſeems to me, as far I can make any thing of Laërtius, to be nothing but words. They held ſelf-preſervation to be the firſt of all deſires infuſed into all creatures. Erillus maintained, there were things indifferent between virtue and vice (7).' From theſe obſervations on Laërtius the reader will be able to form a judgment of others. We need not take notice, that this method of making remarks upon the authors he read, is very far from being peculiar to the Doctor, it is the general way of every ſtudent, but nothing diſcovers the taſte and temper of his genius more than the turn and nature of his *Adverſaria* 'Tis theſe that ſhew how freely the Doctor ranged in the fields of polite learning, as well as what ſort of flowers pleaſed his fancy moſt None of the humorous kind ſeem to have eſcaped his notice, eſpecially if dreſſed up in verſe, of which the following may ſerve for a ſpecimen. (7) Ibid. p. 18 to p. 24.

Mirth makes them not mad,
Nor ſobriety ſad,
For of that they are ſeldom in danger;
At Paris, at Rome,
At the Hague they're at home,
The good fellow's no where a ſtranger.

[*C*] *He had the happineſs of being endued with a religious turn of mind.*] This was ſo much his diſpoſition, that he would never enter upon any buſineſs of the day 'till he had performed his devotions, and read ſeveral portions of ſcripture out of the Pſalms, the Prophets, and the New Teſtament; on which he would often make his remarks, taking a freſh piece of paper every morning in his hand, on which he always begun with Σὺν Θεῷ, *by God's permiſſion*: and this paper he kept at hand all day, to write down whatever occurred to his mind or pleaſed his fancy; theſe he called hints, which he could refer to at pleaſure. Accordingly, we find ſeveral of theſe upon the ſubject of religion, and the Church as well as virtue and morality. Such, for inſtance, are theſe. 'The ſecond of Eſdras ſeems to me full of tautologies and childiſh inſtances of God's power and explanation of his ſecret deſigns. Chryſoſtome ſpeaks expreſsly of Jeſus Chriſt.——See *Bartolus Agricola de Advocato*, having taught the Advocate to be a good man, he proceeds to make him a good Chriſtian (8).——There is ſuch an air of piety runs thro' all Hackluit's diſcoveries, that makes it ſeem as if that alone made them ſucceſsful. What ſignified all the Buccaneers proſperity without virtue? To what authority did all their wars and conqueſts bring them, but to make one another rich and vicious (9).' (8) Remains, &c. p. 26, 27. (9) Ibid. p. 67.

[*D*] *The warmeſt regard for the honour of his country.*] In this ſpirit, at the head of a very large number of his Adverſaria, we find——'Criticiſms and remarks in poetry, &c. as might tend to the honour of the Britiſh name and literature.' To encourage a collection of this kind, our author recommends a prodigious number of obſervations on books, manuſcripts, and what elſe he had met with to promote the ſaid work. Theſe obſervations fill up above twenty pages in 8vo (10,) and are moſt of them exceeding curious; the great number of the valuable ſmaller poetical pieces referred to and mentioned in them, are a conſpicuous proof of our author's judgment as well as diligence. Among other rare pieces, he mentions the *Poleno Middiana* a *Macaronick* poem, by Drummond of Hawthornden (11), which, as he intimates, was publiſhed by Dr Gibſon, late Biſhop of London. He takes notice alſo of the Biſhop of Lichfield's technical verſes for Chronology, as a ſtupendious work, comprehending (10) Ibid. from p. 46 to 66. (11) Ibid. p. 47. See Ben Jonſon's article, p. 2783. (*b*).

from the calumnies of Monſ. Varillas; the thing had been publickly requeſted alſo, as a proper undertaking for ſuch as were at leiſure and would take the trouble (e). Mr King therefore deeming himſelf to be thus called forth to the charge, readily entered the liſts; and, with a proper mixture of wit and learning, handſomely expoſed the blunders of that French author, in a piece intitled, *Reflections upon Mr* Varillas *his Hiſtory of Herſie, Book I. Tom. I. as far as relates to Engliſh Matters, more eſpecially thoſe of Wicliffe*. Lond. 1688 [*E*]. About this time, having fixed on the Civil-Law for his profeſſion, he entered upon that line in the univerſity (*f*), and at the regular time took his Doctor's degree therein; which qualifying him to plead in the courts of the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Law, he was admitted an Advocate: and reſiding at Doctors-Commons, ſoon grew into conſiderable repute, and had great practice as a Civilian (*g*). In the interim (*h*), Lord Moleſworth publiſhing his account of Denmark in 1692, our author took up his pen once more in his country's cauſe, the honour of which was thought to be blemiſhed by that account (*i*). Animated with this ſpirit, he drew up a cenſure of it, which he printed under the title of *Animadverſions upon the pretended Account of Denmark* [*F*]. This was publiſhed in 1694, and was ſo much

(e) Biſhop Burnet had attacked this author immediately after his book came out in 1686. See Biſhop Burnet's article in remark [T], p. 1036, Vol. II.

(f) Ath. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(g) Account of his Life, &c. p. 8.

(h) He tranſlated *The Life of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus the Roman Emperor*, with Remarks, &c. from the French of Monſieur & Madam Dacier. Lond. 1692, 8vo. He alſo tranſlated from French, *New Memoirs and Characters of the two great Brothers, the Duke of Bouillon, and Mareſchal Turenne*. Written by James de Langlade, Baron of Saumeries. 1693, 8vo.

(i) Mr Scheel, the Daniſh Miniſter, had alſo preſented a memorial againſt it. Animadv. p. 36. in our author's Miſcellanies.

that learning thro' many ages ſo ſhort, that nothing can be a greater inſtance, *memoriam in artem poſſe redire* (12). In the ſame view, having afterwards mentioned the technical verſes uſually found in the little manuals of logick, he ſays it were to be wiſhed, that the memorial verſes in all ſciences were collected together and printed (13), and his judgment in this particular has been confirmed, and the deſign here hinted actually put into execution by the learned Dr Richard Grey, in his *Memoria Technica*, or *Art of Memory*. Our poet is particularly inquiſitive after any pieces of the author of Hudibras. If that author, ſays he, has left any Latin behind him, it would be the beſt in that kind: his thoughts are ſo juſt, his images ſo lively, ſuch a deep inſight into the nature of mankind, and the humour of thoſe times, that no true hiſtory could be wrote without ſtudying that author. 'Tis pity, continues he, that the fineſt of our Engliſh poets, eſpecially the divine Shakeſpeare, had not communicated their beauties to the world ſo as to be underſtood in Latin, whereby foreigners have ſuſtained ſo great a loſs to this day; when all of them would do inexcuſable, but the moſt inimitable Shakeſpeare. I am ſo far from being envious and deſirous to keep thoſe treaſures to ourſelves, that I could wiſh all our moſt excellent poets tranſlated into Latin that are not ſo already. Accordingly this hint of the Doctor's was not loſt, among other things we have ſince ſeen not only a Latin tranſlation of Prior's Solomon, but even of Milton's Paradiſe Loſt excellently performed in verſe *.

(12) Ibid. p. 53.

(13) P. 59.

* By Mr Dobſon, Fellow of New-college, Oxford.

[*E*] *Reflections upon Varillas, &c.*] Mr Varillas had intitled his book, *Hiſtoire des Revolutions arrivées en Europe en Matiere de Religion. Paris*, 6 vol. 4to. 1686. and again in 1687, 12mo (14). It begins with the year 1374, and ends in 1650. Dr King made uſe of the Amſterdam edition, not being able to procure that of Paris. At the head of the firſt volume Varillas had put the following advertiſement. 'In compoſing this work, I have taken my materials indifferently from Catholick and Proteſtant writers; citing theſe laſt in their own words as often as I found them ingenuous enough not to ſuppreſs or diſguiſe the moſt important truths: and it is thro' their own fault that I have been obliged to have recourſe to the Catholicks.' In like manner Mr King prefixed an advertiſement, wherein he declares, 'that he was willing to contribute his ſhare in expoſing Mr Varillas's miſtakes concerning Wicliffe, having formerly laid together ſome obſervations conducing to ſuch a deſign. Mr Larroque had, 'tis true, gone before him in the attempt, but that ingenious gentleman was not well adviſed to meddle in a ſtrange country, 'till time had inſtructed him more fully in the conſtitutions and language of it. That he[Mr King] has given Mr Varillas all the law imaginable, having made no advantage of miſtakes, which with any reaſon could be charged upon the Printer, and has contradicted nothing without expreſs proof on his ſide, and in things highly improbable, which ſeem to have no foundation in hiſtory, unleſs he can confront them with poſitive and authentick teſtimonies, he lets the author alone, and ſuffers the boldneſs of the aſſertion to be its own ſecurity. In the reflections he obſerves, that the enemies of the Reformation, as they ſeem reſolved never to leave off writing controverſies, and being confuted by our divines; ſo they are not wanting upon occaſion to turn their ſtile and furniſh out matter of triumph to our hiſtorians. Sanders and Cauſſin heretofore, and of late Mr Maimbourg and Monſieur Varillas have thought themſelves qualified for this employment. Among the reſt, continues he, Mr Varillas has uſed his pen with ſuch a partial extravagance, and with ſo little regard to modeſty and truth, that he has not only provoked the learned of the reformed profeſſion to chaſtiſe his impudence in their public writings, but has alſo drawn upon him the ſcorn and indignation of ſeveral gentlemen of his own communion; who in a ſenſe of honour and common ingenuity, have taken ſome pains to lay open the ſmooth impoſture. Mr Hoſier, Genealogiſt to the King of France, in his epiſtle declares himſelf to have diſcovered in him above four thouſand errors *. Pere Bohours, in a diſcourſe of his makes it his buſineſs to expoſe him Even his old friend Mr Dryden ſeems to have forſaken him, and gone over to his adverſary Bohours, from whoſe original he is now tranſlating the life of St Xavier. To be free, there is almoſt as many faults in every ſingle page of Mr Varillas as in a Printer's table of *Errata*: and if the Archbiſhop of Paris would do his duty, he would find himſelf bound to put a holy cenſure upon his penſioner; and as he was lately very forward to compel thoſe of the religion to a recantation of their faith, ſo he ought here to oblige Mr Varillas to an abjuration of his hiſtory.' We muſt not omit in juſtice, however, to Varillas to obſerve, that as to the matter of this penſion he abſolutely denied it. 'Tis true, Le Long tells us, that he was offered ſuch by ſeveral French noblemen as well as foreigners, which he always refuſed, and particularly the States of Holland offered him one in 1669, to engage him to write their hiſtory, but he alſo refuſed this by the advice of Mr *Pompone*. He accepted that only of the clergy of France which Mr de Harlai, Archbiſhop of Paris, had procured for him (15). But Varillas contradicts this, and in his anſwer to Biſhop Burnet ſays, that he never accepted the penſion which Mr Harlai had obtained for him from the clergy of France in 1670, nor yet that which he procured of the King for him, charged upon the abbey of *La Victoire* in 1672; and that all that he received by the Archbiſhop's means, was a preſent from the aſſembly of the clergy in 1670, and a gratuity from the King of two thouſand livres in 1685 (16). However that be, our author having obſerved that theſe reflections on Varillas's account of Wicliffe, contain ſome memoirs of that great man, who was, as it were, the morning ſtar of the Reformation, proceeds thus: it were to be wiſhed, ſays he, that from the many volumes of his works ſtill remaining, a hiſtory of religion of that time were compoſed, which would give great light into the affairs of England.

(14) It was alſo printed in both ſizes at Paris, 1690.

* This extract of Mr Hoſier's letter is cited in the preface of Mr Larroque's book, which is intitled. *Nouvelles Accuſations contre M. Varillas, ou Remarques Critiques ſur une partie de ſon premier livre de l'hiſtoire de l'Hereſie*. Amſtelod. 1687. p. 162.

(15) Le Long's Bibliotheque Hiſtorique de la France, under the article Varillas.

(16) Niceron's Memoires, Tom. V. p. 64. Paris, 1728, 8vo.]

[*F*] *Animadverſions on the pretended account of Denmark.*] Our author acquaints us, that theſe animadverſions were wrote at the requeſt of the Reverend Mr Brink, miniſter of the Daniſh church in London, a perſon whoſe merit, travels, and knowledge of the world had deſervedly gained him the favour of the then preſent King of Denmark, upon whom he was an attendant at Venice. That from him, aſſiſted by his Excellency Mr Scheel, who reſided here as Envoy Extraordinary, he † had the memoirs which compoſed thoſe papers, which had the honour not to be unacceptable to his Royal Highneſs Prince George; and when ſent to Denmark, were, by the late King's order, turned into French, and read to him as faſt as they could be tranſlated. That he had ſeen two editions of them, one in Holland and another in Germany. That he ſhould be ungrateful if he did not acknowledge the great honour which the univerſity of *Copenhagen* did him

† General preface to his Miſcellanies.

much approved by Prince George, consort to the Princeſs [afterwards Queen] Anne, that the doctor was appointed Secretary to her Royal Highneſs the ſame year (*k*). In 1697, attacked by Dr Bentley, he took a ſhare with his fellow-collegians at Chriſt-church, in the diſpute againſt that learned doctor, about the genuineneſs of Phalaris's Greek epiſtles [*G*]. His zeal for the honour of his college glows with a ſingular warmth in this controverſy. And the following year came out his humorous piece, intituled, *A Journey to London in the year 1698, after the ingenious Method of that made by Dr* Martin L.—— [Liſter] *the ſame year*; which he deſigned as a vindication of his country, in the view of ſhewing Britain as much preferable to France, as wealth, plenty, and liberty, are beyond tortoiſes hearts, champignons, and Monſieurs; or the raiſing of two millions and two hundred thouſand pounds in a few hours, is preferable to any coins of Zenobia, Odenatus, and Vabalathus (*l*). This was a ſpecimen of that particular humour in which he excelled, and the charms of which proved irreſiſtible. Whence giving way to that *fuga negotii*, ſo incident to the poetical race, he paſſed his days in the purſuit of the ſame raviſhing images, which being aptly moulded, came abroad in manuſcript in the form of pleaſant tales and other pieces in verſe, at various times, as they happened to be finiſhed [*H*]. Thus captivated

(*k*) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 914.

(*l*) General Preface to his Miſcellanies.

him in a letter under the ſeal of that learned and flouriſhing body. That he took it as one of his greateſt happineſſes, that by the means of his acquaintance with Mr Brink, he had accompanied him to his Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury and the Lord Biſhop of London, with letters from the Biſhop of *Copenhagen*, teſtifying the reſpect he had for their Lordſhips, and his juſt regard and veneration for the Church of England.

'As to the matters of fact laid down in theſe papers, 'ſays he, I am no farther accountable, but believe 'none of them can be contradicted (17)' The book has a great many curious remarks upon the Daniſh conſtitution both in church and ſtate, one of which we ſhall mention as follows. 'Tis a general miſtake, 'he obſerves, in England, to call the notion of the 'Lutheran Proteſtants concerning the ſacrament *Conſubſtantiation* (18), for no ſuch word is uſed amongſt 'them. Their notion amounts to this, that they believe ſtedfaſtly a real and true preſence of the body 'and blood of Chriſt in the ſacrament in a manner ineffable, which our Saviour himſelf is beſt able both 'to know and do; whereas *Conſubſtantiation* would imply ſomething more natural and *material* (19).' See more of this in the article of Lord Moleſworth.

(17) Preface to the Animadverſions, &c.

(18) See Lord Moleſworth's Account, p. 252.

(19) Animadverſions, &c. p. 277.

[*G*] *He engaged in the diſpute about Phalaris's epiſtles.*] We have two letters of our author, which ſhew how he came to enter into this diſpute (20); they are addreſſed to the honourable Charles Boyle, Eſq; who had applied to him for an account of what paſſed between Mr Bennet the Bookſeller and Dr Bentley, concerning the MS. of Phalaris's epiſtles; in anſwer to which, he ſays, that among other things the Doctor declared, *that if the MS was collated, it would be worth nothing for the future*; and that his whole diſcourſe was managed with much inſolence. This letter is dated Doctors-Commons, Octob. 13, 1697. and was written in Dr Bentley's *Diſſertation on the epiſtles of Phalaris and the fables of Æſop* (21), then juſt publiſhed. In which piece, our author finding himſelf treated with ſome contempt, addreſſed another letter to Mr Boyle in the following terms. '*Give me leave, Sir, to tell 'you a ſecret, that I have ſpent a whole day upon Dr 'Bentley's late volume of ſcandal and criticiſm; for 'every one mayn't judge it for his credit to be ſo employed. He thinks meanly, I find, of my reading; as 'meanly as I think of his ſenſe, his modeſty, or his manners. And yet for all that I dare ſay, I have read 'more than any man in England, beſides him and me; 'for I have read his book all over.*

(20) See an account of this controverſy in Dr Bentley's article, Vol. II.

(21) King's Miſcellanies, p. 261, 262.

'*If you have looked into it, Sir, you have found, 'that a perſon, under the pretence of criticiſm, may take 'what freedom he pleaſes with the reputation and credit of any gentleman; and that he need not have any 'regard to another man's character, who has once reſolved to expoſe his own. It was my misfortune once in 'my life to be in the ſame place with Dr Bentley, and 'a witneſs to a great deal of his rude and ſcurrilous 'language; which he was ſo liberal of, as to throw out 'at random in a public ſhop; and is ſo ſilly now as to 'call it eaves-dropping in me, becauſe he was ſo noiſy, 'and I was ſo near, that I could not help hearing him.*

'*You deſired me at ſome years diſtance to recollect 'what paſſed at that meeting, and I obeyed your commands. Shall I reckon it an advantage, that Dr 'Bentley, who diſputes the other teſtimonies, falls in 'entirely with mine? I would, if I were not apprehenſive that on that very account, it might be one ſtep 'farther from being credited. However, ſuch is his 'ſpite to me, that he confirms the truth of all I told you. 'For the only particular I could call to mind, he grants 'with ſome ſlight difference in the expreſſion: and as 'to the general account I gave of his rudeneſs and inſolence, he denies it indeed, but in ſo rude and inſolent 'a manner, that there is no occaſion for me to juſtify 'myſelf on that head. I had declared, it ſeems, that 'he ſaid,* The MS of Phalaris would be worth nothing if it were collated. *He ſets me right, and avers the 'expreſſion was, that* after the various lections were 'once taken and printed, the MS would be like a ſqueezed orange, and little worth for the future. '*The ſimilitude of a ſqueez'd orange is indeed a conſiderable circumſtance which I had forgot, as I doubtleſs 'did ſeveral others. But for all that, I remember the 'general drift and manner of his diſcourſe, as well as 'if all the particular expreſſions were preſent to me. 'Juſt as I know his laſt book to be a diſingenuous, vain, 'confuſed, unmannerly performance, tho' to my happineſs hardly any of his awkward jeſts or impertinent 'quotations ſtick by me*

'*I had owned it to be my opinion, that a* MS was 'worth nothing unleſs it were collated. *The Doctor 'cunningly diſtinguiſhes upon me, and ſays,* 'tis worth nothing indeed to the reſt of the world, but it is better for the owner, if a price were to be ſet upon it. *I beg his pardon for my miſtake, I thought we were talking of books in the way of ſcholars, whereas he anſwers me like a Bookſeller, and as if he* dealt in MSS *inſtead of reading them. For my part, I meaſure the value of theſe kind of things, from the advantage 'the publick may receive from them, and not from the 'profit they are likely to bring in to a private owner: 'And therefore I have the ſame opinion of* the Alexandrian MS (which he ſays he keeps in his lodgings) '*now, as I ſhould have had before the editors of the 'Engliſh Polyglot publiſhed the collation of it; tho' it 'may not perhaps bear up to the ſame price in St Paul's 'Church yard, or an auction. But, I hope, if it be 'ſafely kept, it need never come to the experiment.*

'*As to the particular reflections he has caſt upon me, 'tis no more than I expected. I could neither hope nor 'wiſh for better treatment from one that had uſed you 'ill. 'Tis reputable both to men and books to be ill 'ſpoken of by him, and a favourable preſumption on their 'ſide, that there is ſomething in both, which may chance 'to recommend them to the world. 'Tis in the power 'of every little creature to throw dirty language, but a 'man muſt have ſome credit himſelf in the world, before things, he ſays, can leſſen the reputation of another. And if Dr Bentley muſt be thus qualified in 'order to miſchief me, I am ſafe from all the harm that 'his malice can do me. I am, Sir,*

Your moſt obliged humble ſervant,

W. KING (22).

(22) The copy of this letter was found in *The Short Account of Dr Bentley's Humanity and Juſtice*, Ibid. p. 267.

But our author did not reſt the matter here: in the courſe of this famous diſpute he publiſhed *Dialogues of the dead relating to the preſent controverſy concerning the epiſtles of Phalaris*, he tells us, 'theſe were written in 'ſelf-defence, and I preſume, continues he, with modeſty (23)' and nothing ſhews that he had it at heart more than the various memorandums relating to that ſubject found ſcattered up and down in his Adverſaria.

(23) General preface to his Miſcellanies.

[*H*] *Humorous pieces written at various times.*] He collected theſe afterwards, and publiſhed them together with

vated with theſe beauties, he neglected his buſineſs, and even grew by degrees (as uſual in ſuch tempers) to dread and abhor it. Heedleſs of thoſe uſeful ſupplies which it brought to his finances, and which were in a few years ſo much impaired by this neglect, and by the gay courſe of life he led in the company of ſome of the beſt wits and principal gentry and nobility of the age, that he gladly accepted a ſeaſonable offer made to him in 1697 by the Lord Pembroke, appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, to attend his Lordſhip to that kingdom; where he was made Judge-Advocate, Sole Commiſſioner of the Prizes, and Keeper of the Records; and the Lord-Primate alſo conſtituted him his Vicar-General. With theſe honours he was well received and countenanced by perſons of the higheſt rank, and might have made his fortune, if the change of climate could have wrought a change in his diſpoſition. But ſo far was he from forming any deſign to heap up riches, or of treaſuring up any of that money which was now thrown into his lap, that he returned to England with no other treaſure than a few merry poems and humorous eſſays (*m*) [*I*]; and retiring to his ſtudent's place at Chriſt-church, he employed himſelf in finiſhing his *Art of Love*, in imitation of Ovid *de Arte Amandi* (*n*); to which he prefixed an excellent account of that poet [*K*]. However, he had not been long at the college, when an incident fell out that had power enough to draw him from his beloved amuſements. An action at Law had been brought againſt the Earl of Angleſey, for ſeveral cruelties uſed to his lady (*o*); wherein ſhe was backed by her mother the Counteſs of Dorcheſter. Upon this occaſion his Lordſhip ſollicited Dr King to come to town and undertake his cauſe, which was then before the Houſe of Lords. Here the force of friendſhip prevailed over all his averſion to the wrangling taſk of an advocate. He complied with the requeſt, took abundant pains for his old friend, more than ever he was known to do, and made ſuch a figure in the Earl's defence, as ſhewed him to have abilities in his profeſſion, equal to any occaſion that might call for them; ſo that he gained the reputation of an able Civilian, as well as of a humorous Poet (*p*). The Doctor's warm zeal for the Church carried him, in 1709, on the ſide of Dr Sacheverell, and had a hand in ſome of the political kites which flew about at that time (*q*). In this, indeed, he did no more, than concur with thoſe whoſe friendſhip he had always cultivated; and when theſe friends came into favour at Court, and were taken ſoon after into the Miniſtry, the doctor was not wanting in his friendly offices to them, and gave a helping hand towards the ſupport of the new meaſures they entered into. He printed ſeveral papers in this view [*L*], and, among others, one which

(*m*) Account of his Life, p. 9.

(*n*) It is dedicated to Lord Herbert, eldeſt ſon to the Earl of Pembroke, and was written at the perſwaſion of a very great Statesman. Ibid. in the dedication.

(*o*) She was a natural daughter of King James II. and having obtained a divorce on this occaſion from the Earl of Angleſey, was afterwards married to John Sheffield Duke of Buckingham-ſhire. See his article.

(*p*) Account of his Life, p. 14, 15.

(*q*) Among theſe is *A Friendly letter from honeſt* Tom. Boggs, *to the Rev. Mr* C—t—l, *Canon of Windſor, occaſioned by a Sermon preached in St George's chapel, dedicated to her* Grace *the* D—h ſs of M—l——b. Ibid. p 73 to 83.

with ſome other pieces in his Miſcellanies, prefixing this remark in the preface concerning them. The remaining papers which are here muſt ſeek their fate; they were abroad in manuſcript, and I hope will not have harder fortune now they are print, than they had in the opinion of ſome friends before they were ſo. That intituled *Little Mouths* has been univerſally admired, we ſhall inſert it as a ſpecimen of that particular kind of humour which runs thro' the reſt.

'From London, Paul the carrier coming down
'To Wantage, meets a beauty of the town;
'They both accoſt with ſalutation pretty,
'As how doſt Paul? Thank ye, and how doſt Betty?
'Didſt ſee our Jack nor ſiſter? No. You've ſeen
'I warrant none but thoſe who ſaw the Queen.
'Many words ſpoke in jeſt, ſays Paul, are true,
'I came from Windſor, and if ſome folks knew
'As much as I, it might be well for you.
'Lord, Paul, what is't? Why give me ſomething for't,
'This kiſs, and this; the matter's then, in ſhort,
'The parliament have made a proclamation,
'Which will this week be ſent all round the nation,
'That maids with little mouths do all prepare
'On Sunday next to come before the mayor;
'And that all bachelors be likewiſe there:
'For maids with little mouths ſhall if they pleaſe,
'From theſe young men chuſe two apiece.
'Betty with a bridled chin extends her face,
'And then contracts her lips with ſimp'ring grace,
'Cries, hem, pray what muſt all the huge ones do
'For huſbands, when we little mouths have two.
'Hold, not ſo faſt, cries he, pray pardon me,
'Maids with huge gaping wide mouths muſt have three.
'Betty diſtorts her face with hideous ſquawl,
'And mouth of a foot wide begins to bawl,
'Oh! oh! is't ſo? the caſe is altered, Paul;
'Is that the point? I wiſh the three were ten,
'I warrant I'd find mouth if they'll find men.'

[*I*] *He returned to England with a few merry poems and humorous eſſays.*] It ſeems he ſtruck up a particular friendſhip with one Judge Upton of Ireland, who was altogether a man after his own heart, that delighted in retirements and poetical amuſements; and having a country villa called *Mowntown* near *Dublin*, he retired there, where he ſpent moſt of his time and neglected all his buſineſs; for he neither minded his offices, or paid his court to the Lord-Lieutenant, but fell in love with his lazy retirement and melancholy companion; inſomuch that he ſeemed to have no other thoughts left but living and dying with his beloved *Mully* of *Mowntown*; a paſtoral poem ſo called, that he made upon the happineſs of his ſituation, that was, of being buried alive with *Mully*, the red cow that gave him milk, and was the ſubject of his poem. As our author was known to ſide with the party for the Church, the criticks among the oppoſite party would have impoſed the poem upon the world for a political allegory, the remoteſt from the Doctor's deſign of any they could have deviſed. And he would hardly think of attempting to undeceive them: on the contrary we may ſuppoſe he was not ill pleaſed to ſee himſelf in ſuch good company as that of Mr Pope, whoſe celebrated poem, called *The Rape of the Lock*, was about the ſame time allegoriſed in the ſame manner by a critick, who aſſuming this poſtulatum, that *the Lock* ſignified *the Barrier Treaty*, made all the reſt of the allegory out very clearly and unexceptionably.

[*K*] *The art of love*, &c.] This is ſuch an imitation of Ovid, as that where the imitator and his author ſtand much upon the ſame terms as Ben does with his father in the comedy, *What tho'f he be my father, I an't bound prentice to 'en.* The Doctor's virtuous diſpoſition is no where more remarkably diſtinguiſhed than in this piece; wherein both the ſubject and the example ſo naturally and almoſt unavoidably lead into ſome leſs chaſte images, ſome looſer love which ſtands in need of a remedy. But there is no occaſion for any remedy to be preſcribed for the love here treated of, beſides the ſpeedy obtaining of what it deſires, ſince it is all prudent, honourable, and virtuous. It is divided into fourteen books, moſt of which end with ſome remarkable fable that carries with it ſome moral.

[*L*] *He printed ſeveral pieces in ſupport of the new miniſtry.*] The chief of theſe were, *Rufinus, or an hiſtorical eſſay on the favourite miniſtry*, and *Political Conſiderations*

which he called the *Britiſh Palladium*, or a welcome of Mr St John [then Secretary of State, and afterwards Lord Bolingbroke] from France, Shortly after this, the Gazetteer's place was offered to him, in a way ſo agreeable to his temper, that he could not refuſe it [*M*]. Accordingly, he entered upon that office, January 1, 1711; but the extraordinary trouble he met with in the diſcharge of it (*r*), proved to be more than he could endure long. Beſides, he began to decline in his health; and this, joined to his natural indiſpoſition to the fatigue of any kind of buſineſs, furniſhed a ſufficient pretence for quitting the employ, which he held only 'till about Midſummer 1712, when he retired to a gentleman's houſe on the Surry ſide of the Thames, where he had paſſed a ſummer or two before. Here he enjoyed himſelf to his full content in the company of a friend or two, with a bottle and his books (*s*). However, he croſſed the water, and made frequent viſits to his relation the Lord Clarendon at Somerſet-houſe, as long as he was able. But, as the Autumn ſeaſon advanced, he drooped gradually, and then neither cared to ſee or be ſeen by any one; and winter drawing on, he ſhut himſelf up entirely from his neareſt friends, and would not ſo much as ſee his noble relation; 'till his Lordſhip hearing of his weak condition, ſent his ſiſter to fetch him in a chair to a lodging he had provided for him oppoſite to Somerſet-houſe in the Strand; where, next day about noon, being Chriſtmas-day 1712, he yielded up his breath with all the patience and reſignation of a Philoſopher, and with the true devotion of a Chriſtian hero (*t*). Lord Clarendon took care of his funeral [*N*], and had him decently interred in the cloyſters of Weſtminſter-abbey, where he lies next to his maſter Dr Knipe, to whom a little before he had dedicated his *Hiſtorical Account of the Heathen Gods and Heroes*, written for the uſe of ſchools; which was well received by the public at it's firſt appearance, and has gone through ſeveral impreſſions ſince. In 1732, there came out in 8vo. *Remains of the late learned and ingenious Dr* William King, *ſome time Advocate of Doctors-Commons, Vicar-General to the Archbiſhop of Armagh, and Record-keeper of Ireland. Containing Miſcellaneous Pieces in Verſe and Proſe upon various ſubjects; with Reflections, Obſervations, and Critical Remarks, upon Men and Books: with a particular Critique upon a favourite Miniſtry, particularly that of* Rufinus, *Favourite of the Emperor Theodoſius, and his Character rendered into verſe from* Claudian; *together with an Account of the Author's Life and Writings.* In this account we have the following particulars relating to the doctor's character; that in his morals he was religious and virtuous, modeſt and chaſte to that degree, that he was never known to ſpeak an immodeſt word, or write a lewd one (*u*). That though he could not endure his buſineſs as an Advocate, yet he made an excellent Judge in the court of Delegates, as often as he was called to that bench. That, however, his chiefeſt pleaſure conſiſted in trifles, and he was never happier than when he thought he was hid from the world. Yet that he loved company, provided they were ſuch as tallied with his humour (for few people pleaſed him in converſation), and it was a true ſign that he liked them, if he could be tolerably agreeable; at which times his diſcourſe was chearful, and his wit pleaſant and entertaining. That he was a great diſſembler of his natural temper, which was moroſe and peeviſh, where he durſt ſhew it; but he was of a timorous diſpoſition, and the leaſt ſlight or neglect would throw him into a melancholy ſtate of deſpondency. He would ſay a great many ill-natured things but never do one. That he was made up of tenderneſs and pity, and tears would fall from him on the ſmalleſt occaſion (*w*). Thus he is repreſented by the writer of his Life, who profeſſes a particular love and eſteem for him; and, if the picture bears a juſt reſemblance of the original, the doctor muſt have been a true humouriſt [*O*]. What other pieces he wrote,

(*r*) Alderman Barber, who printed it, obliged the doctor to ſit up in the morning of thoſe days the Gazette was publiſhed, to correct the errors of the preſs. Ibid. p. 162.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 163, 164.

(*t*) P. 165, 166.

(*u*) Remains, in the dedication to the Earl of Orrery.

(*w*) Account of his Life, p. 9, 15, 16.

ſiderations upon the refined Politicks, and the maſterſtrokes of ſtate, as practiſed by the Ancients and Moderns. Written by Gabriel Naudé, *and inſcribed to the Cardinal* Bagni. Tranſlated into Engliſh. Theſe were both written in 1711. The firſt is levelled againſt the Duke of Marlborough and the heads of his party, and the ſecond aims to repreſent and extol the Earl of Oxford as a conſummate politician.

[*M*] *He was appointed Gazetteer*, &c.] This was done in the following manner: Dr Swift, Dr Freind, and Mr Prior, together with ſome of theirs and my Lord's friends, came to pay a viſit to our author, and brought along with them the key of the Gazetteer's office, together with another key for the uſe of the paper office, which at that time was made the repoſitory for the Pope, the Pretender, and the Devil, together with the effigies of Dr Sacheverell and ſome other high prieſts, who were ſeized in a grand cavalcade, as the mob, called then the Low-Church mob, were marching along in great triumph to burn them at Whitehall or Charing-Croſs. The day following this friendly viſit being New year's day 1711, the Doctor took poſſeſſion and entered upon his office, and in two or three days dined with the ſecretary, and thanked him for his kind remembrance of him, at a time when he had almoſt forgot himſelf (24). The ſame author tells us alſo, that about half a year after Dr Sacheverell's trial, our author was applied to by Dr Swift, Dr Freind, and ſome others, to write the Examiner; and accordingly undertook it, and began that paper about Octob. 10, 1710, which he continued by the aſſiſtance of thoſe gentlemen and many others, who afterwards favoured him with their correſpondence, but the Doctor's ill ſtate of health obliged him to quit ſo fatiguing an employ in about four months, when it fell into other hands (25).

(24) Account of his Life, p. 161, 162.

[*N*] *Lord Clarendon took care of his funeral*] He had evidently the greateſt eſteem poſſible for his Lordſhip, and could not be perſuaded to go to reſt the night before his death, or lie down, 'till he had made ſuch a will as he thought was agreeable to his *Lordſhip's inclinations*, whereby he conſtituted Elizabeth King his ſiſter his ſole executrix and reſiduary legatee of all his eſtate or eſtates, real or perſonal, in poſſeſſion or reverſion (26). But the writer of his life intimates he had ſpent his paternal eſtates, and that after his return from Ireland, his ſtudent's place at Chriſt-Church was all he had left; this he retained to his death, and the profits thereof, together with the buſineſs of his profeſſion, and the friendſhip of his acquaintance, which was very large, and that of the greateſt quality, were his chief ſubſiſtence (27).

(25) Ibid. p. 71, 72.

(26) See a copy of his Will, in Remains, p. 167, 168.

(27) Ibid. p. 9, 10.

[*O*] *A compleat humouriſt.*] The Doctor has drawn his own character excellently in the following verſes found in his pocket at his death, being juſt freſh written with a lead pencil.

wrote, beſides thoſe contained in his Miſcellanies or Remains, and ſuch as have not been taken notice of already in the courſe of this memoir, ſhall be mentioned below [*P*].

I ſing the various chances of the world,
Thro' which men are by fate or fortune hurl'd.
'Tis by no ſcheme or method that I go,
But paint in verſe my notions as they flow:
With heat the wanton images purſue;
Fond of the old, yet ſtill creating new.
Fancy myſelf in ſome ſecure retreat,
Reſolve to be content and ſo be great.

[*P*] *His other works not already mentioned, and neither in his Miſcellanies nor Remains.*] Theſe are, 1. *The Art of Cookery*, in imitation of *Horace's Art of Poetry*. 2. *Letters to* Dr Liſter and *others*, occaſioned principally by the title of a book publiſhed by the Doctor, being *the works of Apicius Cælius concerning the ſoups and ſauces of the Ancients*; with an extract of the greateſt curioſities contained in that book. Among his letters is one of the *Dentiſcalps* or *Toothpicks* of the Ancients. Another contains a fine imitation of Horace, epiſt. v. book 1. being his invitation of Torquatus to ſupper. And a third contains remarks upon the Lord Grimeſton's play, called, *The Lawyer's Fortune, or Love in a hollow Tree*. 3. Three numbers of a project intituled *Uſeful Tranſactions*, containing the following ſmall pieces, 1. *An Eſſay on the Invention of Samplers, by a ſchool-miſtreſs at Hackney*. 2. *Natural Obſervations made in the ſchool of Llandwwſorhy*. 3. *Taylors and Millers proved to be no Thieves*. 4. Meurſius's *Treatiſe of the Grecian Games*. 5. *The Plays of the Grecian Boys and Girls*. 6. *A Method to teach learned Men how to write unintelligibly*. 7. *Some important Queries whether a Woman may lay a Child to an Eunuch*. 8. *Additions to Mr Lewenhoek's microſcopical Obſervations upon the tongue; ſhewing the ſeveral particles proper for prattling, tatling, pleading, haranguing, lying, flattering, ſcolding*, &c. 9. *Of the Migration of Cuckoos, with Remarks on Birds-neſts*. 10. *Obſervations on the tripal Veſſels*. 11. *An hiſtorical and chronological Account of conſecrated courts*. 12. *Jaſper-Hans-Van Slonenberg's Voyage to Cajamai*, i. e. A merry Critique upon Sir Hans Sloane's Natural Hiſtory of Jamaica.

P

KING [PETER], Baron of Ockham, and Lord High-Chancellor of Great-Britain in the XVIIIth century, was born in the year 1669 at Exeter in Devonſhire, in which city his father, Mr Jerom King, was an eminent Grocer and Salter. But though a man of conſiderable ſubſtance, and deſcended from a genteel family of his name in Somerſetſhire (*a*), yet he determined to bring up his ſon to his own trade; and accordingly, having given him ſuch an education as was ſuitable to that deſign, he took him into his buſineſs, and kept him to the ſhop for ſome years (*b*). However, the ſon's inclination being ſtrongly bent to learning, he took all opportunities of gratifying his paſſion; and being happily endued with a genius greatly ſuperior to his birth and breeding, he broke through the diſadvantages of his education. In this ſpirit he purchaſed books with what money he could ſpare, and devoting every moment of his leiſure hours to ſtudy, he became an excellent ſcholar before any body ſuſpected it. Thus improved, he happened to fall into the company of the celebrated Mr John Locke, author of *The Eſſay on Human Underſtanding*, to whom he was related; and that gentleman, after ſome diſcourſe, being greatly ſurprized and pleaſed with the prodigious advances he had made in literature, adviſed him to go to Leyden in Holland, in order to perfect himſelf therein (*c*). From this time he began to look abroad into the world, and obſerving the favourable turn given to the views of the Diſſenters by the Revolution in 1688, he began to entertain hopes of their obtaining an eſtabliſhment in the State, jointly with the Church of England, by a Comprehenſion. Animated with this proſpect [*A*], he took the pains of collecting all ſuch paſſages of the Fathers in the three firſt centuries, as might be of ſervice to that end; and having digeſted them into a fit method with proper remarks, he publiſhed the firſt part of the work in 1691, 8vo. with this title: *An Enquiry into the Conſtitution, Diſcipline, Unity, and Worſhip, of the Primitive Church, that flouriſhed within the firſt three hundred years after Chriſt. Faithfully collected out of the extant writings of thoſe ages* [*B*]. To which he prefixed a preface,

(*a*) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. IV. P. 333. edit. 1741.

(*b*) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres pour mois de Novembre & Decembre, 1702.

(*c*) Ibid.

[*A*] *Animated with the proſpect of a Comprehenſion.*] The truth of this aſſertion will not be doubted, after peruſing the concluſion of his *Enquiry*, &c. which contains a moſt pathetic exhortation to that project, having complained of animoſity on both ſides, and ardently preſſed the neceſſity of love and unity from the imminent danger of having the vitals and eſſentials of religion corrupted and devoured by hereſy and profaneneſs, while the differences about the ſkirts and fringes thereof are continued with ſo much bitterneſs, he proceeds in theſe words: 'And as for theſe and the like 'reaſons, the neceſſity of an union or comprehenſion is 'manifeſt on the one hand, ſo the facility of ſuch an 'union is as apparent on the other hand; for, thanks 'be to God, our differences are neither about faith nor 'manners; we all believe in one and the ſame God, 'hope to be ſaved by one and the ſame Redeemer, 'deſire to be ſanctified by one and the ſame Sanctifier, 'receive one and the ſame ſcriptures, aſſent to the 'ſame doctrines, and acknowledge the neceſſity of the 'ſame duties: our diſputes are only about leſſer matters, about modes and forms, about geſtures and 'poſtures, and ſuch like inferior matters, about which 'it ſhould grieve a wiſe man to quarrel, and which 'with the greateſt eaſe in the world might be compoſed and ſettled, if managed by men of prudence 'and moderation; *and ſuch men, 'tis hoped, are the 'Reverend Biſhops advanced by their Majeſties, whoſe 'promotion to thoſe places of dignity and truſt many honeſt and peaceable men look upon as a good omen and 'prognoſtick of our future union and happy eſtabliſhment* '(1).'

[*B*] *Enquiry into the conſtitution*, &c. *of the primitive Church.*] In order to a clear idea of Mr King's primary motives and principal views in this *Enquiry*, it will be neceſſary to conſider both the ſtate of the times in regard to the Church in general, and likewiſe his particular ſituation in that reſpect at the time of writing it. As to the ſtate of the Church, the firſt thing that offers itſelf to our notice is the great alteration made therein by the toleration-act, which paſſed in 1689*, whereby the Proteſtant diſſenters were indemnified from the penalties of former acts, and a free exerciſe of their religion as moulded by the Preſbyterians, Independents, and Anabaptiſts reſpectively granted. This indulgence was conceded by the eſtabliſhed Church, in condeſcenſion to the weakneſs and prejudice of education in theſe nonconforming brethren, in hopes that ſuch a ſignal inſtance of her charity and moderation, would be a means of inducing them to lay aſide their prejudices, and return to the boſom of their mother. 'On the other hand, the Diſſenters ſaw it in a quite different light, conſidered it as nothing more than what they had an undoubted right to, from which they had been unjuſtly excluded before, and having once obtained it, were ſo far from reſting ſatisfied, or

(1) Second part of the Enquiry into the Conſtitution, &c. of the Primitive Church, &c. p. 169, 170. edit. 1712, 8vo.

* The royal aſſent was given to it on the 24th of May that year. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt.

face, wherein he declared, that when he firſt reſolved on the printing of this treatiſe, he deſigned to have publiſhed his obſervations on the fourth general head, propounded in the title

ſitting down contented with the full enjoyment thereof, that they made uſe of it as a ſtep for further demands, and were encouraged thereby to aſſert that in every point of difference between them and the Church, the weight both of ſcripture and antiquity lay on their ſide; and therefore, that the way of treating them as perſons of weak judgments and tender conſciences was a pure piece of inſolence, the very thing that power which the Church had juſtly objected for excluſion to them. In this ſpirit they inſiſted, that the Act of Toleration, under the pretence of granting them a favour, was upon that very account a moſt manifeſt invaſion of [illegible] and gave occaſion thereof ſeveral plans of [illegible] by them; in all which [illegible] as the church's [illegible] of union were ſo [illegible] the frame of their conſtitution, diſcipline, and worſhip, to the eſtabliſhed form. The conjuncture they thought favourable to their wiſhes, ſeveral of the Biſhops and great numbers of the inferior clergy had refuſed to comply with the Revolution, while the Diſſenters of all denominations had particularly recommended themſelves to the favour of the new Sovereign (who had been bred up in their principles) by their unanimous acknowledgment of his right, and by their warm zeal to promote and ſecure his eſtabliſhment in it. Hereupon, among others of the party, our author, young as he was, reſolved not to ſlip the opportunity, and in this view having peruſed the writings of the Fathers of the three firſt centuries, he drew up the treatiſe now under conſideration, wherein he attempts to ſhew, that the conſtitution of the primitive Church in the ſaid centuries was upon the matter intirely of the Preſbyterian form. To that end, having firſt recited the ſeveral acceptations of the word Church, he takes that ſenſe of it for the ſubject of his diſcourſe, wherein it ſignifies a particular church, that is, a ſociety of Chriſtians meeting together in one place under their proper paſtors, for the performance of religious worſhip and the exerciſe of chriſtian diſcipline. Of this Church he lays it down as ſure, that there was but one ſupreme Biſhop the proper paſtour and miniſter of his pariſh, tho' called by various titles, as Biſhop, Paſtor, Preſident, Governor, Superintendent, and Prieſt, or the Angel of his Church, as in the Revelations. (2). He proceeds to prove, that as there was only one Biſhop to a Church, ſo but one Church to a Biſhop; whoſe cure was never called a dioceſe, but uſually a pariſh, and not larger than our pariſhes, of which he produces inſtances in the time of Ignatius, as *Smyrna*, *Epheſus*, *Magneſia*, *Philadelphia*, and *Trallium*; as alſo at *Antioch*, *Rome*, *Carthage*, and *Alexandria*, which were the four largeſt dioceſes, that is, pariſhes, in thoſe days. (3). The office of the Biſhop, he obſerves, conſiſted in preaching the word, praying with his people, and adminiſtring the ſacraments, taking care of the poor, ordaining miniſters, governing his flock, excommunicating offenders, abſolving penitents. That for the diſcharge of theſe functions the primitive Biſhops conſtantly reſided with their flocks. That their election was made in the church by the whole body of the people, clergy, and laity. That this election was afterwards confirmed, i. e. the Biſhop was inſtituted, by the neighbouring Biſhops; and then, laſtly, they were ordained or inſtalled in their own church by three at leaſt of the neighbouring Biſhops (4.) He then paſſes to a Preſbyter, whom he defines to be a *perſon in holy orders, having thereby an inherent right to perform the whole office of a Biſhop, but, being poſſeſſed of no place or pariſh, not actually diſcharging it, without the permiſſion or conſent of the Biſhop of a place or pariſh.* Agreeable to this definition, he maintains, that a Preſbyter was inferior to the Biſhop in degree, but equal to him in order; for proof of which he runs thro' the ſeveral parts aforementioned of the Biſhop's office, and gives inſtances in each where they were performed, with the Biſhop's leave, by the Preſbyter, who he ſhews was alſo expreſsly ſaid to be of the ſame order, and had one and the ſame name, being indiſcriminately called Preſbyter or Biſhop. That this diſtinction of title was firſt given by Ignatius, and meant no more than that of Parſon and Curate, according to which diſtinction there were ſometimes many Preſbyters in one church, as now we have ſeveral Curates in large and populous pariſhes; but they were not eſſential to a church which might be without then, as well as a pariſh may be without a Curate now, it was ſufficient to have a Biſhop; and laſtly, that the Preſbyter's office began in the apoſtolick age. (5.) In the next place he conſiders the order and office of Deacons, and Subdeacons, as alſo of Acolyths, Exorciſts, and Lectors; but of theſe there being no great controverſy, he ſays very little, and haſtens to that more important point the ordination of Preſbyters; the manner and form whereof he lays down as follows. Firſt, the candidate propoſed himſelf to the preſbytery of the pariſh where he dwelt, and was to be ordained, deſiring their conſent, and praying them to confer upon him thoſe holy orders which he craved; and this petition was made to the whole preſbytery, becauſe a Biſhop alone could not give thoſe orders. Upon this addreſs, the preſbytery took it into their conſideration and debated his petition in their common-council, and then proceeded to examine him upon theſe four points, his age, his condition in the world, his converſation, and his underſtanding. As to the age, he obſerves, that the orthodox ordained none but ſuch as were well ſtricken in years, except in caſe of extraordinary grace and abilities. In reſpect to condition, the candidate was to be free from all ſecular employment. That his converſation was to be humble and meek, of an unſpotted and exemplary life, for which he was to have the people's teſtimony. Laſtly, for his underſtanding he was to be of a good capacity, fit and able to teach others; in which view the Fathers ſpeak often of the great utility and excellency of logick, and philoſophy, and human learning, which however was not determined to be abſolutely neceſſary for this office. After ſuch examination and approbation, the candidates were declared capable of the function; to which however they were very ſeldom preſently advanced, but firſt gave a ſpecimen of their abilities in the diſcharge of other inferior eccleſiaſtical offices, and ſo proceeded by degrees to the ſupreme function of all. If the people made no objection, the next thing was their actual ordination in that particular church; but they became thereby miniſters of the Church univerſal, and might ſerve any church where they had a legal call, whence the Preſbyters of a particular church were not confined to a ſet number as were the Biſhops and Deacons. Laſtly, their ordination was performed by impoſition of hands, uſually of the Biſhop and Preſbyters of the pariſh where they were ordained.——Having thus treated of the acts peculiar to the clergy, he proceeds to thoſe of the laity, who by baptiſm became members of the Church univerſal, and of that particular church wherein they were baptized, and being, in theſe early ages of Chriſtianity, moſtly adults, ſhared and exerted all the privileges and powers of the Faithful, which were, their atteſtation to thoſe that were ordained, the election and choice of their Biſhops, and a power to depoſe them either for ſcandalous immorality, hereſy, or apoſtacy. ——Next to the peculiar acts of the laity, he treats of the conjunct acts of the clergy and laity, in reſpect to which he maintains, that in general all things relating to the government and policy of the Church were performed by their joint conſent and adminiſtration; but becauſe, to recite every particular act thereof would be both tedious and fruitleſs, he confines himſelf to thoſe acts that regarded the diſcipline of the Church, i. e. the power and authority exerted by her, for her own preſervation, in the cenſuring her offending members; under which head he examines, (1.) What were the faults cenſured, and ſhews theſe to be ſchiſm, hereſy, covetouſneſs, gluttony, fornication, adultery, and all other ſins whatſoever, none excepted. Offences in any kind were all puniſhed, but none with ſo much rigour as apoſtacy. (2.) The judges that compoſed the conſiſtory or eccleſiaſtical court, were the whole body of a particular church or pariſh, both clergy and laity. That this, which is called the power of the keys, was ſo lodged in Biſhops and people, that each had ſome ſhare in it. The Biſhop had the whole executive, and part of the legiſlative power; and the people had a part in the legiſlative, tho' not in the executive power, or the formal pronunciation of ſuſpenſions and excommunications, the impoſition of hands in the abſolution of penitents, and ſuch like. That in this court

Biſhops

title to be enquired into, viz. *The Worſhip of the Primitive Church*, as well as thoſe of the three former, but that for ſome reaſons he had reſerved this for a particular tract by itſelf; 'which probably, ſays he, though I do not abſolutely promiſe it, may in a little time 'more be alſo publiſhed.' Accordingly, not long after, he ſent this into the world, under the title of, *The Second Part of the Enquiry into the Conſtitution, Diſcipline, Unity, and Worſhip, of the Primitive Church*, &c. [C]. Having, in a very handſome way, with a true

Biſhops and people had each a negative voice: however, becauſe the laity were incumbered with earthly buſineſs, from which the Preſbytery were free, theſe latter were appointed as a Committee to prepare matters for the whole court. He was the ſupreme tribunal within the limits of that pariſh, but in difficult points the neighbouring Biſhops, being deſired, gave their aſſiſtance. (3.) The form of the proceedings in this court was this. When the conſiſtory was ſat, wherein the Biſhop and his aſſiſting Preſbyters (2), but commonly the Preſbytery, preſided, the offender, if poſſible, was brought before them (3), and his crimes being objected to him, he pleaded thereto; then the court conſidered and debated his plea, and if judged inſufficient by the Biſhop and majority, he was voted by the common ſuffrage to be condemned and cenſured; after which, ſentence was pronounced by one of the preſiding elders, that is, either by the Biſhop or a Preſbyter commiſſioned by him, who proceeded to it with previous exhortations and rebukes. (4.) The nature of the ſentence was intirely ſpiritual, and conſiſted either in ſuſpenſion or excommunication. (5.) Abſolution was not to be obtained without repentance, undergoing a ſtate of penance, and a formal public confeſſion of the fault. In performing which, the penitent firſt of all proſtrated himſelf at the church door, weeping, and begging the prayers of the faithful as they entered. And if the court thought his repentance real, he was admitted into the church, but not to the whole ſervice 'till after a much longer time of probation; at the expiration of which, he applied to the court for abſolution, who, after examining his demeanour and actions, and enjoining him to make a public confeſſion of his fault, gave the abſolution in this form. The penitent kneeled before the biſhop and clergy, who put their hands upon his head, and bleſſed him; by which ceremony he was declaratively and formally admitted to the Church's peace, and to the communion of the Faithful, as before his offence; except in the caſe of the delinquent clergy, who, upon abſolution, were only reſtored to communion as laymen, and never re-admitted to their eccleſiaſtical dignity, if condemned for any great and aggravated crime. He then goes on to ſhew, that this power of exerciſing diſcipline on her own members was lodged in every particular church, without the concurrency of other churches; and therefore every church was in this ſenſe independent; but yet conſidered with other churches as part of the Church Univerſal, it was dependent. In which view each particular church had a care of the body of the whole Church, diſtended into various provinces; and accordingly there was an intercourſe and government by ſynodical aſſemblies, either œcumenical † or provincial; that provincial ſynods met at leaſt once, and in ſome provinces twice or thrice, a year, and were compoſed of biſhops, preſbyters, deacons, and deputed laymen in behalf of the people of their reſpective churches. That they were aſſembled by their own authority, becauſe in thoſe days there was no Chriſtian magiſtrate to order or determine theſe affairs. When convened, they choſe one, or ſometimes two, to be their moderators or prolocutors, whoſe office was to preſide in their aſſembly, to ſee all things calmly and fairly debated and decreed, and at the concluſion of any cauſe, to ſum up what had been urged on both ſides, to take the votes of the members, and laſt of all to give his own. That every thing relating to the polity, diſcipline, or government of the churches within the province, were regulated, and their decrees or canons were binding. Having thus diſcourſed of the conſtitution and diſcipline of the Primitive Church, he proceeds to treat of it's unity, and of ſchiſm, the breach of that unity. Here he conſiders the unity of the Church both negatively and poſitively, and aſſerts, that negatively it conſiſted not in uniformity of rites, nor in an unanimity of conſent, to the non-eſſential points of Chriſtianity; and therefore that the rigid impoſers of theſe upon particular churches, were condemned as cruel and tyrannical, and were the true ſchiſmatics, inaſmuch as they were the cauſe of ſchiſm and diviſion. But *poſitively*, the unity of the Church Univerſal, conſiſted in an harmonious agreement in the fundamentals of Faith and Doctrine; whence the corruption of that doctrine was a breach of that unity, and ſuch violaters were ſchiſmatics. The unity of a collective or provincial church conſiſted in a brotherly correſpondence with, and receiving to communion the members of, each other; and that unity was broken, either when they claſhed in any point of doctrine, and through hatred, rage, and fury reviled and abuſed each other; or, if diſpoſed regularly into a ſynodical government, then the violaters of their reaſonable ſynodical canons were ſchiſmatics. But paſſing by all theſe, as not the ſchiſm of the Ancients, our author obſerves, that ſchiſm principally and originally reſpected a particular church or pariſh, the unity of which, conſiſting in the mutual love and amity of the members, and in their due ſubjection and ſubordination to their paſtor or biſhop, conſequently a breach of that unity conſiſted, either in hatred or malice to each other, or in a rebellion againſt their lawful paſtor, i. e. in a cauſeleſs ſeparation from their biſhop, and thoſe that adhered to him. The firſt of theſe might happen without a formal ſeparation, and yet ſuch diſcords are called ſchiſms (4). Yet this is not what the Ancients ordinarily meant by ſchiſm; but that which they generally and commonly termed ſchiſm, was a rebellion againſt, or an ungrounded and cauſeleſs ſeparation from, their lawful paſtor or their pariſh church; and except in the caſe of the biſhop's apoſtacy, hereſy, or ſcandalous immorality, every ſeparation was cauſeleſs, and conſequently the true and proper ſchiſm of the Ancients.

[C] *The fourth article was publiſhed afterwards.*] This piece being a continuation of the ſame deſign with the former, our author proceeds in the ſame ſpirit to vindicate the claim of the Preſbyterians againſt the Eſtabliſhed Church, in reſpect to primitive antiquity upon the article of their worſhip. In the execution whereof he endeavours to prove, chap. i. that the method of their public ſervice began with reading the ſcriptures, and that without any appointed portions or leſſons. Next followed ſinging of pſalms, without any inſtrumental muſick. To this ſucceeded preaching, which continued for the ſpace of an hour, being a comment, with ſuitable inferences and applications, upon ſo much of the ſcripture as had been read, and was performed uſually by the biſhop, but with his permiſſion by any other, either clergyman or layman. The ſermon being ended, the congregation ſtood up to prayer, which, he maintains in chap. ii. was performed in that poſture (it being accounted a ſin to kneel, eſpecially on Sundays), by the miniſter alone, without any vocal joining of the people, and by him diſcretionally, in one long continued prayer, not divided into collects, and without any preſcribed forms, except the Lord's-Prayer; and that he was habited with a cloak and no ſurplice. The three following chapters are ſpent in treating of Baptiſm, which he ſuggeſts was performed in the earlieſt time from the Apoſtles, without the uſe of ſponſors or godfathers. That the perſon being baptized either by immerſion or ſprinkling, was afterwards anointed, ſigned with the ſign of the croſs, and confirmed by impoſition of hands; the two former of theſe were nothing more than rites, and therefore not neceſſary; but Baptiſm was deemed imperfect without confirmation, which, however, he labours to prove was performed by Preſbyters as well as Biſhops. Next to Baptiſm he ſpeaks, chap. vi. of the Lord's-Supper. In the celebration whereof he contends, there was only one long prayer that preceded the words of inſtitution. That the elements were diſtributed by the Deacon, Preſbyter, or Biſhop, indiſcriminately, and that the people received in a ſtanding poſture (5). After the ſacrament he conſiders, in the viith chapter, the circumſtances of publick worſhip, as time and place; and in treating of the latter of theſe he maintains, that churches were not thought to have any kind of holi-

(2) Called approved Elders by Tertullian. Apolog. cap. 39. p. 709.

(3) If he did not appear, he was condemned for obſtinacy.

† If this ſort he obſerves there was but one, if any, within the three firſt centuries, viz. that of Antioch, which condemned Paulus Samoſatenus.

(4) 1 Cor. xi. 18. and the epiſtle of Clemens Romanus to the Corinthians.

(5) He takes notice, by the by, of the practice in theſe times, of giving this Sacrament even to ſucking infants, p. 112.

true air of modeſty, deſired to be ſhewn, either publickly or privately (*d*), any miſtakes he might have made, that requeſt was firſt complied with by Mr Edmund Elys, between whom and our author there paſſed ſeveral letters upon the ſubject in 1692, which were publiſhed by Mr Elys in 1694, 8vo (*e*). In the firſt part of his treatiſe our author having aſſerted the equality of Preſbyters to Biſhops in reſpect to *Order*, appeals alſo to the learned reader to determine, whether that point had been fully proved, and whether the quotations did naturally conclude the premiſes. 'I am not conſcious, ſays he, that I have ſtretched any words beyond their natural ſignification, having deduced from them nothing but what they fairly imported. If I am miſtaken, I hope I ſhall be pardoned, ſince I did not deſignedly or voluntarily. As before, ſo I now profeſs again, that if any one ſhall be ſo kind and obliging to give me better informations, I ſhall thankfully and willingly acknowledge and quit mine errors; but till that information be given, and the falſity of my preſent opinion be evinced (which, after the impartialleſt and narroweſt enquiry, I ſee not how it can be done), I hope I ſhall not be offended, that I have aſſerted the equality or identity of the Biſhops and Preſbyters to *Order*.' This being obſerved when the treatiſe was republiſhed (*d*), while the famous Schiſm-bill was under the conſideration of Parliament (*d*), there came out ſome time after a piece, intituled, *The Invalidity of the Diſſenting Miniſtry; or Preſbyterian Ordination an irregular and unjuſtifiable Practice. In anſwer to Mr* Pierce's *Sermons, intituled,* Preſbyterian Ordination proved regular: *and to all the pretended Inſtances of Preſbyterian Ordination, in a book lately publiſhed by Mr* Charles Owen, *called,* The Validity of the Diſſenting Miniſtry; *with Remarks on the* Forgery *and* Diſhoneſty *of that writer. To which is added, An Impartial View and Cenſure of the Miſtakes propagated for the ordaining Power of Preſbyters, in a celebrated book, entituled,* An Enquiry into the Conſtitution, Diſcipline, Unity, and Worſhip, of the Primitive Church, that flouriſhed within the firſt three hundred years after Chriſt. *By a Preſbyter of the Church of England.* And not long afterwards, when the repeal of the Schiſm-bill came upon the carpet, many perſons remembered, that the leſs learned and more prejudiced adverſaries of the Church of England had made their boaſts of *The Enquiry*, &c. and, from it's not being anſwered, had proclaimed it an unanſwerable defence of their ſeparation from her. Hereupon Mr Sclater, a nonjuring clergyman, thinking, moreover, that all the ſcattered arguments and pleas for their unwarrantable ſchiſm, as he calls it, were reducible to ſome one or other of the great variety of quotations cited therein, publiſhed an anſwer under this title: *An Original Draught of the Primitive Church: in anſwer to a Diſcourſe, entituled,* An Enquiry into the Conſtitution, Diſcipline, Unity, and Worſhip, &c. *By a Preſbyter of the Church of England* [*D*]. Lond. 1717, 8vo. Having thus, for the ſake of perſpicuity, thrown together

(*d*) In the preface. See alſo below in remark [*D*].

(*e*) In a collection, intituled, *Letters on Several Subjects.*

(*d*) That bill had the royal aſſent July 9, 1714. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt. under that year.

neſs in them, but, on the contrary, though theſe primitive Chriſtians had churches for conveniency and decency, yet they did not imagine any ſuch ſanctity or holineſs to be in them, as to recommend, or make more acceptable, thoſe ſervices that were diſcharged therein, than if they had been performed elſewhere. The two next chapters are aſſigned to ſpeak of the primitive faſts and feaſts; where having obſerved in the former, that Lent was the only fixed faſt which they looked upon as abſolutely neceſſary to be obſerved, he aſſerts in the latter, that beſides Eaſter, Whitſunday, Chriſtmas, and Epiphany, they kept no other feaſts in commemoration of Chriſt, or the Virgin Mary, or the Apoſtles; which laſt he remarks had not the title of Saints in the primitive writings.—He concludes with the xth chapter, which is referred for the chief point in view, that is, the nature and obligation to particular rites and ceremonies obſerved in the Church. And here having ſhewn the difference between theſe, the firſt being deemed neceſſary concomitants of the circumſtances of divine worſhip, which the latter were not, he obſerves, that ſeveral ceremonies crept into the Church within the three firſt centuries, that from the beginning were not ſo, but were introduced, as the Church grew gradually corrupted both in doctrine and worſhip; and contends, in reſpect to both, that they were indifferent and arbitrary, the choice and appointment of them being entirely at the will and pleaſure of every particular church or pariſh; ſo that one church had no power over another in regard to the uſe of them. But that ſtill every particular church could enforce it's own members to a conformity even in theſe.

The detail we have given of the particulars under the four general heads of the enquiry, has ſwelled this remark into a much larger book than was expected; but ſuch an account was neceſſary to ſupport our aſſertion in the text, that it was our author's deſign therein to vindicate the Preſbyterians in their demands of a Comprehenſion. However, it would be an injury to him not to declare, to the ſame place, that, in the courſe of his Enquiry, he has taken notice of ſome articles obſerved in the primitive times, within his limitation, wherein the Eſtabliſhed Church hath kept cloſer than the Preſbyterians to that pattern. There is alſo a very becoming air of modeſty preſerved throughout the whole, his pen appears to be conducted by a juſt ſenſe of his youthful years, and he cloſes all with a moſt ardently pious and pathetic exhortation to a peaceful unity of all parties in a Comprehenſion.

[*D*] *An Original Draught of the Primitive Church, &c. in anſwer to an Enquiry, &c.*] Among other reaſons for publiſhing the *Enquiry*, Mr King had declared (6) the chiefeſt to be theſe two, to inform others and to inform himſelf; to inform others what the practices of the primitive Apoſtolic Churches were, if any ſhall be ſo inquiſitive and deſirous to know them, or if he was miſtaken (as who is without his errors?) to be better informed himſelf; and this, he ſays, was his chief deſign in the publication. *Wherefore,* continues he, *without oſtentation or challenging, but unfeignedly and ſincerely to prevent miſtakes in my younger years, I humbly deſire (if the requeſt be not too bold) and ſhall heartily thank any learned perſon that will be ſo kind as to inform me, if he knows me to have erred in any one or more particulars; which he may do either publickly, or, if he think fit, privately by letters to my Bookſeller, who will convey it ſafely to my hands.* Hereupon Mr Sclater obſerves, that our author, in his preface, ſhews an humble diffidence of his youthful performance, and deſires another ſenſe might be given of his ſeveral quotations (if need required) for better information of himſelf and others. 'I confeſs, ſays this antagoniſt, 'I ſaw need enough of that at my firſt peruſal of his 'book, and not a little wondered, that no friendly 'hand had done that kindneſs for him long before. 'As to my own part, I had never walked in the un'pleaſant paths of controverſy to that day; and be'ſides the conſciouſneſs of my unfitneſs for it, had 'averſion enough ever to ſet a foot in them; but ſee'ing none had anſwered, or was anſwering (as I could 'hear of), ſo reaſonable a deſire, though men of let'ters in both kingdoms of our united iſland had decla'red an earneſt expectation of it, and the Holy Church 'of England in particular has reproached the ſilence

(6) In the preface.

ther what relates to *The Enquiry*, we ſhall recur to the time of our author's life when it was written. After his return from Leyden, he entered himſelf a ſtudent of the Inner-Temple (*e*), reſolving to chuſe the Law for his profeſſion, by the advice of his forementioned learned couſin Mr Locke (*f*). He was endowed with good parts and great induſtry *, two qualities, which, when united in one perſon, never fail of raiſing him to a degree of eminence in any kind of learning that he applies to; accordingly, Mr King had not been many years at the Temple, when he had acquired the reputation of having as much ſkill and knowledge in all the parts, and hiſtory of the Law or in the civil part of the conſtitution; as he had before in Divinity or the eccleſiaſtical part. So that in 1699 he obtained a ſeat in the Houſe of Commons, of which Houſe he was elected a member to repreſent the borough of Beer-Alſton in Devonſhire; and the ſame honour was continued to him, not only in the enſuing, which was the laſt parliament of King William, but alſo in the five ſucceeding parliaments, during the reign of Queen Anne (*g*). In the mean time, as the ſubject of his theological treatiſe already mentioned had led him occaſionally to look into the origin of that which is commonly called the Apoſtles Creed, in order to find out the deſign of the primitive Fathers of the Church in compiling it; ſo he could not think of loſing all the pains he had taken, eſpecially in a favourite ſtudy. Wherefore, indulging his natural inclination, he employed his leiſure hours in purſuing that enquiry; and having at length completed his collections, as well as the neceſſary remarks upon them, he digeſted the whole into a proper method, and publiſhed it in 1702, in 8vo. under the title of, *The Hiſtory of the Apoſtles Creed, with critical Obſervations on it's ſeveral Articles* [*E*]. The learning and judgment manifeſted in this treatiſe, ſurprized the world

(*e*) See the inſcription on his monument *in* Collins's Peerage, ubi ſupra.

(*f*) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres mois de Novembre & Decembre 1703.

* The motto under his coat of arms is *Labor ipſe voluptas*, which has been thought to be choſen by him with great propriety, as being the characteriſtic quality of his nature.

(*g*) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria.

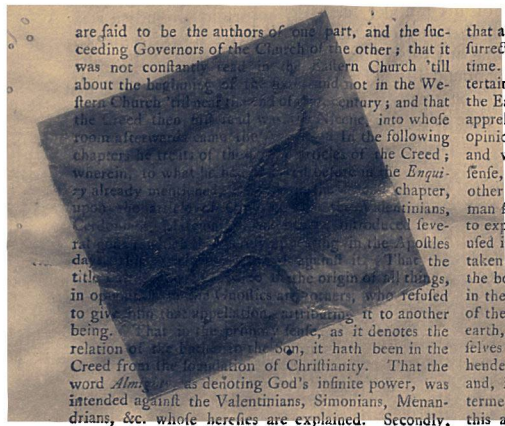
' of her children, in an argument that ſo plainly ſtruck
' at her foundation; *filial* obedience, I may ſay, to
' ſo *faithful* a parent, moved me to uſe the beſt en-
' deavours I could to vindicate the truly Apoſtolical
' Conſtitution, and to plead the cauſe of injured An-
' tiquity as well as her's; for that both are truly one
' in this caſe, the impartial reader will eaſily obſerve,
' when he ſees the palpable miſtakes corrected, and
' the unfair repreſentations of the venerable Fathers of
' the Church (ſo obvious in almoſt every page of thoſe
' plauſible collections), reſtored to their genuine ſenſe
' again. This is what may be expected here; and I
' am not conſcious I have ſtrained any one paſſage in
' Antiquity beyond the true meaning of the venerable
' authors themſelves, to form a different conſtruction
' of it from that of the ingenious enquirer. I ſhould
' count it the work of ſacrilege to do ſo; the goods of
' the Church are not ſo ſacred as her ſenſe is. What
' each quotation appeared to me, from the beſt autho-
' rity and cloſeſt attention I could uſe, I have fairly
' repreſented here. If defective in apprehending the
' true ſenſe, or injudicious in the inferences from it, I
' heartily ſubmit in my turn to the charity of a better
' information. For as I write with a conſcientious re-
' gard to undeceive ſome, ſo I am infinitely more con-
' cerned not to be deceived myſelf; and I wiſh no
' greater freedom from prejudice or party in any who
' read or cenſure theſe papers, than I am conſcious of
' in the compoſing of them.'

[*E*] *The Hiſtory of the Apoſtles Creed, &c.*] Our author had looked into this ſubject, and made ſome progreſs in his collections concerning it, when he drew up his *Enquiry*, &c. and once intended to have inſerted it in that treatiſe, where he has given a liſt of all the Creeds he could meet with which were uſed in the three firſt centuries; and comparing them with the Apoſtles Creed, obſerved two new articles introduced into this latter Creed, viz. *He deſcended into Hell*, and *The Communion of Saints*; and in order to find out how they were added, he conſiders how the whole Creed was framed, which he conceives to be theſe two ways. Firſt, ſome of the articles, he obſerves, were derived from the days of the Apoſtles. Secondly, others were afterwards added, in oppoſition to hereſies, as they ſprung up in the Church. The articles derived from the days of the Apoſtles were, *I believe in God the Father, or* (as the Greek Creed reads it) *in one God the Father* (in oppoſition to the Polytheiſm of the heathens); *and in Jeſus Chriſt, his only begotten Son, our Lord: I believe in the Holy Ghoſt, The Reſurrection of the Body, and the Life everlaſting.* For in the days of the Apoſtles, as well as afterwards, it was the practice at Baptiſm to demand the baptized perſon's aſſent to the fundamental articles of the Chriſtian Faith, as Philip did the Eunuch, Acts viii. 37. amongſt which fundamentals we may be certain they reckoned the doctrine of the Trinity, becauſe they were baptized in the name, and dedicated to the ſervice, of the Trinity; and that of the Unity of the Godhead, becauſe it was the great drift and deſign of their preaching, to overturn the Pagans multiplicity of deities; and that of the Reſurrection of the Body and the Life everlaſting, becauſe that was the characteriſtic or peculiar doctrine of the Chriſtian religion, by which it was eminently diſtinguiſhed from other ſects and opinions, and was the only comfort and ſupport of the Chriſtians under their ſufferings and martyrdoms. As for the other articles of the Creed, in ſuch as are predicated of Chriſt, as his being *conceived of the Holy Ghoſt, born of the Virgin Mary*, &c. and thoſe other two, *The Holy Catholic Church*, and *the Forgiveneſs of Sins*; he conceives them to be introduced the ſecond way, viz. in oppoſition to hereſies as they ſprung up in the Church; as, *Was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt*, in oppoſition to the Carpocratians, Ebionites, and Corinthians, who taught that Chriſt was born in the ordinary and common way, as other men and women are: *Was born of the Virgin Mary, ſuffered under Pontius Pilate*, &c. in contradiction to the Docetæ, Simonians, and others, who affirmed Chriſt to be a man not really, but only phantaſtically or in appearance (7). *The Remiſſion of Sins*, againſt the Baſilidians, who held, that not all ſins, but only involuntary ones, would be remitted; or rather againſt the Novatians, who denied remiſſion to the lapſed. *The Holy Catholic Church*, to exclude thereby all heretics and ſchiſmatics from being within the pale thereof. ' By theſe two ways, concludes he, was ' the Creed compoſed; and by the latter hereof ' were theſe two articles introduced, of Chriſt's *De-* ' *ſcent into Hell*, and of *the Communion of Saints*. The ' Communion of Saints was brought in laſt of all, the ' deſcent into Hell towards the latter end of the fourth ' century; into the manner and occaſion whereof, as ' alſo the intent and meaning whereof, I had deſigned ' once to enquire, having made ſome collection con- ' cerning it; but finding I ſhould be then forced to ' paſs the limits of my preſcribed time, I have thought ' it expedient to omit it (8).' He proſecuted this ſubject afterwards; and having completed his collections, not only with regard to theſe but all the other articles, he compiled the treatiſe now under conſideration. Wherein having forewarned the reader of his deſign, not to treat of the Creed theologically, or to explain the ſenſe of the ſeveral articles, as founded in, and deducible from, Scripture, but to ſhew the intent and meaning of each, as it is a part of the Creed, and for what reaſon it was introduced therein, he runs through the whole in that view; and dividing it into ſeven chapters, in the firſt he cites the encomiums given the Creed by the primitive writers, and the ſeveral names by which it hath been called; of which the principal was that of Symbol, a term derived from the Pagans, denoting a ſecret mark or token revealed to thoſe only who were initiated into their myſteries; in alluſion whereto, the Creed being uſed by the Chriſtians to the ſame end, was called by the ſame name. He obſerves the great difficulty of finding out the firſt framers of it; ſhews in what ſenſe the Apoſtles are

(7) Of theſe heretics it is, that Ignatius ſays, Ἀπιστοί τινες λέγουσιν, τὸ δοκεῖν αὐτὸν πεπονθέναι. Epiſt. ad Smyrn. p. 2. and his creed ſeems particularly to be levelled againſt them.

(8) Enquiry into the Conſtitution, Diſcipline, &c. Part II. chap. iii. in the concluſion.

world equally at leaſt with that of his former piece in Theology; inſomuch, that one of the Biſhops, a prelate diſtinguiſhed for his erudition, being perſwaded it could hardly be any



are ſaid to be the authors of one part, and the ſucceeding Governors of the Church of the other; that it was not conſtantly [illegible] Eaſtern Church 'till about the beginning of the [illegible] not in the Weſtern Church 'till near the end of the [illegible] century; and that the Creed then [illegible] into whoſe room afterwards [illegible] In the following chapters he treats of the [illegible] articles of the Creed; wherein, to what he [illegible] the *Enquiry* already mentioned [illegible] chapter, [illegible] Arrinians, [illegible] ſeveral [illegible] in the Apoſtles [illegible] againſt it. That the title [illegible] the origin of all things, in [illegible] Gnoſtics and others, who refuſed to give [illegible] it to another being. That [illegible] *Father*, as it denotes the relation of the [illegible] to the Son, it hath been in the Creed from the foundation of Chriſtianity. That the word *Almighty*, as denoting God's infinite power, was intended againſt the Valentinians, Simonians, Menandrians, &c. whoſe hereſies are explained. Secondly, it implies God's providential government, in oppoſition to the Gnoſtics and Marcionites, the former of whom at leaſt aſcribed that government to another being. Thirdly, it ſignifies God's immenſity and omnipreſence, in contradiction to the Gnoſtics, who maintained the Supreme God to be confined within a certain limited ſpace. That *Maker of Heaven and Earth* is levelled againſt the blaſphemous tenets of ſeveral heretics about the creation of the world; which Simon Magus and ſeveral others attributed to Angels; the Valentinians to certain Æons, agreeable to the ſenſe of the latter Platoniſts; the Cerdonians and Marcionites maintaining two eternal principles, God and the Devil, aſſigned the creation to the latter. In the third chapter he ſhews, that the *Son* of God denotes the Meſſias, theſe being convertible terms among the Jews at the time of our Saviour's appearance; that *His only Son* implies the peculiar manner of his ſonſhip, expreſſed in the Greek by generation, and oppoſed, perhaps, to the Valentinian *emiſſion*, or diviſion, from the Father. The title *Lord* expreſſes the dominion of Chriſt, againſt that uſurped by the Devil, and was therefore coeval with Chriſtianity. In the next articles, concerning Chriſt's humanity, he obſerves, that his incarnation was blaſphemed and denied in ſundry ways and manners by various heretics: againſt whom were levelled all the articles of the Creed, from our Saviour's conception to the reſurrection. And to thoſe heretical opinions beforementioned, he adds the names of ſeveral heretics, who denied that Chriſt aſſumed a material body from the ſubſtance of his mother; but held that his body was framed in Heaven, and paſſed through the Virgin Mary as water through a pipe; againſt whom the Creed directs us to believe, by being *born of the Virgin Mary*, that he took from her fleſh the real ſubſtance of his body. That the Crucifixion ſignifies it was not Simon of Cyrene, as the Baſilidians affirmed, but Chriſt himſelf who was crucified. The fourth chapter treats of the deſcent into Hell; which being untouched in the *Enquiry*, we muſt here be more particular upon, as follows. This article relates ſomething done by Chriſt's ſoul, which excludes the burial of his body from being deſigned thereby; and ſecondly, ſomething done by the ſoul in it's ſeparate ſtate, excluſive of the ſufferings thereof whilſt he was alive. In the explication of the article he begins with the word *Hell*, which in old Engliſh exactly anſwers to the Greek *Hades*, which properly ſignifies the habitation or receptacle of all ſeparated human ſouls, whether good or bad. Both Pagans and Jews uſed it in this ſenſe; but there is no one word in the modern Engliſh, French, or Dutch, that comprehends the full meaning of it. The primitive Chriſtians affirmed, that all good ſouls, immediately after their ſeparation from the body, paſſed into a place of joy and happineſs, which they called Hell. In the declenſion of the Greek, and eſpecially of the Latin, tongue, the word Hell began to be uſually applied to the manſion of departed wicked ſouls. Origen, among the Greeks, doubted of the paſſage of faithful ſouls into Hell ſince the reſurrection of Chriſt. But after him the ancient doctrine, that all ſouls go to Hell, and remain there 'till the Reſurrection day, generally prevailed in the Eaſt to this time. Ambroſe, and after him Jerom and others, entertained the ſame notion in the Weſt as Origen had in the Eaſt. Auguſtin was uncertain and wavering in his apprehenſions thereof. The receſſion from the ancient opinion was occaſioned by the mutation of languages and words. But the word Hell, in the Apoſtolical ſenſe, could not in any propriety of ſpeech ſignify any other thing, than the ſtate or place of ſeparated human ſouls, whether good or bad. He next proceeds to explain the word *deſcended*, and obſerves, that it is uſed in the Creed as being a popular kind of ſpeech, taken up from the common opinion, that Hell was in the bowels of, or under, the earth, and thence called in the Latin *Infernum*, and in the Greek *Hades*. Some of the Fathers imagined Hell to be in the heart of the earth, others under the earth, and ſome declared themſelves uncertain about it's ſituation; but all apprehended it to be the common lodge of departed ſouls, and, in a conformity to the common dialect, uſually termed the paſſage thither a deſcent into Hell, as in this article of the Creed: by which they meant no other, than that our Saviour's ſoul being ſeparated from the body, went, by a local motion, to the unſeen habitation of departed ſouls, where it remained 'till his reſurrection day. And this is farther proved from the ends of his going thither, which were chiefly theſe four. Firſt, to ſanctify to his followers the ſtate and place of their ſouls, during their ſeparation from their bodies. Secondly, that he might undergo a neceſſary and principal part of his humiliation. Thirdly, that he might perſonally, and, as the head of his Church, conquer Death and Hell; which he did by returning therefrom, and bringing the ſouls of ſeveral of the Faithful with him. Fourthly, that he might ſubject himſelf to the laws of death, and be in every thing like unto us. From whence it more evidently appears, that the deſcent of Chriſt into Hell ſignifies no other than the paſſage of his ſpirit into the receptacle of ſeparated ſouls. Our author then proceeds to the occaſion of inſerting this clauſe in the Creed, which he ſhews was taken from the Arians, Eunomians, and Apollinarians, who, in a more cunning way than the former heretics, aſſaulted the humanity of our Saviour, by denying that he had a reaſonable ſoul. That there was ſome difference between the errors of the Arians and Apollinarians. But that which rendered this hereſy the more conſiderable and dangerous was, the eſpouſing of it by Apollinarius the Younger, the moſt noted perſon of his age for ability and piety; on which account his fall was a very tender and ſenſible loſs to the Church. His hereſy was, that Chriſt had no human ſoul, but that his Divinity ſupplied the place thereof; the conſequences of which opinion are urged in ſeveral particulars. In oppoſition whereto, this article, or clauſe, was inſerted in the Creed, *He deſcended into Hell*; which point was pitched upon by the governors of the Church, becauſe, of all the arguments uſed againſt the Apollinariſts, it was the moſt unanſwerable: on which account it is frequently urged by the Fathers againſt them, and it falls in moſt naturally with the frame of the Creed, without diſturbing the order thereof. He then proceeds to ſhew the time of introducing this article; upon which head he obſerves, that the firſt Catholic Creed wherein it is found is in that of Aquileia, recorded by Ruffinus; though before that, in a private Creed of Epiphanius, and even before him, in a Creed framed by a party of Arians at the Council of Arminium, held in the year 359. He mentions ſeveral probable deſigns of thoſe Arians herein, as to clear themſelves from the ſuſpicion of the forementioned hereſy, to diſgrace their great antagoniſt Apollinarius, and by that means to create feuds and quarrels amongſt the Orthodox, who finding Apollinarius openly to declare for his hereſy, entirely abandoned him, condemned him in ſeveral ſynods, and at length, according to the example of the Arians, inſerted in the Creed this antidote againſt his hereſy, that Chriſt *deſcended into Hell*; which, in the Aquileian Creed, is expreſſed in a greater latitude, by *deſcending into the lower parts*, wherein the burial might be comprehended and deſigned; but, as it is expreſſed in the Roman or our preſent Creed, it can have no other than the foremen-

tioned

any thing better than a wretched rhapſody out of ſeveral diſcourſes on the ſubject before printed, and eſpecially of Biſhop Pearſon's *Expoſition of the Creed*, who ſeemed to have exhauſted that matter, took it up, and began to read it with this diſadvantageous prepoſſeſſion; but he was quickly convinced of his miſtake, and his injurious prejudice was turned into admiration, upon the ſight of ſo many curious things in this hiſtory, not to be met with in Dr Pearſon, without finding any thing borrowed from that writer's Expoſition (*b*). However, after this our author found himſelf under a neceſſity of dropping all further purſuits upon his beloved ſtudy. The great buſineſs which his abilities as a Lawyer brought into his hands, left him no time to ſpare for it; and in a few years his merit in

(*b*) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres mois de Novembre, p. 424, & Decembre, p. 633. 1702.

tioned ſignification, which, to prevent miſtakes, is again repeated. The fifth chapter contains an account of the Reſurrection of Chriſt, which he obſerves, as in the *Enquiry*, was always a part of the Creed, as a fundamental of Chriſtianity. After the Reſurrection follows the Aſcenſion, which, according to him, was introduced againſt an opinion of the Apelleians, viz. that at his Aſcenſion his body was reſolved into it's firſt principles, and aſcended not up on high, or into Heaven; the nomination of which place might probably have been deſigned, in contradiction to a conceit of Hermogenes, that his body went into the body of the ſun. He then proceeds to ſhew, that, by ſitting on the right hand of the Father, we muſt not imagine Chriſt confined to that ſingular poſture, but his advancement to the full exerciſe of his regal office, every thing being ſubjected to him by the Father, who is infinitely able to do it, ſeeing he is Almighty; which word in the Greek is here different from that uſed in the beginning of the Creed, and in this place denotes the irreſiſtibleneſs and efficacy of God's power. He obſerves, this clauſe was firſt found in the Creed of Tertullian, and was inſerted either as a continued proof with the Aſcenſion, that our Lord's body was not diſſolved a little after his Reſurrection; or rather was deſigned againſt ſome heretics, who imagined the body of Chriſt to be in a ſtupid and unconcerned poſture in Heaven, and not to be ſat down at his Father's right hand, exerciſing all power and authority for the good of his Church. The next clauſe being, *From whence he ſhall come to judge the Quick and the Dead*, in the explication of it he recites three interpretations of the *Quick* and the *Dead*, and obſerves the moſt natural to be, that by the *Quick* are meant thoſe that ſhall be alive at the coming of our Lord, and by the *Dead*, thoſe who ſhall then be actually void of life. He ſhews, that this article was levelled againſt the Marcionites and Gnoſtics, of whom the one blaſphemed the final Judge, the other the Judgment. Marcion, with his Maſter Cerdon, held, that the true God, and his ſon Jeſus Chriſt, were all mercy and love, and would never judge the world; which opinion opened a flood-gate to all impiety; in oppoſition whereto the Creed declares, that he ſhall come to judge. In explaining the word judging he notes, that it ſuppoſeth a liberty and freedom of action in the perſon judged, both which were denied by the Gnoſtics, as by the Valentinians, Baſilidians, Carpocrations, and others, who all ſprung from Simon Magus, and united in theſe two hereſies, that man was fatally neceſſitated to all his actions, and that he ſhould not be judged according to his works, but according to his ſpiritual ſeed election, and the like; which tenets were attended with moſt abominable conſequences, and therefore againſt them both it was inſerted in the Creed, that Chriſt *ſhall come to judge the Quick and the Dead*. Wherein, firſt, the liberty of man was acknowledged: which is farther evident from this, that the word Αυτεξουσιας, or that man hath a power over himſelf, was, in ſeveral of the ancient Creeds, part of this article: the Fathers could not imagine a juſt judgment, without ſuppoſing a freedom of the perſon judged. Secondly, it is further declared by this clauſe, that men ſhall be judged according to their works; for which reaſon, while the hereſy of the Gnoſtics raged, it was expreſſed with a ſuitable periphraſis, to prevent any equivocating evaſions. The ſixth begins with the article, *I believe in the Holy Ghoſt*, which being followed by *The Holy Catholic Church*, he obſerves, that clauſe was variouſly placed for different ends in the primitive Creeds, though moſt commonly after that of *the Holy Ghoſt*. That it is juſt mentioned by Tertullian; and that the moſt ancient Creeds read only *the Holy Church*, the term *Catholic*, which ſignifies univerſal, being added by the Greeks to be an explication or determination thereof; and that the *Unity* of the Church was here intended. From this he goes on to *The Communion of Saints*, which was added as an appendix to the former, and introduced about St Auguſtin's time, in oppoſition to the Donatiſts. He takes notice, that by *Saints* are [illegible] underſtood particular Churches and the members thereof, and ſhews why they are ſo called; and then having obſerved that by *Communion* is ſignified the mutual ſociety and fellowſhip of particular Churches and their members, he relates various methods uſed by the Ancients to preſerve that communion; which being refuſed by the Donatiſts, they were on that account juſtly condemned for ſchiſm, and rejected. In oppoſition to whom this article may be conſidered, either as a mark to know a true particular Church by, that ſhe is one that is acknowledged *ſo to be* by other Churches; or rather, as the quality, property, and practice, of ſuch an one as is ſuffered to hold communion with other Churches; in which ſenſe it is alſo added as an explanation of *the Holy Catholic Church*, and was intended to declare, that there ought to be a due communion and fellowſhip between the particular Churches and members of the Catholic and Univerſal one. The laſt chapter contains, Firſt, A brief explication of the *Forgiveneſs of Sins*, which he finds not to be conſtantly repeated in the Creed 'till the days of Cyprian, though ſometimes expreſſed, and always ſuppoſed from the very beginning of Chriſtianity; he notes the two interpretations given of it, a primary and a ſecondary; in order to a clear idea of the firſt, which reſpects ſins committed before Baptiſm, he conſiders the great wickedneſs of the world before the Goſpel, the guilt whereof the Heathens knew by the light of nature, but could not tell how to remove; and the Jews had no univerſal aſſurance of the pardon of ſins; wherefore the Apoſtles were ſent forth to reveal an infallible way for the obtaining it, viz. by believing and being baptized. This is proved to be the primary ſenſe of this article, always ſuppoſed, or elſe expreſſed, in the Creed, from the very firſt preaching of the Goſpel, viz. that all paſt ſins are, for the ſake of Chriſt, remitted to all penitential believers at Baptiſm, wherein theſe two things are contained, Firſt, That our ſins are forgiven for the ſake of Chriſt. Secondly, that the time of their forgiveneſs is at Baptiſm. The ſecondary ſenſe of this article reſpected ſins committed after Baptiſm; in which ſenſe this clauſe was conſtantly recited in the Creed, as an antidote againſt the rigorous tenets of the Baſilidians, the Montaniſts, and eſpecially the Novatians, who denied the pardon of God, or at leaſt of the Church, to ſcandalous ſins, perpetrated after Baptiſm; an opinion which was attended with the worſt of conſequences. Next follows *The Reſurrection of the Body*; under which, beſides enlarging upon what he had in ſubſtance laid down in the *Enquiry*, he adds, that in ſome Creeds this article is the laſt; that in the Greek and Latin Creeds, as alſo in the modern French and Dutch, it is *the Reſurrection of the Fleſh*. Several heretics would equivocatingly aſſent to the Reſurrection of the Body, who denied that the ſame fleſhly ſubſtance ſhould riſe again. In oppoſition to theſe it was emphatically inſerted in the Creed, that there ſhould be a Reſurrection of the Fleſh; that is, that the very ſame fleſhy and material body ſhould riſe again, though the qualities thereof ſhould be changed and altered. As to the clauſe of *The Life Everlaſting*, with which the Apoſtles Creed concludes, he obſerves, that it is pertinently put at the end thereof, becauſe it is the end of our Faith, as the determination of every man to his proper place. The Gnoſtics affirmed, that the greateſt part of mankind ſhould be annihilated at the day of Judgment, againſt whom it is declared in this article, that after *that* there ſhall be *Life Everlaſting*; wherein is included the eternal miſery of the Damned, as well as the everlaſting happineſs of the Bleſſed.

in the Law was diſtinguiſhed by ſome advantageous honours. Upon the death of Sir Salathiel Lovel, the Court of Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of the city of London choſe him Recorder, July 27, 1708, and he was knighted by Queen Anne Sept. 12 following. In 1709, he was appointed one of the managers of the Houſe of Commons at the trial of Dr Sacheverell (*i*); and three years afterwards, he appeared without any gratuity as Counſel for Mr Whiſton, on his trial before the Court of Delegates for hereſy (*k*) [*F*]. Upon the acceſſion of King George I. to the throne, the Lord Trevor being removed from the firſt ſeat in the court of Common-Pleas, Sir Peter King ſucceeded him in the poſt of Lord Chief-Juſtice of that court [*G*] in Michaelmas term 1714 (*l*), and was ſworn of the Privy-Council April 5 following. He was created a peer of England May 25, 1725, by the title of Lord King, Baron of Ockham in Surrey, and the Great Seal being taken from the Earl of Macclesfield, was delivered to our new created peer, whereby he became Lord High-Chancellor of England on the 12th of June following *. But his judgment not being well adapted to the nature of the ſtation in this office, occaſioned him to take extraordinary pains in the diſcharge of it, whereby impairing his conſtitution by degrees, brought him at laſt into a paralytic diſorder, [*F*] that he did not make that figure upon this bench as was expected from the [illegible] which called him to it (*n*); and his diſtemper increaſing, he reſigned the Seals November 26, 1733, and his life on the 22d of July following at eight in the evening, having been taken ſpeechleſs about noon that day. He died at his ſeat at Ockham in Surrey, and on the 29th of July, was interred in that pariſh-church, where a monument is erected to his memory, with a fine marble ſtatue of his Lordſhip (*o*), and an

(*i*) See that doctor's trial, printed in 1710, and in State Trials, Vol. V. edit. 1730, in 6 vols folio.

(*k*) Life of Mr W. Whiſton, wrote by himſelf, paſſim.

(*l*) See the inſcription on his monument, and Salmon's Chronol. Hiſt. who ſays it was on the 14th of November that year.

* Gazette, No. 6377. Upon the demiſe of King George I. the Seals were delivered again to him by King George II. June 15, 1727. Ibid. No. 6492. He was alſo twice, viz. June 2, 1725, and May 31, 1727, appointed one of the Lords Juſtices during the abſence of King George I. Ibid. No. 6378, and No. 6490.

(*m*) The inſcription on his monument.

(*n*) There were more of his decrees repealed by the Houſe of Lords, than of any other Chancellor in the ſame ſpace of time.

(*o*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. V. p. 350. edit. 1756. who obſerves in p. 349. that his Lordſhip was nephew by the mother's ſide to Mr Locke.

[*F*] *He was Counſel for Mr Whiſton, &c.*] He ſeems to have been a particular favourite of his client at this time, and very juſtly, ſince he appears to have his ſucceſs more at heart, and to have laboured more earneſtly towards it than Mr Lechmere, who was his other Counſel, though he refuſed a fee as well as Sir Peter; concerning whom Mr Whiſton has left the following memorandum: 'That on Tueſday April 28, 1747, Samuel 'Collet, my moſt intimate Chriſtian friend, informed 'me at Great-Marlow, that his brother, Governor Col'let, aſſured him from Sir Peter King's own mouth, who 'was one of my Counſel in the Court of Delegates, 'that when none of the Judges would agree to a ſen'tence againſt me in that cauſe of hereſy, the reſt of 'the Court, conſiſting of Biſhops and Civilians, were 'reſolving to proceed without them: 'till Sir Peter 'told them, We ſhould then proceed *againſt them*, 'and ſue them to a præmunire, which ſuch a ſentence 'would incur. Upon which they deſiſted. This re'markable paſſage, continues Mr Whiſton, I had ne'ver heard of; but being ſo very material, and ſo 'fully atteſted, I could not but add it in this place, 'and leave it to the reader's own reflections (9).'

(9) Memoir. of the Life of Mr W. Whiſton, p. 417. edit. 1753.

[*G*] *Lord Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas.*] During the time that he enjoyed this poſt, he ſat Judge on the Crown ſide at the Lent aſſizes at Bury in Suffolk, in 1721, when he ſat on the remarkable trial of Coke and Woodburne, on an indictment on the Coventry Act for ſlitting the noſe of Mr Criſpe. A brief account of which can neither be unentertaining in itſelf, nor foreign to the purpoſe of this work, as it furniſhes a very material part of our author's character, which was greatly intereſted in that trial. The caſe was this: Coke having inſtigated Woodburne to undertake the killing of Criſpe, accompanies this laſt on the day agreed on to the place appointed for Woodburne to fall upon him; who accordingly, upon a ſignal given by Coke, comes up to Criſpe in the dark, gives him ſeveral blows and cuts with a hedging-bill, particularly one, which falling acroſs his noſe, cut through it into the noſtril, though without ſlitting the edge of it, and went off without killing him. Criſpe recovering, proſecutes both the aſſailants upon the Coventry act, who, to evade the indictment, plead an intention to murder, and not to maim ſo as to diſfigure in the ſenſe of that act; and Coke, eſpecially, brings ſeveral witneſſes, who ſufficiently prove his intention was to murder. The King's Counſel charge him with a double intention, one to murder, and another to maim ſo as to diſfigure. Coke obſerves this to be a nice point, and therefore begs Counſel may be allowed them; which is denied by the Chief-Juſtice for this reaſon, that no point of law had ariſen, the intention not being a point of law but a matter of fact; and in the concluſion of his charge to the Jury, ſpeaking to that point, Whether there was an intention to diſfigure? he expreſſes himſelf to the following effect. 'Facts do in ſome meaſure explain themſelves; and the circumſtances 'preceding and accompanying thoſe facts, and the man'ner of doing them, do many times more fully and clearly declare the intent of the party. The priſoner Coke, which defence goes both to him and Woodburne, inſiſts, that their intention was to murder and not to maim; and that if they did maim or ſlit the noſe, it was with an intention to kill, and not with an intention to maim or diſfigure. On the other ſide, it is inſiſted on by the King's Counſel, that though the ultimate intention might be to murder, yet there might be alſo an intention to maim and diſfigure; and though one did not take effect, yet the other had; an intention to kill doth not exclude an intention to maim and diſfigure. The inſtrument made uſe of in this attempt was a bill or hedging-hook, which, in it's own nature, is proper for cutting and maiming; and, when it doth cut or maim, doth neceſſarily and by conſequence diſfigure. The attempt intended on Mr Criſpe was immediately on his own perſon, to do him a perſonal injury. Beſides, the manner of doing and perpetrating this fact is proper to be conſidered, that it was done by violence, and in the dark, when the aſſailant could not well make any diſtinction of blows, but knock'd and cut on any part of Mr Criſpe's body where he could, 'till he had ſunk him down, and done to him what elſe he pleaſed; and if the intention was to murder, you are to conſider whether the means made uſe of, in order to effect and accompliſh that murder, and the conſequences of thoſe means were not in the intention and deſign of the party, and whether every blow and cut, and the conſequences thereof, were not intended, as well as the end for which it is alledged thoſe blows and cuts were given (10).

(10) State Trials, Vol. VI. p. 189, & ſeq. edit. 1730.

The Coventry act is an act of 23 Charles II. cap. 1. It was made on the occaſion of Sir John Coventry having ſuffered the like barbarous uſage. The words are, *That if any perſon or perſons, on purpoſe, and of malice forethought, and by lying in wait, ſhall wilfully cut or diſable the tongue, put out an eye, or ſlit the noſe, with an intention in ſo doing to maim or diſfigure any one of the members beforementioned; the perſon or perſons ſo offending, their counſellors, aiders, and knowing of, and privy to, the offence, ſhall be deemed* Felons, &c.

The intelligent reader will be beforehand with me in obſerving, that this is a particular and very penal act; and it is a ſettled caſe in Law, that ſuch acts are not in any ſort to be ſtrained beyond the letter. To which may be added, that it was generally agreed at that time, that Coke and Woodburne were indeed condemned and executed according to the general rules of juſtice, but not ſtrictly according to the particular rules of our municipal laws. In ſhort, the plea of an intention to murder muſt have immediately ſhocked human nature, and curdled the blood of every one that heard it; ſo that the caſe may be looked on as a defect in that law, to be ſupplied by the religion of the Judge or Jury; and in reality it was generally ſaid then, that the Lord Chief-Juſtice King was pitched upon to go the Norfolk circuit at this time, in order to give a ſanction to the verdict, by his univerſal reputation for ſkill and knowlege in the Law, and the no leſs univerſal character of his humane diſpoſition.

an inſcription on a marble pedeſtal, part of which may be ſeen in the book laſt cited. He married Anne, daughter of Richard Seys of Boverton in Glamorganſhire, Eſq; with whom he lived to the day of his death in perfect love and happineſs, and left iſſue by her four ſons, John, Peter, William, and Thomas, and two daughters, Elizabeth and Anne (p) [H].

(p) Inſcription on his monument.

[H] *He left iſſue by her four ſons and two daughters.*] Of ſome of theſe we have the following account by Mr Collins (11). John King, his eldeſt ſon and heir, who ſucceeded him in honour and eſtate, was member for Launceſton in Cornwall in the firſt parliament of King George II. and was elected for the city of Exeter and for Launceſton in the next parliament, ſummoned to meet 13 June, 1734. His Lordſhip, in May 1726, married Elizabeth, daughter to Robert Fry of Yearty in the county of Devon, Eſq; which lady deceaſed in the 23d year of her age, January 28, 1733-4, leaving no iſſue. And his Lordſhip being in an ill ſtate of health, was adviſed, for change of air, to go to Portugal; but, in his voyage to Lisbon, departed this life on board his Majeſty's ſhip the Ruby, February 10, 1739-40; whereupon the honour and eſtate deſcended to Peter his brother, late Lord King, who, on the 18th of April 1740, was appointed Out-Ranger of Windſor Foreſt in the room of his deceaſed brother; but dying March 22, 1754, unmarried, was ſucceeded in the honour and eſtate by the Chancellor's third ſon William, now Lord King. The Honourable Thomas King, in 1734, married a lady of an ample fortune in Holland, and a native of that country, and hath iſſue by her two ſons and two daughters. P

(11) In his Peerage, Vol. V. p. 351. edit. 1756.

KNOX [JOHN], the principal director of the Reformation in the Scotiſh Church, was deſcended of an ancient and honourable family [A], and was born in the year 1505 (a) at Giffard near Hadingtoun in the county of Eaſt-Lothian in Scotland. He received the firſt part of his education in the Grammar-ſchool of Hadingtoun, and from thence was removed to the univerſity of St Andrews, and placed under the tuition of the celebrated Mr John Mair (b). He applied with uncommon diligence to the academical learning in vogue at that time; and, by the natural ſharpneſs of his wit, having made a very great progreſs in theſe ſtudies in a ſhort ſpace, he obtained the degree of Maſter of Arts when very young (c). As the bent of his inclination led him ſtrongly to the Church, he turned the courſe of his ſtudies early that way, and, by the advantage of his tutor's inſtructions, ſoon became remarkable for his knowledge in ſcholaſtic Theology; inſomuch, that he obtained Prieſt's Orders before the time uſually allowed by the Canons (d); and, from being an auditor of his tutor's inſtructions, he began himſelf to teach, with great applauſe, his beloved ſcience to others (e). But after ſome time, upon a careful peruſal of the Fathers of the Church, and particularly the writings of St Jerom and St Auſtin, his taſte was entirely altered. He quitted the ſubtilizing method of Theorics and the Schoolmen, and applied himſelf to a plainer and more ſimple Divinity (f). At his entrance upon this new courſe of ſtudy, he attended the preaching of Thomas Guilliam (g), a Black-Friar, whoſe ſermons were of extraordinary ſervice to him. This Friar was Provincial of his order in 1543 [B], when the Earl of Arran, then Regent of Scotland, favoured the Reformation (h); and Mr George Wiſhart, ſo much celebrated in the hiſtory of this time, coming from England next year, 1544, with the commiſſioners ſent from King Henry the Eighth, our author being of an inquiſitive nature, learned from him, the following year, the principles of the Proteſtants [C]; with which he was ſo pleaſed, that he renounced the Romiſh religion, and

(a) He was 67 years of age at his death in 1572. Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, by Biſhop Spotiſwood, p. 267, 2d edit.

(b) Or John Major, as he is called by the foreign writers. Melchior Adamus, in Vita Theolog. Exter. p. 137. Francf. 1653.

(c) Buchanan's Life of Knox, ubi ſupra. See alſo an account of him by Dr Mackenzie.

(d) Buchanan's Account.

(e) Melchior Adam, ubi ſupra. Where he ſays, our author, in ſome things, was more happy than his tutor.

(f) Id. ibid.

(g) Or Williams, as his name is written in Keith's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 37. edit. 1734, folio.

(h) And the Parliament of Scotland made that famous act, allowing the reading of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue. Id. ibid.

[A] *He was deſcended of an antient and honourable family.*] According to his own account, ſome of his progenitors were partizans of the Bothwell family. 'My great-grandfather and father (ſays Mr Knox to 'the then Earl of Bothwell) have ſerved your Lord-'ſhip's predeceſſors, and ſome of them have died un-'der their ſtandards, and this is a part of the obliga-'tion of our Scotiſh kindneſs (1).' Theſe words ſeem to import, that Mr Knox's predeceſſors were in ſome honourable ſtation under the Earls of Bothwell, at that time the moſt powerful family in Eaſt-Lothian. We are told by another writer (2), that Mr Knox's father was a brother's ſon of the houſe of Renfarly. This, indeed, at firſt ſight, ſeems leſs reconcileable to Mr Knox's own account, which implies, that his family, particularly his great-grandfather, reſided in Eaſt-Lothian. But, perhaps, this great-grandfather was a ſon of that ancient family of Renfarly, which, from the reign of King Alexander II. had poſſeſſed theſe lands in the ſhire of Renfrew, and were ſold by Uchter Knox of Renfarly, to William firſt Earl of Dundonnald in 1665. In confirmation of which, the writer of his Life, prefixed to his Hiſtory in 1732, tells us (3), that he had been informed by very near relations of that family, that the family of Renfarly claimed Mr Knox as a cadet of it, and looked upon it as their honour that he was deſcended of it.

(1) See his Hiſtory of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 306. edit. 1732. fol.

(2) David Buchanan, in his Account of Mr Knox's Life and Death, prefixed to his Hiſtory of the Reformation, &c. edit. 1640.

(3) P. ii.

[B] *Thomas Williams was Provincial of the Black-Friars.*] This Friar was born at Athelſton-Ford in Eaſt-Lothian. In 1543, he was chaplain to the Earl of Arran, then Governor of Scotland. Sir James Balfour ſays, he tranſlated the New-Teſtament, and publickly preached againſt the Pope's authority; and that he was winked at by the Regent, and ſupported by the noblemen that had returned lately from England. Which ſerves to explain the words of Buchanan (4) concerning him, that *he was a preacher of ſound judgment and healthſome doctrine*; as alſo of Calderwood, who obſerves (5), that he was *the firſt from whom Mr Knox received any taſte of the Truth.* Accordingly, Mr Knox remarks (6), that *the Provincial was learned and ſound, of a good utterance, but with a great vehemence againſt ſuperſtition.*

(4) Ubi ſupra.

(5) Calderwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland.

(6) Knox's Hiſtory of the Reformation, &c. p. 33. edit. 1732, folio.

[C] *He learned the principles of the Proteſtants from Mr George Wiſhart.*] George Wiſhart was a ſon of Pitarrow in the Mearns; in his younger years he was Maſter of the Grammar ſchool at Montroſe, and afterwards ſtudied at Cambridge, and returned to Scotland in 1544 (7), as abovementioned. He is reckoned to be the worthieſt perſon of all thoſe who ſupported the new doctrines in this country. There is a full account of him in the general hiſtories of Scotland, to which we refer, and ſhall only mention ſuch particulars as ſerve to ſupport what is advanced in the text above. And for theſe we are obliged to Mr Knox himſelf, who, in his Hiſtory of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland, writes thus: 'In the middis of all the cala-'mities that came upon this realme, after the defec-'tioun of the Governour [the Earl of Arran] from 'Chriſt Jeſus, come in Scotland that blyſſit martyre 'of God, Maiſter George Wiſchart, a man of ſick 'graices, as before him were never hard in this realme, 'yea, and rare to be found yit in ony mon, notwith-'ſtanding this grit lycht of God that ſince his days has 'ſchynit unto us. He was not onlie ſingulerelie leir-'nit, as well in godly knawlege, as in all humane 'ſcience, but alſo he was ſo cleirlie illuminated with 'the ſpreit of the prophefie, that he ſaw not onlie 'thingis parteining to himſelf, but alſo ſick thingis, 'as ſum tounis, and the haill realme efterwards fund 'quhilk he foirſpak, not in ſecreit, but in audience of 'mony, as in their awin places ſhall be declairit.' Knox

(7) Keith's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 41, 42.

and became a zealous Proteſtant (*i*). He had left St Andrews a little before, being appointed tutor to the ſons of the Lairds of Ormiſtoun and Langnidry, who were both favourers of the Reformation. Mr Knox's ordinary reſidence was at Langnidry, where he not only inſtructed his pupils in the ſeveral parts of learning, but was particularly careful to inſtil into them the principles of piety and the Proteſtant religion. This coming to the ear of the Biſhop of St Andrews, that prelate proſecuted him with ſuch ſeverity, that he was frequently obliged to abſcond, and fly from place to place. Whereupon, being wearied with ſuch continual dangers, he reſolved to retire to Germany, where the Reformation was gaining ground; knowing that in England, though the Pope's authority was ſuppreſſed, yet the greater part of his doctrine remained in full vigour. But this deſign being much diſliked by the fathers of ſuch his pupils, they, by their importunity, prevailed with him to go to St Andrews about Eaſter 1547; and for his own ſafety (*k*), as well as that of their children, to betake himſelf to the caſtle, where they might all be ſecure from the efforts of the Papiſts, and he be in a condition to inſtruct theſe young gentlemen with greater diligence. Here he began to teach his pupils in his uſual manner. Beſides the grammar and other claſſical authors, he read a Catechiſm to them, which he obliged them to give an account of publickly in the pariſh church of St Andrews. He likewiſe continued to read to them the goſpel of St John, proceeding where he left off at his departure from Langnidry. This lecture he read at a certain hour, in the chapel within the caſtle, whereat ſeveral of the place were preſent (*l*). Among theſe, Mr Henry Balnaveis (*m*), and John Rough preacher [*D*] there, being pleaſed with the manner of his doctrine, began earneſtly to intreat him to take the preacher's place; but he abſolutely refuſed, alledging, that he would not run where God had not called him, meaning, that he would do nothing without a lawful vocation. Hereupon, they deliberating the matter in a conſultation with Sir David Lindſay of the Mount, Lyon King at Arms, a perſon of great probity, and a good meaſure of learning, it was concluded to give Mr Knox a charge publickly by the mouth of the preacher. Accordingly Mr Rough, upon the day agreed, preached a ſermon concerning the election of Miniſters, wherein he ſet forth 'What 'power the congregation, how ſmall ſoever it was paſſing the number of two or three, 'had above * any man, in whom they ſuppoſed and eſpied the gifts of God to be, and how 'dangerous it was to refuſe, and not to hear the voice of ſuch as deſire to be inſtructed.' Theſe and other things being declared in general, the preacher then addreſſed himſelf particularly to Mr Knox in theſe words: 'Brother, Ye ſhall not be offended, albeit I ſpeak 'unto you that which I have in charge, even from all theſe that are here preſent; which is 'this. In the name of God, and of his ſon Jeſus Chriſt, and in the name of theſe that 'preſently call you by my mouth, I charge you that ye refuſe not this holy vocation; 'but, as ye tender the glory of God, the increaſe of Chriſt's kingdom, the edification of 'your

(*i*) Mackenzie's Account, &c.

(*k*) Mr Keith, in his Hiſtory, p. 61, 62. obſerves, that our author approved of the murder of Cardinal Beaton, calling it a godly deed, as indeed he does in his Hiſtory, p. 65.

(*l*) Knox's Life, in 1732, p. 4.

(*m*) This perſon was very zealous for the new religion, and very active in promoting it. On which account he is often mentioned by Knox, and from him o cſionally in the ſequel of this article.

* i. e. over.

Knox then proceeds to relate his progreſs through ſeveral parts of the kingdom where he preached his doctrine, beginning at Montroſe; whence he went to Dundee, and thence into the Weſt to Air, where, at Mauchlein, being denied the uſe of the church, he went with his followers, continues Knox, to a dyik in a muir edge, upon the ſouth-weſt ſide of the town, upoun the quhilk he aſcendit: the haill multitude ſtude and ſat about him: God gave the day pleſante and hette. He continewit in preiching mair ner thre hours (8). Thence he returned to Dundee then infected with the plague, where he viſited thoſe who were at the point of death, and took ſpecial care of the health of thoſe that were ſick. Thence paſſing to Montroſe, attempts were made againſt his life by Cardinal Beaton's means, but prevented. He propheeſied anent the progreſs of religion in Scotland, and his own death; went from thence to St Johnſtoun or Perth, and thence paſſed to Leith. He afterwards reſided for ſome time in the houſes of Brumſton, Langnidrie, and Ormiſtoun; and Mr Knox being at Langnidrie at that time, became particularly acquainted with him; or, to uſe his own words, he awaitit upoun him cairefulie frome the tyme he [Wiſchart] come to Lawthiane (9). At Ormiſtoun he was ſeized by Earl Bothwell, who carried him to Elpinſtoun, a ſeat of his own in the neighbourhood; where being delivered to Cardinal Beaton, he was removed by him, firſt to Edinburgh-Caſtle, and thence to that of St Andrews, of which the Cardinal was Governor, in January 1545-6. Thither the Cardinal wrote to the other prelates to convene on the 27 February; and in that meeting, Mr Wiſhart was ſentenced to be burnt the firſt of March following, which was accordingly put in execution (10).'

(8) Hence probably came the practice of preaching in the open air on commons, to which the Scots at this day are much devoted.

(9) Knox's Hiſtory, &c. p. 52.

(10) Keith, ubi ſupra.

[*D*] *John Rough preacher.*] This preacher entered among the Black-Friars in the town of Stirling at the age of 17, and remained there for the ſpace of 16 years; at which time the Lord-Governor, the Earl of Arran, having a kindneſs for him, aſked Cardinal Beaton to grant him a licence to come out of his monaſtery, and become his Lordſhip's chaplain. This being complied with, he continued in that ſtation about a year, until the Governor thought fit to diſmiſs ſuch perſons from his attendance, as favoured the new opinions (11). Preſently after the murder of Cardinal Beaton in the caſtle of St Andrews, in 1547, Mr Rough entered there, and took one lot with the murderers. He is ſaid, continues my author, to be a pious man, but 'tis much to be wiſhed, that he had not ſo far betrayed an erroneous judgment, as to have aſſociated himſelf with the perpetrators of a deed ſo highly contrary to and deſtructive of the principles of the Chriſtian religion (12). However, after he had remained with that debauched crew within the caſtle, until 'the firſt pacification was made, exhorting them all the time to forbear their godleſs courſe of life; and perceiving that he prevailed nought, he then left them, and began to preach in the town of St Andrews a little before Eaſter, 1547; where, during the time that intervened between this and the ſecond ſiege of the caſtle, he continued with Mr Knox to preach and diſpute with the eſtabliſhed clergy. But when the caſtle was beſieged the ſecond time, Mr Rough departed into England (13), and preached at Carliſle, Berwick, and Newcaſtle, in the reign of Edward the Sixth. But, in the ſucceeding reign of Queen Mary, he fled into the Low-Countries, and, together with his wife, gained his livelihood by knitting ſtockings, caps, &c. at Nordin in Eaſt-Friezland, until the end of October 1557, when he came to England to provide neceſſaries for his occupation. There he was elected preacher to a private congregation, but was taken at Iſlington near London on Sunday December 12 following, and burnt to death on the 22d of that month (14). Mr Knox having obſerved, that he ſuffered in England for the veritie of Jeſus Chriſt, declares, that albeit he was not ſo learned [as Williams], yet was he maire ſimple and maire vehement againſt all impietie (15).

(11) Ibid. p. 37, note (*b*), and p. 39.

(12) The writer of Mr Knox's Life, prefixed to the edition of his Hiſtory in 1732, p. iii. ſays, he entered this caſtle merely for his own ſafety

(13) Keith, p. 61, 62.

(14) Ibid. p. 37, note (*b*).

(15) Knox's Hiſtory, p. 33.

[*E*] *Of*

'your brethren, and the comfort of men, whom ye underſtand well enough to be op-
'preſſed by the multitude of labours, that ye take upon you the public office and charge
'of Preaching, even as ye look to avoid God's heavy diſpleaſure, and deſire that he ſhould
'multiply his graces with you.' Then directing his ſpeech to the audience, he ſaid, 'Was not this your charge to me, and do ye not approve this vocation?' They anſwered, 'It was, and we approve it.' Whereat Mr Knox abaſhed, burſt forth into moſt abundant tears, and withdrew into his chamber. His countenance and behaviour from that day, to the day he was forced to preſent himſelf to the public place of preaching did ſufficiently declare the grief and trouble of his heart: for no man ſaw any ſign of mirth in him, neither yet had he pleaſure to accompany any man for many days afterwards (n). But on the Sunday appointed, aſcending the pulpit, he preached a Sermon upon Dan. vii. 23—28. from which text he proved to the ſatisfaction of his auditors, that the Pope was Antichriſt, and that the doctrine of the Roman Church was contrary to the doctrine of Chriſt and his Apoſtles. He likewiſe gave the notes both of the true Church, and of the antichriſtian Church, &c. of which he gives a full account in his Hiſtory [E]. This ſermon made a great noiſe, and the Popiſh clergy being much incenſed thereby, the Abbot of Paiſley, lately nominated to the ſee of St Andrews, and not yet conſecrated, wrote a letter to the Sub-Prior, who, *ſede vacante*, was Vicar-General, expreſſing great ſurprize, that ſuch heretical and ſchiſmatical doctrines were ſuffered to be taught without oppoſition. Upon this rebuke, the Sub-Prior called a convention of Grey and Black Friars, to meet in St Leonard's-Yard; where, both our preachers being convened, they were charged with ſeveral offences, the particulars of which may be ſeen below [F]. The articles of the charge being read, the Sub-Prior entered into a conference with Mr Knox, who, after that, diſputed with one of the Friars upon ſeveral controverted points between the Papiſts and the Proteſtants. Popery ſenſibly loſt ground by the diſpute; and the ſupporters of it found themſelves obliged to take another method to maintain it's reputation. An order was paſſed, obliging every learned perſon in the abbey and univerſity, to preach in the pariſh-

(n) Knox's Hiſtory, p. 67, 68.

[E] *Of which he gives a full account in his Hiſtory.*] In that Hiſtory Mr Knox tells us, that he had alſo a public diſputation with the Dean of St Andrews upon Popery, at the end whereof the people unanimouſly called on him to let them hear the ſame doctrine from the preaching place, which call he accordingly obeyed. Upon the whole, the writer of his Life in 1732, makes the following remark. *This is the genuine account of Mr Knox's vocation to the miniſtry of the Goſpel, againſt which nothing can juſtly be objected, in the circumſtances he and the Proteſtants in Scotland were at that time. All ſincere lovers of the Reformed Cauſe do own his ordination to be good and valid. And indeed*, continues he, *it would be to no purpoſe to enter into a diſpute with ſome late High-Church men in England, who, by their* principles, not only nullify Mr Knox's ordination, *but that of all the foreign Reformed Churches. Their opinions have been ſufficiently refuted by very able writers; neither is it my preſent buſineſs to inſiſt any further upon that matter* (17). As this writer plainly ſuggeſts, that Mr Knox's ordination was in ſubſtance that of the Preſbyterians, it will be proper to give the opinion of another writer of that nation concerning it; who, ſpeaking of the neceſſity of a reformation at the time it was begun, expreſſes himſelf in the following terms. 'And had none but pious and prudent 'men ſet about that work, and had they put their 'hands to the real abuſes only, we, in this kingdom, 'might have obtained a reformation preferable, perhaps, to that of any other country. But, to our grievous misfortune, things went too much otherwiſe. 'And becauſe the ignorance and viciouſneſs of a great 'many of the then Prieſts, was too viſible either to be 'denied or palliated, therefore the leaders (or I might 'juſtly ſay the leading man) of the Reformation preſumed boldly to declare againſt the order of *Prieſthood* altogether (18), and to introduce in it's room a 'new-faſhioned ſort of miniſtry, unknown in the 'Chriſtian Church for all preceding generations. It 'has been ſaid, continues he, oftener than once, that 'our Reformation was carried on by Preſbyters only: 'a very fallacious affirmation ſurely; ſince the perſons 'here pointed at were any other thing as naturally as 'Preſbyters, and were not indeed Preſbyters at all. 'For though it be true, that Mr Knox and ſome others 'had formerly had the ordination of Prieſts, that is, 'Preſbyters, yet we know that he, and probably thoſe 'others too, acted at that time without any regard to 'their former ſacred Orders, and that they diſclaimed 'the ſame, as being of no worth nor authority. Inſomuch that, Mr Erſkine of Dun; William Harlow, 'Taylor in Cannon-gate Edinburgh; Paul Methuen, 'Baker in Dundee; and many more, no doubt, were 'we acquainted with the minute circumſtances of thoſe 'times, came into the ſame degree with them: and 'they all might have denominated themſelves Biſhops, 'Patriarchs, or Popes, as well as Preſbyters, or whatever elſe they pleaſed, or whatever we may think 'fit to call them now; though indeed they were none 'of all theſe orders, by any title or language known 'in the Chriſtian Church before that time. And any 'man may, by the ſame right, aſſume to himſelf the 'authority of Biſhop, Preſbyter, or Deacon, at any 'time he and his fellows ſhall find proper ſo to do — 'In a word, ſo intoxicated was the principal director 'of our Reformation, with the extravagances he had 'ſeen in foreign parts, that (contrary to the good advice given him) unleſs he got every thing plucked up 'that had been before, he could never ſuffer himſelf 'to be perſwaded, but that Popery was ſtill regnant 'in the land. And, unleſs Prince and Peers, Prieſts 'and People, would accommodate themſelves to his '*devout imaginations* (as he owns ſome of his new-fangled ſchemes were denominated), there was not any 'ſafety for them at all. And thus, concludes this 'writer, by his unruly and miſgoverned zeal, the 'goodly polity, which had ſo long continued, and 'ought ſtill to have ſubſiſted, in the Church, was utterly defaced. And the divine worſhip was left naked and bare, beyond any example in Antiquity: 'and, inſtead of that beauty, which might have been 'the ornament of our land, we relinquiſhed to our 'neighbouring nation the honour of claiming to themſelves the glory of the Reformed Churches (19).'

(17) Life of Mr Knox, p. vi.

(18) Eraſmus had cautioned Luther againſt this miſmanagement; but his good advice had not the leaſt effect. See the Letters between thoſe two great men.

(19) Keith's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 594.

[F] *The articles of which may be ſeen below.*] Theſe are the following. 1. No mortal man can be the head of the Church. 2. The Pope is ane Antichryſt, and ſo is no member of Chriſtis miſtical bodie. 3. Man may nether mak nor devyſe a religioun, that is acceptabill to God, bot man is bound to obſerve and keip the religioun, that fra God is reſtavit, without chopping or changing thairof. 4. The Sacramentis of the New Teſtament aucht to be miniſtrate, as they war inſtituted by Chriſt Jeſus, and practiſit be his Apoſtles; nothing aucht to be addit unto thame, nothing aucht to be diminiſhed frome thame. 5. The Maſs is abbominabill idolatrie, blaſphemous to the deyth of Chriſt, and a prophanation of the Lordis Supper. 6. Thair is no purgatorie, in the whiche the ſoullis of men can nether be pyned or purged efter this lyif. But Hevin reſtis to the faithfull, and Hell to the reprobate and unfaithfull. 7. Praying for the deid is vane, and to the deid is idolatrie. 8. Thair is no Biſchopis, except they preiche evin by thameſelvis, without ony ſubſtitute. 9. The teindis, by Godis law, do not apertein of neceſſitie to the kirkmen (20).

(20) Knox's Hiſtory, p. 70, 71.

[G] He

parish-church by turns upon Sundays, and, in their ſermons, not to touch upon any of the controverted points. But Mr Knox rendered this caution ineffectual, by preaching on the week-days; when he took occaſion to praiſe God that Chriſt Jeſus was preached, and nothing ſaid publickly againſt the doctrine he had taught them: proteſting withal, that if in his abſence they ſhould ſpeak any thing which they forbore while he was preſent, that his hearers ſhould ſuſpend their judgment 'till it ſhould pleaſe God they ſhould hear him again. And he was ſo ſucceſsful in his work, that all the people in the Caſtle, and a great number in the Town, openly profeſſed the Proteſtant doctrine (*o*), and teſtified it by partaking of the Lord's Supper in the ſame manner it was adminiſtred in the Church of Scotland, after the Proteſtant religion was eſtabliſhed by Law, anno 1560 (*p*). And this, in 1547, was, perhaps, the firſt time that the Euchariſt was diſpenſed in Scotland in the way of the reformed churches. Mr Knox continued thus in the diligent diſcharge of his miniſterial charge 'till June that year, when the caſtle was ſurrendered to the French, upon terms, that all in the garriſon ſhould be carried ſafe to France; and, in caſe they were not ſatisfied with the conditions of their liberty there, they ſhould be conveyed at the expence of that King wherever they pleaſed, Scotland excepted. Mr Knox with the reſt was carried to France, and remained a priſoner on board the gallies 'till the latter end of the year 1549 [G], when, being ſet at liberty, he paſſed to England; and going to London, was there licenſed (*q*), and appointed preacher, firſt at Berwick and next at Newcaſtle. During this employ, he received a ſummons, in 1551, to appear before Cuthbert Tonſtal Biſhop of Durham, for preaching againſt the Maſs (*r*). In 1557, he was appointed Chaplain to King Edward the Sixth [H]; and, the enſuing year, he had the grant of an annuity of forty pounds, payable quarterly out of the Augmentation office, 'till ſome benefice in the Church ſhould be conferred on him (*t*) [I]. The ſame year

(*o*) Ibid. p. 75.

(*p*) Knox's Life, p. 7. edit. 1732.

(*q*) Either by Cranmer or Somerſet the Protector. Strype's Memorials of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 235.

(*r*) See a MS. in the hands of Mr Woodrow, Miniſter of Eaſtwood in 1732.

(*t*) Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Parker, p. 366.

[G] *And was kept a priſoner on board the gallies 'till* 1549-50.] The writer of Knox's Life having obſerved, that he was carried with the reſt to France, tells us (21), that 'he continued there ſome ſhort 'time; for, in the 85th page of this edition of his 'Hiſtory, we are told, that he was delivered that 'ſame winter, and came over to England.' But this ſeems to be a miſtake, and ſuch as could not have eſcaped him, had he peruſed with due attention the whole account of this part of Mr Knox's Life, as it ſtands in his Hiſtory. He tells us there, that, upon the penult of June [1547], appeared in ſight of the caſtle twenty-one French gallies, with a great armie, p. 75. The caſtle ſurrendered to them on Saturday the laſt day of Jullie, p. 76. The galleys, with the ſpoyl, returned to France after certain days, and paſſing up the Sequan [Seine], lay before Rowane [Rohan], where the principal gentlemen [taken out of the Caſtle of St Andrews] were put into ſundrie priſons; the reſt were left in the galleys, and there miſerably entreated.—The ſame year, in the beginning of September, entreit into Scotland an armie from Ingland, p. 77. That winter following were great hardſhips made upon the borders of Scotland by the Engliſh, p. 78.—The Lanetrane following was Hadingtoun fortified by the Engliſh. The moſt part of Lauthiane, from Edinburgh eiſt, was either aſſured or laid waſt. The troubles of Scotland coming to France, there was prepared ane navye and armie. The navy was ſuch as never was ſeen to come from France; for, beſides the gallies, which were twenty-two in number, they had threeſcore great ſhips beſides victuallers.—They arrived in Scotland in May, anno 1549.—She [Mary, afterwards Queen of Scots] was convoyed by the weſt ſeys to France, with four galleys and ſome ſchips, p 80.—Ordour was taken, that nixt September ſume galleys ſould remaine in Scotland.—That winter remained Monſieur de Termes [who had come with the French army] in Scotland, p. 81. when the quarrel happened between ſome French ſoldiers and the citizens of Edinburgh, in which the Provoſt was ſlain.—This winter did the Laird of Rothe moſt innocently ſuffer, and was forfeited, p. 82. and was beheaded, becauſe he was known to be a great friend to thoſe that were in the Caſtle of St Andrews; of whoſe deliverance, and of God's wondrous working with them during the time of their bondage, we mun now ſpeik. Accordingly, he begins that account, p. 83. and continuing it in the ſubſequent page, he writes thus of himſelf. Mr James Balfour and Johne Knox being anuit one galley.—And being wondrous familiar with him, would oftimes ask his judgment, *if he thought they ſould ever be delivered?* Whoſe anſwer was, even for the day they enter'd into the galleys, *that God would deliver them from that bondage.* And betwixt Dundee and St Andrews the ſecond tyme

(21) P. viii.

that the galayis arrived to Scotland, the ſeid John being ſo extremely ſeik, that few hopid his life, the ſaid Maiſter James willed him to look to the land, and aſked him if he knew it? Who anſwerit, *Yes, I know it well; for I ſee the ſteiple of that plaice, quhair God firſt oppinit my mouth in publict to his glorie, and I am fullie perſuadit, how weik that ewir I now appeir, that I ſall not depart this Lyif, till that my toung ſall glorifie his Godlie name in the ſame placie.* He then proceeds to obſerve, that five of the priſoners in Mount St Michell wrote to him for his opinion, whether they might with a ſafe conſcience break priſon? To which he anſwered, that they might, if they could do it without bloodſhed, p. 84.—This counſel being followed, they all four made their eſcape, and two of them, after the ſpace of twelve or thirteen weeks, got into a French ſhip as mariners, and landing in the Weſt [of Scotland], came thence to England, where they met before them the ſaid Johne Knox, *who that ſame winter was delivered*, and Alexander Clerk in his company, p. 85. From this account it is evident, that by theſe laſt words, *that ſame winter*, is not meant the winter of 1547, but that of 1549. And agreeably to this time of his arrival in England, we find no mention of any thing done by him there, either by himſelf or any other writer, 'till the year 1550 (22).

(22) In his Hiſtory, lib. iv. p. 289. he ſays himſelf he was reſident in England only the ſpace of five years, and that he abode two years in Berwick, ſo long in Newcaſtle, and a year in London. But this is not the only paſſage in that hiſtory, lib. iv. wherein the expreſſion is inaccurate.

[H] *He was appointed Chaplain to Edward the Sixth.*] Mr Strype, from whom we have the account, expreſſes it in theſe terms: 'In the month of December 1551, it was thought fit that the King ſhould retain ſix Chaplains in Ordinary, who ſhould not only wait on him, but be itineraries, and preach the Goſpel all the nation over; two of theſe ſix to be ever preſent at Court, and four abſent abroad in preaching, one year two in Wales, two in Lancaſhire and Derby; next year, two in the Marches of Scotland, and two in Yorkſhire; the third year, two in Devonſhire, and two in Hampſhire; the fourth year, two in Norfolk and Eſſex, and two in Kent and Suſſex; and theſe ſix to be Bill, Harley, Pern, Grindal, Bradford, the ſixth was daſhed out of the King's Journal, whence Mr Strype takes all this, but probably was Knox; for he was one of the preachers of the North at Newcaſtle and elſewhere, and had a ſalary paid him out of the Exchequer. But the number was reduced to four, Bradford alſo being left out, who were ſtiled the King's Ordinary Chaplains (23).'

(23) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II.

[I] *He had an annuity of forty pounds for his good ſervice in preaching in the North.*] Mr Strype, to whom we are alſo indebted for this particular, ſuppoſes it was out of reſpect to John, that one William Knox, his brother or relation, had, in September 1552, a paſſport granted to him to bring in or carry out of any haven in England, all ſuch merchandizes as were permitted by law, to endure for one whole year, and to make the ſaid traffic in any ſhip of the burden of

year he came into ſome trouble, on account of a bold ſermon preached at Newcaſtle upon Chriſtmas-day, againſt the obſtinacy of the Papiſts [K]. And, about the latter end of the year, viz. in 1552-3, he returned to London; and being well eſteemed by his Majeſty and ſome of the Court, for his zealous preaching againſt the errors of the Romiſh Church, he was appointed to preach before the King and Council at Weſtminſter, a little before his Majeſty's departure thence. In this ſermon he had ſeveral piercing glances againſt ſome great ones, who were ſecretly well-wiſhers to the old religion, though outwardly they ſubmitted to the then preſent eſtabliſhment (u). But notwithſtanding that it muſt have been about this time, that the Council ſent to Cranmer, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to beſtow the living of Allhallows in London upon him, which accordingly was offered him; but he refuſed it, not caring to conform to the Engliſh Liturgy as it then ſtood [L]. However, he ſtill held his place of Itinerary Preacher; and, in the diſcharge of that office, going to Buckinghamſhire, was greatly pleaſed with his reception at ſome towns, particularly at Amerſham, in that county (w); and he continued to preach there, and at other places, ſome time after Queen Mary's acceſſion to the throne. But that year, viz. in February 1553-4, he left England [M], and croſſing the ſea to Dieppe in France, went thence to Geneva; where he had not been long, when he was called by the congregation of the Engliſh refugees, then eſtabliſhed at Franckfort, to be preacher to them. This vocation he obeyed (though unwillingly) at the command of John Calvin. He continued at Franckfort, 'till ſome of the principal perſons of his congregation (x), finding it impoſſible to perſwade him to uſe the Engliſh Liturgy, reſolved to effect his removal from the place. In that view, they accuſed him to the magiſtrates of treaſon, committed both againſt their ſovereign, the Emperor of Germany, and alſo againſt their own ſovereign

(u) Particularly the Earl of Northumberland and the Marquis of Winchester (both preſent at the ſermon), in character of Achitophel the Counſellor, Judas the Purſe-bearer, and Shebna the Scribe, Comptroller, and Treaſurer. Strype's Memorials, &c. and Knox's Admonition, &c.

(w) Idem ibid.

(x) Particularly Dr Richard Cox, King Edward VIth's Preceptor.

of a hundred tons (24). From ſome of Mr Knox's original letters, in the hands of the Reverend Mr Woodrow, it appears, that he enjoyed this annuity of 40 pounds 'till the beginning of Queen Mary's reign. In a letter to Mrs Bowes his mother-in-law, dated 1553 *, wherein he tells her, that he was obliged to abſcond by reaſon of the fury of the Papiſts, he writes thus: *I will not make you privy how rich I am, but off London I departed with leſs money than ten groats: but God hath ſince provided, and will, I doubt not, aburdantly for this life. Either the Queen's Majeſty, or ſome treaſurer, will be 40 l. richer by me, for ſo meickle lack I of duty of my patent; but that little troubles me.*

[K] *A Sermon againſt the Papiſts.*] In this ſermon he affirmed, that, whoſoever in his heart was an enemy to Chriſt's Doctrine and Goſpel, which was then preached within the realm, was an enemy to God, and ſecret traitor alſo to the Crown and Commonwealth of England, and that, as ſuch, thirſted after nothing more than the King's death, which their iniquities would procure. He ſaid, they regarded not who ſhould reign over them, ſo that their idolatry might be erected again (25).

[L] *Not caring to conform to the uſe of the Engliſh Liturgy, he refuſed it.*] We have the following account of this matter alſo from Mr Strype. 'April '14, 1552-3, Knox was called before the Council, 'who demanded of him three queſtions, 1. *Why he re-* 'fuſed the benefice provided for him in London? To 'which he anſwered, that *his conſcience did witneſs,* 'that he might profit more in ſome other place than in 'London, and therefore had no pleaſure to accept any 'office there. But he might have anſwered, that he 'refuſed it, becauſe of Northumberland's contrary 'command, who, perhaps, deſigned it for him that 'ſucceeded to it, namely, Samſon (26). 2. *Whether* 'he thought, that no Chriſtian might ſerve in the eccle-'ſiaſtical miniſtration, according to the rites and laws 'of the realm of England? To which he ſaid, that 'many things at that time were worthy of reformation 'in the Miniſters of England, without the reformation 'whereof, no Miniſter did or could diſcharge his con-'ſcience before God; for no Miniſters in England had 'authority to ſeparate the leapers from the heal, viz. 'the whole and ſound, ſays Mr Strype, that is, they 'had not the full power of excommunication, which, 'he ſaid, was a chief point of his office. 3. They 'aſked him, *If kneeling at the Lord's Table was not* 'indifferent? He anſwered, that *Chriſt's action was* 'moſt perfect, and it was done without kneeling; and 'it was moſt ſure to follow his example, and that 'kneeling was man's addition and invention (27). A-'bout this queſtion there was great contention between 'the Lords of the Council and him. There were then 'preſent the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Cranmer; 'the Biſhop of Ely, Godrick; Lord Chancellor; Lord 'Treaſurer; the Earls of Bedford, Northampton, 'Shrewſbury; the Lord Chamberlain, and both the 'Secretaries. After long reaſoning it was ſaid to him, 'that he was not called of any ill meaning, and that 'they were ſorry to know him of a contrary mind 'to the common order. He anſwered, he *was ſorry* 'the common order was contrary to Chriſt's inſtitution. 'He was diſmiſſed with ſome gentle ſpeeches, and 'they willed him to adviſe with himſelf, whether he 'would communicate according to that order (28).'

But we muſt not conclude this remark, without taking notice of what is affirmed by ſome writers, viz. that beſides the living of Allhallows, Mr Knox had the offer of a biſhopric made to him in Edward the Sixth's reign, and that he refuſed it. Among theſe is Melchior Adams (29), whoſe words are, *Imperabat illis temporibus Angliæ Edwardus VI. qui Cnoxum obſervabat, ac qua erat pietate favore ſingulari eum proſequebatur, itaque cum epiſcopatus de Regis voluntate, Cnoxo eſſet oblatus, indignabundus Cnoxus, non ſolum honorem recuſavit, ſed etiam oratione gravi titulos illos improbavit, quaſi regni Antichriſtiani quiddam redolentes.* 'At that time in England reigned Edward VI. who 'obſerving Knox's piety, had a ſingular kindneſs for 'the man, and he was offered a biſhopric by the 'King's command; but he refuſed it with indignation, 'vehemently condemning thoſe titles, as ſavouring of 'the kingdom of Antichriſt.' Mr Calderwood gives us a paſſage (30), which ſeems to confirm this account of Adams's. 'Mr Knox, ſays he, being then reſident 'in St Andrews, and preaching upon the Lord's day, 'Feb. 10, 1572, the Earl of Mar being preſent, 'refuſed to inaugurate the Biſhop; yea, in open au-'dience of many then preſent, he denounced *anathe-'ma* to the giver and *anathema* to the receiver, as I 'find in a certain manuſcript.' And the ſame writer further obſerves, that, 'When Mr John Rutherford, 'Provoſt of the Old College, alledged Mr Knox's re-'pining proceeded from male-contentment [becauſe he 'was not made a Biſhop himſelf], Mr Knox purged 'himſelf the next Lord's day, ſaying, I have refuſed 'a greater biſhopric than ever it was, which I might 'have had with the favour of greater men than he 'hath his, I did and do repine for the diſcharge of 'my conſcience (31).' Mr Petrie gives the ſame account, with this addition, that Mr Knox ſaid, *I did and do repine for the diſcharge of my conſcience, that the Church of Scotland be not ſubject to that order* (32).

[M] *He left England in February* 1533-4.] In a commentary of Mr Knox's MS. (in the hands of the Reverend Mr Woodrow abovementioned), upon the ſixth Pſalm, directed to his mother-in-law Mrs Bowes, he ſigns it, thus, *Upon the very point of my journey, the laſt of January,* 1553-4. *Watch and pra. Your ſon with ſorrowful heart, J. K.*

Another paper, alſo in Mr Woodrow's hands, bears this title: *John Knox, to the Faithful in London, Newcaſtle, and Berwick, &c.* Which letter ends thus: *From an fair troublit hairt, upon my departure from Diepe,* 1553-4, *quhidder God knawis, John Knox* †.

[N] *An*

(24) Ibid. N.B. In Knox's Hiſtory, p. 159. mention is made of one William Knox, but without any notice of his being a brother, or any relation at all, tho' of the ſame party with the Reformer.

* In the hands of Mr Woodrow, Miniſter of Eaſtwood in 1732. See remark [GG].

(25) He takes notice of this in his Admonition, printed in 1554.

(26) After Samſon, Sanders the martyr was collated to this living.

(27) In this principle, that ceremonies are not indifferent, he is followed, if I miſtake not, by the Scotiſh Kirk at this day.

(28) Strype, ubi ſupra, from a letter of Knox.

(29) Melchior Adamus, in Vit. Exter. Theolog. p. 137. The ſame ſtory is told alſo by Beza, *in Iconibus.*

(30) In his MS. Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland, p. 55.

(31) Ibid. p. 56.

(32) Petrie's Hiſtory, part iii. p. 375. from the Hiſtorical Narration, commonly attributed to William Scott of Cowpar in Fife.

† See an Account of theſe two M.SS. in remark [GG].

reign in England, Queen Mary. Hereupon, the magiſtrates not having it in their power to ſave him, if he ſhould be required either by the Emperor, or in his name by Queen Mary, gave him private notice thereof; which he no ſooner received, than he ſet out for Geneva (*y*); where he arrived March 26, 1555, but ſtaid there only 'till Auguſt following; when, reſolving after ſo long an abſence to make a viſit to his native country, he went to Scotland (*z*). Upon his arrival there, which was in the end of harveſt, finding the profeſſors of the reformed religion much increaſed in number, and formed into a ſociety under the inſpection of ſome teachers (*a a*), he aſſociated himſelf with them, and preached to them. Preſently after this, he accompanied one of them, the Laird of Dun, to his ſeat in the North, where he ſtayed a month, teaching and preaching daily to conſiderable numbers who reſorted thither, among whom were the chief gentlemen in that country. From thence returning to Lothian, he reſided for the moſt part in the houſe of Calder with Sir James Sandilands *, where he met with many perſons of the firſt rank; viz. the Maſter of Erſkine, afterwards Earl of Mar; the Lord Lorn, afterwards Earl of Argyle; Lord James Stewart, Prior of St Andrews, afterwards Earl of Murray, and Regent of Scotland. With theſe noble perſonages he converſed familiarly, and confirmed them in the truth of the Proteſtant doctrine. In the winter of 1555, he taught, for the moſt part, in Edinburgh. About Chriſtmas 1556, he went to the Weſt of Scotland at the deſire of ſome Proteſtant gentleman, as John Lockhart of Bar, Robert Campbell of Kinzeancleugh, and others, and preached † in many places in Kyle, viz. the houſes of Bar, Carnal, Kinzeancleugh, Uchiltree, Gathgirth, and the town of Air; and in ſome of theſe places he celebrated the Euchariſt after the manner of the Reformed Churches. He viſited likewiſe the Earl of Glencairn, at his houſe of Fynlaiſton in the county of Renfrew, and adminiſtred the Sacrament to his Lordſhip's family. From theſe weſtern parts he returned to the Eaſt, and reſided ſome time in Calder, where many reſorted to him both for doctrine and the benefit of the Sacraments. From thence he went a ſecond time to the Laird of Dun's houſe in the county of Mearns, where he preached more publickly than before, and adminiſtred the Sacrament to many perſons of note at their deſire. The Popiſh clergy being greatly alarmed at this ſucceſs of Mr Knox, in promoting the Proteſtant cauſe, ſummoned him to appear before them in the Church of Black-Friars in Edinburgh, on the 15th of May 1556. Several gentlemen of diſtinction, among whom the Laird of Dun was none of the leaſt conſiderable, reſolving to ſtand by him, he determined to obey the ſummons. But the proſecution was dropped ‖, when the Biſhops perceived ſuch a conſiderable party appearing in his behalf. However, he went to Edinburgh on the day to which he was cited, where he preached to a greater audience than ever he had done before; in the Biſhop of Dunkeld's great houſe he taught, both before and after noon, to great numbers for ten days. At this time the Earl of Glencairn prevailed with the Earl Mariſchal, and his truſtee Henry Drummond, to hear one of Mr Knox's ſermons. They were extremely well ſatisfied with his diſcourſe, and propoſed to him to write to the Queen Regent an earneſt letter, to perſwade her, if poſſible, to hear the Proteſtant doctrine. He complied with their deſire, and wrote to her in May 1556. The letter was delivered by the Earl of Glencairn; the Queen read it, and gave it to James Beaton, Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, with this ſarcaſm: *Pleaſe you, my Lord, to read a Paſquil (b b)*. This gave occaſion to Mr Knox to make ſome additions to his letter, which he printed afterwards with the additions at Geneva, 1558. While our Reformer was thus occupied in Scotland, he received letters from the Engliſh congregation at Geneva, earneſtly intreating him to come thither (*c c*). Having ſeriouſly conſidered this invitation, he determined to return to that people, who had ſuch a great regard for him. Accordingly, in July 1556, he left Scotland, went firſt to Dieppe in France (*d d*), and from thence to Geneva. He had no ſooner turned his back, than the Biſhops ſummoned him to appear before them; and, upon his non-appearance, they paſſed a ſentence of death againſt him for hereſy, and burnt him in effigy at the Croſs of Edinburgh. Againſt this ſentence he formed, and afterwards printed at Geneva, in 1558, his *Appellation from the cruel and moſt unjuſt Sentence pronounced againſt him by the falſe Biſhops and Clergy of Scotland; with* his *Supplication to the Nobility, Eſtates, and Commonality, of the ſaid Realm.* On the 10th of March 1556-7, the Earl of Glencairn, the Lord Lorn, the Lord Erſkine *, and Lord James Stewart, afterwards Earl of Murray, the chief promoters of the Reformation at that time in Scotland, judging their affairs to be in a pretty good poſture, and being ſenſible of the uſefulneſs of Mr Knox for the purpoſe, ſent him an expreſs, earneſtly deſiring him to return home (*e e*). This letter coming to his hands in May 1557, he immediately communicated it to his congregation, who were very unwilling to part with him; but having conſulted with Mr Calvin and other worthy miniſters, they gave it as their opinion, that he could not refuſe ſuch a plain call, unleſs he would declare himſelf rebellious to God and unmerciful to his country. The congregation upon this yielded to his return to Scotland, and he wrote back by the meſſengers who brought the letter, that he would return to them with all reaſonable expedition. Accordingly, having provided for his congregation at Geneva, he left them in the end of September, and came to Dieppe in his way to Scotland on the 24th of October (*f f*). But there he unexpectedly met with letters from thence, contrary to the former, informing him, that new conſultations were entered into, and adviſing him to ſtay at Dieppe 'till the final concluſion of them. This was alſo further explained in another letter, directed to a friend of Mr Knox, wherein he was told, that

(*y*) Diſcourſe of the troubles begun at Francfort in Germany, edit. 1554. Item Pierce's Vindication of the Diſſenters, &c. p. 35, & ſeq. 2d edit. and Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Grindal, p. 19, 20.

(*z*) Life of Knox, ubi ſupra, p. xvii.

(*a a*) Viz. Will. Harlow, John Willock, Paul Maffy or Methuen, and John Erſkine of Dun. Knox's Hiſtory ſtory of the Reformation in Scotland, p 94 edit. 1732.

* Mr Keith calls him a man of great prudence and eſtimation. This gentleman's ſecond ſon reſided ſome time at Malta, and was inveſted there with the title and juriſdiction of Lord St John of Jeruſalem within Scotland. He afterwards reſigned his lands of Topichen belonging to his knighthood, into the hands of Mary Queen of Scots; and her Majeſty erected them into a temporal lordſhip for him, on the 24th of January 1564. Keith's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 70 and 153. note (*b*).

† In his ſermons he chiefly inſiſted upon the unlawfulneſs of being preſent at the Maſs, which he maintained to be an idolatrous worſhip.

‖ Upon ſome informality of the ſummons, as was pretended. Keith's Hiſtory, p. 64.

(*b b*) Ibid. p. 91, 92.

(*c c*) After his expulſion from Francfort, ſeveral of the congregation went to Geneva. Life of Knox, p. xix.

(*d d*) He ſent his mother-in-law Eliz. Bowes, and her daughter Margery his wife, before him to Dieppe. Ibid. p. 93.

(*e e*) This letter is printed in his Hiſtory, p. 97, 98. and is dated Stirling March 10, 1556.

(*f f*) Life of Knox, p. xx.

* So it is in Knox's Life, p. xx. but in the ſigning it is only Erſkine, by which Mr Keith ſuppoſes is meant John Erſkine of Dun, the Lord Erſkine having not yet joined himſelf to this party. Keith's Hiſtory, p. 65. note (*a*).

that many of thoſe who had before joined in the invitation, were becoming inconſtant, and began to draw back (*gg*). Upon the receipt of theſe advices, Mr Knox wrote an expoſtulatory letter to the Lords who had invited him, concerning their raſhneſs; wherein he denounced judgments againſt ſuch as ſhould be inconſtant in the religion they now profeſſed. Beſides this, he wrote ſeveral other letters from Dieppe, both to the nobility and profeſſors of the Reformed Religion of an inferior degree, exhorting them to conſtancy in their profeſſion, and giving ſome uſeful cautions againſt the errors of ſectaries, which grew up about this time both in Germany and England. In theſe letters he alſo enjoined them to give due obedience to authority in all lawful things (*hh*). Theſe letters exciting them to a greater degree of zeal for the doctrine they had eſpouſed, they came at laſt to this reſolution, that 'they would follow forth their purpoſe, and commit themſelves, and whatſoever God had given them, into his hands, rather than ſuffer idolatry to reign, and the ſubjects be defrauded of the only food of their ſouls;' and that every one might be aſſured the more of one another, a common band or covenant was made and entered into by them, dated at Edinburgh December 3, 1557 †. Mr Knox returned to Geneva in the beginning of the year 1558 (*ii*), and the ſame year he printed there his treatiſe, intitled, *The firſt Blaſt of the Trumpet againſt the monſtrous Regiment of Women* (*kk*), an account of which ſhall be given in remark [*N*]. He deſigned to have written a ſubſequent piece, which was to have been called *The Second Blaſt*. But Queen Mary of England dying (*ll*) ſoon after *The Firſt Blaſt* was publiſhed, and he having a great eſteem of Queen Elizabeth, and entertaining great hopes of ſignal advantages to the Proteſtant cauſe from her government, whom he looked upon as an inſtrument raiſed up by the good Providence of God for the good of his people, he went no farther (*mm*) [*O*]. In April 1559, he determined to

(*gg*) This appears from his anſwer printed in his Hiſtory, p. 98, 99, 100. which is dated October 27, 1557, from Dieppe.

(*hh*) He alſo writ ſome conſolatory letters to the perſecuted Proteſtants in France, to which he added an apology. Life of Knox, p. xxi.

† See more of this in remark [*T*].

(*ii*) It appears from ſome of his letters, that he was there in April 1558. Ibid.

(*kk*) It is reprinted at the end of his Hiſtory, edit. 1732.

(*ll*) Viz. Nov. 17, 1558.

(*mm*) Life of Knox, p. xxi, xxii.

[*N*] *An account of which ſhall be given below.*] Mr David Calderwood takes notice (33) that the cruel and bloody government of Queen Mary of England, and the endeavours of Mary of Lorrain, Queen Regent of Scotland, to break through the legal conſtitution, and introduce tyrannical government, and the domination of the French, were the chief motives which induced Mr Knox to write and publiſh this piece; that writer adds, that in it he ſhews his erudition and variety of reading, more than in any other of his treatiſes. However, it is certain it made a great noiſe, and was the occaſion of much obloquy and reproach againſt him. Yet it was much approved by ſeveral of the exiled Proteſtants, though diſliked by others. Mr Strype obſerves, that, 'After the death of King Edward, 'though Queen Mary was acknowledged by the far 'greater part of the Proteſtants in England, yet ſome 'few of them appeared for Lady Jane Grey; and Mr 'Goodman ‖, with ſome others, declared againſt the 'lawfulneſs of the government of women, an opinion 'not peculiar to them, but adopted by ſeveral learned 'men, and maintained by the whole kingdom of 'France. The Proteſtants in England, who were of 'this opinion, are accounted Mr Knox's diſciples, 'whoſe conceit, ſays Mr Strype (34), in this matter, 'chiefly ſprung from the fears they apprehended from 'the Lady Mary's government, and her marrying a 'foreigner (35).' Mr Strype alſo informs us, that Fox the Martyrologiſt had expoſtulated with Knox about this matter of *the Blaſt*, and has preſerved Knox's letter in anſwer to Fox, dated at Geneva March 18, 1558. In this letter he makes a modeſt apology for writing this book, does not excuſe any vehement or raſh expreſſions he has uſed in it, but ſtill affirms, that he is perſwaded of the truth of the poſitions laid down therein.

(33) In his MS. Hiſtory already cited.

‖ The title of Goodman's book is, *How Superior Powers ought to be obeyed of their Subjects, and wherein they may lawfully be diſobeyed and reſiſted, &c.* Mr Wood, who gives an Account of him, attributes *The Firſt Blaſt of the Trumpet, &c.* to him. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 315. Mr Strype informs us, that he recanted in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and gives us the words of his recantation.

(34) In his Memorials.

[*O*] *He went no farther.*] Before the death of Queen Mary, he publiſhed at Geneva, in 1558, an advertiſement concerning the Second Blaſt, as follows:

John Knoxe to the reader.

'Becauſe many are offended at the firſt Blaſt of the 'Trompett, in which I affirme, that to promotte a 'woman to bear rule or empire above any realme, 'nation, or citie, is repugnant to nature, contumlie 'to God, and a thing moſt contrariouſe to his revealed 'and approved ordenance: and becauſe alſo that 'ſomme hath promiſed (as I underſtand), a confutation 'of the ſame, I have delayed the ſecond Blaſt, tyll 'ſuch time as their reaſons appere, by the which I 'either may be reformed in opinion, or els ſhall have 'further occaſion more ſimply and plainly to utter 'my judgement. Yet in the meane tyme, for the 'diſcharge of my conſcience, and for avoyding ſuſpi'tion, which might be ingender'd by reaſon of my 'ſilence, I could not ceaſe to notify theſe ſubſequent 'propoſitions, which by God's grace I purpoſe to en'treat in the ſecond Blaſt promiſed.

'1. It is not birth onely, nor propinquity of blood, 'that maketh a King lawfully to reigne above a peo'ple, profeſſing Chriſte Jeſus, and his eternal veritie; 'but in his election, muſt the ordenance which God 'hath eſtabliſhed in the election of inferiour judges, 'be obſerved.

'2. No manifeſt idolater, nor notorious tranſgreſſor 'of God's holie precepts, oght to be promoted to anie 'publick regiment, honor, or dignitie, in any realme, 'province, or citie, that hath ſubjected themſelf to 'Chriſte Jeſus, and to his bleſſed Evangil.

'3. Neither can othe nor promeſſe bynd any ſuch 'people to obey and maintein tyrantes againſt God, 'and againſt his trueth knowen.

4. But if either raſhely they have promoted any ma'niſeſt wicked perſonne, or yet ignorantly have choſen 'ſuch a one, as after declareth himſelf unworthie of 'regiment aboue the people of God (and ſuche be all 'idolaters and cruel perſecutors) moſt juſtlie may the 'ſame men depoſe and puniſh him, that unadviſedly 'before they did nominate, appoint, and electe.'

Matth. vi. *If the eye be ſingle the whole body ſhall be clere.*

We ſee our author here ſpeaks of an anſwer to the Blaſt, and accordingly, in April 1559, there was printed at Straſburgh an anſwer to it, written by John Ailmer an exile, formerly Archdeacon of Stowe, and Preceptor to Lady Jane Grey ‡, and afterwards made Biſhop of London by Queen Elizabeth. The induſtrious Mr Strype has written his life, and in it has given an account of this performance. The title of it is, *An Harborough for faithful and true Subjects, againſt the late blown Blaſt concerning the government of Women; wherein are confuted all ſuch reaſons, as a Stranger of late made in that behalf, with an Exhortation to Obedience.* And, in Mr Strype's opinion, the treatiſe is a notable and full anſwer to Mr Knox. And this opinion is greatly countenanced and confirmed by the behaviour of Mr Knox himſelf, who, after Queen Elizabeth's acceſſion to the throne, found a way of evading the principles advanced in that book. In a letter to Secretary Cecil, dated April 10, 1559, he writes thus concerning the *Blaſt*.

'*It is bruted, that my book is or ſhall be written 'againſt. If ſo be, Sir, I greatly fear, that flatte'rers ſhall rather hurt than help the matter, which 'they would ſeem to maintain; for except my error be 'plainly ſhewn and confuted by better authority, than 'by ſuch laws as from year to year may and do change, 'I dare not promiſe ſilence in ſo weighty a buſineſs, leſt 'in ſo doing I ſhould appear to betray the verity, which 'is not ſubject to the mutability of the time.* And if any think me either enemy to the perſon, or yet to the regiment, of her whom God hath now promoted, they are utterly deceived of me. For the miraculous work of God comforting his afflicted by an infirm veſſel I do acknowledge, and the power of his moſt potent hand (raiſing up whom beſt pleaſeth his

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‡ Daughter to the Duke of Suffolk, and for nine days owned by King Edward VIth's Council, as Queen of England.

(35) See Knox's Admonition.

to return to his native country; and having a ſtrong deſire in his way thither to viſit thoſe in England, to whom he had formerly preached the Goſpel, he applied to Sir William Cecil, his old acquaintance, to procure leave for that purpoſe. But this petition was ſo far from being granted, that the meſſenger, whom he ſent to ſollicit that favour, very narrowly eſcaped impriſonment [*P*]. Hereupon he made the beſt of his way to Scotland, where he arrived on the 2d of May 1559, and was very active in promoting the Reformation there, as appears from the ſecond book of his Hiſtory, which contains a full account of his conduct, 'till the Proteſtants were obliged to apply to England. For carrying on which tranſaction, in July this year, he was pitched upon to meet Sir William Cecil *incognito* at Stamford (*nn*); but his journey being retarded by the danger of paſſing near the French, who lay at Dunbar, he was afterwards ſent, in company with Mr Robert Hamilton, another Proteſtant miniſter, to negotiate theſe affairs between the Proteſtants in Scotland and Queen Elizabeth. When they came to Berwick, they remained ſome days with Sir James Croſs the Governor, who undertook to manage their buſineſs for them, and adviſed them to return home; which they did. Secretary Cecil ſent alſo an anſwer to the Proteſtant nobility and gentry, concerning their propoſals to Queen Elizabeth; which was ſo general, that they were very near reſolving to break off the negotiation, had not Mr Knox interpoſed with ſo much earneſtneſs, that they allowed him once more to write to the Secretary [*Q*]. To this letter there was quickly ſent an anſwer, deſiring that ſome

(*nn*) Ibid. p. xciii. Sir William Cecil's Letter deſiring that meeting, is dated at Oxford July 14, 1559, and printed in Knox's Hiſtory, p. 212, 213.

'mercy, to ſuppreſs ſuch as fight againſt his glory) I 'will obey, albeit, that both nature and God's moſt 'perfect ordinance repugn to ſuch regiment. More 'plainly to ſpeak, if Queen Elizabeth ſhall confeſs, 'that the extraordinary diſpenſation of God's great 'mercy, maketh that lawful unto her, which both na'ture and God's law doth deny unto all women; 'then ſhall none in England be more willing to main'tain her lawful authority than I ſhall be; but if '(God's wond'rous work ſet aſide) ſhe ground (as God 'forbid) the juſtneſs of her title, upon conſuetude, 'laws, or ordinances of men, then I am aſſured, that 'as ſuch fooliſh preſumption doth highly offend God's 'ſupreme Majeſty, ſo do I greatly fear that her ingra'titude ſhall not long want puniſhment. And this, in 'the name of the eternal God, and of his ſon Jeſus 'Chriſt (before whom both you and I ſhall ſtand to 'make account of all counſel we give) I require you 'ſignify unto her Grace in my name; adding, that 'only humility and dejection of herſelf before God 'ſhall be the firmity and ſtability of her throne, which (36) Knox's Hiſtory, &c. p. 206. 'I know ſhall be aſſaulted more ways than one (36).' He wrote alſo in the ſame ſtrain to Queen Elizabeth herſelf, intimating that, as long as ſhe ſhewed favour to them, that is, the Puritanical party, her regiment was lawful, but whenever ſhe failed of that, it would be lawful to depoſe her. 'If thus, ſays he, in God's pre'ſence you humble your ſelf, as in my heart I glorify 'God for that reſt granted to his afflicted flock with'in England, under you a weak inſtrument; ſo will 'I, with tongue and pen juſtify your authority and 'regiment, as the Holy Ghoſt hath juſtified the ſame 'in Deborah, that bleſſed mother in Iſrael. *But if the 'premiſes (as God forbid) neglected, you ſhall begin 'to brag of your birth, and to build your authority and 'regiment upon your own law, (flatter you who ſo liſt) 'your felicity ſhall be ſhort* (37).

(37) Ibid. p. 211.

[*P*] *His petition was not granted.*] The letter he wrote to Secretary Cecil on that head may be ſeen in Buchanan's edition of his hiſtory in 1649; as alſo in the MS. from which the edition in 1732 was printed; but is not inſerted in that edition, as it ſhould ſeem, becauſe not to be found in the firſt edition of the 8vo, 'being, as is probable, kept out to avoid giving of'fence to Queen Elizabeth and Secretary Cecil; but, notwithſtanding that conceſſion, the book was ſuppreſ'ſed in England where it had been printed.' Thus the writer of Knox's life in 1732 (38). But the calumniating inſinuation here thrown upon the memory of Queen Elizabeth and her council is clearly wiped off, and turned upon the author of it by another writer of that nation already mentioned, who, in a note upon the words of Camden, concerning Mary, Queen Dowager of Scotland, mother of Mary Queen of Scots, in his annals of Queen Elizabeth, where, ſpeaking of that dowager, ſays, 'ſhe was a pious and wiſe princeſs, who had 'ſuffered the moſt bitter reproaches from ſome virulent 'and furious preachers, as may be ſeen in their own 'Church Hiſtory, called in by Queen Elizabeth when it 'was juſt going to the preſs.' By this, ſays my author, he means Mr Knox's hiſtory, an edition whereof was printed at London; but at what preciſe time has not as yet fully appeared. Mr. Camden ſays here, that this book was called in by Queen Elizabeth when it was juſt going to preſs; he ſhould rather have ſaid, when it was going to be publiſhed; ſince, of this Engliſh edition in a ſmall 8vo, there are ſome few copies to be met with at this day; but every one of them is imperfect (39). He then proceeds in theſe terms: The author of the life of Mr Knox, prefixed to the late edition of his hiſtory at Edinburgh, 1732, gives a paſſage from Calderwood's MS. to aſcertain the time when this 8vo edition was printed at London, in the following words. February 1586, *Vaultellier, the printer, took with him a copy of Mr Knox's hiſtory of England, and printed twelve hundred of them. The ſtationers at the archbiſhop's* [*Whitgift*] *command ſeized them the 18th of February. It was thought that he would get leave to proceed again; becauſe the council perceived, that it would bring the Queen of Scots in deteſtation* (40). This ſeems to be the beſt account of the date when theſe books were ſeized; but the expectation of getting leave to proceed again ſeems to have failed. True indeed, the ground of the expectation ſeems to be plauſible enough, ſeeing Mr Knox has laid himſelf out, as it were, to bring the Queen of Scots, his ſovereign, into deteſtation; but it ſeems likewiſe, that the council of England ſtood no longer in need of Mr Knox's detracting pen; they had gained their point before that time (41), and now they ſaw well, that ſuch language and repreſentations as that book contained, was not fit to be allowed a free paſſage into the world. *That wiſe council acted herein ſomewhat like thoſe who fawn on a traitor, while his treachery may be ſerviceable to them; but when that ſeaſon is over, they deſpiſe both the traitor and the treachery* (42).

(38) P. xvii.

(39) Mr Woodrow, in his letter to Archdeacon (afterwards Biſhop) Nicholſon, part of which is printed in that author's appendix to the Scot's Hiſtorical Library, where he calls it a large 12mo.

(40) Knox's Life, p. xlv.

(41) The Queen of Scots was then a priſoner in England. See the general hiſtories of each country.

(42) Keith's Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 130.

[*Q*] *He was allowed once more to write to the Secretary.*] As this letter was judged to be of ſo much importance as to procure an immediate compliance with the requeſt contained in it, we ſhall give an extract of it as follows: He begins with excuſing his not coming to Berwick, for the reaſon expreſſed in the text above, and then proceeds in theſe terms. 'I wiſh that rather 'your pen than our credit, or any thing written to any 'of us, ſhould aſſure the lords and others of our good 'minds (who are now in number but five hundred). 'Unleſs that money be furniſhed without delay to pay 'the ſoldiers for their ſervice by paſt, and to retain 'another thouſand footmen, with three hundred horſe'men, 'till ſome ſtay be had in this danger, theſe gen'tlemen will be compelled to leave the fields. I am 'aſſured as fleſh may be of fleſh, that ſome of them will 'take a very hard life, before that ever they compone 'either with the queen regent, either yet with France. 'But this I dare not promiſe of all, unleſs in you they 'ſee a greater forwardneſs. To ſupporte us will ap'pear exceſſive, and to break promiſe with France will 'appear dangerous. But the loſs of expences, in my 'opinion, ought not to be eſteemed from the firſt pay'ment, neither yet the danger from the firſt appear'ance. France is moſt fervent to conquer us, and 'avoweth, that againſt us they will ſpend their crown '(ſo did my own ears hear Bottincourt brag). But moſt 'aſſuredly I know, that unleſs by us they thought to 'make an entrance to you, they would not buy our 'poverty at that price. They labour to corrupt ſome 'of our great men by money (and ſome of our number

ſome perſons of credit might be ſent to confer with the Engliſh at Berwick; and the ſame letter informed them, that there was a ſum of money ready to be delivered for carrying on the common cauſe, aſſuring them, that if the Lords of the Congregation were willing to enter into a league with Queen Elizabeth upon honourable terms, they ſhould neither want men nor money. Upon this anſwer, Mr Henry Balnaveis, a man well reſpected in both kingdoms, was ſent to Berwick, who ſoon returned with a ſum of money, which defrayed the publick expence 'till November; when John Cockburne of Ormiſtoun being ſent for the ſecond ſupport, received it, but fell into the hands of Earl Bothwell, who took the money from him (*o o*). In the interim, Mr Knox was choſen Miniſter of Edinburgh in July; but being obliged to attend the Lords, while the agreement was in dependance, Mr Willock was left in Edinburgh to officiate in his room. The effect of theſe negotiations was the ſending of an army under the command of the Duke of Norfolk; which being joined by almoſt all the great men in Scotland, at laſt a peace was procured and concluded between the two kingdoms, on the 8th of July 1560 (*p p*). The Congregationers being freed by this peace from any diſturbance, made ſeveral regulations towards propagating and eſtabliſhing the new religion; and, in order to have the reformed doctrine preached throughout the kingdom, a diviſion was made thereof into twelve diſtricts (for the whole number of the reformed miniſters at this time was only twelve), whereby the diſtrict of Edinburgh was aſſigned to Mr Knox (*q q*). Theſe twelve miniſters alſo compoſed a Confeſſion of Faith, which was afterwards ratified by Parliament; they alſo compiled the firſt books of Diſcipline for that Church. In December this year, Mr Knox buried his firſt wife Margery Bowes, an Engliſhwoman, for whoſe loſs he was much grieved (*r r*). In January the following year, 1561, we find our author engaged in a diſpute concerning the controverted points of religion, againſt Mr Alexander Anderſon, Sub-Principal of the King's-college at Aberdeen, and Mr John Leſlie parſon of Une, and afterwards Biſhop of Roſs. In March 1560-61, Mr John Spottiſwood was admitted Superintendant of Lothian by Mr Knox [*K*]. And the ſame year, Auguſt 20, 1561, the Queen arrived at Leith From France. From her firſt arrival, her Majeſty ſet up a private Maſs in her own chapel, which afterwards, by her protection and countenance, was much more frequented: this excited the zeal of Mr Knox, who expreſſed himſelf with great warmth againſt allowing it; and an act of the Privy-Council being proclaimed at the market-Croſs of Edinburgh, forbidding any diſturbance to be given to this practice under pain of death, on the 25th of that month, Mr Knox openly in his ſermon the Sunday following declared, that *one Maſs was more frightful to him, than ten thouſand armed enemies, landed in any part of the realm* (*s s*). This freedom of ſpeech gave great offence to the Court, and the Queen herſelf had a long conference with him upon that and other ſubjects [*S*]. What part he bore

(*o o*) Ibid. p. 214. Upon this miſadventure followed all the reſt of their troubles, related in the ſecond book of this Hiſtory.

(*p p*) Ibid. p. 234.

(*q q*) Ibid. p. 236. where the names of them are mentioned, among whom Chriſtopher Goodman was appointed to St Andrews.

(*r r*) See his Hiſtory, p. 260. A full account of his family ſhall be given at the cloſe of this memoir.

(*s s*) Life of Knox, p. xxvi. and Knox's Hiſtory, p. 287.

' are poor, as before I writ, and cannot ſerve without ' ſupport); ſome they threaten, and againſt others they ' have raiſed up a party in their own country. In this ' mean time, if you lye by as neutrals, what will be the ' end you may eaſily conjecture. And therefore, Sir, ' in the bowels of Chriſt Jeſus I require you to make ' plain anſwer, what the gentlemen here may liſten ' to, and what the queen's majeſty will do, may be ' without delay put in execution (43).'

(43) Knox's Hiſtory, p. 213, 214.

[*R*] *Spottiſwood was admitted ſuperintendant of Lothian by Mr Knox.*] The form and order of this admiſſion was compoſed by Mr Knox, and is inſerted in his hiſtory (44). He begins with a ſermon upon theſe heads: 1. The neceſſity of miniſters and ſuperintendants. 2. The crimes and vices that might unable them. 3. The virtues required in them. And laſtly, whether ſuch as by public conſent of the Kyrke were called to ſuch office might refuſe the ſame. Sermon finiſhed, it was declared by the preacher, That the lords of ſecret Council had given charge and power of the kirkes of Lothian to chuſe Mr John Spottiſwoode ſuperintendant, *&c.* Upon which words Mr Keith makes the following remark: 'One would think, ſays he, that if this charge, and power, and nomination of the particular perſon for this dignity, was given and made at that time by the Lords of the Council, there might be little ground to complain of the ſame power, when lodged in a lawful king (45).' The ſame writer upon another occaſion obſerves, that the whole behaviour of the firſt reformers of religion in Scotland, ſhews that they had no notion of a regular ſucceſſion being neceſſary for the vocation of ordinary office-bearers in the Church of Chriſt. What was it that made the new preachers to be the only perſons that had power to adminiſter the ſacraments? I ſuppoſe they will hardly ſay the parliament had authority to confer that power. If it was the call of the people, it ſeems to be unheard of 'till that time, that the people could conſecrate and ordain any perſon to the ſacred offices: their conſent and approbation is quite another thing. I am inclined to think, they will have recourſe to a ſpecial immediate appointment to ſuch perſon by Almighty God himſelf at that period; but with how many difficulties ſuch an aſſertion may be attended, I need not offer to mention.—That Mr Knox and ſome others, who had regular ordination, did at that time undervalue their ſacred orders, and act as preachers by a *new* call; and that others of the preachers never had any ordination, but the *new one* is certain: and 'tis as certain that many to this day have acted as office-bearers in the Church, merely by virtue of that new call. May it not therefore be reaſonably doubted whether ſuch perſons be really Miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt, or no? At leaſt, may not other people who lay ſome ſtreſs on the validity of regular miniſtrations, make ſcruple to receive from their hands the myſteries of the Covenant of Redemption? Is not the plea of the Quakers more defenſible, every one of whoſe preachers pretends an immediate call *.

(44) Ibid. p. 263, & ſeqq. where may be ſeen the form alſo of admitting or electing Elders and Deacons, p. 267, & ſeqq.

(45) Keith's Hiſtory, p. 145, note (*d*).

* Ibid. p. 150. note (*b*.)

[*S*] *He had a long conference with the Queen.*] In this conference her majeſty having charged him with writing the *Blaſt*, he avows it, and then proceeds thus: 'I hear that an Engliſhman hath written againſt it, but I have not read him If he hath ſufficiently improved my reaſons, and eſtabliſhed his contrary propoſitions with as evident teſtimonies as I have done mine, I ſhall not be obſtinate, but ſhall confeſs my error and ignorance But to this hour I have thought, and yet think my ſelf alone to be more able to ſuſtain the things affirmed in that my work, than any ten in Europe ſhall be able to confute it. This confident aſſertion, together with his avowing to read the anſwer to his book, looks at firſt ſight to proceed from that obſtinacy of temper for which he was ſo remarkable; but upon a nearer view of it, will appear to be the genuine effect of art and policy. If he had read the anſwer he muſt either have replied, or, by his ſilence, have incurred the cenſure of a tacit retractation. The firſt he well ſaw was too raſh and dangerous to engage in; and therefore he took this method to avoid the reproach of the ſecond, which muſt have leſſened his authority among his own party. With the ſame art is his anſwer conducted to the Queen's next charge againſt him

bore in the affairs of the Church during the remainder of this year 1561, may be ſeen in his Hiſtory, to which we refer the reader. In 1562, we find him employed in reconciling the Earls of Bothwell and Arran, which is an evidence how much he was regarded by the moſt eminent perſons of the kingdom, and how much intereſt he had with them (*tt*). The ſame year, the Queen being informed that her uncles were like to recover their former intereſt at the Court of France, received the news with great joy: Mr Knox hearing of her behaviour, and apprehending that the power of the Queen's relations would produce diſmal effects, in prejudice of the reformed intereſt in theſe parts, thought fit to preach a ſermon, wherein *he taxed the ignorance, vanity, and deſpite of princes, againſt all virtue, and againſt all thoſe in whom hatred of vice and love of virtue appeared.* This and other expreſſions, in reproof of dancing for joy at the diſpleaſure taken againſt God's people, coming to the ears of the Queen, her Majeſty ſent for him, and had a ſecond conference with him (*uu*). This year he was appointed, by the General Aſſembly, Commiſſioner to the counties of Kyle and Galloway; and, by his influence, ſeveral of the moſt eminent gentlemen of Kyle, Cunningham, and Carrick, entered into a bond or covenant at Air, which was ſubſcribed September 4, 1562 (*ww*) [*T*]. From the ſhire of Air he went to Nithſdale and Galloway, and had ſeveral conferences about matters of great importance with the Maſter of Maxwell; and from this county he wrote to the Duke of Chaterault, giving him cautions both againſt the Biſhop of St Andrews and the Earl of Huntley, whoſe counſels he judged might prove prejudicial to the reformed intereſt. At this time he accepted a challenge made by an eminent perſon among the Papiſts to a publick diſpute about the Maſs, which continued the ſpace of three days, and was afterwards printed (*xx*). In the beginning of the Queen's firſt Parliament, in May 1563, Mr Knox endeavoured to excite the Earl of Murray to appear with zeal and courage, to get the articles of Leith eſtabliſhed by Law; but finding him cooler than he expected, there followed a breach between them, which continued for a year and a half (*yy*). And after the bill was rejected, the Parliament not being diſſolved, he preached a ſermon before a great many of the members, wherein he expreſſed his ſenſe of that matter with vehemency, and at the cloſe declared his abhorrency of the Queen's marrying a Papiſt *. This gave great offence to the Court; and her Majeſty ſending for him, expreſſed much paſſion, and thought to have puniſhed him, but was prevailed upon to deſiſt at that time [*U*]. The

(*tt*) Knox's Hiſtory, p. 305, 306.

(*uu*) Ibid. p. 308, 309, 310. The meſſage was brought by Alexander Cockburne, who had been formerly his ſcholar, and the conference ended with the Queen's declaring ſhe had been miſinformed.

(*ww*) Ibid. p. 316, 317.

(*xx*) Life of Knox, p. xxvii. The challenge was made by Mr Quintin Kennedy, a ſon of the houſe of Caſſils, Prior of Whithorn, and Abbot of Croſs Regal, and the diſpute was held in the village of Maybole in Carrick. See Knox's Hiſtory, p. 318.

(*yy*) See an account of it in Knox's Hiſtory, p. 33.

* He was married to her Majeſty July 19, this year.

him of denying her juſt authority: to which he pleads the privilege of the learned in all ages, and cites Plato in particular, who had publickly taught doctrines contrary to the common opinion without diſturbing the ſociety, bearing with patience the errors and imperfections which they could not amend. *Even ſo*, ſays he, *Madam, am I content to do in uprightneſs of heart; and with the teſtimony of a good conſcience I have communicate my judgment to the world; if the realme finds no inconvenience in the regiment of a woman, that which they approve ſhall I not farther diſallow than within my own breaſt, but ſhall be as well content to live under your Grace as Paul was to live under Nero; and my hope is*, concludes he, *that ſo long as ye defile not your hands with the blood of the ſaints of God, that neither I nor the book ſhall either hurt you or your authority; for, in very deed, Madame, that book was written moſt eſpecially againſt that wicked Jeſabel of England* (46).

(46) Knox's Hiſtory, p. 288.

[*T*] *Entered into a covenant at Air.*] We have already mentioned the firſt of theſe bonds or covenants (47) made at Edinburgh, Dec. 3, 1557, which runs thus:

(47) In the text, at note †, in p. 2870.

We perceiving how Sathan in his memberis, the antichriſtis of our tyme cruellie doeth rage, ſeeking to downthring and to deſtroy the evangell of Chriſt and his congregation, aucht, according to our boundin dewtie, to ſtryve in our maiſteris cauſe, evin unto the deith, being certane of the victorie in him: the quhilk our dewtie, being weill conſiderit, we do promeis befoir the Majeſtie of God and his Congregatioun, That we be his grace, ſall with all diligence continuallie applie our haill power, ſubſtance, and our very lywes to manteine, ſet fordward, and eſtabliſh the moſt bliſſit word of God, and his Congregatioun: and ſall labour at our poſſibilitie to have faithful miniſteris, puirlie and trewlie to miniſter Chriſtis Evangell and Sacraments to his pepill. We ſall maintein thame, nuriſthe thame, and defend thame, the haill Congregation of Chriſt, and everye member thereof at our haill poweris, and wairing of our lywes, againe Sathan and all wicked power that dois intend tirranie or trubile againſt the ſairſord Congregatioun and the ſaid quhilk holie Word and Congregatioun we ſall manteine, and alſo dois renunce and forſaik the Congregatioun of Sathan with all the ſuperſtitiounis, abhominatiounis and idolatrie theirof. And mairover ſa ſpeciallie our ſelfis manifeſtlie enemies thairto, be this our faythfull promeis befoir God, teſtified to his Congregatioun, be our ſubſcriptioun at thir Preſens.

At Edinburghe the 3d day of December, 1557 Yeirs.

God callit to witneſs.

Sic ſubſcribitur

A. Erle of Argyll,
Glencairne,
Mortoun,
Archibald Lord of Lorne,
John Erskin of Dun, &c (48).

(48) Knox's Hiſtory, p. 201.

Accordingly the writer of Knox's Life, in 1732, tells us, that from this bond, thoſe who ſeparated from Popery, were called the *Congregation*; becauſe in it they oblige themſelves to maintain, ſet forward, and eſtabliſh the moſt bleſſed word and his Congregation; and the nobility who adopted the Reformed intereſt were called the Lords of the Congregation (49). Mr Keith is arch upon this Bond. In which, tho' it be very conciſe, the reader, ſays he, may obſerve that they ſtile themſelves no leſs than ſeven times the Congregation. And that alſo, with this ſingular ſpecialty, as being the Congregation of the Lord, in oppoſition to thoſe of the Church, whom they are pleaſed to call the Congregation of Sathan (50).

(49) Knox's Life, p. xxi.

(50) Keith's Hiſtory, p. 69.

[*U*] *And was prevailed upon to deſiſt for that time.*] The offenſive words were; *And now, my lords, to put an end to all, I hear of the queen's marriage. Dukes, brethren to emperors and kings, ſtrive all for the beſt gain; but this, my lords, will I ſay (note the day and bear witneſs after) whenſoever the nobility of Scotland profeſſing the Lord Jeſus, conſents that an Infidel, (and all Papiſts are Infidels) ſhall be had to our ſovereign, ye do ſo far as in you lieth, to baniſh Chriſt Jeſus from the realm, ye bring God's vengeance upon the country, a plague upon your ſelves, and, perchance, ye ſhall do ſmall comfort to your ſovereign.* In his defence before the queen he ſaid, that out of the pulpit few had occaſion to be offended at him; and there, Madam, ſays he, I am not maſter of my ſelf, but muſt obey who commands me to ſpeak plain, and to flatter no fleſh upon the face of the earth. Then happened another incident, which was like to have brought him into great trouble this year. During the Queen's abſence

The General Assembly being held in June 1564, a selected committee was appointed to hold a conference with several persons of distinction, officers of state, upon some controverted points; the chief of which was about the boundaries to be settled between the power of the supreme magistrate and the people [*W*]. The ensuing year, Lord Darnley being married to the Queen, was advised by the Protestants about Court to hear Mr Knox preach, as thinking it would contribute much to procure the good-will of the people. At their desire he went, on the 19th of August, to the high church, but was so much offended at the sermon, that he complained to the Council, who immediately ordered Mr Knox before them, and forbad him to preach for several days [*X*]. The General Assembly, which met in December this year in their fourth session, appointed Mr Knox to draw up a consolatory letter in their name, to encourage ministers, exhorters, and readers, to continue in their vocations, which many were under great temptation to leave for want of subsistence, and to exhort the professors of the realm to supply their necessities. He was also appointed by this assembly to visit, preach, and plant, the kirks of the South, 'till the next assembly, and to remain as long as he could at that work (*z z*). He requested the General Assembly, which met at Edinburgh in December 1566, that he might have leave to go to England to visit two of his sons (*a a a*), and for other necessary affairs in that kingdom [*Y*]. The same General Assembly being informed, that some worthy and learned divines in England were prosecuted by the Bishops, because they refused to use the habits appointed by Law for Church-men, caused a letter to be written and sent by Mr Knox, wherein with great earnestness they intreated, that they might deal gently with such ministers as scrupled the use of those vestments [*Z*]. In 1567, Mr Knox preached a sermon at the coronation of King James the Sixth of Scotland, and afterwards the First of Great-Britain (*b b b*). This year is very remarkable in Scotland, upon account of the great turn of affairs there by Queen Mary's resigning the government, and by the appointment of the Earl of Murray to be regent. The first parliament which was called by the Earl met upon the 15th of December. It was a very numerous convention of all the Estates, and Mr Knox preached a very zealous sermon at the opening of it; and he was extremely afflicted at the Regent's death in 1569 [*A A*]. In 1571, the Hamiltons and others,

(*z z*) Life of Knox, p. xxx.

(*a a a*) Probably then at school, if the same as were afterwards sent to St John's-college in Cambridge, as is mentioned in the close hereof.

(*b b b*) This sermon is much commended by Buchanan in his History of Scotland, who was a good judge of the beauties of such a performance.

(51) After passing most part of the summer in the west, she staid some time at Stirling.

sence from Holy-rood house this summer (51), some of her family celebrating mass at the palace, there appeared greater numbers than usual; some of the most zealous Protestants being informed of it, went to the abbey to take down the names of such as they saw going to that service. The queen's servants sent to the comptroller, advertising him that they were in great danger, and craving his assistance, he came down with great expedition, attended by the magistrates of Edinburgh and several others. Upon this occasion one Patrick Cranstoun went into the queen's chappel, and finding the alter covered, and the priest ready to celebrate mass, said, *The queen's Majesty is not here, how dare you then be so malapert as openly to do against the Law?* The report of this being carried to the Queen, she ordered Cranstoun, with one Armstrong, to be summoned, and find surety to underly the law for felony, having made violent invasion into the queen's palace. Mr Knox being afraid that extremity might be used against these zealous men, and being authorised by the last General Assembly to give advertisement to the whole body of Protestants in Scotland, when any danger appeared, wrote a circular letter, wherein he desires them to convene for the support of these men against the time of their appearance (52). Some copies of this letter were intercepted and brought to the Queen. It was concluded in the cabinet-council that it contained treason, and the nobility were advertised to be present at Mr Knox's trial, which was appointed for the middle of December. The nobility convened accordingly, and having heard Mr Knox's defence, acquitted him. His conduct was likewise approved by the General Assembly of the Church (53).

(52) This letter is dated at Edinburgh, Octob. 8, 1563, and is printed in his History, p. 336, 337.

(53) That assembly met December 25, 1563. See a particular account of this whole affair in Knox's History, from p. 339 to p. 345.

(54) Ibid. p. 349 to 366.

[*W*] *The boundaries between power of the prince and people.*] The writer of Mr Knox's life tells us, that in this conference Mr Knox and the rest of his brethren espoused the same principles which have been owned by the supporters of the late happy Revolution. The courtiers were for screwing the royal prerogative to a great pitch, by which, upon perusing the conferences related by Mr. Knox (54), I suppose is meant, that in both cases, the courtiers on one side urged the doctrine of absolute Non-resistance, which was rejected by the other side.

[*X*] *Forbad him to preach for several days.*] His text was Isaiah xxvi. 13 and 17. *O Lord our God, other lords than thou have reigned over us.* From these words he took occasion to speak of the government of wicked princes, who for the sins of the people are sent as tyrants and scourges to plague them. And amongst other things, he said, that *God sets in that room (for the offences and ingratitude of the people) boys and women.* There were also some other words uttered by him which gave great offence to the king, as, that *God justly punished Ahab and his posterity, because he would not take order with that harlot Jezabel.* These words the Council told him had given offence to his majesty, and they desired him to abstain from preaching fifteen or twenty days, and let Mr Craig supply the place. He answered, that he had spoken nothing but according to his text; and if the Church would command him either to speak or abstain, he would obey so far as the word of God would permit him (55). The publisher of Mr Knox's history in 4to, adds in the margin, that in answering he said more than he had preached; for he added, that as the king had for pleasure of the queen gone to mass, and dishonoured the Lord God, so should God in his justice make her an instrument of his ruin; and so it fell out in a very short time; but the queen, being incensed at these words, fell out into tears, and to please her, John Knox must abstain from preaching for a time.

(55) Ibid. p. 380, 381.

[*Y*] *He went to England to visit his two sons, &c.*] Before he set out, he had ample testimonials from the assembly of his life, doctrine, and usefulness, and was by them recommended to all to whom he should come. The assembly limited his abode in England to the meeting of the next general assembly, June 25 (56).

(56) Knox's Life, p. xxx.

[*Z*] *To be gentle to the Nonconformists.*] This letter is published by Bishop Spottiswood in his history of the troubles at Francfort, as also by Mr Strype in his Life of Archbishop Parker. The letter itself seems to be Mr Knox's performance, as is affirmed in his History; where we have also a copy of the Assembly's letter (57).

(57) Book v. p. 402. It is dated December 27, 1566.

[*A A*] *He was much afflicted at the murder of the Earl of Murray.*] We are told that he apprehended the interest of religion would be exposed to the utmost danger by the earl's fall; and, upon that account, expressed himself with great concern both in public and private. The same writer tells us also, that he had seen a form of prayer composed by him upon this event, which shews his genuine sentiments of this matter. It is preserved by Mr Calderwood (58). Spottiswood, on the occasion of the Regent's murder, has related a story of Knox, which the writer of his life has inserted as a proof that he was in very great esteem, and reputed to be endued with an extraordinary faculty of predicting things to come. And indeed 'tis certain that Knox, upon all occasions, denounces the vengeance

(58) Knox's Life, p. xxxi. See also Smeton's answer to Archibald Hamilton's dialogue *de Confessione Calvinianæ Sectæ, apud Scotos*, p. 126.

others, who had entered into a combination against the Earl of Lenox, then Regent, began to fortify the town of Edinburgh. While they were thus employed, a Council was held by them in the caſtle on the fourth of May, where the Laird of Grainge, captain of the caſtle, propoſed that they might give ſecurity for the perſon of Mr Knox, which was alſo much deſired by the town's people. The Hamiltons anſwered, that they could not promiſe him ſecurity upon their honour, becauſe there were many in the town who loved him not, beſides other diſorderly people, that might do him harm without their knowledge. Upon this anſwer, which plainly ſhowed no good intention to Mr Knox, his friends in the town, with Mr Craig his colleague at their head, intreated him to leave the place, by reaſon of the impending danger to him, and to them too upon his account, in defending him from the attempts of the contrary party; which being alſo the ſtrongeſt, would moſt probably be able to execute their deſigns againſt him: Accordingly, leaving Edinburgh on the fifth of May, he went firſt to Abbotſhall in Fyſe, and thence to St Andrews, where he remained 'till the 23d of Auguſt, 1572 (*ddd*). That year there was a convention of the miniſters at Leith, where it was agreed, that a certain kind of Epiſcopacy ſhould be introduced into the Church, which was zealouſly oppoſed by our Reformer [*BB*]. The troubles of the country being much abated, and the people of Edinburgh, who had been obliged to leave it, being returned, they ſent two of their number, viz. Nicol Edward and John Johnſton, Scribe, to St Andrews, to invite Mr Knox to return to them, and to aſk his advice about the choice of another miniſter to aſſiſt him during the time of the troubles [*CC*]. With their commiſſioners they ſent a letter, which is inſerted below [*DD*]. The ſuperintendant of Lothian was with them, when they preſented the letter; which, when Mr Knox had peruſed, he conſented to return upon this condition, that he ſhould not be deſired in any ſort to ceaſe ſpeaking againſt the treaſonable dealings of thoſe who held out the caſtle of Edinburgh; and this he deſired them to ſignify to the whole brethren, leſt they ſhould repent afterwards of his auſterity againſt thoſe in the caſtle, or fear to be treated the worſe on his account; and after his return, he repeated theſe words more than once to his friends there, before he entered the pulpit; they anſwered,

(*ddd*) Life of Knox, p. xxxii, xxxiii.

geance of Heaven upon the enemies of the Congregationers, and conſtantly laid claim to the extraordinary illumination of the Holy Ghoſt, and to the gift of Prophecy, how truly needs not be ſaid at this time of day.

[*BB*] *Which was zealouſly oppoſed by our Reformer.*] The biſhops who came in by virtue of this Convention, were called *Tulehan* biſhops; the word *Tulehan*, in the Iriſh language, ſignifying the ſkin of a calf ſtuffed with ſtraw, to make the appearance of a living calf; which device was uſed in the Highlands of Scotland, that the cows might eaſily yield their milk, as they did not do it without a great ſtruggle, when their calves were taken from them: from this cuſtom the biſhops now introduced were called *Tulehan*, becauſe, altho' the courtiers had got the far greater part of the revenues of the biſhopricks, yet they could not get a colourable title to theſe rents, as the law then ſtood, except they had a conveyance from thoſe who had the title of biſhops; for this reaſon it was thought a good expedient by the great ones, who had a longing mind to enjoy the profits of the biſhoprics, that this ſort of biſhops ſhould be brought into the Church, and indeed all of them, by certain pactions, conveyed the far greater part of the revenues to their patrons, reſerving a very ſmall part to themſelves. Among the reſt, the Archbiſhoprick of St Andrew's coming to the ſhare of the Earl of Morton, that nobleman deſigned Mr John Douglas, Rector of the Univerſity there, in whom his Lordſhip had an entire confidence, to be elected to that See: for this purpoſe the electors were convened Feb. 8, 1572, where, after ſome oppoſition, he was elected archbiſhop. Mr Knox, being then in St Andrew's, was much diſpleaſed with this election; and the next Lord's-day, being to preach in the forenoon where the Earl of Morton was preſent, he not only peremptorily refuſed to inaugurate and receive the new-elected biſhop, but publickly denounced an anathema both to the giver and receiver of this biſhoprick. Notwithſtanding this oppoſition, Mr Douglas was admitted archbiſhop, according to the order for admitting ſuperintendants and miniſters (60); for they had not as yet framed any particular form for admitting biſhops. Mr John Rutherford, Provoſt of the Old College of St Andrew's, and Meſſieurs Archibald and John Hamilton, Profeſſors in the New College, ſpread a report next week, that Mr Knox's oppoſition to the biſhops proceeded from a pique that he was not elected himſelf. This coming to his ears, he vindicated himſelf from the pulpit next Lord's-day in words to the following purpoſe: *I have refuſed a far greater biſhoprick than ever it was, which I might have had with the favour of greater men than ever he had his; I did and do repine, not from malecontent, but for the diſcharge of my conſcience, that the Kirk of Scotland be not ſubject to that order* (61).

(60) This confirms Mr Keith's obſervation mentioned in remark [*FF*].

[*CC*] *The choice of another Miniſter, &c.*] They were exceedingly diſpleaſed with the conduct of Mr Craig during the time of the troubles, he having made too great compliacency, as they thought, with thoſe who appeared againſt the authority of the young king and his regents, and were unwilling any longer to ſubmit to his miniſters (62).

(61) Knox's Life, p. xxxiii. This ſeems to refer to the offer that we have obſerved was made him of a biſhopric in England in Edward VIth's time.

[*DD*] *With the letter which is inſerted below*] The letter is in theſe terms: '*The comfort of the Holy Spirit for ſalutation. Of the reſtoring of us undeſerved of our God into our town we believe ye are not ignorant; and yet we cannot excuſe our ſloth, that we have not as yet advertiſed you thereof, being troubled to obtain that liberty which we had before our parting therefrae, wherein as yet we are occupied, was and is the cauſe of our ſlackneſs, which we doubt not ye will accept in good part. Our eſtate at preſent in that thing, which to us at preſent is moſt dear, is, that miniſters may be had, of whom for the preſent we are deſtitute, you only excepted, moveth us more than any other thing; and for that purpoſe, and for treating of ſuch other things as concern the ſtate of the Kirk, we directed the bearers to the Aſſembly at St Johnſtown, who will certify you of their anſwer which they have received: but becauſe you are he to whom we are married under God, we would crave, and crave of God, if hability of your perſon might ſuſtain travel, that once again your voice might be heard among us, and that thing reformed which ſome time by you was planted among us. Loath are we to diſtreſs or hurt your perſon any wiſe, and far loather to want you, we being joined together in love by God, and knowing your care to be no leſs for us than it has been heretofore. We refer your returning to yourſelf and your judgment; but if it may ſtand with your will, we deſire the ſame moſt earneſtly. And knowing the ſufficiency of the bearers, who will declare our mind to you at great length, wherein ye ſhall give them credit, we commit you to the protection of the Eternal.*

(62) Ibid. p. xxxiv.

'*Off Edinburgh the 14th of Auguſt*, 1572.

'*Your Brethren and Children in God, with their Names ſubſcribed with their own Hands.*'

swered, that they never meant to put a bridle on his tongue, but desired him to speak according to his conscience, as in former times. They also requested his advice upon the choice of a minister; and, after some debates, they agreed upon Mr James Lawson, Sub-Principal of the King's college at Aberdeen (*eee*). Mr Knox left St Andrew's August 17, and came to Leith on the 23d. Upon the last day of that month, he preached in the great kirk; but his voice was become very weak, and therefore he desired another place to teach in, where his voice might be heard, if it were but to a hundred persons; which was granted. Immediately after this agreement commissioners were sent, by whom Mr Knox sent the letter below [*EE*]. Mr Lawson came to Edinburgh September 15, and preached upon the Friday after, to the great satisfaction of the people, and continued preaching, 'till he was admitted to the charge of the ministry at Edinburgh. Mr Knox preached in the Tolbooth as long as he had strength of body; but his health was greatly impaired by the news of the massacre of the Protestants at Paris about this time (*fff*). However, he introduced it into his next sermon, with his usual denunciation of God's vengeance thereon, which he desired the French Ambassador, Monsieur La Crocque, might be acquainted with [*FF*]. On Sunday November 9, 1572, he admitted Mr Lawson a minister of Edinburgh. But his voice was so weak, that very few could hear him; he declared the mutual duty between a minister and his flock; he praised God, that had given them one in his room, who was now unable to teach, and desired that God might augment his graces to him a thousand fold above that which he had, if it were his pleasure, and ended with pronouncing the blessing. From this day he hastned to his end. Upon the 11th, he was seized with a violent cough and great pains of the body; so that upon the 13th, he was obliged to give over his ordinary reading of the scriptures (*ggg*). During his sickness, he was visited occasionally by the Earl of Morton, and others of the principal nobility and gentry. But his decay still continually increasing, he resigned his breath on Monday the 24th of November, 1572, with great piety, resignation, and trust in God, such as well became the Principal Director of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland *. He was interred on the 26th, in the kirk-yard of St Giles's, the corpse being attended by several lords who were then at Edinburgh, and particularly the Earl of Morton, that day chosen Regent, who, as soon as he was laid in his grave, said, *There lies a man, who in his life never feared the face of a man, who hath been often threatened with dag and dagger, but yet hath ended his days in peace and honour. For he had God's providence watching over him in a special manner, when his very life was sought* (*hhh*) [*GG*]. As to his character, he was one of those extraordinary persons, of whom few, if any, are observed to speak with sufficient temper. All that we find of him in this way, are either extravagant encomiums on one hand, or senseless invectives on the other. The length of the first exclude them necessarily from a place here; we can only refer to them in the margin †. And of the latter, we have already given one in the last remark below, which may be taken for a specimen of the rest. We shall therefore conclude what relates thereto in the words of Mr Strype, who hath dealt candidly with his memory; and having spoken of his residence in England and Geneva, closes his account thus: 'In May 1559, 'he

(*eee*) Ibid. p. xxxiv, xxxv.

(*fff*) It was brought to Edinburgh about the 12th of September by Mr Killigrew, Ambassador from Queen Elizabeth. See the general histories of Scotland.

(*ggg*) It was his custom every day to read some chapters of the Old and New Testament in his family, together with some psalms. Life, p. xxxvi.

* There is a long and very particular account of his behaviour from this day to that of his death, by Mr Calderwood, and extracted by the writer of his Life, to which we refer those that are curious of such matters.

(*hhh*) Life, p. xli.

† They are, Tho. Smeton, ubi supra. Beza in Iconibus. Melchior Adams, ubi supra. and Jacobus Verheiden, in his Effigies Præstantium Theolog. &c. Hagæ, 1602.

[*EE*] *The letter may seen below.*] It runs thus:

'*Beloved Brother,*

'*Seeing God of his mercy, far above my expectation,*
'*hath called me once again to Edinburgh, and yet I*
'*feel nature so decayed, and daily to decay, that I look*
'*not for a long continuance of my battle, I would*
'*gladly once discharge my conscience, unto your bosom,*
'*and unto the bosom of others, in whom I think the fear*
'*of God remaineth. If I had the ability of body, I should*
'*not have put you to the pains to which I require you*
'*now, that is, once to visit me, that we may confer to-*
'*gether of heavenly things, for in earth there is no sta-*
'*bility, except the Kirk of Jesus Christ, ever fighting*
'*under the Cross, to whose protection I heartily commit*
'*you.*

'*From Edinburgh, 7th of September, 1572.*

'*Accelere, mi frater, alioqui sero venies.*'

[*FF*] *He desired Mr Crocque might be told of his Denunciation.*] The Denunciation was to this purport, *Sentence is pronounced in Scotland against that murderer the King of France, and God's vengeance shall never depart from him nor his house; but his name shall remain an execration to posterity; and none that shall come of his loins, shall enjoy that kingdom in peace and quietness, unless repentance prevent God's judgment.* The ambassador being told of it, applied to the regent and council, and complained that his master was called a traitor and murderer of his subjects, under a promise and trust; and desired that an edict might be published, prohibiting the subjects of Scotland to speak any thing to the dishonour of his master, especially the ministers in their sermons. This was waved by the council, and the ambassador was told, that they could not hinder the ministers from speaking even against themselves (63).

(63) Ibid. p. xxxv.

[*GG*] *When his life was sought.*] We have a remarkable instance of this as follows: It was his custom to sit at the table head in his own house with his back to a window; yet, upon a certain night he sat with his back to the table, when a bullet was shot in at the window purposely to kill him; but the conspirators missed him, and the bullet lighted on the candlestick, and made a hole in the foot of it, which is yet to be seen (64). We need not observe, that the pretence insinuated in this story by Mr Calderwood of an extraordinary providence interposing in Knox's preservation, is the pure effect of bigotry. However, to ballance it on the other hand, an account of his death was fabricated by the Papists, who did not scruple to father it upon King James I. as follows: When that monarch, says the author, came first into England, being at dinner in a nobleman's house, he said, in speaking of Knox, that God thought fit to set a visible mark upon him even in his life-time before he went to the devil, (these are the author's words!); which was, that being sick, with a good coal-fire by him, and a lighted candle upon the table, he desired the servant-maid that attended him to fetch him some drink, being extremely thirsty. She went and returned quickly, but found the room all in darkness; for not only the candle, but the fire also was utterly extinct, and she, by that light which herself brought in immediately after, saw the body of Knox lying dead in the middle of the floor, and with a most ghastly and horrid countenance, as if his body were to shew the condition of his soul *.

(64) Ibid. p. xli. from Mr Calderwood.

* Politicians Catechism, &c. Antwerp. 1618, and Knot's Protestants condemned, Douay, 1654.

'he returned to his own country to forward the Reformation, whe-
'of his death; but his violent methods and diſloyal behaviour tow-
'Scots, is generally condemned (*iii*).' As to his family; he was tw-
Margery Bowes, an Engliſhwo-(*kkk*), by whom he had two
Eleazar, and one daughter, wh- married to Mr Robert Pont, M-
bert's in Edinburgh, and for ſom- time a Lord of Seſſion. His ſon
at the univerſity of Cambridge, -d admitted of St John's college,
preſently after the death of their -ther. Nathaniel took his firſt d-
and the following year was admitted Fellow of the college. He pro-
in 1580, and died in that year. The ſecond ſon, Eleazar, took th-
of Arts in 1577, was admitted Fellow of his college March 22, 1579-
of Arts in 1581, was appointed Univerſity-Preacher in 1587-8, ma-
magna May 17, 1587 (*lll*), and proceeded B. D. the following year,
and was buried in the chapel of St John's college (*mmm*). To his ſe-
married Mrs Margaret Stewart, daughter to Andrew Lord Ochiltrie,
of the Reformation, and ſiſter to James Earl of Arran (*nnn*). This
Knox, was afterwards married to Sir Andrew Ker of Faudonſide. She
three daughters, to whom, with their mother, in 1573, was granted
ſion; viz. five hundred marks in money, two chalders wheat, ſix chalde
chalders oats. This favour is ſaid to be granted on account of Mr Knox
ful travels in the Kirk, and for the education and ſupport of his wife an-
of theſe daughters was married to Mr John Weiſh, miniſter at Air; an-
James Fleming, alſo a miniſter, and grandfather by another wife to the
Fleming, miniſter at London (*ooo*). An account of his writings ſhall be
[*HH*].

he lived to the day
wards the Queen of
ce married, firſt, to
ſons, Nathaniel and
Miniſter of St Cuth-
were both educated
December 2, 1572,
gree in Arts in 1576,
eeded Maſter of Arts
e degree of Bachelor
commenced Maſter
e Vicar of Clacton-
He died in 1591,
ond wife, Mr Knox
a zealous promoter
lady ſurviving Mr
brought Mr Knox
he following pen-
rs bear, and four
's long and fruit-
l children. One
d another to Mr
late Mr Robert
given in remark

(*iii*) Life of Archbiſhop Parker, p. 366.

(*kkk*) Her mother, Mrs Bowes, appears from Mr Knox's Letters to her, to have been a perſon of great knowledge and ſingular piety.

(*lll*) Newcourt's Repertorium. Lond. Vol. II. p. 154.

(*mmm*) Life of Knox, p. xli, xlii. from the information of Mr Tho. Baker, Antiquarian of St John's in Cambridge.

(*nnn*) See remark [*HH*].

(*ooo*) Life of Knox, ibid.

[*HH*] *An account of his Writings*] Theſe are: 1. *A faithful Admonition to the true Profeſſors of the Goſpel of Chriſt within the Kingdom of England*, 1554. It was reprinted at the end of his Hiſtory in 1644 and 1732. 2 *A Letter to Mary Queen-Regent of Scotland*, 1556, printed with additions in 1558; and again, at the end of his Hiſtory. 3. *The Appellation of* John Knox, *from the cruel and unjuſt Sentence pronounced againſt him by the falſe Biſhops and Clergy of Scotland, with a Supplication and Exhortation to the Nobility, Eſtates, and Commonality of the ſame Realm*, 1558; and again, at the end of his Hiſtory, where is ſubjoined, *An Admonition to England and Scotland to call them to Repentance*, by Anthony Gilbie; as alſo Mr Knox's Advertiſement, concerning *the ſecond Blaſt of the Trumpet*. 4. *The firſt Blaſt of the Trumpet againſt the monſtrous Regiment of Women*, 1558, 8vo. reprinted with his Hiſtory in 1732. fol. 5. *A brief Exhortation to England for the ſpeedy embracing of Chriſt's Goſpel, heretofore by the tyranny of Mary ſuppreſſed and baniſhed*, 1559; and again, with his Hiſtory in 1644 and 1732. 6. *An Anſwer to a great Number of blaſphemous Cavillations written by an Anabaptiſt, and Adverſary of God's eternal Predeſtination*, by John Knox, Miniſter of God's Word in Scotland, Geneva, 1560. 7. *The Confeſſion of Faith*, ratified by the Parliament of Scotland, 1560; as alſo *The firſt Book of Diſcipline, the Form and Order for admitting Superintendants and Miniſters, and of Excommunication and Faſting*, all approved in the General Aſſembly, were compoſed chiefly by our author. 8. *A Reply to the Abbot of Croſragwell's* [or Croſſregal] *Faith, or Catechiſm*; as alſo *An Account of his Conference* with that abbot in 1562. *A Sermon before the King* [Henry Darnley] *on Iſaiah* xxvi. 13, 17. in 1566 9. *An Anſwer to a Letter written by James Tyria, a Jeſuit, Edinburgh* 1568. Mr Knox's Anſwer was publiſhed in 1571. Theſe were publiſhed in our author's life-time. After his death came out his famous *Hiſtory of the Reformation of Religion within the Realm of Scotland, &c.* probably firſt printed in London, 1586, 8vo; again at London, in 1644, fol. and the ſame year at Edinburgh, in 4to, and a fourth time at Edinburg-h, 1732, fol. This edition is printed from a MS in th- e library of the college at Glaſgow, an account of w-hich, and of three others is given by the editor, in o- ur author's life prefixed thereto Beſides his printed works, there were alſo, in 1732, ſome MSS of his in t- he hands of Mr Robert Woodrow, Miniſter of Eaſtw-od, and others are preſerved in Mr David Calderwoo- l's large Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland. Thoſe in the hands of Mr Woodrow are, 1. A volume in fo- io, in an old hand fairly written, and ſeems to have been copied by John Gray, Scribe to the General Aſſe- mbly, for the uſe of Margaret Stewart, Mr Knox's widow, both their names being written upon it. Th- e contents of it are *A Preparation to Prayer*, 4 ſheets. 2. *The ſixth Pſalm of David godly expounded*, 10 ſheets, w- ritten in 1553, when our author was leaving England 3 *The Epiſtle ſent to ſeveral Congregations in Engl- and, ſhawand the Plaigis, which ſall ſchortlie cum up- on that Realm, for refuſing God's Worde, and imbraſſ- ing Idolatrie*, John Knox. 4. *To the Faithful in Lond- on, Newcaſtle, and Berwick*. II. A volume in 4to, co- ntaining 518 pages. Upon the title page is written, the e- piſtles of Mr John Knox, worthy to be read, &c. An- d in another hand are the following words: This boo- k belonged ſome time to Margaret Stewart, widow to Mr Knox, afterwards married to the Knight of Fadou- nſide, Siſter ſhe was to James Earl of Arran. The co- ntents are, 1. *Mr Knox's Confeſſion before the Biſhop of* 1550 2. *His Declaration in a Sum- durham, April* 4, *crament of the Lord's Supper*. 3. *A D- concerning the Sa- true prayer is, by John Knox*. This declaration what the treatiſe in the other volume, and is diſtinct from ſheets. 4. *The Expoſition upon the* conſiſts of four ſame with that in the other volume *ſixth Pſalm*, the *to the Faithful in London*, &c. ibid. 6 *John Knox nition, to the Profeſſors in England*. nox's Admo- 7. *Certain Epiſtles and Letters of the* 8 is printed. *John Knox, to and from divers Places* unt of God, *Jeſus Chriſt*. Theſe epiſtles are 46 in i- is Friends in from the year 1553 to 1557. ber, written

P

END of the Fourth Volume.

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